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LATE MEDIAEVAL NET VAULT CONSTRUCTION METHOD REDISCOVERED BY GEOMETRIC ANALYSIS. A CASE STUDY OF THE FORTIFIED CHURCH OF BĂGACIU (BOGESCHDORF)

Eszter JOBBIK* and János KRÄHLING**

Abstract: *In the present study, we analysed the exact geometry of the 16th-century net vault above the nave of the fortified Saxon church of Băgaciu, based on the laser-scanned 3D point cloud of the church. Through this analysis, we proved that the webbing of the vault was built on the ribs as opposed to being a structurally separated barrel vault. Beyond that, we found that the construction of the analysed ribbed net vault was a unique, spot-specific method, as an answer to the church's former building periods. We also reconstructed the construction and building process of this vault.*

Keywords: *geometric analysis of historic buildings, traditional construction method, ceramic ribbed net vault, building scanning, Băgaciu, Bogeschdorf, Szászbogács*

Rezumat: *În studiul de față am analizat geometria precisă a bolții în plasă, din secolul al XVI-lea, de deasupra navei bisericii fortificate săsești din Băgaciu, pe baza norului de puncte scanat 3D cu laser. Prin această analiză am demonstrat că pânza bolții a fost construită pe nervuri, spre deosebire de o boltă cu butoaie separate structural. Dincolo de aceasta, am constatat că metoda de construcție a bolții în plasă analizate a fost unică, specifică locului, ca răspuns la vechile perioade de construcție ale bisericii. De asemenea, am reconstituit procedeul de construcție a acestei bolți.*

Cuvinte cheie: *analiza geometrică a clădirilor istorice, metoda tradițională de construcție, bolta cu nervuri din cărămidă, scanarea clădirilor, Băgaciu, Bogeschdorf, Szászbogács*

Introduction

The construction and building methods of the late medieval net vaults have been an important question in the technical literature for a long time. However, the claims of the 18-20th century are often in the centre of attention, without reconsidering their justness, although the newest researches show a more diverse picture. (Wendland 2012, 96) Thus, case studies must approach the question, since the unique solutions and overall tendencies can be differentiated only this way.

Space scanning technology opened great new opportunities in this field. Examining the exact geometry has the utmost importance in the question, so the simplifications and generalizations characterizing a big part of the studies can be left behind. (Harvey 1972, 92)

In the present study, we analyse the 16th-century net vault of the nave of the fortified church of Băgaciu. We aim to find the exact construction methods used and to study them in the light of the technical literature. We study the correspondence of the former building periods and the 16th-century vault and the conjunction between the ribs and the webbing. Opening the question about spot-specific late medieval vault constructing is important, since the topic is barely accentuated until the most recent studies, although, as we aim to present here, supposedly it had great significance.

Methodology

In our case study, the exact geometry of the church was surveyed with a Leica BLK360 scanner (Fig. 1). For the further processing of the point cloud, we worked with Autodesk Recap Pro and Autocad software. (Krähling, Fehér 2019, 147-49) Our measurements were carried out on this point cloud. The main focus of the measurements was the conjunction

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between the ribs and the webbing, the relations of the heights of the ribs' crossing points and the exact geometry of the individual ribs.

Reviewing the technical literature of the topic, we found several studies that applied similar methods to be used as guidelines for our measurements. Huth (Huth 2020) used scanning generated point cloud and analysed the curvature of the ribs of the vaults, as well as the height of the crossing points of the ribs and proved in the case of the St. Peter and Paul church in Lutherstadt-Eisleben that the latter had the utmost importance during the construction process. Vidal (Vidal 2017) also used sexpartite vaults' exact geometry to examine the rib deformations. Fuentes and Huerta (Fuentes, Huerta 2016, 591) surveyed the crossed-arch vaults of the Mosque of Córdoba by laser total station and laser distance meter, and analysed the geometry and the construction method. Gonzalo and Talaverano (Gonzalo, Talaverano 2012) used a laser distance meter and laser total station for measuring the ribs of Spanish gothic vaults. Although Wiesneth (Wiesneth 2011) dealt with the architecture of Balthasar Neumann, his method accented greatly to the importance of the examination of the back of the vaults in the search for their building methods.

Literature review

About the construction of net vaults

Ribbed net vaults can be constructed in multiple ways, as presented in the early literature of the topic. The system of their presentation is often the way of their deduction from simpler vaults. Warth (Warth 1896) and Ungewitter (Ungewitter 1901) both differentiate four types, some of which are also presented by other authors. These are the following: deductible from cross-vaults (Warth 1896, 254-55; Ungewitter 1901, 63), deductible from fan vaults (Warth 1896, 257; de l'Orme 1567, 108), domical vault-like (Warth 1896, 258; Ungewitter 1901, 64-65), and barrel vault-like (Warth 1896, 258-60; Ungewitter 1901, 64) versions. In the latter three cases, the ribs' radius of the curvature can be chosen uniformly.¹

¹ However, the uniformity of the ribs' radius of the curvature is not a necessity, e.g. Warth (Warth 1896, 257) presents a solution for equal radius of

This uniform radius of the ribs, mostly known as "Prinzipalbogen", became the most generally accepted idea of the topic. (Müller 1990; Quien 2005; Tomlow 1991) The "Prinzipalbogen" method first appeared in the written sources in the 16th-century, in the manuscript of Jacob von Andernach (as quoted by Müller [Müller 1974, 65-66]). In the 17th century Ranisch (Ranisch 1695) described numerous examples of it, mainly following the domical vault-like construction. Hoffstadt (Hoffstadt 1840) also presented the idea. The latter two gave the basis of Ungewitter's above detailed, influential writing. (Pliego 2012, 218) In the 20th century, among others, Meckel (Meckel 1933, 108) introduced the method.

In the simplest case, the radius is half of the diagonal of the vault's plan (Ranisch 1695; Pliego 2017, 407), however, more difficult methods also existed, e.g. the principle of the longest route. This idea, meaning that the radius of the curvature is the longest continuous rib-route from the impost to the crown point, appeared in a 16th-century sketchbook from Dresden (as quoted by Bucher [Bucher 1972, 47]), as well as later in Hoffstadt's (Hoffstadt 1840, XIV.A/5), Ungewitter's (Ungewitter 1901, 67-68) and Meckel's (Meckel 1933, 108) works.

Regardless of the exact construction method, the aim was to standardize the ribs to be prefabricated, which accelerates the whole building process. (Renn *et al.* 2014, 71; Vidal 2017, 1007)

Although the "Prinzipalbogen" idea was opposed by certain researchers from the 19th century (e.g. Lassaulx in 1835 ascribed it to the insufficient knowledge in geometry in the case of Ranisch, as quoted by Wendland [Wendland 2012, 106]), it was the leading theory from the 16th to the 20th century. However, the importance of the vertical positioning of the crossing points of the ribs already appeared in the ideas where the junctions were fitted on a hemisphere or a hemicylinder surface (Ranisch 1695; Warth 1896, 258-259; Ungewitter 1901, 64)

The recent studies assign more and more significance to the question that supposedly

the fan vault based net vaults, while in de l'Orme (de l'Orme 1567, 108) the radii are different.

not all late gothic stellar and net vaults used the “Prinzipalbogen” theory. (Nußbaum, Lepsky 1999; Wendland 2010a) Müller (Müller 1975) claims that the different versions of the “Prinzipalbogen” theory only served the positioning of the rib crossings as precisely as possible (as quoted by Huth [Huth 2020, 27]). This positioning also plays a role in the weight transmission of the vault, since the imprecise shaping breaks the way of it. (Huth 2020, 58) Wendland (Wendland 2010b, 30) proved that in the case of the cell vaults of the castle of Trebsen, the curvature of the groins was not uniform, however, the positioning of their crossings showed the utmost precision.

The proof that the building of a ribbed stellar vault could be started by positioning its rib junctions can be found in the 16th-century tractate of Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón, as quoted by Huerta and Vidal (Huerta 2012, 173; Vidal 2017, 1006-07). According to Wendland (Wendland 2010b, 30-31), although we only have limited data about the exact geometry of the late medieval stellar and net vaults, it is highly possible that the phenomenon was widespread. Huth (Huth 2020) draws our attention to the idea that the main aim of scanning and analysing these vaults could be to find the relation between these two above presented construction methods. *E.g.* Voigts (Voigts 2015, 56-57) showed that in the case of the Georgskirche in Augsburg, a combination of the two was applied: the main ribs followed the “Prinzipalbogen” idea, however, their crossing points were carefully positioned, and meanwhile the subordinate ribs do not follow the prime construction methods.

About the building methods of net vaults

Building the late gothic net vaults was a great technical achievement, especially since the theory of statics was not nearly developed enough at the time to design these structures on a scientific basis.² Even so, the “scientia” of vault construction existed as an empirical, iterative process based on observations and on the intuitive judgement of the behaviour of the inner force system. (Heymann 1995, 141; Huerta 2012, 164)

² These methods only started to be discovered in the 17th century and applied in the 18th. (Huerta 2012, 163)

However, the exact vaulting methods are not known anymore. Only a very few contemporaneous sources are known, mainly from the late gothic period. (Huerta 2012, 164) Presumably the practical knowledge spread in oral form from master to disciple. (Lassaulx 1829, 328) It is also likely that they used models to present the structures, design the geometry and examine the stability. (Fitchen 1961, 302; Heymann 1995, 141) In the 19th century, numerous descriptions were made about these techniques; however, they are neither detailed enough, nor sufficiently consistent to fully reproduce the original method. Supposedly they only served as implementations of the formerly known artisan traditions which are not living anymore. (Wendland 2007, 312; Wendland 2012, 93) Thus, to research the principles of this “scientia”, our primary sources must be the buildings. (Huerta 2012, 164)

The most significant advantage of the ribs in a vault is that much less formwork is required. (Fitchen 1961, 88) The building methods changed accordingly. In Hontañón’s work mentioned above, the plan of the rib system was projected to the required height by vertical posts from an elevated wooden level placed in the height of the “tas-de-charge”. After placing the junction elements, the centrings of the arches were inlaid, and the ribs were built on those. (Huerta 2012, 173)

A slightly different method, presented by Ungewitter (Ungewitter 1901, 43 and fig.104-7) was to adjust the junction elements by a pole system built on the setting form of the plan. In this system, there are two basic rules: every junction point must be above a plan assigned by the lower endpoints of the ribs of which higher endpoint is the junction, and every junction point must be supported by at least three ribs positioned in a way that in any half-space determined by any vertical plane traversing the given point is at least one supporting rib.

The latter two methods prioritise the positioning of the rib crossings, however, uniform rib curvatures can also be used. Yet there are methods, where the primer basis is the “Prinzipalbogen”, using centres (wooden arches) to mark out the primer geometry of the rib system. Fitchen (Fitchen 1961, 119, fig. 46) presents the development of these.

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However, Voigts (Voigts 2021, 81-82) claims, that the structures shown are only suitable to the vaults of the great French cathedrals, but not to those of the German late gothic. In the latter case, ribs narrow significantly to the bottom, so they require a slightly different structure, composed of two parallel planks, which are also needed for building the crossing points of the wooden arches (which are also to be supported by vertical elements). (Voigts 2015, 57-58) Thus, Voigts (Voigts 2015, Voigts 2021) claims that this method is basically the same as presented in Hontañón's work.

A less widespread idea is that in the case of those net vaults where the ribs abut to the surface of a barrel vault, this theoretic barrel vault was built in a physical form (*e.g.* gappy wooden surface), and it can serve as a support during the building of the ribs, as well as the webbing.

The theories detailed up to now all agree in the principle that the rib system was built first, and the webbing after, as described first by Saunders in 1814 and specified later by Willis in 1842 (as quoted by Wendland [Wendland 2007, 342]). Ungewitter (Ungewitter 1901, 37) also accents this as the main difference between the barrel and net vaults. However, a theory claims that some net vaults³ are in the structural sense barrel vaults with a decorative rib net subsequently attached to them. This idea also appeared regarding the vault discussed in more detail in the present paper and the other vaults of the South-Transylvanian area. (Fabini 1999) To differentiate the pseudo ribbed vaults and the real ribbed vaults, the most expedient way is to analyse the vault's exact geometry. One of the first attempts to represent the conjunction between the ribs and the webbing in drawing can be seen in Choisy (Choisy 1883, 54, fig. 60), as quoted by Javier (Javier 2012, 201). This empiric method to describe surfaces (Wendland 2007, 345) was used by Rave in

1955 (as quoted by Wendland [Wendland 2007, 345]), and in Voigts (Voigts 2014, 247; Voigts 2021, 81).⁴

The material of the ribs may also influence the building technique, as Pliego (Pliego 2012, 220) and Szöke (Szöke 2012, 207-8) mention that presumably the ceramic ribs were built simultaneously with the webs, while the stone ribs were built fully prior to the webbing. However, we claim that the first method would cause unnecessarily big loads on the wooden centrings⁵, without providing any advantages, since they do not make possible the employment of any different junction methods between the two elements. What is more, regarding that the centrings are never fully rigid structures (Mainstone 1997, 319 and 329), and their weakest points are the junctions of their elements, this method would cause a necessity for a more robust wooden structure, and a higher risk during the building process.

For constructing the webbing, basically two methods existed: building it on a formwork or building it from freehand. The first means a boarding between the ribs, and the courses are built on it. (Voigts 2021, 78) Its main characteristic is that the surface of the web is nearly flat (Wendland 2007, 342), and that the webs could sink during the building process as the planks start to bend under the weight of the web. (Schuller 2016, 474) The latter method could be done due to the late gothic's smaller webs, resulting in a faster building process. (Lassaulx 1829, 324; Wendland 2007, 311) Freehand vaulting can be done either using a centre (Viollet-le-Duc 1854-68, fig.58; Ungewitter 1901, 117) or without that (Lassaulx 1829, 325). In this case, all courses are self-supporting (Voigts 2021, 79) which requires sufficient curvature of each. (Wendland 2007, 314) However, as Voigts

³ Usually the net vaults with ceramic or stucco ribs, however, while in the latter case the ribs are surely incapable of supporting loads, in the case of ceramic ribs, the question cannot be decided that simply. Császár (Császár 1987-88, 156-57) examines the topic based on the pattern of the net system, not on its material.

⁴ The mapping of a vault also can show the slight deformations of the webs, which can lead to conclusions about the formwork, as in Voigts (Voigts 2014, 248).

⁵ The stability of the structure in each phase of the building process is crucial. (Huerta 2012, 163) Providing it with the properly chosen building order was also discussed by Choisy [Choisy 1899, 338]) as quoted by Huerta (Huerta 2012, 180). Building the webs simultaneously also served this purpose (Wendland 2007, 323).

(Voigts 2014, 250; Voigts 2021, 80-81) showed, the combination of the two main methods was also used, in every web using the more suitable.

About the load distribution in the structure

The question of load distribution between the ribs and the webbing is often discussed together with the questions of the building methods (e.g. Ungewitter 1901) However, according to the newest research, the load-bearing characteristics of the real net vaults cannot be described as a permanent state. It is not likely that only the ribs transmit the loads or that only the webbing does. The direction of the load transmission does not follow the pattern of the ribs, as claimed in Heyman (Heyman 1995, 107). The masonry structures have multiple equilibrium states. (Heyman 1995, 20-22; Huerta 2012, 183) According to the latest computer models, the loads distribute between the two elements, holding a dynamic equilibrium, so they rearrange even due to the slightest displacement of the supports. (Lengyel, Bagi 2015, 58) The real load distribution is hard to remodel; even the results of finite element and discrete element software must be compared to the real cracking pattern of the vault to verify them. (Bruggi *et al.* 2021)

Thus, the construction and building method of the vault and its building order concluded from its exact geometry do not determine its load-bearing characteristics. Therefore, in the present study, we do not attempt to make statements about this question.

The schematic building history of the fortified church of Băgaciu

The first building period of the church of Băgaciu was supposedly an early gothic basilica, which was rebuilt in the first quarter of the 15th century, around 1421. The remains of the 15th century period are the sanctuary and its vault and the walls of the nave. (Fabini 1999, 79-80) A keystone is also known, supposedly from the nave's cross vault of this building period. (Bóna *et al.* 2019) Around the year 1500, the church was fortified, the sanctuary and the nave were supplemented with a machicolation⁶ (Fabini 1999, 80),

+11,07 m above floor level. (Krähling, Fehér 2009, 152). According to the literature, the vault of the nave, the subject of the present paper also belongs to this period, although the date on the wooden shield integrated into the vault is 1650. (Fabini 1999, 81) In 1766, the machicolation above the nave was torn down. (Fabini 1999, 81) The chamber before the south entrance of the apsis was built in 1864. (Fabini 1999, 81) After that last modification, the church's historic load-bearing structure was only occasionally renovated until our days.

The vault of the nave in the church of Băgaciu

The vault of the nave is defined in the literature as a "fraction-lined paired ribbed cross-net vault". (Szőke 2009b, 73)⁷ The church is part of a group known as the South-Transylvanian ceramic ribbed vaulted churches, which vaults are usually regarded as uniformly constructed. (Szőke 2009b, 72)

The vault being quite irregularly built is visible to the naked eye.⁸ This ceramic ribbed vault does not have any rib junction element; the rib elements are sculptured accordingly at the two ends. Szőke (Szőke 2009b, 72) claims that these elements were made with a pattern or by pressing. The springs start from floating pillars. The overall form of the webbing resembles a barrel vault with lunettes (the exact definition see below).

For easier understanding, we marked the crossing points of the ribs with numbers (transversally: 1-21) and letters (longitudinally: A-I). Thus, as an example, A1 means the southwest corner of the nave, and E2 is the first crown point from the west. We also established five rib-categories as the following (Fig. 2): "Lunette arches" are the ribs by the junction of the lunettes to the barrel vault. "Long cross arches" are the ribs

on the nave and the sanctuary was a common practice in the area in the 15th century. (Vătăşianu 1986, 24)

⁷ This characteristic makes it similar to the vaults of Moşna (see also Salontai 2021, 327), Movile, Aţel and Mediaş.

⁸ The less sophisticated construction can be regarded as a characteristic of the ceramic ribbed vaults in South-Transylvania, as opposed to the stone ribbed ones. (Szőke 2009b, 73)

⁶ In the case of fortified churches, not only building a wall around the building, but also a machicolation

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perpendicular to the axis of the vault, starting from the imposts, while “*short cross arches*” start from the upper crossing of the lunette arches. “*Long crown arches*” are the ribs ending on the crown line and starting from the long cross arches, while “*short crown arches*” start from the short cross arches.

The conjunction between the ribs and the webbing

The conjunction of the ribs and the webbing is a controversial topic among the researchers of ceramic ribbed vaults. Fabini (Fabini 1999) claims that these vaults are barrel vaults with lunettes, and the ribs serve only decorative ends, while Szőke (Szőke 2009b) thinks that they are real net vaults, so the webs are built on the ribs.⁹

To judge this conjunction, we mapped the point cloud of the back of the vault and drew its level lines. The horizontal sections were allocated 25 cm to each other (Fig. 3). After projecting the plan of the rib net under the level lines we found that the vault’s surface is not a regular barrel vault, and that the bumps are following the pattern of the ribs.

To present this statement even more explicitly, we generated longitudinal sections through the crown line (Fig. 9), and three additional ones on each side, as well as diagonally through crown webs (Fig. 4). The sections also show the unambiguous bumps of the webbing. Thus, we see it proved that the vault is a real net vault since there is an organic correlation between the webbing and the vault’s ribs, as opposed to being a separate barrel vault with a decorative rib net built underneath it.

However, this does not determine the order of the building of these two elements. The primacy of either element is possible regarding structural reasons.¹⁰ To guess the order, we

measured the distance of the underside of the rib and the junction point of the rib and the webs in three points per rib (near the two endpoints and in the middle), on randomly chosen ribs of the vault (as presented in Table 1). The significant difference of the measurement would suggest that the curvature of the rib and of the groin of the webs is different, since the webbing was built first and the prefabricated ceramic ribs afterwards.¹¹ However, the measurements showed insignificant dispersion.¹² (Keep in mind that the Leica BLK laser scanner is only capable of 4 mm nominal accuracy in 10 m distance, which in this case can cause 1-2 cm inaccuracy. [Krähling, Fehér 2019, 147] This, in addition to the imprecision of the 16th-century building technique makes the range, above which we derive conclusions, around 4–5 cm.)

Thus, the webbing and the ribs have the same character of anomalies, and with the present measurements we showed that they are highly interrelated even considering only one rib. Assuming that building such a complex barrel vault is impossible, it seems that the rib system was built first - since it is simpler to build – and it determines the anomalies of the webbing. So examining the regularities or irregularities of the rib system is of high priority.

The overall form of the vault

As above mentioned, the overall form of the webbing resembles an arched barrel vault with lunettes. Further analysis of the exact geometry showed that the rib crossings on the crowning line of the vault fall on a line determined by the midpoints of the shorter walls of the nave (Fig. 5). (Therefore, the line is not perpendicular to these walls, but includes a 3° angle with them. Also, the direction parallel to the long walls of the nave is hard to define, as these walls are intensely curved towards the inside of the church.)

⁹ Vătăşianu does not refer to the church of Băgaciu, however, the nave vault of Moşna, which is similarly structured to that of Băgaciu, is considered a real net vault in his works. (Vătăşianu 1986, 442)

¹⁰ The many existing examples of cell vaults show that a system consisting only of vault caps is stable. However, according to historical and experimental evidence, the ribs help immensely to make the link by the groin of the vault during the building process. (Theodossopoulos, 2008 p.6)

¹¹ In this case, such a difference would surely appear, regarding the imprecise appearance of the whole net vault.

¹² Where the dispersion is slightly bigger, the explanation seems to be the disunity of the surface of the ribs.

After analysing the cross-sections of the vault, created through every rib crossing point on the crown line (Fig. 6), we made the following conclusions in regard to the shape drawn by the undersides of the rib system: The shape of one side of the section cannot be determined by one arched line. Every cross-section differs from the theoretical regular pointed arch shape in a different way, meaning all deformations are local in the vault. Since the long walls of the nave are curved in the height of the vault (but not on the ground level), a wooden model of the even barrel vault shape cannot be placed in a way that allows the starting of the ribs from the same required height in every impost point.

Thus, we concluded that the even barrel vault shape determining the aimed form of the vault never existed in a physical form (e.g. a gappy wooden model).

The construction of the rib net

To figure out how the rib net was built, we analysed the form of each individual rib. We measured the radius of the curvature, the projected length to the plan, the arch length, and the chord length.¹³

The analysis of the curvatures of the ribs

As we studied the curvature of the ribs, we concluded that the radius of the curvature is not uniform throughout the vault. However, we found that the ribs can be separated into five groups within each the curvatures differ only in an insignificant range (as presented in

Table 2 and Fig. 7).¹⁴

According to our measurements, in the case of the lunette arches and the long cross arches, the curvatures can be regarded as uniform. In the case of the short cross arches, on the northern half of the vault the ribs belong to only two different groups, however, the same elements on the southern side show no sign of consistency. In the case of the long cross arches, the distribution of the ribs between the groups is not consistent, but the equivalent ribs on the two sides of the crown line most often belong to the same group. The short crown arches do not show consistency at all. In conclusion, the northern side of the vault is more orderly than the southern one (explanation see later). Thus, we concluded that the construction of the nave vault of Băgaciu is not based on the “Prinzipalbogen” theory. Notwithstanding that, the advantages of the typization of the ribs still could be of benefit.

The analysis of the ribs’ projected length to the plan

Since we proved that the “Prinzipalbogen” theory did not play a role in the examined vault, it seemed plausible that the spatial situation of the rib crossing points may play a crucial role. The simplest way to do that would be, as described by Huerta (Huerta 2012, 173), to mark out the plan of the rib net, and to project the points to the suitable heights.

However, the plan of the rib net is highly irregular (Fig. 7). Such a design usually starts from the crown line to the direction of the walls (Szöke 2009, 105), but the distances of rib crossings on this line are not even approximately equal (Fig. 5). Furthermore, the projected lengths of the ribs show more evenness near the walls than near the crown line.

In addition to this, the rib crossings congruous with each other in the longitudinal direction do not fall to one line, as the western points are quite distant from the line allocated by those located on the eastern side. In the cross direction, the points do not fall to one line at

¹³ We aimed for the most accurate measurements possible. The dispersion in the measured values can be caused by the inaccuracy of the laser scanner, the initial faults in the fabricating method, the junction of the individual rib elements, the little uncertainty in the establishing of the crossing points of the ribs, as well as the deterioration of the ribs since the 16th-century. However, as Vidal (Vidal 2017, 1009) proved by experiential method, regardless of the deterioration, the curvature of the ribs can be found with a high probability. It is also to be noted that in the case of the vault of Băgaciu, the rib elements did not back away from each other or accumulate together as a result of posterior building movements. Thus, we claim that our measurements are appropriate for the analysis to be done.

¹⁴ There are three ribs (A1-B3, D3-E4 and E18-F19) which cannot be classified either of them, out of which A1-B3 does not have a single curvature as it has a fracture in it.

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all (Fig. 5). However, it is also to be noted that the imposts on the northern side adjust perfectly to the position of the buttresses, while on the southern side we cannot conclude the same.¹⁵ Thus, the basis of the construction could not be the plan of a consistent two-dimensional rib net.

The analysis of the arch length and the chord length of the ribs

Because of their geometric relations, the numerical values of the arch and chord lengths are quite close to each other. According to our measurements (as presented in Table 3), the lunette arches and the long cross arches, apart from one value in the latter case (A5C5), gave the two most homogenous value groups. The long crown arches still show a quite high degree of uniformity, however with more differing values, and with slightly bigger dispersion than the previous two groups. In the case of the short cross arches, we observed a tendency that the values are decreasing from east to west, on both sides of the vault. The short crown arches on the northern side have quite uniform arch and chord lengths. These values can be classed in two subcategories, both of which have an acceptable dispersion. In addition to these, we also noted that on the southern side of the vault the arch and chord length categories are used miscellaneously among the short cross arches and the short crown arches (Fig. 8).

To clarify whether the arch length or the chord length was used during the original construction, we could decide based on the building method. As stated above, the model of the even barrel vault shape never existed in a physical form. Therefore, the arch length could not be used (*e.g.* measured with a cord or rope), but the chord length is suitable for employment (as explained below).¹⁶

¹⁵ We suppose that the southern gate building is rigid enough transversely that it can support the lateral pressure of the vault, and works as a wide buttress-system.

¹⁶ In addition, in the case of nearly all groups, the distribution of the chord length values proved to be slightly smaller than those of the arch length values.

The rediscovered construction method of the vault

Interpreting our above-detailed observations, we concluded the original construction method of the nave vault of the church, which is the following:

The vault's rib-crossings were marked out on its final localization, in the final height. The reason for that is most probably the fact that the builders had to adapt to the existing above-mentioned deformity of the nave walls. Adjusting to these given directions would not be possible otherwise.

The allocation of the crown line can be determined by the midpoints of the short walls of the nave. The distance of the crown line and the endpoint of the further lines on the eastern short wall are equal in the case of all pairs (B and H, C and G, D and F) (Fig. 5). Also, regarding the longitudinal sections, all of these lines slant to the west (Fig. 9), and in this projection are parallel to each other (but not on the plan projection!). We claim that the plans of B, C, and D lines were marked to be parallel to the eastern side of the southern wall, and F, G and H to the eastern side of the northern wall.¹⁷

In practice, this can be done on an elevated wooden level in the height of the imposts, with extended cords or ropes. After marking the directions, a wooden scaffolding can be built, to "elevate" the line to the desired height¹⁸ (see above in detail). Thus, we suppose that the whole elevated level was slanted, therefore all the lines also slanted to the same extent.¹⁹ This method is quite like those presented by Hontañon (as quoted by Huerta and Vidal

¹⁷ Clearly, the endpoints do not relate to the crown line on the west side the same way as on the east. B, C and D are parallel to each other, but not to E, F, G and H, just as F, G and H are parallel to each other, but not to E, B, C and D.

¹⁸ The reason why the ropes could not be stretched in this height instantly is that they would lop over in such a distance as the length of the nave.

¹⁹ According to some opinions among researchers, the pillars of the imposts are the remains of the former nave vaults. Since the impost points show the exact same slant as the other lines, in this case the wooden level was built adjusted to the given points, so the slant comes from the former building period.

[Huerta 2012, 173; Vidal 2017, 1006-07]), however, here the plan must fit the existing supporting wall structure of former periods, as opposed to the regular geometrical pattern.

The impost points, either as the remains of the former vault or as points adjusted to the position of the buttresses on the northern side of the church, served as the starting point to mark out the direction of the ribs. We could detect the strive for using equal chord lengths springing from the impost. Using the desired chord lengths (e.g. in the form of a wooden plank or pole, or a cord or rope), the crossing points could be marked out on the axis of the same type of crossing points. Since the line determined by the imposts and the longitudinal crown line are not parallel to each other, the method - applying uniform chord lengths - is the main reason why the rib system seems to be irregular, even if it has a well-elaborated geometry behind it. With this method marking out the geometry also means building the wooden frame of the vault at the same time - similarly to the method shown in Ungewitter (Ungewitter 1901, 43 and fig. 104-7). These wooden elements could be used as a support for the centrings on which later the arches could be placed during the building process.

Measuring the chord lengths started from the northern lunette arches and northern long cross arches, as deduced from the regularity of the used length values, the points on the G and H lines were defined, followed by the long crown arches, which marked the points on the crown line. After that, the construction of the northern side could be finished with the short cross lines and the short crown lines. Therefore, the more irregular length values of the latter two are explained by the circumstance that they had to be fitted in between the previously allocated elements and lines.

On the southern side of the vault, the starting points were given by the wall²⁰, as well as on

the crown line. On this side, the lunette arches and the long crown arches were to be allocated first. (It is to be noted that the B line is not straight, but it follows the curvature of the southern wall, thus the marking of the lunette arches started from the imposts. On the other hand, the ribs must meet on the crown line.) The significantly bigger dispersion in the values of the long cross arch lengths on this side can be explained that way, since the rib had to fit between two given points. Just as on the other side, the short cross and crown arches were the last. The fact that those ribs had the less consistent lengths is because they follow from all the other inaccuracies in the whole rib system.

Our further claim is that the construction of the vault may have begun from the east to the west on each side of the vault. As mentioned above, the southern wall is quite curved, therefore on the western side of the nave, the lines and the wall have expressly different directions. Additionally, the points nearest to the western wall on each line do not fall exactly on the line determined by all the other points. Consequently, on the southeast side of the vault, the A5, C5 and E4 points were marked out by the above-detailed method, however, the points nearer to the corner were simply placed as accurately as they could be, regardless of the proper construction method. This also explains that the A1-B3 rib is deformed in its plan, as well as in its side view.

Further proof of the east-west direction of the construction is that the first two southern short cross ribs on the eastern side have the same length as the short cross ribs of the northern side, but the further ones' lengths had to be adjusted, as the lunette arches and the crown arches got to be further from each other due to the curvature of the wall. The C1 and G1 points differ from the other ones in their height position, as well as in their plan position due to the necessity to reach the nave wall.

It is to be noted that the above detailed slightly accidental directions of both groups of the cross ribs also proves this method since these sideward corrections gave the opportunity to make the ribs meet the desirable way in every

²⁰ It is either because the pillars were given from the former vault, or because of the buttresses, although in the given state of the building the southern buttresses and the southern imposts do not correspond to each other perfectly, since it is highly possible, that the southern buttresses were relocated at a point. The masonry of the wall cannot be examined from the inside to decide this question,

because there are precious paintings on it. (Drăguț 1979; Jékely, Bóna 2019)

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crossing point. The position of the G5 point also supports this claim, since it is far from its ideal place both on the plan and the cross-section; however it fits perfectly on the longitudinal section, and in its chord length. As this method uses the latter two to determine the positions of the points, but not the first two, it shows that our theory is applicable.

In conclusion, based on the exact geometry of the vault a consistent explanation can be given for the method of building the nave vault of the church of Băgaciu. The basis of this method is to allocate the crossing points of the ribs. However, the utmost importance of the explored methodology lays in the fact that the whole allocation process started from the given geometry of the former building periods, thus the method used became a unique, locality-specific one.

The irregularities of the construction also prove the presented method. Supposedly, installing the vault in between the formerly built walls with this method made possible a more iterative construction method. Adjusting every step to the circumstances results in that every adjustment is rather small, as opposed to a big adjustment at the end of the process (e.g. an ideal rib pattern drawn in plan starting from the middle axis results in a very accidental connection to the walls). Overall, the global view of the nave vault is less disorganized this way. (See the building method on Fig. 10.)

The building method of the webbing

After completing the rib system, supposedly the wooden structure and the centrings did not get removed until the webbing was also finished. This way the ribs were additionally supported during the building process when e.g. one-sided loading and other complementary impacts could occur (Fitchen 1961, 262). This is particularly useful in the case of ceramic ribs. (Szöke 2009a, 105)

The webbing was built after the rib system, in a highly interrelated way with it. The examination of its building method requires a detailed analysis, which is not allowed by the extent of this paper, and will be the subject of further research.

Conclusion

The primary result of our research is finding

how the 16th-century nave vault of the fortified church of Băgaciu was constructed, based on its exact geometry. We found that the construction method was principally influenced by the given geometry of the former building periods, and therefore, a quite unique way was applied.

- The construction of the rib system was prior to those of the webbing, as opposed to some former claims about this vault.
- The main construction principle was the spatial orientation of the rib crossings, and the “Prinzipalbogen” method does not apply to this vault.
- The construction of the vault took place at its final height in the nave, considering the geometry of the nave given from the former building periods.
- The construction of the vault was realized three-dimensionally, as opposed to projecting up the plan of the rib system, as the widespread methods work.
- Although the curvature of the ribs is not uniform, meaning that the “Prinzipalbogen” method does not apply, they can be classified into quite homogenous groups, so the advantages of the prefabrication could be used.

The most important aspect of this research is the locality-specific construction method of the vault. It is highly possible that this factor had not only in this individual case the utmost influence on the net vault building. Further research is necessary to find these more unique ways of the late mediaeval vault design processes.

In the case of the South-Transylvanian 15–16th-century ceramic ribbed net vaults (Szöke 2009b, 72), our results may question their uniformity. A research based on the here presented methodology could also provide a further understanding about this group, in particular about their builders, based on the differences in the applied construction methods. Such research may complement other considerations, such as the shape of certain details or rather unclear written sources (as presented by Salontai [Salontai 2021], in the case of Moşna and Cristian) about this group of buildings.

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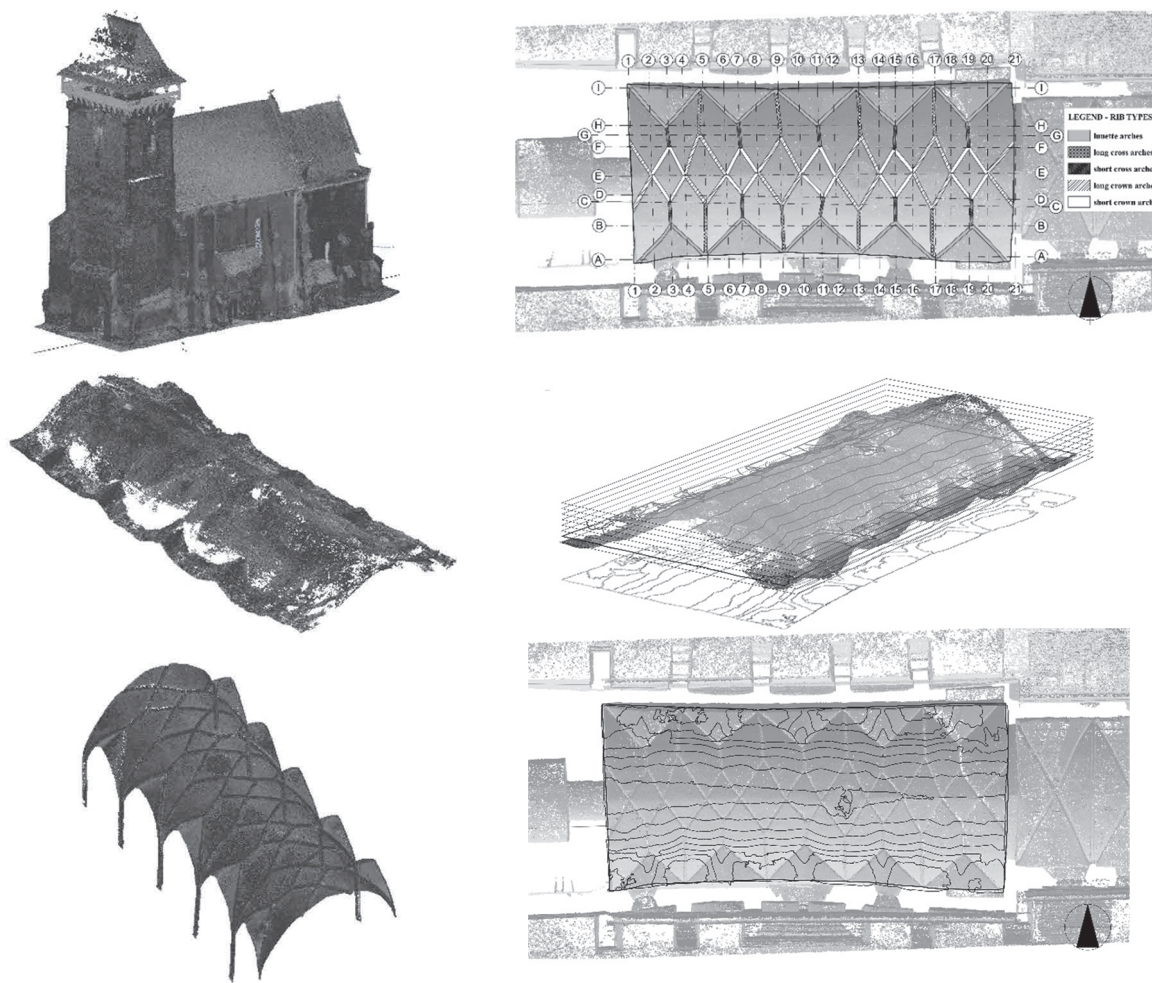


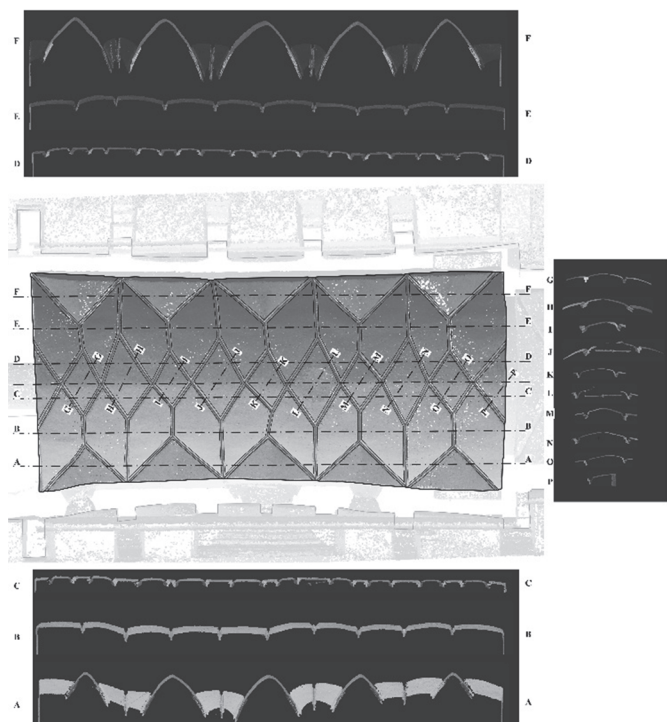
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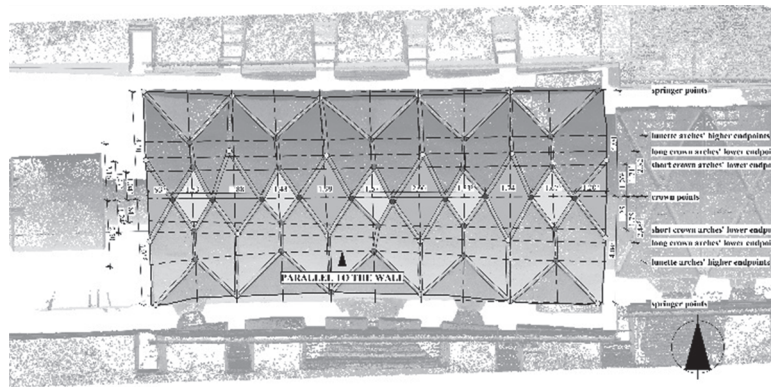


Fig. 5. The lines determining the rib system on plan. The discrepancy of the ribs' crossing points from the "ideal" positions.

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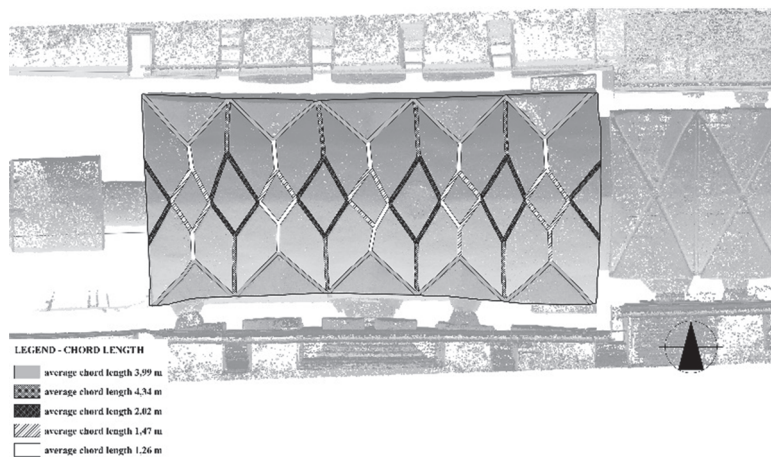
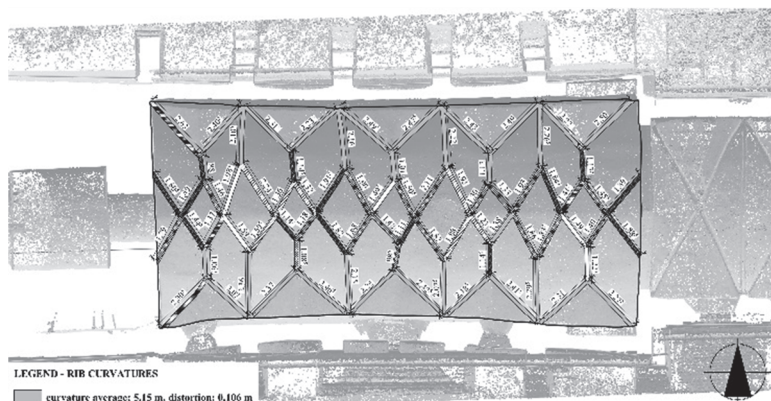
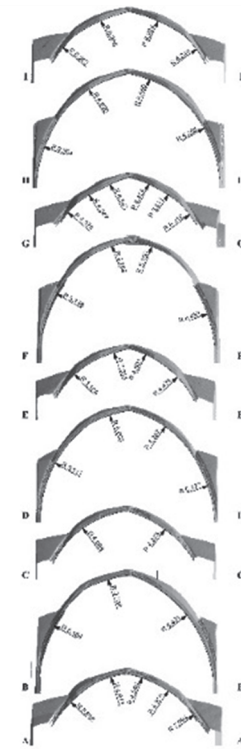


Fig. 7. The length of the ribs' projected picture to the plan. The classification of the ribs according to their curvatures.

Fig. 8. The chord length of the ribs.

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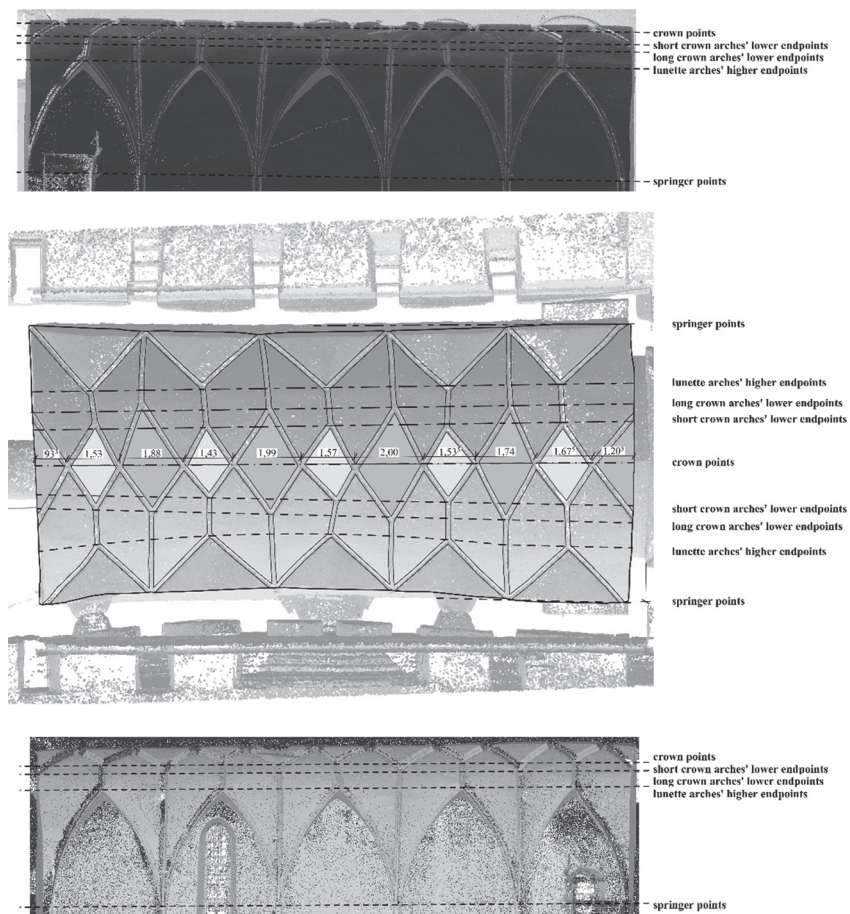


Fig. 9. Longitudinal sections through the crown line.

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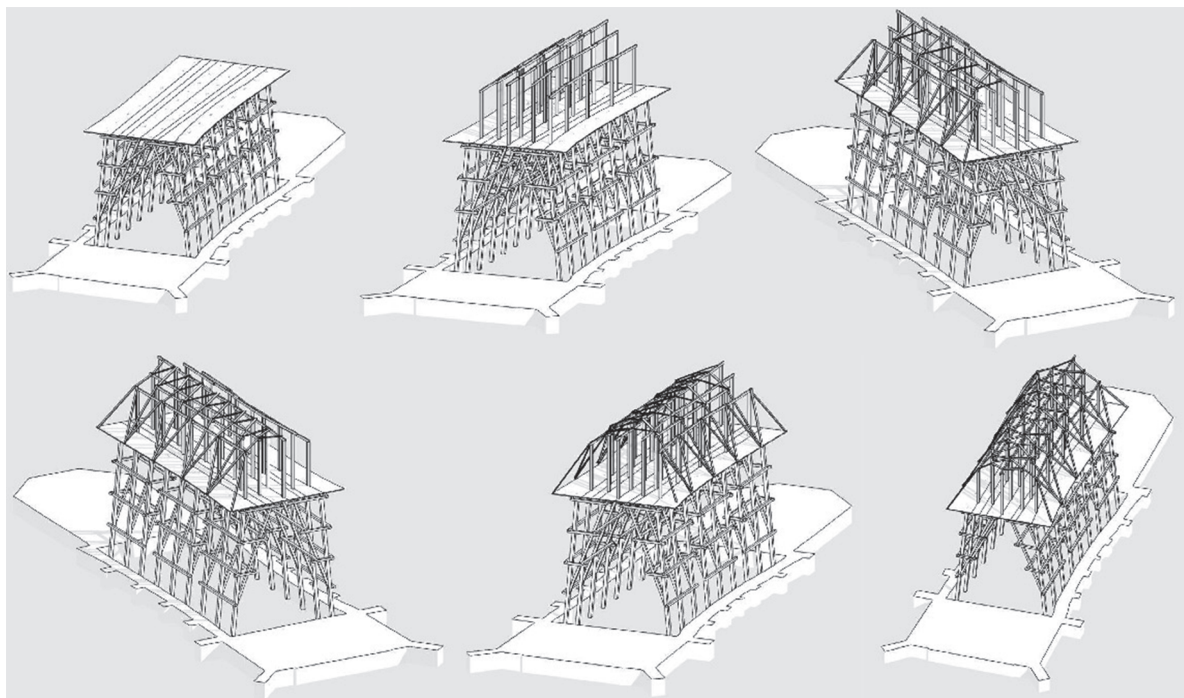


Table 1. The distance of the underside of the rib and the junction point of the rib and the webs in the case of randomly selected ribs, in three points per rib. Legend of the measurement points: .11: lowest marked point, left side; .12 lowest marked point, right side; .21: middle marked point, left side; .22 middle marked point, right side; .31: highest marked point, left side; .32 highest marked point, right side. "n.m.": not measurable.

Rib signs	.11 [cm]	.12 [cm]	.21 [cm]	.22 [cm]	.31 [cm]	.32 [cm]	average left side (AL)	deviation left side (DL)	average right side (AR)	deviation on right side (DR)
A9B7	15,7	17,2	16,1	17,2	19,8	18,2	17,20	2,26	17,53	0,58
A9B11	17,4	17,4	16,8	15,9	17,6	19,1	17,27	0,42	17,47	1,60
B3D3	17,7	15,9	17,3	16,5	17,7	17,3	17,57	0,23	16,57	0,70
B11D11	13,5	16,9	16,5	18,1	16,2	17,5	15,40	1,65	17,50	0,60
A5C5	15,6	15,3	15,9	16,6	18,1	18,0	16,53	1,37	16,63	1,35
A13C13	14,5	13,3	16,5	16	17,2	17,5	16,07	1,40	15,60	2,13
C5E4	17,9	15,4	18,0	15,9	17,9	16,1	17,93	0,06	15,80	0,36
C5E6	16,8	18,0	16,2	18,1	16,2	18,2	16,40	0,35	18,10	0,10
D11E10	16,5	14,3	18,0	15,1	16,2	15,3	16,90	0,96	14,90	0,53
D11E12	15,9	18,1	17,3	15,2	16,5	17,5	16,57	0,70	16,93	1,53
I13H11	17,3	16,6	15,8	17,0	16,4	19,7	16,50	0,76	17,77	1,69
I13H15	n.m.	17,3	15,2	18,3	17,6	17,4	16,40	1,70	17,67	0,55
H11F11	15,0	14,8	17,6	16,2	18,2	17,3	16,93	1,70	16,10	1,25
H19F19	16,8	16,0	18,1	17,3	18,8	16,5	17,90	1,02	16,60	0,66
I13G13	15,4	12,9	16,7	15,9	17,9	16,1	16,67	1,25	14,97	1,79
I17G17	n.m.	n.m.	15,5	16,0	17,2	17,0	16,35	1,20	16,50	0,71
G5E4	16,3	17,9	16,8	17,4	16,6	16,8	16,57	0,25	17,37	0,55
G5E6	18,0	15,5	18,6	17,2	18,8	15,0	18,47	0,42	15,90	1,15
F11E10	15,7	16,5	16,6	17,8	15,6	16,5	15,97	0,55	16,93	0,75
F11E12	17,1	16,2	18,0	16,6	16,9	15,6	17,33	0,59	16,13	0,50

Table 2. The radius of the curvature of the ribs. Legend of the rib classes: I: ribs which do not belong to any class; II: D=0,106 A=5,15 D/A=2,05%; III: D=0,129 A=6,07 D/A=2,12%; IV: D=0,189 A=6,62 D/A=2,86%; V: D=0,147 A=7,65 D/A=1,92%; VI: D=0,127 A=8,21 D/A=1,55%

Lunette arches							
Rib sign	Rib group	Curvature [m]	Side (N: north, S: south)	Rib sign	Rib group	Curvature [m]	Side (N: north, S: south)
H3-I1	I	cannot be interpreted	N	A1-B3	I	cannot be interpreted	S
H3-I5	II	5,21	N	A5-B3	II	5,26	S
H7-I5	II	5,19	N	A5-B7	II	5,14	S
H7-I9	II	5,16	N	A9-B7	II	5,07	S
H11-I9	II	5,00	N	A9-B11	II	5,20	S
H11-I13	II	5,09	N	A13-B11	II	5,06	S
H15-I13	II	5,09	N	A13-B15	II	5,14	S

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H15-I17	II	5,24	N	A17-B15	II	5,09	S
I17-H19	II	5,08	N	A17-B19	II	5,11	S
I21-H19	II	5,22	N	A21-B19	II	5,11	S
Deviation (D)		0,08	N	Deviation (D)		0,06	S
Average (A)		5,14	N	Average (A)		5,13	S
D/A		1,57%	N	D/A		1,25%	S
Total deviation-lunette arches (TD)						0,07	
Total average-lunette arches (TA)						5,14	
TD/TA						1,38%	
Short cross arches							
F3-H3	III	6,20	N	B3-D3	II	5,13	S
F7-H7	III	6,02	N	B7-D7	IV	6,55	S
F11-H11	II	5,06	N	B11-D11	IV	6,37	S
F15-H15	II	5,49	N	B15-D15	III	5,92	S
F19-H19	III	6,18	N	B19-D19	VI	8,18	S
Deviation (D)		0,50	N	Deviation (D)		1,12	S
Average (A)		5,79	N	Average (A)		6,43	S
D/A		8,62%	N	D/A		17,45%	S
Total deviation-short cross arches (TD)						0,89	
Total average-short cross arches (TA)						6,11	
TD/TA						14,49%	
Long cross arches							
G5-I5	II	5,22	N	A5-C5	II	5,29	S
G9-I9	II	4,96	N	A9-C9	II	5,31	S
G13-I13	II	5,13	N	A13-C13	II	5,12	S
G17-I17	II	5,02	N	A17-C17	II	5,08	S
Deviation (D)		0,12	N	Deviation (D)		0,12	S
Average (A)		5,08	N	Average (A)		5,20	S
D/A		2,27%	N	D/A		2,22%	S
Total deviation-long cross arches (TD)						0,12	
Total average-long cross arches (TA)						5,14	
TD/TA						2,41%	
Short crown arches							
E2-F3	III	5,82	N	D3-E2	III	6,20	S
E4-F3	IV	6,35	N	D3-E4	I	5,66	S
E6-F7	V	7,51	N	D7-E6	III	6,09	S
E8-F7	V	7,54	N	D7-E8	IV	6,57	S
E10-F11	VI	8,01	N	D11-E10	IV	6,50	S
E12-F11	IV	6,67	N	D11-E12	III	6,16	S
E14-F15	IV	6,52	N	D15-E14	V	7,86	S
E16-F15	IV	6,67	N	D15-E16	II	5,21	S
E18-F19	I	9,42	N	D19-E18	VI	8,26	S
E20-F19	IV	6,40	N	D19-E20	IV	6,55	S

Deviation (D)				Deviation (D)			
1,05				0,92			
N				S			
Average (A)				Average (A)			
7,09				6,51			
N				S			
D/A				D/A			
14,84%				14,21%			
N				S			
Total deviation-short crown arches (TD)				1,01			
Total average-short crown arches (TA)				6,80			
TD/TA				14,85%			
Long crown arches							
E2-G1	III	5,99	N	C1-E2	IV	6,42	S
E4-G5	VI	8,25	N	C5-E4	VI	8,35	S
E6-G5	V	7,61	N	C5-E6	V	7,59	S
E8-G9	III	5,93	N	C9-E8	III	6,16	S
E10-G9	IV	6,74	N	C9-E10	IV	6,77	S
E12-G13	IV	7,01	N	C13-E12	IV	6,87	S
E14-G13	V	7,58	N	C13-E14	V	7,86	S
E16-G17	IV	6,62	N	C17-E16	IV	6,70	S
E18-G17	III	6,25	N	C17-E18	IV	6,91	S
E20-G21	III	6,00	N	C21-E20	III	6,11	S
Deviation (D)				Deviation (D)			
0,80				0,74			
N				S			
Average (A)				Average (A)			
6,80				6,97			
N				S			
D/A				D/A			
11,81%				10,59%			
N				S			
Total deviation-long crown arches (TD)				0,76			
Total average-long crown arches (TA)				6,89			
TD/TA				10,98%			

Table 3. The arch and chord length of the ribs.

Lunette arches									
Rib sign	Sub-group	Arc length	Chord length	Side (N: north, S: south)	Rib sign	Sub-group	Arc length	Chord length	Side (N: north, S: south)
H3-I1	-	cannot be interpreted	3,98	N	A1-B3	-	cannot be interpreted	4,03	S
H3-I5	-	4,06	3,96	N	A5-B3	-	3,96	3,87	S
H7-I5	-	3,98	3,88	N	A5-B7	-	4,11	4,00	S
H7-I9	-	3,98	3,88	N	A9-B7	-	4,19	4,07	S
H11-I9	-	4,16	4,04	N	A9-B11	-	4,08	3,97	S
H11-I13	-	4,17	4,06	N	A13-B11	-	4,19	4,07	S
H15-I13	-	4,12	4,01	N	A13-B15	-	3,96	3,86	S
H15-I17	-	4,17	4,09	N	A17-B15	-	4,20	4,09	S
I17-H19	-	4,04	3,94	N	A17-B19	-	4,10	4,02	S
I21-H19	-	4,16	4,05	N	A21-B19	-	4,10	3,99	S

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B19									
Total average-lunette arches (TA)							4,096	3,993	
Total deviation-lunette arches (TD)							0,083	0,074	
TD/TA							2,03%	1,86%	
Short cross arches									
F3-H3	A	1,12	1,12	N	B3-D3	A	1,25	1,25	S
F7-H7	A	1,33	1,32	N	B7-D7	A	1,33	1,33	S
F11-H11	A	1,17	1,17	N	B11-D11	A	1,25	1,25	S
F15-H15	A	1,33	1,33	N	B15-D15	B	1,42	1,41	S
F19-H19	A	1,36	1,35	N	B19-D19	B	1,45	1,44	S
Total average-short cross arches (TA)							1,301	1,296	
Total deviation-short cross arches (TD)							0,104	0,100	
TD/TA (Group A)							8,00%	7,75%	
Group A average-short cross arches (TA)							1,268	1,264	
Group A deviation-short cross arches (TD)							0,086	0,083	
TD/TA							6,81%	6,60%	
Group B average-short cross arches (TA)							1,435	1,425	
Group B deviation-short cross arches (TD)							0,021	0,021	
TD/TA (Group B)							1,48%	1,49%	
Long cross arches									
G5-I5	-	4,35	4,23	N	A5-C5	-	4,67	4,52	S
G9-I9	-	4,4	4,26	N	A9-C9	-	4,5	4,37	S
G13-I13	-	4,49	4,35	N	A13-C13	-	4,4	4,27	S
G17-I17	-	4,48	4,34	N	A17-C17	-	4,53	4,38	S
Total average-long cross arches (TA)							4,478	4,340	
Total deviation-long cross arches (TD)							0,099	0,091	
TD/TA							2,21%	2,10%	
Short crown arches									
E2-F3	C	1,50	1,50	N	D3-E2	C	1,54	1,54	S
E4-F3	C	1,51	1,5	N	D3-E4	C	1,4	1,39	S
E6-F7	C	1,42	1,41	N	D7-E6	D	1,18	1,18	S
E8-F7	C	1,41	1,41	N	D7-E8	D	1,24	1,24	S
E10-F11	C	1,55	1,55	N	D11-E10	C	1,51	1,51	S
E12-F11	C	1,56	1,55	N	D11-E12	D	1,14	1,14	S
E14-F15	C	1,39	1,38	N	D15-E14	D	1,29	1,29	S
E16-F15	C	1,42	1,42	N	D15-E16	C	1,4	1,40	S
E18-F19	C	1,48	1,48	N	D19-E18	C	1,53	1,53	S
E20-F19	C	1,52	1,51	N	D19-E20	C	1,43	1,43	S
Total average-short cross arches (TA)							1,421	1,418	
Total deviation-short cross arches (TD)							0,123	0,122	

TD/TA						8,64%	8,61%
Group C average-short cross arches (TA)						1,473	1,469
Group C deviation-short cross arches (TD)						0,061	0,062
TD/TA (Group C)						4,17%	4,20%
Group D average-short cross arches (TA)						1,213	1,211
Group D deviation-short cross arches (TD)						0,066	0,065
TD/TA (Group D)						5,44%	5,40%
Long crown arches							
E2-G1	-	1,99	1,98		C1-E2	-	1,93 1,93 S
E4-G5	-	2,08	2,08	N	C5-E4	-	2,07 2,07 S
E6-G5	-	2,26	2,25	N	C5-E6	-	2,24 2,23 S
E8-G9	-	1,98	1,97	N	C9-E8	-	1,95 1,95 S
E10-G9	-	1,93	1,92	N	C9-		
E12-G13	-	2,19	2,19	N	E10	-	1,94 1,93 S
E14-G13	-	2,02	2,02	N	C13-		
E16-G17	-	2,04	2,04	N	E12	-	2,18 2,17 S
E18-G17	-	1,90	1,89	N	C13-		
E20-G21	-	1,96	1,95	N	E14	-	2,02 2,02 S
					C17-		
					E16	-	2,02 2,01 S
					C17-		
					E18	-	1,89 1,88 S
					C21-		
					E20	-	1,98 1,97 S
Total average-short cross arches (TA)						2,029	2,022
Total deviation-short cross arches (TD)						0,110	0,110
TD/TA						5,45%	5,47%

SAINTS AT WORK: A CONTEXT-RELATED APPROACH TO THE FUNCTIONING OF LATE MEDIEVAL CULTS

Carmen FLOREA*

Abstract: *The primary aim of this study is to investigate the modalities within which the cult of the saints has been articulated within the institutional context provided by hospitals and the confraternities of the artisans in late medieval Transylvania. The multiplication of these institutions allows for a broader understanding of the circumstance which prompted the emergence and subsequent development of the cults of specialist and occupational saints.*

Key words: *patronage; confraternities; hospitals; urban context; charity*

Rezumat: *Scopul studiului este acela de a investiga modalitățile în care s-a construit cultul sfinților prin intermediul spitalelor și a confrerțiilor meșteșugărești în Transilvania evului mediu târziu. Analiza dezvoltării acestor instituții, inclusiv dintr-o perspectivă cantitativă, contribuie la o înțelegere deopotrivă nuanțată și comprehensivă asupra condițiilor care au facilitat nașterea și răspândirea cultelor sfinților specializați în oferirea protecției împotriva anumitor boli sau a celor care protejau interesele profesionale ale artizanilor.*

Cuvinte cheie: *patronaj; confrerii; spitale; context urban; caritate*

When the parishioners of Bruiu (Braller, Brulya) were to visit their church on weekdays after the year 1520 when the high altarpiece was already in place, no less than sixteen saints, represented in pairs on eight panels, were ready to offer them the expected comfort. The holy cohort visible when the altar was in closed position, consists of no less than six specialist saints: Sebastian (represented together with Fabian), Cosmas and Damian, Roch placed next to St. James the Great, Lawrence (in the company of Stephen the First Martyr) and Valentine (placed next to an unidentified saint). During feast days, when the wings were opened, St. Nicholas, the patron of the parish community in Bruiu, could be seen engaged in acts of charity: providing for the poor girls (Fig.1), saving the three knights unjustly condemned, performing the miracle of the corn and calming the storm (Sarkadi Nagy 2011, 154-5). Further incentives towards gaining saintly favor were constantly offered by the 14 Holy Helpers as they were represented on the predella (Fig. 2)

Detailed analysis of the fifty-nine survived altarpieces (either entirely preserved or just parts of them) that once decorated Transylvanian churches has observed that the polyptich of Bruiu distinguishes itself within the corpus of the panel paintings in the region, as it seems to have been devised in order to promote the saints and their intercessorial powers (Firea 2016, 32; 157-8). It has been furthermore convincingly argued that the iconic representation of the saints, a trait rather common to Transylvanian altarpieces, had the potential to increase devotional allegiance to them and reveal their saintly abilities (Crăciun 2003, 50-3, 61). The display of saints' emblems as can be seen at Bruiu, but also on the weekday side of the polyptich in Biertan (Birthälm, Berethalom) where numerous saints were also ready to help their devotees or on the predella of Moșna (Meschen, Muzsna) gathering the 14 Holy Helpers raises questions such as: what was the context that led to the emergence of certain cults and the particular ways in which they functioned in late medieval Transylvania?

The growing importance attached to the cult of the 14 Holy Helpers starting with the second half of the fifteenth century signaled a change

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in the cult of the saints. It has been persuasively suggested that this change put at the forefront of saintly activity the special protection provided within particular contexts defined by calamities, illness or specific daily needs and that such a development led to the emergence of the auxiliary patronage the 14 Holy Helpers plentifully illustrate (Gecser 2016, 192, 200-1). It would be thus the main aim of this article to make an enquiry on such particular, to certain extent circumstantial support, saints provided in late medieval Transylvania. The analysis is framed therefore by the interplay of institutional context within which specialized saintly protection has been articulated and the actors which prompted and eventually partook in such protection.

When trying to assess the degree with which institutional help was provided to those in need, an interesting picture emerges. Hospitals, confraternities of the artisans and devotional associations multiplied at a high rate starting with the second half of the fourteenth century, a time which more generally coincided with urban development and demographic growth. Even more importantly from the point of view of this enquiry is that such institutions not only increased in number, but they did so when comparing their rhythm of foundation with the establishment of new parish churches or mendicant convents in an urban realm (De Cevins 2003a, 64).

Existing research has observed that 54% of all hospitals functioning in the medieval kingdom of Hungary were founded in the time frame between the second half of the fourteenth century and the first half of the following one (Majorossy, Szende 2008, 283-4, and Tab. 1). Despite of the scarce documentation concerning the hospitals in Transylvania, a common characteristic otherwise to the rest of the kingdom, it still can be observed that by the end of the fifteenth century at least two hospitals were functioning in the main towns of this region. This was the situation in Bistrița (Bistriz, Beszterce), Brașov (Kronstadt, Brassó), Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg), Sibiu (Hermannstadt, Nagyszeben), Medias (Mediasch, Medgyes), Sighișoara (Schässburg, Segesvár), whereas in the Episcopal town of Alba-Iulia (Gyulafehérvár, Weissenburg), and the market towns Aiud (Nagyenyed,

Grossenyed), Tg. Mureș (Marosvásárhely, Neumarkt), Turda (Torda, Thorenburg) and Teiuș (Tövis, Dreikirchen) the existence of one hospital was attested (Rüsz-Fogarasi 2008, 57-62; Kubinyi 1999, 263-6).

A noteworthy feature of the Transylvanian hospitals is their integration into the Order of the Holy Spirit, as it happened to those from Sibiu, Bistrița, and Tg. Mureș and that of St. Anthony as exemplified by the hospitals in Brașov and Sighișoara (Rüsz-Fogarasi 2008, 64-70; Majorossy, Szende 2008, 289). Despite this affiliation, strong involvement of the urban government in the functioning of these charitable institutions is well documented, as illustrated not only by the material support the city councils of Sibiu, Brașov and Sighișoara provided, but also by the more general supervision the towns' councilors undertook over these institutions (Somogyi 1941, 31-44; De Cevins 2003, 70).

The Transylvanian network of the Holy Spirit hospitals impacted on the diffusion of this cult as demonstrated, for example, by the foundation of a hospital dedicated to the Holy Spirit, although not affiliated to the Order, in the Episcopal town of Alba-Iulia, for which sustenance the Transylvanian bishop Stephen (1401–1402/1403–1419) procured a papal indulgence in 1418 (Lukcsics 1938, 62, 72). Similar initiatives in connecting devotion for the Holy Spirit with fulfilment of devotional goals by means of charitable undertakings is revealed by the case of the Holy Spirit fraternity in Rome. This international confraternity whose foundation and further functioning was strongly supported by the Papacy became noteworthy of interest for many lay and clerics from Transylvania. Particularly in the last quarter of the fifteenth century and in the first decades of the following one, numerous men and women enrolled into this devotional organization, wishing to benefit from the total remission of their sins generously made available to the confraternity by the indulgences the Holy See issued (Csukovits 2000, 211-45). Previous research has compiled the list containing the names of those Transylvanians that became Holy Spirit devotees, in fact the most numerous ones from the entire kingdom (Gross 2004, 181-186; Deutsch 1890, 77-88). Significantly enough, forty-six individuals

originated from Braşov, nineteen from Sibiu and thirteen from Cluj, figures which display the importance of this cult with the urban population of the region.

It is precisely this connection between hospitals' *patrocinia* and the adoption and diffusion of certain cults that merits further exploration. On 13 July 1433 Johannes Balthasaris *de Enyed* supplied for an indulgence to be granted to the hospital in Aiud that was dedicated to the Holy Cross and Sts. Cosmas and Damian (Lukcsics 1938, 87). The petitioner held at that time the office of royal notary and travelled to Rome for the coronation of Sigismund of Luxembourg as Holy Roman Emperor (Csukovits 1998, 33-4). As details of Johannes's biography have come down to us, it is easier to retrace not only his career path, but also his devotional undertakings. A student of Vienna University, apparently without graduating it, Johannes from Aiud was raised to the rank of nobility by king Sigismund and, most likely because of his closeness to the royal court, he came to hold the office of the royal judge in Sibiu in 1447, whereas six years later he was filling the same position in Sebeş (Haraszti Szabó 2017, 118; Zimmermann, Gündisch, 1975, 401-2). His younger brother George studied at Bologna in 1439, than in 1448 earned his doctoral title at Padua University, at a time when he was already a canon of the Transylvanian chapter. He is mentioned in the surviving documents as parish priest in Sebeş (1448, 1450, 1456(?), 1463–1468), at the time his brother Johannes was already royal judge there (Haraszti Szabó, Kelényi 2019, 136; Tonk 1979, 252-3). Johannes and George are considered to be the patrons of the reconstruction of the parish church in Sebeş, an involvement well integrated with both the offices they filled and the initiatives they had in the religious domain. Thus, shortly after supplicating for an indulgence *pro remissione plenaria* to be granted to the hospital in Aiud, Johannes forwarded another plea made on his own behalf and of other ten parishioners from the same town, that an indulgence be granted to the church of the place. On that occasion, a request for relics has also been formulated, though unfortunately the saint(s) whose remains would be translated to Transylvania were not mentioned (Lukcsics 1938, 113). While filling the position of royal judge in

Sibiu in 1447, Johannes has approached the papal legate in order to have the right of owing a portable altar and a priest being delegated to his household (Zimmermann, Gündisch 1975, 185). Undoubtedly, the judge was very active in the religious sphere and well accustomed to the possibilities the Church opened to the laity willing to increase its chance of salvation.

It is with the aid of Johannes's profile and his religious literacy that more light can be shed on the context within which the indulgence for Aiud hospital was applied for. The document advocated for plenary absolution of sins and also specified that the hospital of the Holy Cross and Sts. Cosmas and Damian is placed *in medio schismaticorum et prope Turcorum*. Unfortunately, no information has survived on when the hospital was founded, neither if the common *patrocinium* it enjoyed has been chosen since the establishment of this institution or was rather a later reworking. Aiud was a locality that was in the ownership of the Transylvanian chapter, that underwent in the course of the fifteenth century commercial and economic growth as reflected by the craft guilds that were organized, enjoyed certain urban privileges, among them that of using its own seal, and was governed by a judge and jurors. Additional indices of this urbanization process that led Aiud to be ranked between *civitas* and market town were also given by the thirty-seven students who studied abroad and the functioning of the hospital (Rüsz-Fogarasi 2003, 123-5, 179, 191, 205).

It is perhaps not by accident that Johannes *de Enyed* was the benefactor of the hospital functioning in his home town. The studies he and his brother undertook at foreign universities, their social mobility, their careers upon returning home, and ultimately their belonging to the local political and ecclesiastical elite justifies well this decision. After all, Aiud was at that time a growing *oppidum*, where there was certain need for accommodating the poor, the sick and other vulnerable people. Within the framework of this discussion, their example helps us deciphering further the specialization of the saints in the late Middle Ages.

The 3rd century martyrs, Cosmas and Damian, co-patrons of the hospital in Aiud were trained physicians whose professional reputation only

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increased after their violent death, as vividly recorded by the healing miracles they performed (Csepregi 2002, 92-4). Their cult was highly popular in Byzantium and it is precisely by Byzantine mediation that it spread in the kingdom of Hungary. It was particularly in the course of the fourteenth century that one can speak about a strengthening of the cult for the holy pair as indicated by altars founded in several cathedrals in the kingdom, church dedications and place names (Bálint 1977, 122; Mező 1996, 133-4).

A particularly relevant Transylvanian example in this regard is the church of Sts. Cosmas and Damian from Cozmeni (Csíkkozmás), as it accurately illustrates the development of saints' cults by means of church patronage and local settlement. Clerical involvement in the propagation of their cult is further demonstrated by the altar dedicated to them mentioned in 1381 in the cathedral of St. Michael in Alba-Iulia and the fact that the churches Cosmas and Damian patronized were located in the archdeaneries placed under the jurisdiction of the Transylvanian bishops (Entz 1996, 366, 507; Zimmermann *et. al.* 1897, 539). These cult indices suggest that the hospital in Aiud (a locality which was in the proprietorship of the Transylvanian chapter) and its patron saints most likely benefited from the attention of the Episcopal clergy. This hypothesis is further substantiated by the fact that bishops played an important role in founding hospitals in the kingdom and, as it has previously been discussed, this was also the case with the Transylvanian bishop Stephen who founded a hospital in the Episcopal See (De Cevins 2003b, 56).

Going a step further beyond this conjunction of the clerical support for both the cult of Sts. Cosmas and Damian and the functioning of the hospitals in the formation of their Transylvanian cult, it is worth observing that the physician saints were regarded as useful protectors by the laity as well. As I have tried to argue elsewhere, this was the case with John of Hunyad who made in 1442 a donation to the altar of Sts Cosmas and Damian in St. Michael's cathedral that a Mass for the souls of the departed being performed in the commemoration of his younger brother. When deconstructing the motivations leading to this pious deed, then brotherly affection, the

military campaigns the Hunyades were engaged in and during which John the Younger was severely wounded explain to great extent such choice (Florea 2021, 63-65).

Martyrs of the church and holy physicians, Cosmas and Damian could extend efficient help to those affected from the frequent military attacks of the Ottomans in late medieval Transylvania. This may very well have been the case with those finding shelter and assistance in the hospital of Cosmas and Damian located as it was *prope Turcorum*. It is not accidental thus that on the Werktagseite of the polyptich in Bruuiu, our physician saints were depicted carrying the instruments of their profession (the scalpel, a box of medicaments and the glass jar) (Fig. 3). The iconic representation of the practitioners of the art of medicine was laden therefore with the protective power Cosmas and Damian could bestow on their devotees.

As it has already been observed, the *patrocinia* of the hospitals could be identified only in a limited number of cases, revealing nevertheless that the favorite patron saint was Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia (Majorossy, Szende 2008, 297-8 and Fig. 6). Such a development is otherwise an integral part of the local institutionalization of Elizabeth's cult, as soon after her canonization in 1235, hospitals were placed under her heavenly patronage in an attempt of the founders and donors to imitate the saint's way of life (Gecser 2012, 46-48). This was due on the one hand, to the very good representation of the Arpadian saints more generally in hospital dedications, a further proof of their enormous popularity in the kingdom. On the other, such preference for the active model of charity St. Elizabeth stood for could also be explained by the fact that the hospitals of the kingdom were less specialized institutions as compared to the situation in Western Europe, being largely oriented towards providing assistance for the poor and other socially and economically vulnerable people (De Cevins 2003a, 70).

This seems to have indeed been the case with the Transylvanian hospitals from Bistrița and Cluj, both dedicated to St. Elizabeth and benefiting from the material support extended to their functioning by the kings, as revealed by the donation made by Louis I in 1366 (Rüsz Fogarasi 2008, 62-68). St. Elizabeth's hospital

in Cluj for which more documentation has survived does reflect with accuracy the relationship between the model of saintliness represented by Elizabeth, largely defined by her direct, unmediated involvement in tending for the sick and poor and the strong dynastic support for the Arpadian saints (Klaniczay 1995, 75-82; Vauchez 1974, 163-173).

The cemetery of Elizabeth's hospital in Cluj has been revealed by archaeological findings, indicating thus its location *extra muros*, a location that was not only common for other hospitals, but also suitable for accommodating the disadvantaged, and vulnerable individuals more generally. (Majorossy, Szende 2008; 278; Rűsz-Fogarasi 2008, 46). According to a donation made by Michael and Margaret *Kawtus* in 1496 those residing in the hospital were identified as *comunitatis pauperum et exulum*, a reference which discloses who were those receiving care under Elizabeth's patronage (Florea 2018, 271-272; Jakab 1870, 307-308).

It was not at all unusual that in growing towns, such as Cluj was in the course of the fifteenth century, economic misfortune and social dislocation to severely impact on individuals' lives. Growing old and lack of family care may have also contributed to the increase in number of those needing support. An often quoted case in current research is that of Anthony *Desew* and his wife Anne who decided in 1525 to donate all their valuables to St. Elizabeth's hospital in Cluj and moved in there, something which indicates that this hospital came to be used as a retiring home as well (Majorossy, Szende 2008, 299). Interestingly enough, the charter detailing Anthony and Anne's endowments sheds light on their motivations: the couple has made this decision after mature and intense deliberations and considering that worldly goods are useless on the path to salvation, it would be better to donate them and to relocate themselves in the hospital where they can serve the poor and increase their chance of redemption (Jakab 1870, 363-5). Devotion and feebleness induced by age, an institution where these needs could be met and a saint who has dedicated herself to tending those in need are encapsulated in the decision made by Anthony and Anne. On a more pragmatic level, it deserves mentioning that Anthony occurs in

the sources as *magistro hospitalis ecclesie beate Elizabeth vidue*, whereas it has been reasonably supposed that his wife Anne became engaged to some degree in the running of the hospital (Majorossy, Szende 2008, 299; Jakó 1990, 615).

It is primarily, although not exclusively, that at the turn of the fifteenth to sixteenth century a specialization in the type of assistance provided by the hospitals occurred. In the towns where two hospitals functioned, one of them was a leper house, as it was the case with those from Braşov, Cluj, Sibiu, Mediaş, Sighişoara (Rűsz-Fogarasi 2008, 46; De Cevins 2003a, 51). This was also the time when calamities such as war, famine, plague, extreme weather conditions produced serious and grave disturbances in the life of Transylvanian communities (Cernovodeanu, Binder 1993, 38-40). Saints such as Cosmas and Damian or Elizabeth were employed and expected to protect and comfort from illness or poverty without much differentiation being made in the help they provided in this regard. Starting with the last quarter of the fifteenth century however a more specific protection was required and the ways saints responded to this call can better be explored within the context affected by and created by the plague.

The Black Death of mid-fourteenth century, as it is well known, has decimated the European population, led to profound social changes and had dramatic economic consequences in many regions. Strongly affecting the kingdom of Hungary, the plague has become a rather constant presence, breaking out with more or less intensity at almost every decade starting with 1348. To the five outbreaks recorded in the fourteenth century were added no less than twenty-one waves of plague in the fifteenth century, the most severe ones occurring in 1456, 1480 and 1495 (Szabó 1938, 36-37).

According to medical records, it was in the last quarter of the fifteenth century that physicians came to be employed by the major Transylvanian commercial centers. This was the case with *Jacobus medicinae doctor* in Sibiu in 1481, who has also studied at the Medical Faculty of the University of Vienna or a certain Andrew filling the same office in 1506, followed in 1526 by *Johannes Italus*. In Braşov, *Valentinus Kraws de Corona* also studied in Vienna, afterwards returning home

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and becoming the physician of the town in 1494 (Tüskés 2008, 253; Magyar-Kossa 1940, 102, 133). From the town's incomes was also paid the pharmacist in 1494 in Sibiu and then in 1513 and between 1514–1523 that of Braşov (Magyar-Kossa 1940, 103).

Johannes Salius/Salzman from Steier while physician in Sibiu quarantined the town during the plague outbreak in early sixteenth century, saving it from extinction (Cristescu 2007–2008, 39). He was the first physician in the kingdom to take such a decision, at a time when containment measures were slowly being put in practice. Salzman has also authored *De preservatione a pestilentia et ipsius cura opusculum*, printed in Vienna in 1510, the German translation coming out in the same city in 1531 and during the current COVID-19 pandemic these works were once more brought to public attention (Offner, Şindilariu 2020, 63-179). Another treaty against the plague was put together by Sebastian Pauschner, physician in Braşov from 1524 until 1528, afterwards holding the same position for ten years in Sibiu. Pauschner's work which probably came out both in German and in Latin, has survived in a seventeenth-century manuscript. *Eine kleine Unterrichtung: Wie Mann halten Soll, In der Zeidt der ungütigen Pestilentz*, published in 1530 in the printing press of Lucas Trapoldner, offers both prophylactic and curative measures (Cristescu 2007–2008, 40-46).

These works written as they were by trained physicians who had to deal with the plague and its consequences in real life contexts are noteworthy for the specific information they provide on how people should face and ideally overcome the *Pestilentz*. They are also telling evidence of the ways in which resources were mobilized in Transylvanian towns at times of profound crisis. In the introduction of his work, Salzman expresses his gratitude to John Lulay, whose prosperity and influence were only aptly matched by the offices he held for many years in late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, such as judge of Sibiu district and *magister civium* in Sibiu, and to the senators of the town and of the seven Saxon seats. Pauschner's work is also an example of civic engagement as it has been commissioned by the city council of Braşov and came out in Sibiu in the typography of

Lucas Trapoldner, notary and city councilor in Sibiu (Offner 2020, 50-6).

Physicians and civic authorities joined forces in overcoming the effects of the plague that ravaged Transylvania in late fifteenth and then during the sixteenth century. As the outbreaks of 1480 and 1495 were particularly intense in the southern parts of this region, I would like to suggest that this was the time when saintly figures were also mobilized to protect the local communities. In 1511 Catherine, wife of George Schöb, together with her sister Claire confirmed the land donation made by their father fifteen years earlier, *zur zeit der grossen Pest*, to the church of St. Nicholas in Sighişoara (Fabritius 1875, 159), a testimony which further confirms the difficulties created by the epidemics and the communities' response to the crisis at the end of the fifteenth century.

The needs of the day and the required help were given visual expression in the chapel of the Catholic tower of the church in Biertan, only thirty kilometres away from Sighişoara. The minutest analysis of the murals survived has argued in favour of their profound eschatological meaning, as suggested by the representations of the Last Judgement, St. Michael weighing the souls and fighting the Devil, or Mary as Queen of Heaven. On the northern wall of the chapel, an angry God punishes the humankind by sending out the arrows of war, famine and plague that are successfully stopped by a female saint (Barbara?) with the monstrosity and with the aid of an angel holding a shield on which *Arma Christi* were painted. The Mother of Mercy is also integrated into this scene complementing the intercession offered by the tormented, suffering Body of Her Son (Jenei 2004, 272-275). In the aftermath of the Black Death, devotional images of Corpus Christi and *Mater Misericordiae* were increasingly employed against the plague. The *Pestbild* in Biertan considered to have been executed in 1497, most likely the only one of this kind to have survived from the kingdom of Hungary, revealed at once the holy protection needed and the context with determined the recourse to such protection (Mihail 2018, 393).

Beyond doubt, the recurring waves of plague, affecting entire communities, without much differentiation being made between the rich

and the poor or the young and the old as reflected by the high mortality rates, prompted, as Louise Marshall has argued, a religious response that was public and collective (Marshall 2021, 98). The *Pestbild* in Biertan seems to have been such a response, however not a circumstantial attempt of this kind in Transylvania. Although survived in fragmentary form, a liturgical book that belonged to the confraternity of the chapter of Saschiz (Kaisd, Szászkezd)/ Sighișoara brings us closer to the understanding of how communal endeavours were religiously informed when dealing with the epidemics.

Clerical confraternities emerged in Transylvania most likely in the course of the fourteenth-century as the available documentation suggests. Initially gathering the parish priests of the Saxon chapters, they were joined, however, starting with the fifteenth-century by lay members, particularly representatives of the political and social elite (Gross 2004, 160-1). The confraternity of the Saschiz chapter was no exception from this point of view, as it can be seen in its liturgical book where the parish priests of the *Landkapitel* were mentioned for each locality together with the parishioners of the place eager to partake in the spiritual benefits of this devotional association (Fabritius 1875, 240-50). It seems that the office holders in Sighișoara were amongst those readily identifying opportunities for achieving salvation as in 1483 the entire city council came to be enrolled into this confraternity. Analysis undertaken in thorough manner of the membership of Saschiz confraternity has identified not only the career paths of the clerics involved in it, but also the social profile of its lay members, revealing that for their greatest part they belonged to influential families from Sighișoara, such as Polner and Kalmwsch (Gross, 2004, 144-146).

Existing research has pointed out that this devotional association was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, similarly to the other clerical fraternities of the Saxon chapters, and was primarily involved in providing spiritual assistance through commemorative Masses to its members, many of whom were enrolled after their death (Gross 2004, 142; Fabritius 1875, 239). A funerary devotional association thus which became in the course of the

fifteenth century increasingly concerned with providing spiritual assistance to those affected by plague as were for example *dominus Paulus de kappusch*, *dominus Petrus*, *dominus Andreas*, another *dominus Petrus* who *tempore pestilencie defuncti sunt* (Fabritius 1875, 240, 250).

The two hymns through which the protection of Mary against plague was invoked are part of the survived liturgical book. The obvious motivation for their presence in this book can be connected to the clerical membership of this fraternity and the time when they found their way in its devotional practices. Karl Fabritius has demonstrated that the writing of the Marian hymn on the first page can be dated around mid-fifteenth-century, whereas the *Officium Marie Virginis* on the last page was a late fifteenth-century addition (Fabritius 1875, 250). When reading these hymns, the image of a powerful intercessorial figure emerges. Whilst in the hymn on the first page Mary is the Merciful Mother, embodiment of perfect charity and able to effectively intercede for her devotees given the place she holds in the heavenly court, the Mary on the book's last page is rather different. Different not because of how her saintly abilities allowed her to perform a mediation no other saint was able to, were perceived, but because she is explicitly and repeatedly invoked, even employed, to subdue the plague.

It is known that this liturgical book has been rebound in 1511, though it is not clear whether it was on that occasion that the Marian hymns were purposely placed on the first and last page, where the interior of the book was devised in order to record the names of the *confratres* or the initial structure of the book has been simply followed. Whatever it would have been the case, a symbolic reading can be proposed. The way the Marian hymns framed the devotees in this liturgical book is to be perceived as bearing similar meaning with the visually depicted protection that Mary offered. The image that gained enormous currency in late medieval Europe, being often appealed to during plague outbreaks was that of *Mater Misericordiae* who was sheltering under an outstretched cloak her devotees (Marshall 2021, 108).

The power of the saints was thus channelled through particular means oriented to specific

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ends. Perhaps such as strategy is even better revealed by the initiatives and activities that marked the devotional routine of the artisans. It is due to the meticulous research of Lidia Gross that the life of the confraternities of the artisans from the most important Transylvanian towns of Cluj, Sibiu and Braşov can offer supplementary insights into their religious life. Table 1 based on this enquiry (Gross 2014, 133-172) provides information on the patron saints who were called by members of these confraternities to protect them. An overview of this saintly patronage reveals that saints of the Early Church such as the apostle Andrew or John the Baptist, Martin and Nicholas, holy figures whose cults were forged in the early Middle Ages or late comers in the field of sanctity as saint Francis extended their protection over the Transylvanian artisans. To them, occupational protectors such as Luke and Loy can be added, but also specialist saints such as Sebastian.

From a local perspective, it should also be observed that the artisans' patron saints matched to a reasonably high degree the spread of their cults in the Transylvanian parochial communities. This was the case with Michael protector of the furriers in Sibiu and of the butchers in Cluj, but also the patron saint of the Transylvanian bishopric and of thirty-two parish churches, with the Virgin Mary of the tanners in Cluj whose cult was reflected by no less than sixty-one parish dedications and Nicholas who protected the drapers in Sibiu and was a patron for forty-eight parish churches. At the same time, it should also be pointed out that the artisans contributed to the diversification and stronger implementation of certain cults, which were enjoying a limited spread in parochial dedications, such as the All Saints revered by the tailors in Cluj and who were patronizing fourteen parish churches or John the Baptist of the furriers (similarly from Cluj) encountered in six instances as patron of parochial communities (Florea 2021, 308-310).

Although comparison with parochial *patrocinia* is useful in as much as substantiates the fortitude of certain cults, it should not be taken as the sole valuable indicator when assessing saintly patronage. A highly interesting example in this regard is provided by the confraternity of the cobblers'

journeymen dedicated to Sts. John the Baptist and the Evangelist and founded in 1484. On the one hand, when retracing the history of this devotional association the common patronage of Sts. John signals not only the conflation of the two cults, but also the popularity of the holy pair as reflected by the membership of the fraternity it came to protect. The religious life of this association developed at the altar of John the Baptist and John the Evangelist in the parish church of Sibiu, but their devotees belonged to other Transylvanian towns, *oppida*, and villages, and even to localities from outside this region (Gross 2014, 212-213; Annex, 228-239). Interestingly enough, allegiance to this fraternity and to the cult of the two holy Johns is plentifully revealed by those devotees from Dumitra, Teaca, and Ormeniş where the parish churches were dedicated to St. John, a plausible incentive when deciding to enrol into a fraternity which further cultivated this saintly patronage (Florea 2021, 60).

In order to have a more comprehensive understanding of the context within which the patron saint of the confraternities of the artisans came to be regarded as a marker of identity, contributing to the strengthening of professional groups' inner solidarity, it would be useful enquiring when and by whom were these holy protectors approached. Detailed research on the confraternities of the artisans in the kingdom of Hungary has argued that despite being organized in order to enforce the moral conduct of their members and ensure protection of their economic position, these associations acquired a strong religious profile by the late Middle Ages. Furthermore, the majority of these confraternities were parish-based organizations, as the altar of their patron saints were placed in the most important, often the oldest church of their towns (De Cevins 2003a, 194-214).

Indeed, this has been the case with the Transylvanian confraternities as well, as thus far information has come down to us about only such association, that of the goldsmiths, that was organized and functioned with the Observant Dominicans of Bistriţa (Gross 2014, 173). Another noteworthy feature concerning the confraternities of the artisans is their strong relationship with the urban government. On the one hand, without exception, their

regulations were approved by the city council and on the other, it was not at all unusual that those ascending in the ruling elite to be also members of the confraternities of the artisans, as exemplified by no less than six masters of the furriers being attested as jurors in Braşov in 1424 (Nussbächer, Marin 1999, 23-24). Strategies for preserving the reputation of professional groups is also well evidenced by the surviving documentation, much emphasize being placed on controlling and correcting the moral conduct and pious behaviour of their members, particularly the youngest ones (Crăciun 2011, 87-110).

It is the figure of the master which emerges from craft regulations as being of outmost importance not only in what concerns the profession and the quality of the goods produced in his workshop, but also in regard with charitable and devotional engagement. Differentiation among the artisans within the confraternal groups is revealed by the direct and active contribution of the younger masters during the funerals, when for example they will be responsible for carrying the dead body of their fellow to the church. The long-time masters were required to attend the funeral, increasing thus through their presence the social prestige of a given craft (Florea 2005, 64-66).

While craftsmen honoured the saints by building and maintaining an altar dedicated to them in the parish church, an effort made collectively that enhanced the group's cohesion, saints also became involved in the identity formation of the confraternities of the artisans (Bartlett 2013, 244). The visible sign of such a process was the confraternity's altar which must be decorated and properly preserved both during the year and feast days. *Obedienter servire ad altare* required the weavers from Cluj in their regulations from 1479, whereas the devotees of St. Francis from the same time imposed in 1484 to the young masters to maintain the altar on a daily basis (Jakab 1870, 262). Such involvement is further proven by the example of the young masters of the rope-makers' craft who will have to ensure that the candles will remain burning at the confraternity's altar throughout all feast days (Gross 2014, 156-157). On the patron saint's feast day and at the patron's altar during the other celebrations of the liturgical year, there

were the masters, the experienced craftsmen whom the regulations required to attend the solemn Mass, also the vespers and matins and made offerings to the altar as did the painters in Sibiu or the cobblers in Cluj (Gross 2014, 155; Vlaicu 2003, 264).

In fact, it is precisely this differentiation between the responsibilities the younger masters and the more experienced ones had to undertake that, despite strengthening one's position and status according to the inner hierarchy of the confraternity, transformed the patron saint into the highly visible celestial friend of the artisans within the parish church's interior. Failing to fulfil economic or religious tasks by the craftsmen was translated into various quantities of wax to be supplied to the confraternity by those trespassing the rules of the organization. Together with the obligations to lit candles at the patron's altar, these provisions disclose the efforts the artisans made in order to make their protector not only a distinct figure, but also to transform his altar into the emblem of the confraternity (Vincent 2004, 390).

Such process of appropriating the patron saint is interestingly revealed by those confraternities who submitted themselves to occupational saints. It is surely not accidental that with the diversification of crafts in the late Middle Ages, a higher specialization on the part of the holy protectors occurred. This trend became evident in the case of the world of the artisans in Transylvania, whose devotional associations emerged for their greatest part in the second half of the fifteenth century. Among the saints there were the 14 Holy Helpers who, as it has been convincingly demonstrated, specialized in the assistance they offered, be it against sudden death, fire or specific illness, a professional transformation of those residing in Heaven that only matched similar developments on earth (Gecser 2016, 174-180).

Luke and Loy were the occupational saints *par excellence*, patronizing the painters and goldsmiths all over Europe. This was also the case in Transylvania where the painters, sculptures and joiners of Sibiu and Braşov were devotionally submitted to St. Luke. Maintaining the altar in their parish churches was of primary concerns for these artisans in both towns. St. Luke was honoured by his

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devotees from Sibiu in particular ways, as the entire confraternity paid that a special divine service being celebrated on the vigil of their patron's feast day, a solemn celebration that was to be performed by all chaplains of the parish church. Furthermore, in order to become a master, a painter had to complete an image of the Virgin Mary of well-defined technical features, something which was a more than appropriate recollection of the abilities their saintly protector possessed (Vlaicu 2003, 269).

The prestigious craft of goldsmiths and metalworkers has also found a suitable protector in Loy, a bishop and reputed craftsman, who became a patron for the artisans from Cluj and Sibiu in late fifteenth-century when his cult was growing with these professionals elsewhere in Europe (Petrovics 2009, 163-74). The altar of St. Loy in the parish church of Sibiu is mentioned in the regulations of 1494 as being that of the masters. Identification with their patron saint has further been endorsed by the most important members of the confraternity as they had to ensure that divine services would be performed there on the vigil of their protector's feast day which they must personally attend. The liturgy to be celebrated on the saint's feast day and on All Saints' day at the altar of St. Loy was the occasion on which the masters should make offerings to the altar, complementing thus the special relationship with their patron saint (Vlaicu 2003, 231-214).

The saint as emblem of the craft and of their devotional identity was depicted on the seal the goldsmiths of Sibiu used. Telling evidence of the special protection Loy extended to the goldsmiths of Sibiu is the seal bearing the saint's image dated to early fifteenth century, seal that was used on documents attesting the years of apprenticeship spent in the town's workshops (Dâmboiu 2008, 47 and Figure 2). Patron saints were working thus at specific times when their protection was invoked at the altars placed in the parish churches, joining the artisans on feast days and offering comfort when the souls of the departed were commemorated. Occupational protectors came even closer to their devotees, providing assistance when one pursued specific professional goals.

In the regulations of 1487 compiled in German on behalf of the rope-makers from Cluj, no less than three saints were called to help the artisans. Although the dedication of this confraternity's altar remains unknown, the religious responsibilities of the rope-makers involved participation at the divine services on the feast days of St. Andrew and that of Sts. Fabian and Sebastian, responsibilities which the masters' wives must fulfil in case their husbands are absent from home (Jakab 1870, 276-8). Another confraternity of craftsmen, that of the cobblers' journeymen in the market town of Saschiz, had also promoted the cult of St. Sebastian. As it can be read in their statute, this devotional association has been founded at the altar of the Holy Cross and St. Sebastian and the fellows commit themselves to maintain this altar by providing it with candles and oil, whereas attending the Mass for all souls at *Quattuor tempora* would be compulsory for its members (Müller 1846, 161-2). Another confraternity of St. Sebastian functioned in Braşov, although information about its existence came in 1542 when its functioning actually ceased (Gross 2004, 253).

There are the plague saints, Sebastian and Roch whose cults flourished as a result of the successive waves of epidemics, particularly in late fifteenth-century, who can undoubtedly be regarded as the most specialized saints. This was due to the very process of their saintly specialization which coincided with the increasing difficult situations created by the plague outbreaks. Sebastian was a martyr of the Early Church who specialized as a plague saint, as persuasively and convincingly argued, after the Black Death and as a result of the periodic outbreaks. Roch, on the other hand, benefited from a cult which propagated his figure as a highly efficient helper given the fact that, according to his legend, he suffered from plague and survived (Gecser 2017, 77-109). It seems that Roch has also patronized a confraternity in Transylvania most likely affiliated with a hospital in the town of Bistriţa, about which however no further information has been thus far identified (Gross 2004, 244). Despite the scarcity of our sources it seems that indeed the specialist saints were connected to the world of artisans and worked within the context of charitable endeavours. It is however thanks to the survived visual

representations that more insights into their *modus operandi* can be gained.

Mural paintings representing Sts. Fabian and Sebastian were placed on the north-eastern wall of the southern apse of St. Michael parish church in Cluj, their execution being dated to the last decades of the fifteenth century (Kónya 2017, 99). As we have seen, this was precisely the time when the rope-makers of the town were solemnly attending the church on the feast day of Fabian and Sebastian, integrating the patronage of these saints into their devotional life. It has been argued that these paintings emphasized the saintly abilities of Fabian and Sebastian in relation to Christocentric devotion, as they were represented in a way that reminded of Christ's sacrifice, Fabian being depicted with a monstace in his hands, whereas the image of martyred Sebastian was influenced by that of *Vir Dolorum*. There were precisely these Eucharistic overtones visible in the representations of the two saints that underlined their status as plague saints, since the Body of Christ came to be considered as the most precious medicine during the epidemics (Kónya 2017, 94-98).

When returning to Bruiu from where this analytical path has started, we encounter again Sebastian, but also Roch, the other famous protector against the plague. As his cult in the kingdom and indeed in Transylvania is largely documented by visual representations (Gecser 2017, 103-104) it would be worthwhile contemplating the way he has been represented on the panel of Bruiu altarpiece. An iconic

representation that had the potential to instil devotion for Roch, a prophylactic image at the same time. The bubo plague on his right upper thigh was the visible sign of his infection (Fig. 4). But Roch is pointing at it, unequivocally proving that he has survived the plague and that ultimately those revering him could be cured.

Saints were involved in the world of charity and profession as the Transylvanian examples suggest first and foremost in direct relationship with the ideal model they stood for and the saintly skills that transformed them into suitable protectors. When deciphering the institutional contexts provided by hospitals and confraternities of the artisans, it can easily be observed that saints, such as Cosmas and Damian, Elizabeth, Sebastian and to some extent Roch were employed in order to provide comfort and assistance in direct relation to specific circumstances. Occupational saints became integrated by both devotional and professional means in the life of the confraternities of the artisans, a prominent feature when comparing the ways in which the saintly patronage of universal protectors such as John the Baptist or Michael was shaped. Most likely this was due to the strong parochial profile of the artisans' confraternities which emerged and functioned in the realm of the parish church. The various workings of the saints have thus brought to light the important contribution specialized protection made, particularly by broadening and diversifying the field of holy affairs.

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Fig. 1: Panel with St. Nicholas – polyptich of Bruiu

(Source: <https://realonline.imareal.sbg.ac.at/>)

Fig. 2: 14 Holy Helpers on the predella of Bruiu polyptich

(Source: <https://realonline.imareal.sbg.ac.at/>)

Fig. 3: Pane with Sts. Cosmas and Damian – polyptich of Bruiu

(Source: <https://realonline.imareal.sbg.ac.at/>)

Fig. 4: St. Roch – polyptich of Bruiu

(Source: <https://realonline.imareal.sbg.ac.at/>)

LISTA ILUSTRAȚIILOR

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(Sursa imaginii: <https://realonline.imareal.sbg.ac.at/>)

Fig. 2: Cei 14 Sfinți Ajutători - predella polipticului din Bruiu

(Sursa imaginii: <https://realonline.imareal.sbg.ac.at/>)

Fig. 3: Sf. Cosma și Damian – polipticul din Bruiu

(Sursa imaginii: <https://realonline.imareal.sbg.ac.at/>)

Fig. 4: Sf. Rocus – polipticul din Bruiu

(Sursa imaginii: <https://realonline.imareal.sbg.ac.at/>)

Saints at Work: a Context-related Approach to the Functioning of Late Medieval Cults**Table 1** (based on Lidia Gross, *Bresle și confrerii sau despre pietatea urbană în Transilvania medievală (secolele XIV-XVI)*. Cluj-Napoca, 2014, p. 115-172)

Nr. Crt.	Confraternity of the Artisans	Patron Saint	Year
1.	Butchers (Cluj)	Michael	1422
2.	Tanner (Cluj)	The Virgin Mary	1448
3.	Weavers (Cluj)	Holy Spirit	1478
4.	Cobblers (Cluj)	Ten Thousand Martyrs	1481
5.	Archers, saddlers etc. (Cluj)	Francis	1484
6.	Tailors (Cluj)	All Saints	1466
7.	Coopers (Cluj)	Martin (?)	1513-1517
8.	Goldsmiths (Cluj)	Loy	1473
9.	Furriers (Cluj)	John the Baptist	1488
10.	Rope-makers (Cluj)	Andrew Fabian and Sebastian	1486
11.	Painters, sculptures, joiners etc. (Sibiu)	Luke	1520
12.	Goldsmiths (Sibiu)	Loy	1494
13.	Drapers (Sibiu)	Nicholas	1500
14.	Tailors (Sibiu)	Ladislas	1485
15.	Furriers	Michael	1376 1520
16.	Saddlers (Braşov)	Holy Trinity	1511
17.	Furriers (Braşov)	Virgin Mary All Saints	1424
18.	Painters, sculptures, joiners etc. (Braşov)	Luke	1523
19.	Tailors (Braşov)	Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins	1511

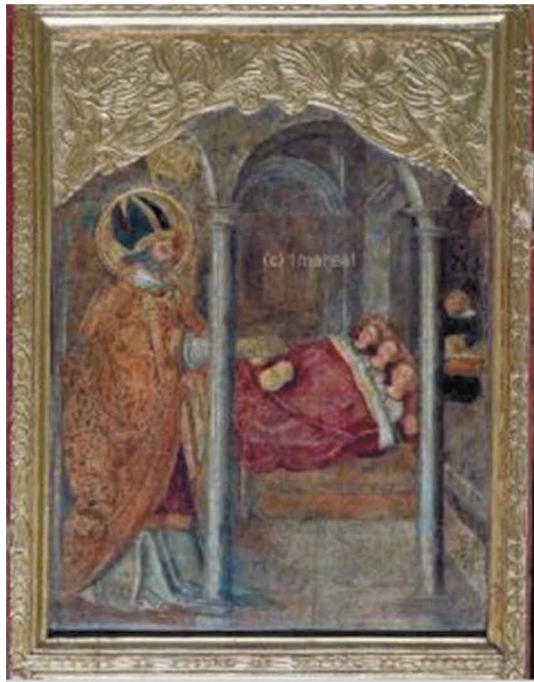


Fig. 1: Panel with St. Nicholas – polyptich of Bruiu



Fig. 2: 14 Holy Helpers on the predella of Bruiu polyptich



Fig. 3: Panel with Sts Cosmas and Damian – polyptich of Bruiu

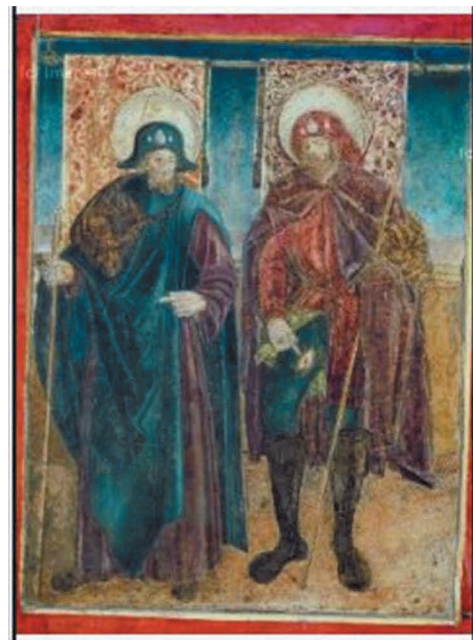


Fig. 4: St. Roch – polyptich of Bruiu

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY MURALS IN SIBIU: UNPUBLISHED PHOTOGRAPHS OF SCENES FROM ANTIQUE HISTORY

Dana JENEI*

Abstract: Emil Sigerus (1854–1947) recorded the existence of murals inside the former Festsaal on the first floor of the Reussner House in Sibiu, no. 16 Piața Mare, which were uncovered during repainting work in the summer of 1902. The photographs taken in the short time available are published for the first time in this article, via the copies made by Decebal Peteu of the Brukenthal National Museum in Sibiu, in 1976. The images from 1902 captured mainly the scenes of the east wall of the room, while in 2010 further paintings were uncovered on the south wall.

The residence of the consul Johan Reussner the Younger was built between 1646 (the date of the foundation stone) and 1652 (the year of the execution of the main portal, and not only of the coat of arms), but incorporating earlier construction. The murals were made during this phase of the construction after the engravings of Matthäus Merian, which illustrate the first edition of the *Historische Chronica*, published in Frankfurt in 1630. In the upper register of the two walls on which the painting was discovered, scenes from the History of Rome were depicted, while the lower register is occupied by other images from Ancient History.

The paintings of the Reussner House are unique in the artistic landscape of the time and of exceptional importance in understanding the art and humanistic values promoted by the Transylvanian Saxon patriciate in the premodern period.

Keywords: Transylvania, Sibiu, Emil Sigerus, photographs, mural paintings, mid-seventeenth century

Rezumat: Emil Sigerus (1854–1947) a consemnat existența picturilor murale în interiorul fostei săli de reprezentare de la etajul Casei Reussner din Sibiu, Piața Mare nr. 16, apărute în timpul lucrărilor de rezugravire a spațiului în vara anului 1902. Fotografiile realizate în scurtul răstimp avut la dispoziție de cercetător, sunt publicate pentru prima dată în acest articol, prin intermediul copiilor realizate de Decebal Peteu, de la Muzeul Național Brukenthal din Sibiu, în 1976. Imaginile din 1902 au surprins, în principal, scenele peretelui de est al încăperii, față de picturile decopertate pe perețele de sud în anul 2010.

Reședința consulului Johan Reussner cel Tânăr a fost construită, între anii 1646 (data pietrei de fundare) și 1652 (anul execuției portalului principal, în ansamblul lui, și nu doar a stemei), incluzând construcții mai vechi. Pictura murală a fost realizată în cadrul acestei etape de construcție a casei după gravurile lui Matthäus Merian, care ilustrează prima ediție a cărții *Historische Chronica*, apărută la Frankfurt, în 1630. În registrul superior al celor doi pereți pe care a fost evidențiată pictura sunt înfățișate scene din Istoria Romei, iar registrul inferior este ocupat de imagini din Istoria Antică.

Ansamblul pictat al Casei Reussner este unic în peisajul artistic al epocii și are o importanță excepțională în cunoașterea artei și valorilor umaniste promovate de patriciatului săsesc transilvănean în perioada premodernă.

Cuvinte cheie: Transylvania, Sibiu, Emil Sigerus, fotografii, picturi murale, mijlocul secolului al XVII-lea

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**Seventeenth Century Murals in Sibiu:
Unpublished Photographs of Scenes from Antique History**

and photographed by Emil Sigerus (Sigerus 1902, 162-163). The researcher mentioned the murals again in 1922, in his book, *Das Alte Hermannstadt*, among other ensembles from the seventeenth century in the residences of the Saxon urban patriciate, which today are lost or covered with lime, such as the portrait gallery of the counts, that decorated the former *Festsaal* of the house of the royal judge and count Valentinus Frank von Frankenstein (†1696) in Piața Mare / *Grosser Ring* (corner with Nicolae Bălcescu street / *Heltauergasse*), or the *Grau in Grau* paintings on the vaults, with monks and nuns dancing among flowers and stalks, and Old Testament scenes on the walls of the house on the former no. 40 *Elzebuttengasse*¹. Biblical scenes were also decorating a room on the first floor of mayor Matthias Semringer's house (†1676) at no. 13 Avram Iancu street / *Reispermassage* (demolished and replaced in the nineteenth century with the present building of the school), where inscriptions could also be seen, same as at no. 15. Fragments of paintings were reported later at no. 6 (Avram, Bucur 1999, 185), and no. 7, where Anamaria Haldner noticed inside the former "consignația" shop, a surface of about 50 cm² "with the figure of a horseman, doubtless part of a bigger scene", uncovered by the restorer Traian Trestioreanu in 1968, who also identified wall painting plaster in two other buildings nearby, as well as floral garlands depicted on the first floor, and golden stars on a blue background on the ceiling of a ground floor room in the so-called Count House in Piața Mare no. 8 (Haldner 1981, 93-94).

More consistent ensembles were discovered and partially restored (Jenei 2013A, 119-126; eadem 2018, 618-620) in Piața Mică / *Kleines Ring* no. 22 (Drăguț 1967, 394-403; Haldner 1981, 93-97; Jenei 2019 A, 60-73) and no. 23, on Azilului street / *Spitalsgasse* no. 2, on Mitropoliei street / *Fleischergasse* no. 11 and 17, where different themes to those indicated by Sigerus in 1909 were brought to light (Jenei 2019B, 341-353). A mural frieze of stylized floral motifs marks the line of the wooden ceiling on painted beams in the semi-basement

of the Evangelical parish house in Huet Square, which preserves on its facade older paintings (Jenei 2013A, 69, Fig. 1.53-1.56; eadem 2013B, 221, Fig. 18-21)².

The latest found in the field is inside the house on Avram Iancu street no. 14, where the surveys conducted by the restorers Maria Dumbrăvicescu and Ioan Muntean in 2021 revealed murals in the back room of the southern building of the ensemble³, with the figures of the Four Evangelists on the bases of the crossed vaults, on a white background, between large phytomorphic motifs of the generic type known as Transylvanian Floral Renaissance, which are not regularly distributed here, but organised around the figures, the stalks in symmetrical spirals closing below. In the middle of the vault, the investigations highlighted the existence of a medallion, rectangular in shape with chamfered corners, the general chromatic range being dominated by vermilion red, blue and ochre. The standing figures, with an open gospel in their right hand and their traditional attributes beside them, are squat and schematically represented, the black contours are thick and unsure, the general character of the painting being less artistic, indicating, rather, a date in the second half of the seventeenth century (Jenei 2021, 4-5).

Other murals from the Renaissance era were highlighted on the facades of the Haller House in Piața Mare no. 10, Mitropoliei no. 2, Piața Mică no. 13 (Jenei 2013A, 153; eadem 2018, 613), and 22, where one of "the two giants" mentioned by Georg Soterius at the beginning of the eighteenth century was fragmentarily recovered by the restorers from under the lime (Jenei 2019 A, 69).

² The coat of arms of King Wladyslaw II Jagiello (1490–1516) painted in a round niche framed by *Vir dolorum* and *Maria in sole*.

³ The ensemble is the result of the unification of two older properties at the end of the eighteenth century, the most valuable artistic components being preserved on the ground floor of the house on the south side, with the back room painted and the front room redecorated in Rococo style, rich *stucco* ornaments being applied to the older Renaissance cross vaults on consoles.

¹ At no. 43, on the same street, fragments of painting were discovered in 1983 (Avram, Bucur 1999, 342).

In the Lower Town, painted elements appeared on the facades of the houses on Farului street no. 6, Turnului no. 7, Movilei no. 1 and Ocnei no. 22, where the simple, linear decoration of the painted beams inside was also highlighted (Jenei 2018, 620).

*

Emil Sigerus mentioned in his short article published under the title “Alte Wanderbilder”, in *Korrespondenzblatt*, 1902, the circumstances in which the murals in the Reussner House (at that date numbered 23) appeared during the repainting of the interior, but whitewashed over the very same day, when he photographed the paintings, and described the scenes, without identifying their subjects. References to “several photographs kept in the documentary archive of the Brukenthal Museum in Sibiu” were made by Andrei Kertesz in 1981, but the fact that the images taken by Decebal Petcu in 1976 are most likely copies after Sigerus’ originals of 1902, was not recognised, even though the descriptions and photographs are perfectly related. Neither the original photographs, which we do not know if are preserved, nor the copies have ever been published before.

*

“Casa Weidner–Reussner–Czikelius, SB–II–m–A–12106, sec. XV–XVIII (1582, 1652); transf. sec. XX”, as the house is mentioned in the *List of Historical Monuments in Romania*, is now private property, the restoration being funded by the owner.

The building received the present appearance in 1652, the year incised on the portal to the square (Fig. 1), when the paintings were also executed (Kertesz–Badrusz 1981, 137), and consists of two unified houses, each with its own courtyard, which communicate on the ground floor (Avram, Bucur 1999, 134).

The passageway through the interior courtyard preserves valuable Renaissance carved stone elements from the previous phase of construction, including consoles, pillars, and colonettes supporting the crossed vaults, all being dated by the doorframe bearing the year 1582 and the monogram CW. Recent scientific researches have corrected and completed the older information. Ioan Albu mentions that the doorframe of 1582 could not be linked, as Sigerus proposed, to the senator Servatius Weidner’s name, who died in 1576 (and indeed

on his tombstone the initials inscribed are SW), but to another member of the family (Albu 2002, no. 56: 60, no.70, 74–75 respectively). This fact is confirmed by Florin Blezu’s research (“pers. com.”), who identified as owner of the house in 1584, *H. Cirves Weidner*, probably the son of *H. Servacius Weidner der alt*⁴, who bought the house with *Durchgang* in Piața Mare no. 7 in 1560 from the city, for 870 fl. (Seivert 1856, p. 49). Ioan Bucur identified the previous buildings from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as amalgamated into the new seventeenth-century construction, and showed that the 1582 doorframe was actually relocated from an unknown original position, when the lateral portico, initially open, was walled up (Bucur 2011, 5).

The works conducted by the consul Johann Reussner at his residence, began earlier, in 1646, as shown by the inscription on the foundation stone, preserved in the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum in Sibiu (inv. nr. M 5361/15499), together with the name of the house-owner, in a “cryptic inscription consisting of five elegiac couplets”, deciphered by Ioan Albu⁵. It is significant that the conventionally established year of the founding of Sibiu, 1160, is integral to the dating formula, in a manner similar to the ancient chronology based on the year of the founding of Rome, whose beginnings were painted in the upper register in the festive hall, as Malcolm Jones observed.

Johann Reussner / Reisner the Younger (*villicus* in 1626–1627, and notary in 1636–1644), was the mayor of Sibiu (1644–1646) during one of the most important uprisings of the population

⁴ *Ordnung der Heiser der nachparschafft auff den grossenn und kleinen ring, wie das czeichenn umgehett. angefangen im Jar 1584* [Vecin. Sib. reg. 44, f.1, 1v]. I thank Florin Blezu once again for his generous help in the study of the history of the early modern buildings in Sibiu.

⁵ *Cibinium postquam sua bis duo Secula uidit / Annum(ue) ad Sextum Lustra Bis Octo dedit / Antea quae exiguo, haec cumbebam cespitem moles / Ut cernis, Sto nunc alte eleuata domus / Scire cupis quis sit, qui me fundarit ab imo / REISNERVS Consul NOBILITATE Grauis / Anterior postquam cessit, quae solis ad ortum / [Illus]tre, quiq(ue) urbis, Consul & ipse fuit; / . . . Hesperis Titan Subducere Vultum / . . . [moe]nia mansa tenerent.*

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against the urban patriciate in Transylvania (1645–1646), which culminated in executions, and was only stopped by the direct intervention of Prince George Rákóczi I (1630–1648). Georg Kraus, contemporary with the events, recounts in his chronicle how Reussner was banished from his position by the rage of the mob, who “tore down the fir trees in front of his house and took him out of the city hall” (Duzinchevici, Reus-Mirza 1965, 124)⁶. After order was restored in 1646, Reussner became a consul, and later a provincial consul (1648–1654) (Seivert 1792, 89–90).

The building, regularizing the front to the square, was completed in 1652, the year inscribed on the main portal of the building, which includes the Reussner coat of arms, and the initials EN of Elias Nicolai (ca. 1605–1661), to whom Ioan Albu has also attributed the execution of the foundation stone and the tombstone of the commissioner’s father, preserved in the *Ferula* of the Evangelical Cathedral in Sibiu (1637) (Albu 2002, 151–152, no. 165)⁷. Except for the tympanum, the portal reproduces the structure of the older model of the house at no. 10 in the Large Square of mayor Petrus Haller, who had himself been confronted by a popular revolt in 1556, in which the roots of the events of 1646 were seen (Gündisch 1987, 235). Reussner’s coat of arms, with the crane holding a stone in its claw, was sculpted in the same block of stone as the rest of the portal, being original⁸, and reflects the

conservatism of the Transylvanian Renaissance which perpetuated similar artistic forms for more than a century.

The paintings which decorated the former *Festsaal* of the house, situated on the first floor, in the southern wing of the house, are arranged in two registers (three images on the narrower upper one, and two on the wider lower one), and derive from the engravings of Matthäus Merian the Elder (1593–1650), illustrating the first edition of the *Historische Chronica*, issued in Frankfurt in 1630, a book which underwent numerous re-publishings and translations, and became known not only throughout Europe (Groesen 2011, 86)⁹, but in Asia as well (Mervart 2021, 47–49).

The southern wall decoration was uncovered by the restorer Liviu Ciungan in 2010 (Fig. 2), his samples proving that the paintings continue into the adjacent room, beyond the newer northern wall, as Sigerus noticed, his photographs of 1902 recording mainly the scenes on the eastern wall (Fig. 5).

Three of the images in the upper row in Sibiu reproduce Giovanni Battista Fontana’s engravings of 1573 (Jenei 2018, 619), representing *La storia di Romolo e Remo*, reinterpreted in reverse by Merian in 1630, who integrated them within his original compositions. The text of the book written by Johann Ludwig Gottfried (1584–1633) comments on the events, and mentions the historiographical sources, which in this case is *Ab urbe condita libri*, by Titus Livius (59–17 BC). The upper register includes the following episodes from the History of Rome, painted from right to left: *Romulus and Remus abandoned on the banks of the Tiber River*, *Romulus and Remus consulting Augurs* and *Death of Remus*, on the south wall (Figs. 3–4). The subject continues on the east wall with *The Rape of the Sabines*, and the *Fight of the Horatii and Curiatii*, among which another image described by Sigerus is only partially

⁶ Reussner was also mentioned by Kraus in connection with the celebration of the baptism of the son of Prince George II Rákóczi “when in Sibiu the cannons were fired and a procession was formed in the Large Square with songs and other ceremonies. After this, a fine meal was given at mister count (sic!) Johannes Reussner, attended by a portion of the council, the centurions and all the dignitaries” (Duzinchevici, Reus-Mirza 1965, 122).

⁷ Johann Reussner the Elder (1575–1637) was provincial notary (1624–1626), *villicus* (1626), judge (1632) and mayor (1633–1637), being probably the son of *Joannes Rhyssus Coronensis* (Zimmermann, 1884, 535; Albu, 2002, no. 56: 60), the first notary in Sibiu (1556–1562) to keep the town book in German (Pakucs-Willcocks 2015, 154).

⁸ An erroneous theory maintaining that the present coat of arms was introduced in 1652 into the portal (which was then considered to be of the same date as

the mid-sixteenth century Haller house), was perpetuated over the past fifty years by the majority of researchers, while the mentioned initials of the commissioner’s name, I R (Reissenberger, 1888, 496), apparently never existed.

⁹ Goethe mentioned it as the source of his world history knowledge.

visible in the photographs, but the subject is not clear.

As is well known, humanism systematically looked to Antique history in order to revive classical values. In the corpus of Renaissance mural painting from Transylvania, *Titus Livius* himself was celebrated within the ensemble of the School Library in Sibiu, among the figures of scholars of Antiquity and humanists of the Renaissance, accompanied by Latin quotations (Schwarz 1861, 25-26; Albu 2002, 95-98). The paintings dated 1592 were attributed to Laurentius Fronius, and the iconographic program to Georg Deidrich (Binder 1971, 16-18)¹⁰.

The quotation from Titus Livius', *Ab Urbe condita libri* (2, 12, 9) – *FORTIA FACERE ET PATI. ROMANUM EST*, accompanied the image of *Mucius Scaevola*, with his hand over the burning brazier of King Porsenna, was one of the "excellent paintings" of the great hall of Făgăraș Castle, "a splendid Italian-style building", as Giorgio Tomasi Veneto called it in 1594, describing the paintings now lost, which were commissioned in 1589–1592 by Baltazar Báthory, Prince of Transylvania for several months in 1594 (Veress 1926, 74-76; Jenei 2013A, 134; eadem 2018, 612).

Less well known are the scenes from Ancient history, represented in the lower register of the Reussner House, which have a similar source, the *Historische Chronica*: on the south wall, from right to left, under the first three images of the History of Rome, were painted the *Judgment of Cambyzes* (mostly covered by modern green paint still) and, on the other side of the now built-in door, the *Judgment of Zeleucus* (partially visible). On the east wall, the scene of *Philonomus and Callias of Catania*, positioned under the *Horatii and Curiatii*, is known from the 1902 photographs, which also show that on the right side another scene should exist under the lime.

*

The first scene in chronological order in the upper register of the south wall, which depicts *Romulus and Remus exposed on the banks of the river Tiber*, was not mentioned at all by Sigerus, while the second scene, representing

the *Choice of the name of Rome through the ritual of Augury*, not photographed, was misinterpreted as a funeral ceremony after a battle, with the figure of a commander wearing shiny armour and speaking to the Roman soldiers from a height, near an obelisk enclosed by trees. In the third scene, the *Death of Remus*, Sigerus confused the walls of Rome under construction with ruins, the overall view showing, indeed, only a small lateral fragment uncovered, and not the main figures in the central part of the foreground (Fig. 5).

Much more clearly visible in the photographs is the next scene on the eastern wall, in which Sigerus mentioned "two Roman soldiers brutally capturing two women", actually the *Rape of the Sabines* (Binder 1971 18) (Figs. 6-7). The *Combat of the Horatii and Curiatii* (Fig. 11 and 12) was reported as a "Roman battle" the abbreviation "SPQR" inscribed on the fallen shield in the centre of the image being mentioned. Despite this correct observation, when he returned to the subject in 1922, he mistakenly concluded that the whole cycle represents Homer's Trojan War – *Homers Trojanischem Krieg* (Sigerus 1922, 77). As for the representations of the eastern wall, Sigerus mentioned in the account of 1902, between what we know now as being the *Sabines* and *Horatii*, a third scene, with a rider on a white horse in its center, but we can only see a soldier standing with his back to the viewer in the edge of the image partially photographed, the subject remaining unidentified yet.

The single image in the lower register of the east wall, also known only from the photographs, is positioned under the *Horatii* and the adjacent image, and represents, according to the *Historische Chronica*, *Philonomus and Callias of Catania*, who saved their parents during the first eruption of Etna recorded in history, in 475 BC (Fig. 11 and 13). Sigerus described the episode as "the fire of a large city with ancient buildings" and mentioned details such as "the red toga hanging on one of the elders", the "turban-covered head" of the other, and in the distance, "houses on fire" and "many people running chaotically, one carrying a ladder, two jumping out of windows". Probably this is the scene which determined Sigerus to consider later, in 1922, the whole ensemble as representing the Trojan War, and based on this misidentification,

¹⁰ The library was organized after the Reformation inside the medieval Saint Ladislaus chapel, which was finally demolished in 1898.

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Kertesz regarded it as representing *Aeneas and Anchises*, and *Horatii and Curiatii*, *Hector and Achilles*. Equally erroneous is the use of the generic term *fresco* for these seventeenth-century Transylvanian murals, which in fact are made in the *secco* technique on a layer of lime – *Kalkmalerei*, a technical aspect mentioned by Sigerus himself, in another article on the paintings in Sibiu (Sigerus 1890, 1).

In the lower register too, but on the south wall, was painted the *Judgment of Zaleucus* (seventh century BC), who was the author of *Locrian Code*, in which the punishment for adultery was the loss of both eyes. The image in Sibiu, following the *Historische Chronica*, depicts the episode in which Zaleucus shares this punishment with his son (Figs. 8-10). Sigerus described the right side of the scene (now lost to another door inserted after 1902, but visible in the historical photograph) with a sitting “young man wearing a chest armour as a Roman warrior, held by an elder”, while another man “clasps his head and stabs his right eye with an instrument”, and in the middle of the background, between the two scenes of forfeiture of sight symmetrically represented, a “balcony with curious people”, but considered the scene “an ophthalmological intervention and not a forced blindness”, according to the calm attitude of those “operated”.

The adjacent image in the lower register of the south wall has never been cleaned, but the elements visible through the paint layer, corroborated by the graphic source, show that here is represented the *Judgment of Cambyses* (seventh century BC), the Persian emperor who, after executing the unjust judge Sisamnes, put his skin on the judgment seat so that his son, who succeeded him, would not forget to always judge righteously. The most significant element that is still discernible under the layer of modern paint that almost entirely covers this area of the murals, is the human skin of the throne canopy, rendered exactly as in the *Historische Chronica* illustration (Figs. 14-15). At the base of the whole ensemble a narrow drapery register originally existed.

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Emil Sigerus (1854–1947), folklorist, collector and historian, tireless researcher and promoter of Saxon culture in Transylvania, left us both the first description and historical photographs of the paintings in the Reussner House, from 1902, essential for our knowledge of the representations on the eastern wall of the *Festsaal*, still under the lime.

The murals were most likely made towards the end of the construction of the building, which begun in 1646 (the date of the foundation stone) and probably ended in 1652 (the date of the portal sculpted by Elias Nicolai), and the author could well be one of the seven painters mentioned in the Sibiu *Präbende* of 1657 – i.e. *Johann Hermann, Michael Bordan, Johann der Maler, Franz Breselius, Gallus Wolff, Johan Kalmar, Andreas Röss* (Albrich 1882, 290). Of this entire group, information is only available, but two decades later, concerning Johann Hermann, who in 1673 was in the service of the Princess Anna Bornemisza, Michael Apafi I's wife, at the Palace in Alba Iulia, and who in 1676 was working on the order of Sophia Siphtin, Andreas Fleischer's widow in Sibiu, for whom he painted the Gușterița altarpiece, today in the National History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj (Mândrescu 1992, 73-76). The wooden part of the altarpiece was made by the sculptor Sigismund Möss, one of the artists who left Upper Hungary, Slovakia of today, because of the religious persecutions, and settled in Sibiu around 1675, just like the painter Jeremias Stranovius, or the goldsmith Sebastian Hann (1644–1713), the most famous goldsmith in Transylvania at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the next one, who used as models other prints of the same source (Marica 1992, 93-107).

The Reussner House mural ensemble, reproducing Matthäus Merian the Elder's engravings in the first edition of the *Historische Chronica* published in Frankfurt am Main in 1630, is unique in pre-modern European painting, and reflects the artistic standards of the *Siebenbürgischen Sachsen* patriciate, as well as the values promoted by Humanism.

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Fig. 1. Reussner House in Sibiu, no. 16 Large Square, the main facade with the carved portal stone frame, dated 1652 (photograph by Ioan Muntean).

Fig. 2. Reussner House, general view of the painted ensemble of the southern wall of the former *Festsaal*.

Fig. 3. *The Death of Remus*, Reussner House, south wall, upper row.

Fig. 4. *The Death of Remus*, Reussner House, Matthäus Merian, illustration to *Historische Cronica*, Frankfurt, 1630. Available online on:
<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=SiBhAAAcAAJ&pg=GBS.PA91&hl=ro>

Fig. 5. Reussner House, general view of the two painted walls of the former *Festsaal*: upper row – *the Death of Remus*, south, and *the Rape of the Sabines*, east; lower row – *the Judgement of Zaleucus*, south (copy after Emil Sigerius' photograph of 1902).

Fig. 6. *The Rape of the Sabine Women*, Reussner House, east wall, upper row (copy after Emil Sigerius' photograph of 1902).

Fig. 7. *The Rape of the Sabine Women*, Matthäus Merian, illustration to *Historische Cronica*, Frankfurt, 1630. Available online on:
<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=SiBhAAAcAAJ&pg=GBS.PA93&hl=ro>

Fig. 8. *The Judgement of Zaleucus*, Matthäus Merian, illustration to *Historische Cronica*, Frankfurt, 1630. Available online on:
<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=SiBhAAAcAAJ&pg=GBS.PA102&hl=ro>

Fig. 9. *The Judgement of Zaleucus*, Reussner House, south wall, lower row, detail (copy after Emil Sigerius' photograph of 1902).

Fig. 10. *The Judgement of Zaleucus*, Reussner House, south wall, lower row, detail.

Fig. 11. Reussner House, east wall, *the Battle of the Horatii and Curiatii*, and unidentified scene (upper row); *Philonamus and Callias of Catania* (lower row), copy after Emil Sigerius' photograph of 1902.

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https://books.google.ro/books?id=txhhAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

**Seventeenth Century Murals in Sibiu:
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Fig. 1. Reussner House in Sibiu, no. 16, Large Square, the main facade with the carved portal stone frame, dated 1652



Fig. 2. Reussner House, general view of the painted ensemble of the southern wall of the former *Festsaal*

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Fig. 3. *The Death of Remus*, Reussner House, south wall, upper row



Fig. 4. *The Death of Remus*, Reussner House, Matthäus Merian,
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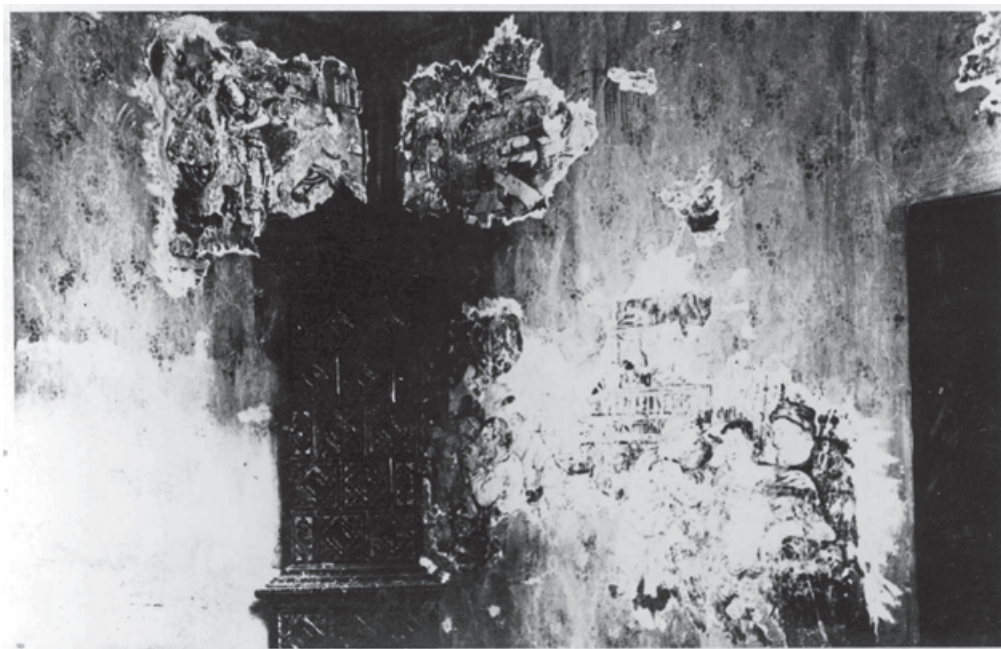


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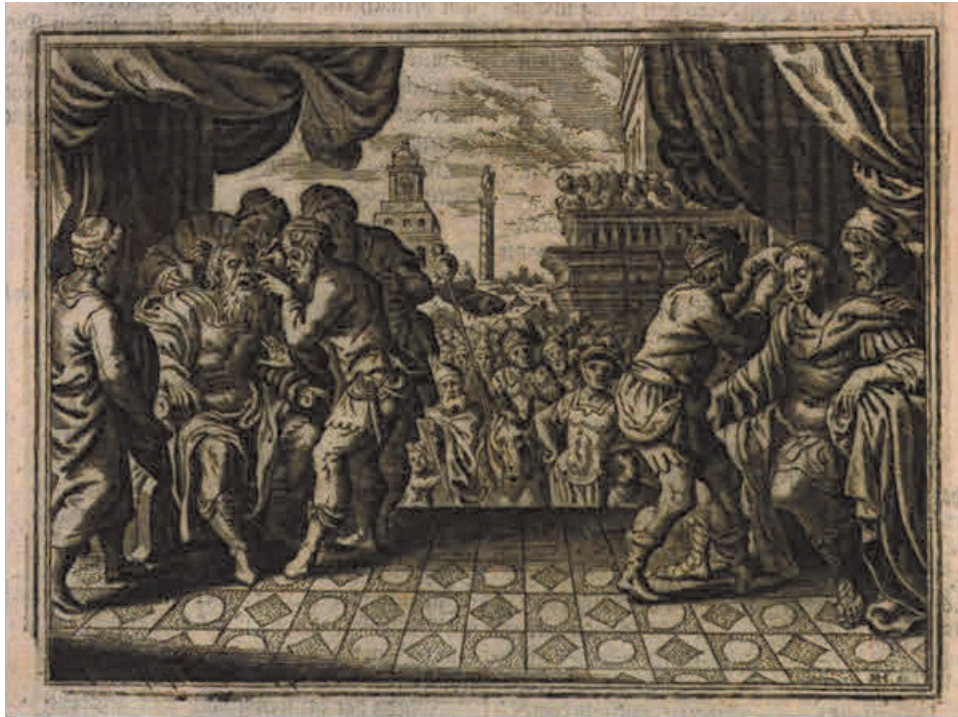


Fig. 8. *The Judgement of Zaleucus*, Matthäus Merian, illustration to *Historische Cronica*, Frankfurt, 1630



Fig. 9. *The Judgement of Zaleucus*, Reussner House, south wall, lower row, detail (copy after E. Sigerius' photograph, 1902)



Fig. 10. *The Judgement of Zaleucus*, Reussner House, south wall, lower row, detail



Fig. 11. Reussner House, east wall, *the Battle of the Horatii and Curiatii*, and unidentified scene (upper row); *Philonamus and Callias of Catania* (lower row) (copy after Emil Sigerius' photograph, 1902)

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Fig. 12. *The Battle of the Horatii and Curiatii*, Matthäus Merian, illustration to *Historische Cronica*, Frankfurt, 1630



Fig. 13. *Philonamus and Callias of Catania*, Matthäus Merian, illustration to *Historische Cronica*, Frankfurt, 1657



Fig. 14. *The Judgement of Sisamnes*, detail, Reussner House, south wall, lower row



Fig. 15. *The Judgement of Sisamnes*, Matthäus Merian, illustration to *Historische Cronica*, Frankfurt, 1657

GIOVAN FRANCESCO CAROTO'S PAINTING THE "NATIVITY OF MARY" AND ITS IDENTIFIED COLLECTORS

Daniela DĂMBOIU*

Abstract: *The aim of this study is to highlight, based on published documentary sources and the most relevant bibliographical references, the succession of identified collectors who once owned the painting the "Nativity / Birth of Mary" (ca. 1530) by the Veronese painter Giovan Francesco Caroto, until it was acquired by Baron Samuel von Brukenthal.*

Key words: *Caroto's "Nativity of Mary", Caroto's heirs, artwork collectors, Verona, Mario Bevilacqua, Agostino Giusti, Gian Giacomo Giusti, Samuel von Brukenthal*

Rezumat: *Scopul acestui studiu este de a evidenția, pe baza surselor documentare publicate și a celor mai relevante referințe bibliografice, succesiunea colecționarilor care au deținut cândva tabloul pictorului veronez Giovan Francesco Caroto „Nașterea Mariei” (cca. 1530), până la achiziționarea lui de către Baronul Samuel von Brukenthal.*

Cuvinte cheie: *„Nașterea Mariei” lui Caroto, moștenitorii lui Caroto, colecționari de opere de artă, Verona, Mario Bevilacqua, Agostino Giusti, Gian Giacomo Giusti, Samuel von Brukenthal*

One of the most important international cultural events of this year is the first retrospective exhibition dedicated to Caroto: “Giovan Francesco Caroto, ca. 1480–1555, and the arts in Verona between Mantegna and *Bella Maniera*” –, organized in Verona, at the Palazzo della Gran Guardia, between the May 12th and October 2nd, 2022 (Fig. 1). The exhibition brought together works from various European collections and locations by the painter and his brother Giovanni Caroto (including: Museo di Castelvecchio – Verona, Accademia Carrara di Bergamo, Castello Sforzesco – Milan, Städel Museum – Frankfurt, Galleria Estense di Modena, Musée du Louvre – Paris, Kunsthistorisches Museum – Vienna etc.). The Brukenthal National Museum in Sibiu, owner of one of Giovan Francesco Caroto's reference works, the signed painting the *Nativity of Mary*, was also invited to collaborate on this remarkable exhibition (Fig. 2).

The research carried out by several Italian art historians to compile the catalog of this exhibition examined the archive documents of Verona from Caroto's time and later; some of

them refer to the painting in Sibiu, and are therefore of great interest for its history up to its acquisition by Baron Brukenthal.

The aim of this study is to correlate the most recent published documentary and bibliographic references with the oldest, and to deepen the documentary research, using the sources cited or only indicated, in order to reveal and outline as broadly as possible the current state of knowledge about this important painting of the Brukenthal National Museum.

Giovan Francesco Caroto's *Nativity of Mary* is a balanced, typically Renaissance composition, conceived on two main, horizontal plans: terrestrial – the first plane representing on the left side Joachim with Mary in his arms, and on the right, the canopy in which Ana gave birth – and celestial, respectively – with God the Father blessing the scene, surrounded by the suite of cherubim (Tudoran 2007, 80). “*Nativity of Mary* prepares the stage for the future Descent of the Kingdom of Heaven, the physical existence of Mary being one of the conditions for the fulfillment of the prophecy of Messiah's Coming.” (Hrib 2007, 94)

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The lower plan of the painting is divided, in turn, into two vertical registers: on the left, the real world is suggested by a group of Jewish women surrounding Joachim and Mary, with the scene of an animated square in the background, signaling the earthly role that the Birth of the Virgin Mary had in the later Birth of the Savior Jesus, and on the right is projected a transcendental space, whose characters are Anna and the group of women dressed in Greco-Roman style – reflecting the image of the classical Christian civilization, proposed as a model of perfection (Dâmboiu 2012, 111).

The allegorical interpretation consists in placing the scene outside, in the center of a public square, not in an interior space as usual. According to tradition, Mary's Birth took place under the Golden Gate in Jerusalem, through the mystical act of Kissing between the two elderly spouses – Joachim and Anna –, due to their sincere and devoted faith in God. The Immaculate Conception of Mary is highlighted in Caroto's painting by the huge white canopy in which Ana is placed. The Rome-style architectural fragment on the left of the work's background suggests the Vatican St. Peter's Basilica, as a representation of the divine plan of Salvation for Mankind, carried out by Jesus, and which continued to be fulfilled in the artist's time through the Holy See and the Catholic clergy (Hrib 2009, 307-308).

The artist proves to be a fine connoisseur of the Christian teachings, rendering them with a very strong symbolic load in this vast composition. "In the upper register, the painting bears a resemblance to the scene of *Creation of Adam*, fresco on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, painted by Michelangelo between 1508 and 1512 ... There are two main correspondences between the heavenly and the earthly plan: the profile of the Heavenly Father matches to the profile of the earthly father, Joachim. The representation of the children in the upper register corresponds to the representation of the children in the lower register. The number of children on earth is 2 – the symbol of the human being, because God created Man as male and female. The overall message of the composition seems to be 'On Earth as it is in Heaven' due to: the correspondences between the heavenly and the earthly plans, the suggestion of the Divine

Descent on Earth created through the children's images, and the theological significance of laying the groundwork for Savior's [Second] Coming, who will inaugurate the Kingdom of Heaven in the material order of the world." (Hrib 2009, 307) The two children in the bottom of the painting are associated with a turtle and a white puppy. The predominant significance of the turtle is the magical union of the heaven with the earth, the convex shell being correlated with the heaven, and its body with the earth; the longevity of the species is related to Immortality; the white dog, in turn, signals the existence of a spiritual ideal and the path one must follow to attain it (Dâmboiu 2012, 111).

The painting was purchased by or for the Baron Brukenthal in Vienna between ca. 1760 and ca. 1790, and listed in the Gallery's oldest catalog as "*Ein Geburt Mariens*" by an anonymous Italian painter; it was displayed in the Brukenthal Palace, in the second room of the Italian painting school (Ältester Katalog, ca. 1800, Room II, nr. 34). The attributions made to this painting varied over time from Ambrosius Giotto (?) in 1844 (Die Gemäldegalerie 1844, 25, nr. 131), to an anonymous Italian painter in 1893 (Die Gemäldegalerie 1893, 10, Room III, nr. 121), and later, in 1894, to an Italian painter close to Lodovico Mazzolino of Ferrara (Frimmel 1894, 85, nr. 121). On the back of the painting is handwritten the name "Rafael di Urbino", as an opinion about the attribution of the painting at a given time. The painter's signature in the center of the painting (on the pedestal of the building behind the canopy, next to the praying hands of the second woman near Ana) was noticed in 1844 and 1893–1894, but considered indecipherable. Although the painting was recognized by the London art historian Dr. Jean Paul Richter, in 1896, as an original by Gianfrancesco Caroto, as well as later, in 1901, by Dr. Karl Voll of Munich, and despite the fact that Michel Csaki noticed the artist's signature and deciphered it as "*K. ROT*" in 1909, Csaki maintained – in his catalog of that year and in the guide of the museum from 1921 – the attribution to a painter from Ferrara from the first half of the 16th century (Csaki 1909, 112-113, no. 369; Csaki 1921a, 14, nr. 369). In an attempt to "solve this problem", Theodor Frimmel proposed a new attribution to this painting in

1916, based on the signature he confessed he had also observed in 1894 and deciphered it as “FR. KROTO”, namely Michele Cortellini – a lesser known painter from Ferrara –, without excluding, however, the possibility of being Caroto’s (Frimmel 1916, 45). Teodor Ionescu was of the opinion that Frimmel correctly deciphered the signature and Caroto’s signature was authentic (Ionescu 1970a).

It was the merit of the philosopher and art historian Teodor Ionescu, head of the Art Gallery of the Brukenthal Museum between 1956 and 1970, to have maintained a tireless and assiduous correspondence with prestigious art historians for the attribution and confirmation of Giovan Francesco Caroto as author of the painting in Sibiu.

Dr. Emma Zocca (Professor at the National Institute of Archeology and History of Art in Rome) answered in September 1957 to a letter that Teodor Ionescu had previously addressed to her (which is no longer kept in his Correspondence Archive)¹, giving her the

¹ The Archive of Teodor Ionescu – reflecting his impressive correspondence with the most prestigious art historians around the world (Europe, America, Canada) – is kept in the Brukenthal National Museum (and due to the poor state of preservation of the paper sheets, it needs to be scanned or photographed as soon as possible). The letters sent by Teodor Ionescu were written in two copies and recorded, a copy being kept in the archive, together with the answer he received later; unfortunately, not all response letters were recorded; however, apart from the letters received from Prof. Roberto Longhi – which are no longer preserved in the museum (except those addressed by Ionescu to him) – most of the other letters sent and received still exist. (It is important to mention, in this context, the recent presentation of Mrs. Doina Ene’s Master’s Thesis in History of Art, at the University of Milan, about the correspondence between Teodor Ionescu and Roberto Longhi, “*Carteggio tra Roberto Longhi e Teodor Ionescu (1959–1969)*”; the merit of this research is the reproduction of Longhi’s letters addressed to Ionescu, which can be found in copy at the Longhi Foundation in Florence.) Teodor Ionescu also noted the answers received in separate registers (in the order of the inventory numbers of the paintings), so that regarding to Caroto’s painting we find mentioned the letters received from the “Accademia Carrara di belle arti (Bergamo) – cf. 26.III. 1958”, as well as those from „Dott. Emma Zocca (Roma)

following information: “It definitely seems to me a work of Giovan Francesco Caroto. In the Galleria dell’Accademia Carrara in Bergamo there is a panel with the *Nativity of the Virgin*, part of the predella of an altarpiece which is remembered by Vasari, and which Caroto painted for the Company of the Madonna of S. Bernardino of Verona. It is signed and dated 1527. The composition is quite similar to the lower part of the Sibiu painting, and some figures are repeated, inverted: that of the woman lying on the ground by the basin and that woman seen from behind, leaning on the canopy (Fig. 3). The reference to Mazzolino from Ferrara – not Masolino, as it is written in the catalog (Ionescu 1956, fig. 11) – seems only apparent to me. Instead, as in other works by Caroto, the influence of the Roman school (from engravings and Giulio Romano, who painted in nearby Mantua) and Pordenone, from the painting with the group of the *Eternal [Father] with Angels*,² it is obvious.” (Ionescu’s Archive, correspondence with Emma Zocca, letter nr. 440 / September 13th, 1957, reply to Ionescu’s letter nr. 1737 / August 13th, 1957). Dr. Wart Arslan (Full Professor of Art History at the University of Pavia, Milano) also confirmed the attribution of the painting to Caroto: “As for the Italian paintings illustrated in your catalogue (Ionescu 1956), it seems to me that the attribution of figure 11 to Giovanni Francesco Caroto is quite correct, while, on the contrary, Masolino’s name does not seem appropriate to me because the painting is very far from Masolino.” (Ionescu’s Archive, correspondence with Wart Arslan, page 27/69, letter from October 29th, 1957)

Teodor Ionescu’s eloquent interpretation of the painting deserves to be reproduced: Giovan Francesco Caroto (ca. 1480–1555) “is one of the most important painters in Verona. A student of Liberale, he also went through Mategna’s workshop, whose influence is felt until around 1525, after which he was attracted to Raffaello, Tiziano, Michel Angelo and Correggio. Caroto’s eclecticism is also visible in the Sibiu painting. The women have a

– cf. 13.IX.1957”, and from „Prof. Dr. Wart Arslan (Pavia) – cf. 29.X.1957”.

² Il Pordone, *God the Father with Angels*, 1529–1530, Chiesa dei Francescani in Cortemaggiore, Piacenza, Italia.

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Raphaelite candor, while the silhouette of God, worn by the crowd of angels, reminds of the Michelangian Mannerism. Caroto enjoyed the fairest interpretation from [Bernard] Berenson, who recognized him even in his most eclectic phase, the merit of being 'unique and surprising in the landscape, ... modern, loving the landscape for the landscape, and expressing it with an impressionist brush', which can be seen in our picture, without finding, of course, the division of tones or the diffusion of shapes. Caroto's landscape, with distances and alpine cliffs, derives from that of Leonardo, but it is not shrouded by sfumato. The crystalline transparency of the colours heralds Veronese, but the intense and uniform light diffused throughout the painting really reminds us of the modern vision. ... The fact that the painting from the Accademia Carrara is dated in 1527, allows us to date the Sibiu painting around this year." (Ionescu 1970a, 8)

The history of the origin of the painting before it came into Baron Brukenthal's possession was totally unknown to the Romanian art historians, until the participation of the painting in the above-mentioned exhibition, organized in Verona. The history of the collectors and collecting in Verona has stimulated many researchers in the recent decades, and has culminated in several studies and books (Franzoni 1970; Dossi, Marcorin 2020; Moretti 2020; Rossi, Peretti, Rossetti 2020 a.o.).

*

The painter Giovan Francesco Caroto made his will in 1555, and signed it on April 29th, shortly before he died. Being a widower and because his son, Bernardino, died in the same year, he left his estate to his grandchildren – his son's boys –, Pietro and Baldassare. In 1595, Caroto's heirs sold ten paintings "del Caroto" to Giovan Francesco Bevilacqua – the nephew and heir of Count Mario Bevilacqua –, including the *Pietà della lacrima*³ (Franzoni 1970, 57). The painting *Nativity of Mary* by Caroto was purchased before that lot of ten paintings, because it was mentioned in Mario's will from July 30th, 1593, as "*il nascentto della Madonna del Carotto*" (Franzoni 1970, 56; Peretti 2020, 116), and after his death, in "*Inventarium bonorum*" of Mario's estate from

August 5th–6th, 1593, as "*un quadro della natività di S.ta Maria del Carotto*" (Franzoni 1970, 169; Dossi 2008, 125; Moretti 2020, 173, n. 1; Peretti 2020, 116). It is assumed that Mario acquired the painting either from Caroto's grandson, Baldassare (to whom he was registered with a debt in March 1589) or from Caroto's great-grandson, Bernardino (born in 1558, to whom he also owed 185 ducats, which his heirs paid in three instalments, between December 1593 and April 1607) (Moretti 2020, 58, 76, notes. 56, 57, 58).

Count Mario Bevilacqua (1536–1593), member of one of the oldest prestigious Veronese families, protagonist of the cultural life of Verona in the late 16th century, was a passionate collector of ancient sculptures, books, numismatic coins, musical instruments, paintings and decorative works of art. He was in relations with the collectors of the time in Verona (Canossa, Giusti, Del Torre a.o.), with the Duke of Mantua Vincenzo I Gonzaga, the Duke of Bavaria William V, and many others famous personalities (Franczoni 1970, 29–31). In 1567, Mario graduated from the University of Bologna with a Doctor of Civic law degree; he was also the Municipal Purveyor of Verona at that time, and since 1579, Ambassador of the Venetian Republic to Istanbul (Academic: Bevilacqua Family).

He renovated the family palace (*Palazzo Bevilacqua sul Corso*), inherited from his father (together with his brother, Antonio), and transformed it into a "Temple of the Muses"; at the first floor, he arranged a musical "*ridotto*" (where he held concerts and promoted contemporary musicians and composers, described later, in 1604, as a "fabulous Parnassus"), followed in a clockwise order by a "*studio*" used as a public Library, a "*camera grande*" and a "*galleria*" (Moretti 2020, 94–96).

The "*natività de Santa Maria del Carotto*" was displayed in the "*studio*" (Franzoni 1970, 169; Peretti 2020, 116), along with other paintings, including a "*quadro de Zorzon del liuto grande*" (considered at that time by Giorgione, but later identified with Giovanni Cariani's *Il Concerto*, now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington) (Dossi 2008, 125; Moretti 2020, 56, 177–178).

³ Currently in Verona, at the Museo di Castelvecchio, inv. 108.

The history of collecting in Verona in the 16th and 17th centuries reflects the existing kinship relationships. Mario Bevilacqua was the grandson of Giovanni Canossa through his mother (one of the oldest and most illustrious families in Italy, whose Renaissance-style ‘Palazzo Canossa’ was located not far from that of the Bevilacqua family, on *sul Corso*, near Castelvechio di Verona); he married Isabella Giusti, the daughter of Agostino Giusti, another famous collector (who owned a fabulous garden near his palace, from which he received the pseudonym *Il Giordano*). Along with them, Mario Bevilacqua stood out as one of the greatest Veronese collector of the second half of the Cinquecento, an exceptional personality whose fame continues to this day. His musical *ridotto* (a concert room, decorated with portraits of composers and players) and, by extensions, his *palazzo*, were referred to as a “*museo*” in a 1585 dedication-letter (of an edition of printed music) (Moretti 2020, 255)⁴ from Giovanni Bassano – “musician of the Illustrious Signoria of Venice”, and since 1598 “music teacher of the Seminary of San Marco” (Fano 1970). Count Mario Bevilacqua’s palazzo was also regarded as a “*museo*” almost two hundred years later, by the Venetian writer and art critic, Marquis Francesco Scipione Maffei, in the third volume of his *Verona illustrata* from 1732 (Moretti 2020, 111-112).

On the bed of suffering, Mario Bevilacqua made his will on July 30th, 1593. Mario died on August 1st, 1593, without having a legitimate son (Franzoni 1970, 32). Trying to protect his legacy and the achievements of a lifetime, Mario bequeathed the palace and collections to his young wife, Isabella – who was only 20 years old (Moretti 2020, 42) –, except for a few donations to some close family members (cousin Carlo Canossa and father-in-law Agostino Giusti); he left further legacies to the city’s monasteries, to other members of his family etc., naming his three nephews as universal heirs.

The three paintings he left by will to his father-in-law, Agostino Giusti, are explicitly

identified: “*il paese maggiore del Civetta*”⁵; “*il nascimento della Madonna del Caroto*”⁶, and “*quello che suoana di liuto di mano Zorzone da Castelfranco*”⁷ (Franzoni 1970, 26; Dossi 2008, 113; Moretti 2020, 51, 204; Peretti 2020, 116). Isabella, Mario’s wife, transferred the three paintings to her father shortly after her husband’s death, which results from the fact that they no longer appear in the Inventory compiled in Palazzo Bevilacqua in 1595.

Prominent patron of arts, Agostino Giusti “*Il Giordano*” (1548–1615) held many positions in the civil and cultural life of Verona. He displayed the three inherited valuable paintings along with the others from his impressive collection – of Italian paintings (Paolo Veronese, Parmigianino, Jacopo Bassano, Jacopo Ligozzi, Giovannia Francesco Caroto, Paolo Farinati a.o.) and some Flemish and Dutch painters, as well as statuettes in bronze and marble – in his palace, located in the district of Santa Maria in Organo, in Verona (*Palazzo Giusti*, also famous for his nearby garden).

After Agostino’s death in 1615, his son Gian Giacomo Giusti – also distinguished by great taste in art and as a passionate collector and commissioner (of Alessandro Turchi, Guido Reni, Cavalier d’Arpino, Moretta da Brescia etc.) – exhibited his own private collection in addition to his father’s, in the palace he inherited. Gian Giacomo Giusti’s collection was the pearl of the city in the period before 1630 (Dossi 2008, 114).

⁵ Painting by Herri met de Bles called also *Il Civetta* (Dinant, ca. 1510–Antwerp, after 1550). The painting was seen in Palazzo Giusti and described by Francesco Pona in 1620 as: “*Paese grande, in cui nel deserto predica il precursor Battista alla turbe*.” The painting is mentioned again, in 1718, in the house of the Marquis Canossa, in Verona. (Unidentified picture so far.)

⁶ It came into Brukenthal’s possession sometime after the 1760s. The Brukenthal National Museum, inv. 369, oil on canvas, 70,2 x 60 cm.

⁷ The painting was seen in the Palazzo Giusti and mentioned by Francesco Pona in 1620 as: “*il Suanatore di liuto del Giorgione*,” and described as a group of three bust figures, one of them holding a lute. The painting was identified by Davide Dossi (2008, 125-126) as a work by Giovanni Busi Cariani (Bergamo, 1485–Venice, 1547).

⁴ Dedication nr. 17, Giovanni Bassano, *Fantesie a tre voci*, Venice (1585): “*E se ben nel singolare Museo de Vostra Signoria illustre ove abonda...*”

Giovan Francesco Caroto's Painting the "Nativity of Mary" and its identified Collectors

In a booklet in form of a dialogue called "*Sileno*", published in 1620 – on the occasion of the wedding of Francesco Giusti, Gian Giacomo Giusti's son –, the outstanding artworks preserved in the Giusti Palace were described, room after room, by Francesco Pona, an apothecary, philosopher, writer, and botanist from Verona, and also the gardener of the Counts Giusti (Dossi 2008, 109-110; Moretti 2020, 158). Pona mentioned the three paintings inherited by Giusti's from Mario Bevilacqua (see notes 4-6). Referring to Caroto's painting, he exclaimed: "*Hor vedete questa Natività di Maria, di man di Francesco Caroto, non è ella maravigliosa? Mirate quante figure, quanto ben situate, come ben s'intende l'affetto d'ogn'una d'esse.*"⁸ (Pona 1620, 62, *apud* Franzoni 1970, 57; Dossi 2008, 125; Moretti 2020, 180; Peretti 2020, 116)

In 1628, during a visit in Verona, the Italian art biographer and painter Carlo Ridolfi (1594–1658) referred to Gian Giacomo Giusti's collection as still intact (Ridolfi 1628, *apud* Dossi 2008, 111).

Following Gian Giacomo Giusti's death in 1630, the family assets were divided between his two sons, Francesco and Marcantonio; the palace and the garden in Verona remained to Francesco, and most of the collections were inherited by Marcantonio, who transferred them to the Giusti Palace in the Chiavica district of Verona (Dossi 2008, 114). The last reference to Caroto's painting *Nativity of Mary* was made in 1644, in an inventory of the Giusti House (Dossi, Marcorin 202, 178; Peretti 2020, 116). Until the middle of the 17th century, the "Giusti collections" were dispersed. Paintings from this collection have been identified in private collections or important museums in the world, such as the National Gallery in Washington, the Pushkin Museum in Moscow and the Royal Collections in Windsor.

The one who identified the *Birth of Mary* by Caroto in the above mentioned Verona collections as that from the Brukenthal National Museum in Sibiu was Dr. Davide

Dossi, in 2008 – when he also noticed the concordance between Pona's 1620 description of the painting by "Giorgione" from the Giusti Palace and the painting from the National Gallery of Art in Washington, for which he proposed the attribution to Giovanni Cariani (2008, 125-126, 128-129).

From 1644, for more than a century, no information appeared about this painting of Caroto. Following the dispersion of the "Giusti collections", the painting most likely entered a private collection in Vienna, from where, through its sale by heirs, it was purchased by Baron Samuel von Brukenthal – in Vienna or through intermediaries, when he was already in Sibiu.

*

Unfortunately, only a few incomplete information and purchase records are known about Baron Brukenthal's acquisitions over the years. There are few indirect sources as to the provenance of some of the paintings in the Brukenthal gallery. Today it is known that the paintings *Ecce Homo* by Titian (inv. 3186 / old inv. 1196) and the *Holy Family* by Paris Bordone (inv. 89) come from the Imperial collections in Vienna (more precisely from the one made by the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, who died in 1662, and to whom they had arrived through a long line of collectors, most of whom fortunately have been identified; Dâmboiu 2017, 197-219), as well as the group of paintings recorded in the inventories of the Imperial Picture Gallery at the beginning of 1772, namely: Frans van Mieris, *Man smoking at the Window* (inv. 3185 / old inv. 756), Hendrik van Balen, *Judgment of Paris* (inv. 48), Giulio Pippi also known as Romano (re-attributed to Hendrik Glotzius), *Endymion with lance and hunting horn* (inv. 895), three landscapes by Frans Boels (inv. 84, 85, 86) and Pieter Breughel, *Massacre of the Innocents* (inv. 148), and possibly some others (Frimmel 1899, I, 127; Csaki 1921b, 27; Schuller 1969, 292; Ionescu 1960, 38-45; Ionescu 1962; Ionescu 1969; Dâmboiu 2017, 206-207, n. 34).

Samuel von Brukenthal made a successful career in Vienna since 1759. His long stay in the capital of the Habsburg Empire offered Brukenthal the opportunity to come into contact with aristocratic collectors, with scholars and merchants of books, art and

⁸ "If you look at this *Birth of Mary* by Francesco Caroto, it is wonderful, isn't it? It's amazing how many characters, how well positioned they are, how well the affection of each of them is understood!"

antiques, circumstances which stimulated his passion for collecting. The core of his future art gallery was formed and developed in Vienna soon after 1759, and from 1766 was displayed in the Transylvanian Aulic Chancellery headquarters, whose president Brukenthal was between 1765–1774 (Schullerus 1905, 105-106, footnote 3). Among the several private art cabinets existing in Vienna, Brukenthal's collection was indicated as the second one to be visited in both *Almanach de Vienne* of 1773 and *Almanach von Wien* of 1774 (Kurzbock 1773, 181; Kurzbock 1774, 159).⁹ In 1777, Brukenthal's large gallery – facing the street – was still in the building of the Transylvanian Aulic Chancellery in Vienna (Schuller 1969, 292, citing from a letter of Johann Theodor von Hermann), although Brukenthal had already left in 1774 to Sibiu, where he was appointed President of the Transylvanian Government. In 1777, Brukenthal was invested by Maria Theresia as Governor of Transylvania, position he held 10 years.

It is documented that Baron Brukenthal began sending his collections from Vienna to Sibiu in 1774 and most parts of it in 1777. He displayed his paintings on the second floor of his new Palace (built between 1778–1783, and enlarged until 1785–1788), in the center of Sibiu (Schuller 1969, Bd. II, 257-262; Dâmboiu 2018, 247-248); his private gallery of art was described in Martin Hochmeister's almanac of the city of Sibiu from 1790 (Hochmeister 1790, 99).

Baron Brukenthal continued to purchase paintings during various returns to Vienna (1776–1777, 1785/1786, 1787/1788, 1792 a.o.) or through Johann Martin Stoss (between 1790–1800) (Schuller 1969, 293-294). However, there is no reference to the painting *The Birth of Mary* by Caroto in any documentary notes or in the auction catalogues that have been kept in his Library (from Vienna: Reutter 1772, Canal 1774, or from Dresden 1765, Bruxelles / Anvers / Gand 1776, Bruxelles / Anvers / Dresden 1776, Franckfort sur le Mein 1779 and 1784, Leipzig 1780 a.o.) (Mayer 2017, 183-195).

The painting has remained in very good condition until now, so we can admire the vivid and rich colours used by the painter from Verona Renaissance, Giovan Francesco Caroto.

⁹ “Besondere Kabinete in privathäusern von Gemälden: [(2.) Das Kabinet] Hr. Excellenz des Freyherrn von Bruckenthal. – in der siebenbürgischen Kanzeley.” (Kurzbock 1774, 159)

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Giovan Francesco Caroto's Painting the "Nativity of Mary" and its identified Collectors

Peretti 2020	Peretti Gianni, <i>Giovan Francesco Caroto. Natività di Maria</i> . In: <i>Caroto. Giovan Francesco Caroto (1480 circa – 1555)</i> . Monografie d'arte. A cura di Francesca Rossi, Gianni Peretti, Edoardo Rossetti, Milano (2020), p. 116.
Pona 1620	Pona Francesca, <i>Sileno overo Delle Bellezze del Luogo dell'Ill.mo Sig. Co. Gio. Giacomo Giusti. Pubblicato, con l'occasione delle Nozze de gl'Ill.mi Sig.ri Il Sig. Conte Francesco Giusti e la Signora Antonia Lazise</i> , Verona (1620).
Ridolfi 1628	Ridolfi Carlo, <i>La Maraviglie dell'Arte overo le Vite degli Illustri Pittori Veneti e dello Stato</i> , ... Venice (1648).
Rossi, Peretti, Rossetti 2020	<i>Caroto. Giovan Francesco Caroto (1480 circa – 1555)</i> . Monografie d'arte. A cura di Francesca Rossi, Gianni Peretti, Edoardo Rossetti, Milano (2020).
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Fig. 2 Giovan Francesco Caroto, *Nativity of Mary*, ca. 1530 (Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu, inv. 369) with details.

Fig. 3. Giovan Francesco Caroto, *Nativity of Mary*, 1527 (Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, inv. 58AC00075), with details.

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Fig. 2. Giovan Francesco Caroto, *Nașterea Mariei*, cca. 1530 (Muzeul Național Brukenthal, Sibiu, inv. 369), cu detalii.

Fig. 3. Giovan Francesco Caroto, *Nașterea Mariei*, 1527 (Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, inv. 58AC00075), cu detalii.



Fig. 1. Images from the exhibition (Palazzo della Gran Guardia, Verona, May 12th and October 2nd, 2022).



Giovan Francesco Caroto's Painting the "Nativity of Mary" and its identified Collectors



Fig. 2. Giovan Francesco Caroto, *Nativity of Mary*, ca. 1530
(Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu) with details

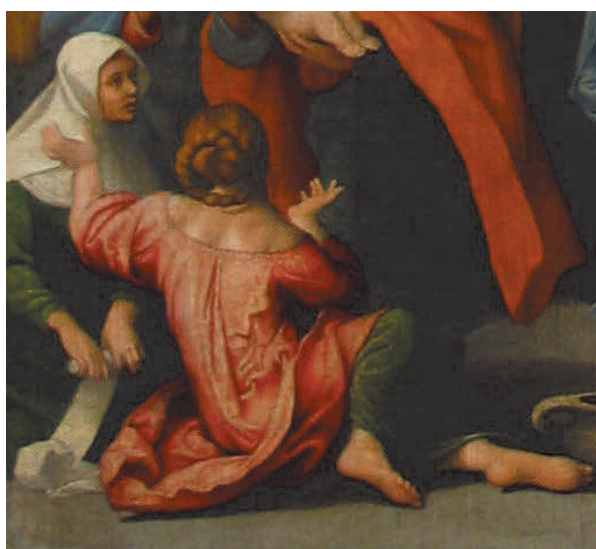




Fig. 3. Giovan Francesco Caroto, *Nativity of Mary*, 1527
(Accademia Carrara, Bergamo) with details



MULTIPLE ORIGINAL VERSIONS OF A DESCENT OF THE CROSS. FRANS FRANCKEN II AND FAMILY COLLABORATION IN THE WORKSHOP

Jan DE MAERE*

Abstract: *Frans II Francken was a member of an artistic dynasty, founded by his grandfather Nicolas in Herentals, that continued in Antwerp until 1717, altogether five generations. Paintings assumed to be by Frans II Francken exist often as a 'principael', in different original versions, copies, and replicas. Some of the copies and replicas are contemporary repetitions from his workshop, often in collaboration with other senior family members, while others are later random copies, produced for art dealer families such as Musson, Forchondt and Van Immerseel. Frans II Francken had apprentices and assistants (gezellen) to work on his paintings. Here are examined three original versions of a 'Descent of the Cross'. Different versions need categorization and an adequate vocabulary in their relation to the intervention of the 'hand of the master'. The intervention of other family members, even of different generations, in the execution is a usual practice, as we learn from the analysis of the paintings in the Sint Waldetrudis church in Herentals published by Natasja Peeters and Jan Cools (2018).*

Keywords: *Taxonomy of authorship, connoisseurship, Frans II Francken, Thomas Francken, early 17th century Antwerp painting*

Rezumat: *Frans II Francken a fost un membru al unei dinastii artistice fondate de bunicul său Nicolas la Herentals, care a continuat la Anvers până la 1717, în total cinci generații. Tablouri presupuse a fi de Frans II Francken există adesea ca un 'principael' în diferite versiuni originale, copii și replici. Unele dintre aceste copii și replici sunt repetiții contemporane din atelierul său, adesea în colaborare cu alți membri importanți ai familiei, în vreme ce altele sunt copii întâmplătoare mai târziu, produse pentru familiile de negustori de artă precum Musson, Forchondt și Van Immerseel. Frans II Francken a avut ucenici și asistenți (gezellen) spre a lucra la tablourile sale. Aici sunt examinate trei versiuni originale ale unei 'Coborâri de pe cruce'. Diferite versiuni au nevoie de categorizare și de un vocabular adecvat în relația lor cu intervenția 'mâinii maestrului'. Intervenția altor membri ai familiei, chiar din diferite generații, în execuție este o practică uzuală, după cum aflăm din analiza picturilor din biserica Sint Waldetrudis din Herentals publicate de Natasja Peeters și Jan Cools (2018).*

Cuvinte cheie: *taxonomia paternității, connoisseurship, Frans II Francken, Thomas Francken, pictură din Anvers începutul sec. XVII*

The issues of authenticity, invention, and studio collaboration as a criterion for pricing and valuing paintings, had become a concern since the last quarter of the 16th century in Antwerp. Flemish vernacular language developed a nuanced vocabulary for artistic replication with a precise taxonomy reflecting the status of a painting. It stressed the difference between 'principael', 'origineel' and 'copijen'. In the current art market, the word 'workshop' indicates a lesser qualitative

criterion, but in art history it relates to the precise ontological context of the creation of the painting. An Antwerp cluster of studios of a famous family of painters as the Francken family was an organized collaborative industry, each of the workshops directed by a its master. The latter often delegated creation and execution partly or entirely to several assistants (*gezellen*) who had to follow his style, even for his original paintings. Only few, mostly other senior family members, had some creative freedom expressed in their individual 'ductus'. Therefore, their part in the creation of the painting is often recognizable for connoisseurs, but not always. The exhibition

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**Multiple original Versions of a Descent of the Cross.
Frans Francken II and Family Collaboration in the Workshop**

'La Dynastie Francken' in Musée de Flandre, Cassel (Hauts de France) and recent archival research by Natasja Peeters and Jan Cools gave some insight in the horizontal and vertical organization of the collaboration of masters and their workshop of different generations of this family (Peeters, Cools 2010; Peeters, Cools 2018). Peeters and Cools researched nine works by different members of the Francken family in the Sint Waldetrudis church in Herentals and concluded that different hands were involved in the execution of this nine works: in some the master and his studio and in some others family members of different generations. Comparative material analysis (dendrochronology, X-rays and Infra-Red-Reflectography) could shed more light on the organization of labor in this context.

1. Frans II Francken

Ursula Härting made a great contribution to the study of Frans II Francken's work Ursula Härtring, 1989). Frans II Francken (Antwerp 1581–1642) was the son of Frans I and grandson of Nicolaas I (Fig. 1), respectively the nephew of Hieronymus I and Ambrosius I (Peeters 2021, 6-20). He was the most inventive and the most talented of this second generation. He specializes in different subjects and runs an independent studio from 1605 on. He became known for his big size religious subjects, such as the *Assumption of the Virgin* (1629) still extant in the Amiens cathedral, but he also produced a great number of small easel paintings. The family tradition to attribute regularly the same name at birth for different generations (Fig. 13) leads to confusion in attributions. The implication of multiple hands in the same painting jeopardizes the 19th century art historical concept of the sole author, still much in use as a criterium in the art market. Adequate stylistic analysis, essentially done recently by Natasja Peeters and Ursula Härting, shed some light in this connoissorial problematic but much is still to be done.

Until 1616, Frans II signs *De Ion F. FF* to differentiate his paintings from his father's, in which studio he was trained. After 1616, his father's death he signs *De Oude FF* to distinguish himself from his son Frans III, who became himself free master in 1639/40 (Peeters 2012). Works by family members, the

great examples such as by Rubens and Van Dyck, and engravings are the sources which he integrates in his style. He runs a collective and successful studio and collaborates with other specialists, adding staffage to their compositions, such as in the landscapes by Abraham Govaerts and Joost de Momper, with architectural painters such as Pieter Neefs or Bartholomeus van Bassen, or still-lives by the Van Kessel family (Peeters 1999).

As in other successful painters' dynasties, creation and labor was a collaborative process in the Francken family in Antwerp. As observed in the nine pieces in the Sint Waldetrudis church in Herentals produced between 1575 and 1629, different members of the Francken family collaborated to realize these paintings. During three generations, in almost all altar pieces multiple hands of family members and '*gezellen*' were involved in the execution (Fig 1). After 1640 and even more after the death of Frans II under his son and his nephews, the studio produced a great amount of easel paintings of lesser quality for the open market in relation with the activity of dealer-families such as Musson, Van Immerseel and Forchondt.

Patrons for altarpieces had precise wishes concerning composition and thematic elements. Frequently, they referred to earlier compositions as examples to follow. A good example for this is the triptych of the Resurrection of Christ ordered by the beer brewers to Frans I Francken (1604). They requested that he followed the earlier (1594/95) *Kuipers* altar in the Onze Lieve Vrouw Cathedral in Antwerp. They stipulated that the angels in the sky had to be '*gloeierend*' (glowing). The brewers' guild complained afterwards that they were not glowing enough (Peeters, Cools 2018, 36-38). Also in smaller works and easel paintings, specialization, and distribution of execution between different hands was usual. What mattered was that the finished painting was executed under the authority of the master who had the legal responsibility and guaranteed a certain level of quality. Therefore, it is useful to compare three different versions of the same subject, each of them adapted at their final function or demand from the patron.

2. Descent from the Cross

Since the 15th century, representations of the cross, gallows and instruments of torture and the calvary are common in Crucifixions scenes. At the moment of the religious wars of the 16th century, they become a mirror of the contemporary death row processions. They illustrate growing compassion since Christ is the model for every Christian on the death row. New practices such as the spiritual assistance, confession and communion facilitated a 'good' death, illustrating the penitence and eventual salvation of the condemned at the Day of the Last Judgment.

The present *Van de Broek Descent from the Cross* (Fig. 3) painted by Thomas Francken (Antwerp 1574/75 – post 1639) and by Frans II Francken (1581–1642) circa 1605, when the latter is admitted as free master in the Guild of Saint Luke (1605), is a good example of artistic collaboration in this Antwerp dynasty. It represents the typical color harmony and clair-obscur light effects of the Francken family studio in the first decade of the 17th century. Since the present *Descent from the Cross* is earlier, it is not reminiscent of Rubens's same subject for the Antwerp Cathedral (1612/1614), but of a lost composition by Hendrick van den Broeck known only by its copy by his brother Crispijn (1524–1590/91) (*Deposition from the Cross*, panel 88 x 68 cm, Sotheby's Amsterdam 16.5.1997, n° 84, there wrongly attributed to a follower of Crispiaen van den Broeck), related to his signed and dated 1564 '*Crucifixion*' in the church in Mongiovino. The latter might have inspired Frans I's right-side wing (Fig. 6) of the Crucifixion triptych in the Sevilla Museum (Fig. 8, panel 209.2 x 303.6 cm), datable in early 1580's (we are grateful to Dr Natasja Peeters for her advice and information provided in her email of May 16, 2022). Frans II borrowed the composition of the Sevilla wing and upgraded it by borrowing the detail of the right leg of the dead Christ directly from the well-known Dürer woodcut (39.4 x 28.1 cm) '*The Throne of Grace*' (1511) (Fig. 9).

The Saint John is to be found in the same position in the *Crucifixion* in the Church Notre Dame in Wijnegem dated 1604 (panel, 190 x 170 cm). The Virgin is to be seen inversed in the *Crucifixion* of the Kunsthistorisches

Museum in Vienna (panel, 57 x 41 cm, signed and dated 'Den. Ion. FF IN 1606', inv. 1078) (Fig. 11). Both are repeatedly present in the same attitude in *Crucifixions* by the Francken family. Frans II represents himself (Fig. 3) at an age c. 25/26 (third figure from the right side), at a moment when he starts his own independent studio (1605). He points a finger to indicate the importance of the moment, celebrated on Good Friday (*Gospel of Saint John*, 19: 38). Only a few of his auto-representations are known (Cools 2018), besides a portrait by Anthonis van Dyck (Fig. 10), dated c. 1627-1641, which is kept in the United Kingdom, at Boughton House (panel 19.6 x 16.5 cm, inv. 204). An '*Adoration of the Magi*' (panel 33 x 50.3 cm, Christie's London July 7, 1985, n° 42) represents the artist in a similar attitude. Thomas (1574 – post 1639), an apprentice of his father (c. 1590), became free master in 1600. He collaborated in his father's (Frans I') studio before collaborating with his younger brother Frans II. No secure autograph works are documented by Thomas, but Ursula Härting attributes many early paintings to a recognizable hand, she presumes is his, while first in his father's and later in his brother's studio. Thomas, the eldest son of Frans I specialized in '*stoffage*' (additional figures). The inventory after the death of the panel maker Hans Verhaecht contained fifty paintings '*acht stuyversmaat*' (73 x 55 cm) at 8 *Patards* (also called *Stuiver*, a predecimal silver coin) with '*stoffage*' by Thomas (Peeters 2021, 16-18).

Judging by stylistic and *ductus* criteria, a great part of the present composition is painted in a first stage by another hand, probably that of Thomas (Härting 1983, page 100). The body of Christ, the man on the ladder supporting it and the three figures on the right including the self-portrait are by the hand of Frans II, who revendicates the authorship by representing himself (third person from the right). The painting could be destined as a '*Tabula Mortuaria*' for a chapel. He represents himself in it to profit from the indulgencies obtained through the prayers by the devout before this *Descent from the Cross*, probably intended as a small altarpiece. Self-portraits by the Francken family members occur a few times in their paintings before 1615. Another example by the second generation are the self-portraits

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of Hieronymus I (left side) and Frans I Francken (right side) on the central panel of *The Adoration of the Magi* tryptic (Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium), signed by both artists.

Most of the compositions by members of the Francken family exist in many versions, studio copies and phantom copies (Van Miegroet, De Marchi 2006): as examples, for the *Descent from the Cross* should be mentioned here Ambrosius II Francken's work dated 1616 in the Antwerp Cathedral (Fig. 7) and a signed painting by Frans II Francken from the Musée du Louvre in Paris (panel 64.5 x 48.5 cm, inv. 1296), acquired by seizure during the French Revolution (Fig. 12). Also, there is a second, almost identical version (panel 64 x 48 cm) by Frans II & Thomas Francken (Fig. 3) after the *Van de Broek Descent of the Cross* (panel 64.2 x 48 cm, Bonhams London July 5, 2006, n° 83) which was initiated by Thomas and Frans II at the same moment in their workshop circa 1605 (Fig. 4). A third version (oil on panel, 64 x 48 cm) in a private collection (Fig. 5) includes a praying monk kneeling at the right side of the composition (Fig 5) is executed somewhat later (10/20 years) than the two first ones and is to be attributed to Frans II and his workshop. After the taxonomy of his time

Frans II Francken considered the three versions as '*original*', the *Van de Broek version* probably being considered here as the '*principael*'. A dendrochronological analysis and an IRR comparison of the under-drawing of these three versions would be of great interest. Another related studio work on copper (35.5 x 28.9 cm) without self-portrait is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (inv. 133). A variation of the same subject was in the collection Mme Boas-Kogel in Baarn (Netherlands). A studio pastiche by Frans III Francken of lesser quality was sold at Auction Legia June 9, 2022, panel 48 x 35 cm. It is an adapted copy after the signed and dated (1606) painting in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (Fig. 11).

Repetitions of successful standard compositions and motives, with or without modification, by Antwerp painters were much in demand all over Europe at all levels of quality and cost related to the latter. Their taxonomy related to the 17th century idea of 'originality-studio version-copy and phantom copy' in function of the gradation of the master's hand's participation was well defined at that time. This differentiation and terminology should be taken in account both in art history and on the art market.

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Fig. 2. Workshop of Hendrick van den Broeck called Paludanus, *Descent from the Cross*, ca. 1565–1570. Sotheby's, Amsterdam, May 6, 1997 (n° 84)

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Fig. 3. Frans II Francken & Thomas Francken,
Descent from the Cross with self-portrait of Frans II Francken
(third from the right side), ca. 1605.
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Fig. 4. Frans II Francken & Thomas Francken,
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Fig. 5. Frans II Francken & studio,
*Descent from the Cross with a Monk, Instruments of the Passion, Veronica's veil and a
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Fig. 9. Albrecht Dürer, *Throne of Grace*, 1511

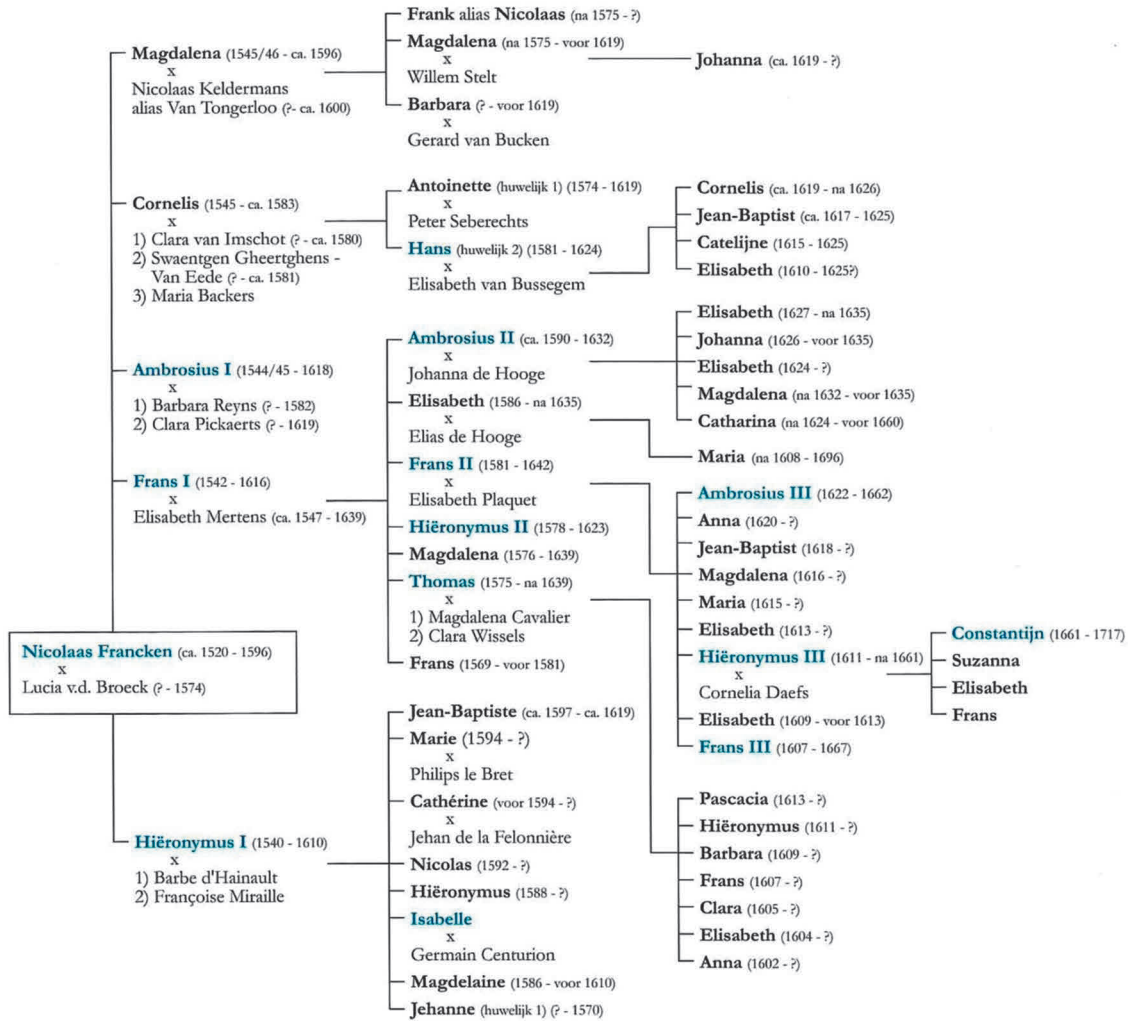
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Jan DE MAERE



De stamboom van de Franckens. De namen in het blauw zijn die van schilders.

Fig. 13. Genealogical tree of the Francken family.
The names of the artists are in blue (after Peters, Cools 2018, 40)

REMARKS ON THE *PRAYING MADONNA* IN THE BRUKENTHAL NATIONAL MUSEUM'S COLLECTION. A PAINTING AND AN ENGRAVING FACE TO FACE

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Abstract: *The painting purchased in 1959 for the Brukenthal Museum by the curator Theodor Ionescu is actually a late copy, made most likely during the 18th c., after a painting by Giovanni Battista Salvi da Sassoferrato, which apparently may be dated during 1640–1650. Not for the gesture, but for the cloths and for the facial expression of the character there are many similarities with the mid-2nd c. – mid-3rd c. C.E. Roman veiled and cloaked female honorific and especially funerary statues, which were discovered in almost all European provinces of the Roman Empire. This would suggest that, for the draping of cloths and for the study of the veiled female head the painter may have been inspired by them. The museum also has in its German and Austrian Prints collection a work with the same composition, made in 1802 by Franz Valentin Durmer, which was acquired in 1834 from Franz Neuhauser the Younger, who used it most likely as a study material. Because the painting was bought much later, in 1959, this makes us to believe that it may have been purchased because Theodor Ionescu noted its resemblance with this print from the museum's collection and hoped to have it authenticated as an original work of G. B. Salvi da Sassoferrato following his usual method: by correspondence with famous art historians and connoisseurs.*

Keywords: Giovanni Battista Salvi da Sassoferrato, Franz Valentin Durmer, praying Madonna, reproduction print, sources of inspiration

Rezumat: *Tabloul achiziționat în 1959 pentru Muzeul Brukenthal de către curatorul Theodor Ionescu este de fapt o copie târzie, realizată cel mai probabil în cursul secolului al XVIII-lea, după o pictură de Giovanni Battista Salvi da Sassoferrato, care s-ar părea că ar putea fi datată între 1640–1650. Nu pentru gestică, ci pentru vestimentație și pentru expresia facială a personajului există multe asemănări cu statuile romane onorare și funereare de femei cu văl și mantie de la mijlocul sec. II – mijlocul sec. III e. n., care au fost descoperite în aproape toate provinciile europene ale Imperiului Roman. Aceasta ar sugera că pentru drapaje și pentru studiul capului feminin acoperit cu văl pictorul poate să se fi inspirat de la acestea. Muzeul mai are, de asemenea, în colecția de Grafică Germană și Austriacă, o gravură cu aceeași compoziție, executată în 1802 de Franz Valentin Durmer, pe care a achiziționat-o de la Franz Neuhauser cel Tânăr, care a folosit-o cel mai probabil ca material de studiu. Deoarece tabloul a fost cumpărat mult mai târziu, în 1959, ne duce cu gândul la faptul că acesta poate să fi fost achiziționat pentru că Theodor Ionescu a observat asemănarea cu această gravură deja existentă în colecția muzeului și spera că o va autentifica drept operă originală a lui G. B. Salvi da Sassoferrato după obișnuita sa metodă: prin corespondență cu vestiți istorici de artă și cunoscători.*

Cuvinte cheie: Giovanni Battista Salvi da Sassoferrato, Franz Valentin Durmer, Madona orantă, gravură de reproducere, surse de inspirație

The painting *Praying Madonna* (oil on canvas, 45.5 x 37.5 cm) was bought on February 6, 1959 from Julius Selesteyn, an inhabitant of

Braşov. The Virgin Mary is depicted as a veiled and cloaked bust, half to the left, with her hands clasped in prayer, looking down, focused on this moment. According to the established iconography, she is wearing a red dress and a white veil, convincingly suggesting her piety and purity, and a blue cloak, whose colour alludes to its honorific

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title *Regina Caeli* (i. e. “The Queen of the Heaven”). Her figure is young, delicate, with small and excessively round eyes, small mouth (which apparently tries to smile) and sharp chin. Despite her serene facial expression, the Virgin prays with piety. Due to stage-lighting and chromatic effects, the character stands out against the dark background. The pyramid-shaped composition is balanced in terms of colours: though dominated by the contrast between white and dark brown and blue tones, it is enlivened by red accents. The drawing is precise, but shows (in comparison to the original) some awkwardness in depicting the eyes, the hands and the drape's folds (Figs. 1 and 2).

Not for the gesture, but for the cloths and for the facial expression of the character there are many similarities with the mid-2nd c.–mid-3rd c. C.E. Roman veiled and cloaked female honorific and especially funerary statues (Fig. 5), which were discovered in almost all European provinces of the Roman Empire (For female honorific and funerary statues: Davies 2013. For female Roman statues in Dacia: Țeposu-Marinescu 1972). At their turn, these Roman statues were inspired by early Hellenistic models, particularly by terracotta funerary statues produced in Tanagra, as the “Lady in Blue” (Fig. 3) from Louvre (32.5 cm height, inv. MNB 907), dated ca. 330–300 B.C. Copying the early Hellenistic models which may be dated c. 330–300 B.C., the Romans began already in the 1st c. C.E. to produce marble statues belonging to the types “La Grande Ercolanese” and “La Piccola Ercolanese”, which became very popular especially when their image were reproduced on early 2nd c. – mid 3rd c. C.E. coins issued for various consorts of emperors (from Hadrian's Vibia Sabina to Cornelia Salonina, that of Gallienus), whose effigy is rendered on the obverse, while on the reverse occurs the image of such a statue (Fig. 6), accompanied by the legend PVDICITIA (For female effigies on Roman coins: Donoiu 1983). A statue from the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul (Fig. 4), which may render actually Vibia Sabina and was later reused on Caracalla's arch of triumph in Thassos, where it was excavated by J. Th. Bent at ca. 1887, would suggest that the iconography of Pudicitia was inspired by such Roman copies after early Hellenistic originals,

intended already in early 2nd c. as honorific statues or as statues of deified members of the imperial family, because Vibia Sabina died in 136 (or even early 137) C. E. and at Emperor Hadrian's request she received from the Senate the apotheosis, being thus deified, as is undoubtedly evidenced by a *sestertium* with the inscription CONSECratio S(enatus) C(onsulto) (Granger Cook 2018, 452. For Vibia Sabina's biography: Brennan 2018). There is no doubt therefore that for the coin engravers and especially for the officials who commissioned and approved the coins' design and supervised the production of the bronze, silver and gold coins (*tres viri aere argenteo auro flando feriundo*), but also for the literate people in whose hands these coins came and through their intermediation even for all other inhabitants of the Empire and maybe also for interested barbarians, such a reverse was intended to suggest the identification of the often still alive empress, as Vibia Sabina herself, on a *denarius* dated 130–133 C. E., with Pudicitia (Fig. 6), the equivalent of Αἰδώς in Greek speaking regions, namely the personification of shyness (understood as “modesty” and “sexual virtue”, which was a central concept in Roman gender ethics (thus not only sexual ones), opposed to *impudicitia*, as was called the shamelessness, referring not only to debauchery, but generally the disregard of the ancestors' moral values (*mos maiorum*), including the disobey toward authority, elders and parents and even the impolite behaviour, which all were considered as signs of depravity. Thus, in the Roman funerary sculpture, this type of statue was considered appropriate to render the traditional Roman woman, the honourable housewife (*matrona*), the faithful “woman of an only man” (*univira*), which had also to show devoutness (*pietas*) towards the gods and to the family's ancestors. The noted similarities between the Roman veiled and cloaked female honorific and funerary statues (especially those dated from mid-2nd c. to mid-3rd c. C.E.) and the painting purchased by Brukenthal Museum in 1959 would suggest that, for the draping of cloths and for the study of the veiled female head the painter may have been inspired by them either directly or indirectly, by older renderings of the Virgin, which followed the traditional

iconography of a Roman *matron*, popularized by the imperial art and coinage.

The Art Gallery's chief curator Theodor Ionescu purchased in 1959 the painting for the Brukenthal Museum as being the work of an Italian anonymous. (On Theodor Ionescu: Tudoran Ciungan 2007b). According to Maria Olimpia Tudoran Ciungan, in 1960 it was attributed by Roberto Longhi (who saw actually only a black and white photograph of the work, sent to him by Theodor Ionescu, thus not the painting!) to Giovanni Battista Salvi da Sassoferrato (Sassoferrato August 25/29, 1609 – Rome August 8, 1685). Although M. O. Tudoran Ciungan, who mentioned “similar works” (actually, with a different theme) by this artist from the Santa Sabina church in Rome (*Our Lady of the Rosary*) and from the Castello Sforzesco in Milan (*The Annunciation* from Casperia) accepted with reservation this attribution (Tudoran Ciungan 2007a, 182), the painting was exhibited for several years (both before and afterwards) as an original work of this artist and went in 2019 to the Conservation Laboratory as such.

The painter of the original composition, Giovanni Battista Salvi da Sassoferrato (Sassoferrato, August 25th 1609 – Rome, August 8th 1685), was an Italian painter and draughtsman, instructed at first by his father, Tarquinio Salvi (Turner 1996, 864). He studied afterwards with Domenichino in Naples, meeting Francesco Cozza and then travelled in Marche, Umbria and Perugia, reaching Rome in 1641 (Turner 1996, 864). In the following two decades of living in Rome he executed mostly portraits, being appreciated especially by ecclesiastical clients (Turner 1996, 864). Unfortunately, since 1650 and until his death not many details are known regarding his work, the only well-known activity being his many variants of the Virgin in prayer, for which he became very famous.

The “praying Madonna” was a very popular and therefore well-sold religious theme (as it emphasizes the Virgin's role as an influent intercessor for the believers), so G. B. Salvi da Sassoferrato painted during a long period several such works, as like Carlo Dolci he seems to have concentrated on producing multiple copies of various styles of devotional images for private commissioners, taking thus advantage of a market demand fuelled by the

Counter-Reformation Catholic religiosity. Comparing the Madonnas rendered by the two painters, Stefano Ticozzi wrote: “Sassoferrato was a contemporary of Carlo Dolci. They treated the same subject and both very well. Sassoferrato made the Madonnas much more beautiful, but he was surpassed by Dolci in the sweetness of the brush. Although in a totally different way, they sometimes meet in such a way, as to make someone to suspect that one imitated the other.” (Ticozzi 1832, 296) Excepting only the last sentence, his opinion follows actually an older one (Lanzi 1792, 298), that of L. Lanzi, who noted as well that G. B. Salvi da Sassoferrato was for the Roman school what C. Dolci was for that from Florence and that both were inventors and were appreciated for their Madonnas and other small paintings, which became at his age very expensive (Lanzi 1792, 135). Generally, the 19th c. foreign biographers of Italian artists generally quoted L. Lanzi, adding more (Farquhar 1855, 156-157) or less (Spooner 1853, 836) own remarks. Thus, in early 19th c. G. B. Salvi was already well-known for his renderings of the Virgin and Child or of female saints, which (as Matthew Pilkington) are actually the theme of his most paintings (Pilkington 1857, 487).

On the artist's style S. Ticozzi wrote: “Without possessing the beautiful ideal of the Greeks, he formed one, very fitting to the character of the Virgin Mary, in whose expression triumphs a dignified humility, making the simplicity of the clothes and hairstyle to correspond to the air of the head. Sometimes he sins by some hardness in local colours, but with the learning of chiaroscuro he knew how to give such a prominence to the figures, and to embellish them so much with the vagueness of the complexion, as to make us willingly forgive some slight hardness.” (Ticozzi 1832, 296) Maria Farquhar noted later on the artist's works: “Sassoferrato delighted especially in Madonnas, whence his name ‘delle belle Madonne’, mostly simple heads or short half-lengths, in which gentleness, humility, and simplicity predominate. [...] His own pictures have no particular depth or variety of character, but are chiefly distinguished for their careful finish, and uniform pious resignation, combined with great sweetness, yet on the whole they are seldom free from sentimentality; their colouring, from a want of

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harmony or tone, or too great a mixture of white, though positive in tint, is commonly cold. The pictures attributed to Sassoferrato are numerous in the great European Galleries, but some of them are probably by his father Tarquinio Salvi, and more are copies from his own works. His works are generally small; the largest is the altar-piece in the cathedral of Montefiascone." (Farquhar 1855, 156-157) As the analysis of the works related to the painting purchased for the Brukenthal National Museum (with the necessary exclusion of some doubtful works attributed to this artist) and their comparison with the latter will evidence further, she was right.

In the early 20th c., G. B. Salvi's was noted for his large production of paintings, particularly for the frequent occurrence of his Madonnas in public and private collections (Williamson 1905, 12), but apparently the attempts to analyse them more thoroughly are still missing. The artist's works rendering a "praying Madonna" may be divided in several and (at least in the current stage of research) apparently contemporary types, with small differences between them. Actually, to date as precisely possible undated works of a painter with a large but less diversified production of certain themes is very difficult, as the necessary clues to construct a chronology of the works with this theme are scarce. The closest type to which the painting from Sibiu belongs renders the Virgin Mary in similar cloths, of the same colour (excepting the dress, which sometimes may be purple instead of red), but looking upwards. To this type may be assigned a painting in the Staatliche Kunsthalle in Karlsruhe (oil on canvas, 46.8 x 37.2 cm, inv. 456) and that from the Fondazione Cavallini Sgarbi in Riva del Po, both with purple dress. A third type shows her in similar cloths, of the same colour, but with a larger part of her red dress visible and looking downwards. To this type belongs the painting from the public chapel in the Palazzo Incontro in Rome, on Via dei Prefetti in Campo Marzio. Another type renders her in prayer, looking downwards, in a red dress of which a large part is visible, wearing a white veil, covered by her blue cloak. To this type belongs the work recently donated (2019) to Musée des Beaux-Arts de Strassbourg (oil on canvas, 67 x 56 cm, inv. 44.2019.2.11). A different type

renders the Virgin Mary in prayer, looking downwards or to the onlooker, wearing a brown, red or burgundy dress, with a white veil on her head, covered by a dark blue cloak which wraps her almost completely, as it would recall the sky blue cloak in Antonello da Messina's work *The Virgin Annunciate* (dated 1475 or 1476) from Palazzo Abatellis in Palermo. To this type belong several works, more or less similar: one in the chapel of the Chenonceau castle in France, another in the Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki (oil on canvas, 42.6 x 33.5 cm, inv. 1887/1/25), that in the Basilica di Santa Croce in Florence, one in the Pincoteca Comunale in Cesena, that in the Palazzo Buonaccorsi in Macerata and one in the sacristy of the Basilica di Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice. To a better knowledge of the artist's work with this theme contributed very much some recent exhibitions: *Maria Mater Misericordiae* (Senigallia, 2016), *Lotto, Artemisia, Guercino. Le stanze segrete di Vittorio Sgarbi* (Osimo, 2016) and *Sassoferrato dal Louvre a San Pietro* (Perugia, 2017).

The painting in the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum in Sibiu may be considered as a copy after a painting belonging to the type of those from the National Gallery in London (oil on canvas, 73 x 58 cm, inv. NG200), National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne (oil on canvas, 47.8 x 38.7 cm, inv. 2002.126), Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki (oil on canvas, 48.3 x 38.1 cm, inv. L2007/11), Nationalmuseum in Stockholm (oil on canvas, 48 x 37 cm, inv. NM 2784, coming in 1930 as bequest from the former collection of Countess Christina Nilsson de Casa Miranda), Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie in Warsaw (oil on canvas, 47 x 40 cm), Staatliche Kunsthalle in Karlsruhe (oil on canvas, 48.3 x 39.7 cm, inv. 455), Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen (oil on canvas, 74.4 x 61.7 cm, inv. 442), Museo del Duomo in Terni, Pinacoteca Civica "Francesco Podesti" of Ancona, Accademia Carrara in Bergamo (oil on canvas, 47 x 37 cm, inv. 81LC00215), from the Santa Maria delle Salute church in Venice and from the Altomani & Sons Srl. collection.

All works with known dimensions of this type whose author is undoubtedly considered G. B.

Salvi da Sassoferrato are painted on canvas and are of medium size, the painter preferring apparently only two formats: most often is a smaller one (47 to 48 cm long and 37 to 40 cm wide), similar to that of the painting from Sibiu, but sometimes occurs a larger one (whose length is 73 to 74.4 cm, with a width of 58 to 61.7 cm). Only some of his works are dated, but apparently by the researchers and not by their author: the work from Stockholm (Fig. 14) in 1650, that in Terni (Figs. 9-11) ca. 1650, those from London (Fig. 12) and Warsaw (Fig. 17) during 1640–1650, that from Bergamo (Fig. 20) during the 1640's, that in Venice (Fig. 18) during the first half of the 17th c. and that with differently draped cloths from Melbourne (Fig. 8) during 1638–1652. The painting in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen (Fig. 7) is dated throughout the painter's life, respectively those from Auckland (Fig. 15) and Ancona (Fig. 19) are dated even less precisely, in 17th c. For the paintings in the Staatliche Kunsthalle in Karlsruhe (Fig. 13) and from the Altomani & Sons Srl. collection (Fig. 16) no attempt to date them is known. To them may be added an apparently lost work from the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister in Dresden (oil on canvas, 49.5 x 38.5 cm, inv. 432), known only by a black and white photograph made in 1887, that nowadays the attribution is recorded as unsure.

There are many similarities with the painting in the Brukenthal National Museum in Sibiu (as far the draping and the cloths' colours and even the position of the left hand's little finger). The aureole, which occurs in the paintings from Ancona, Bergamo, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Terni, Genoa and Prato, is lacking in the painting from Sibiu. In comparison to the paintings by G. B. Salvi da Sassoferrato, particularly with that from Terni (Figs. 9-11), the drawing of the painting from Sibiu is less precisely done, with less details, the stage-lighting less elaborated, the anatomical details are of lower quality (as can be noted on the neck, but especially on the fingers and on the heavy eyelids, as if swollen), the colours do not have transparency and brightness, as on original works. The quality of the painting from Sibiu is closer to the work from Palazzo Rosso (Brignole Sale) in Genoa (Fig. 21), which is considered "maybe a copy" (after a version with aureola) and to that from the Museo Civico in Prato

(Fig. 22), which is also a copy, but a later one, dated at ca. 1700. Due to its strange and non-specific aureole, to a late 18th c. – early 19th c. imitator and not to a simply copyist should be attributed the work (Fig. 23) *The Madonna in Prayer* (oil on canvas, 68.6 x 52 cm) sold by Sotheby's in 2021 (lot 645). Despite some similarities (cloth of same colours, but with a larger part of the red dress uncovered by the white veil and the blue cloak), a painting (Fig. 24) in the Santa Maria Maggiore church in Trieste (to which it was donated in 1841 by Count Domenico Rossetti) with which the latter was compared shows as well an unusual detail: the hands crossed over the chest. A golden crown was attached to it by the believers in 1845. Its attribution to G. B. Salvi da Sassoferrato may be also doubted and its author must be rather a late 18th c. imitator of this painter.

For these reasons, the painting purchased in 1959 for the Brukenthal Museum by the curator Theodor Ionescu is actually also a late copy, made most likely during the 18th c., after a painting by Giovanni Battista Salvi da Sassoferrato which apparently may be dated during 1640–1650.

To the same type (but not necessarily to Giovanni Battista Salvi da Sassoferrato himself) should be attributed some works rendering the Virgin in cloths of the same colours, looking in the same direction and with a similar expression on her face, but with the veil draped in other two different ways. The first occurs for 3 times: in a painting (oil on canvas, 48 x 38 cm) from Enrico Lumina's collection (Fig. 25), which due to its quality and its stylistic similarities revealed by comparison with sure works by G. B. Salvi da Sassoferrato is also an original work, in a similar painting but of lower quality from the Pinacoteca Civica in the Palazzo Pianetti of Jesi (Fig. 26), which may be dated in late 17th c., and in a third one (Fig. 27) from the Mauritshuis in The Hague (oil on canvas, 48 x 36.5 cm, inv. 336), which recalls right the latter, but is considered a less faithful copy, due to a different construction of the aureole and to a different use of stage-lighting. The second way in which the veil may be draped is depicted on a work (oil on canvas, 47.4 x 37.8 cm) sold by Sotheby's in 2019 (lot 73) coming from a French collection (Fig. 28) and

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believed by François Macé de Lépinay as being made by G. B. Salvi da Sassoferrato, but which may belong rather to an early 19th c. French imitator, due to some compositional details (the different type of veil recalling rather a costume from France, the manner in which the cloths are draped and how the radiant aureole is rendered). Thus, for a comparison with the painting from Sibiu most of the works in this group are less relevant.

It must also be mentioned that the museum has in its collection an engraving with the same composition (Fig. 29). This work was acquired by the museum in 1834 from the painter and collector Franz Neuhauser the Younger, as it appears in the register of the museum (Fig. 30), along with his entire art collection (Ittu 2000, 43; Frâncu, Teodorescu 2021, 45). The engraving was executed by Franz Valentin Durmer (Wien, 1766 – after 1835), an Austrian reproduction engraver and draughtsman, who studied in the Viennese Academy (Nagler 1852, 214; Bryan, Graves 1886, 442; Benezit 2006, 1422). Later he also became a member of the Academy, creating some meaningful works (Nagler 1852, 214), mostly after the paintings in the imperial art gallery, as well as a considerable number of portraits (Thieme, Becker 1914, 219). The date of his death is unknown, but it is known that he was still alive in 1835 (Williamson 1903, 107). Amongst his most notable works are *The Seasons* after Guido Reni, *The Nativity of Jesus* after Poelenborch (Bryan, Graves 1886, 422) and the *Madonna Velata*, present also in the Brukenthal Museum's Collection.

The engraving is made in the *pointe-sèche* technique on paper, with the measurements 38.5 cm x 29 cm. Under the image there are two French inscriptions and an Italian one: at left „Peint par Salvi d. Sassoferrato.” (Painted by Salvi from Sassoferrato), at right „Gravé par Durmer” (engraved by Durmer) and lower in the centre, in Italian, „MADONNA VELATA”

(Madonna with a veil). Much lower to the left it is written, „Le Tableau original se trouve dans le Cabinet / de. Mr le Comte de Fries” (the original painting is found in Count de Fries's Cabinet) and to the right „A Vienne au Bureau d'Arts et d'Industrie 1802” (in Vienna, at the Arts and Industries' Office). In conclusion, as the inscription says, the engraving was executed in 1802 in Vienna, at the Arts and Industries' Office, after a painting by Giovanni Battista Salvi da Sassoferrato, present at that time in the cabinet of Imperial Count Moritz Christian Johann von Fries (1777-1826), who was an Austrian nobleman, art collector and banker.

If we are looking to the engraving we can see the striking resemblance with most of the paintings mentioned earlier, the only notable difference being the absence of the Virgin's hands in prayer. Perhaps this is the reason why the work is not entitled *Praying Madonna*, because the hands are not visible, being named instead *Veiled Madonna*. The closest resemblance is with the variant in the National Gallery in London, the folds being identical both in the painting, as well as in the engraving.

Because the museum acquired the engraving in 1834 from Franz Neuhauser the Younger and the painting much later, in 1959, these facts lead us to believe that the painting was purchased most likely because Theodor Ionescu noted its resemblance with the print from the museum's collection, which its previous owner may have used as study material. Although it was considered at that time to be an anonymous work, the latter hoped most likely that it will be authenticated as an original work of Giovanni Battista Salvi da Sassoferrato following his correspondence with famous historians of art and connoisseurs, which actually was his usual method of research on the paintings from the museum's collection.

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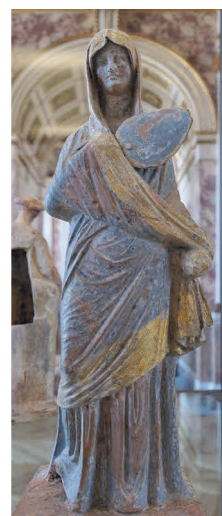


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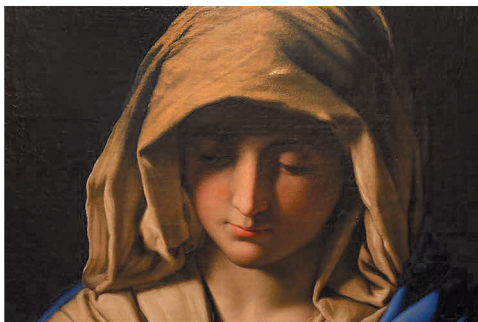


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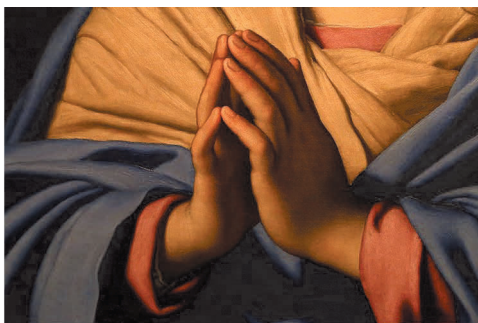


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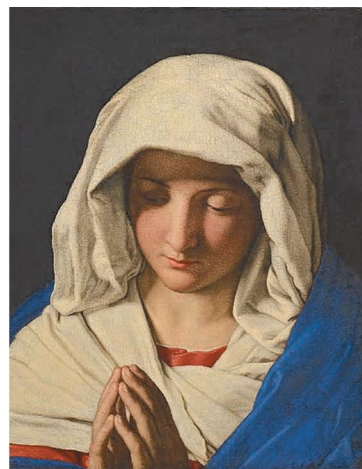


Fig. 15. G.B. Salvi da Sassoferrato, *Virgin in Prayer*, 17th c., Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki

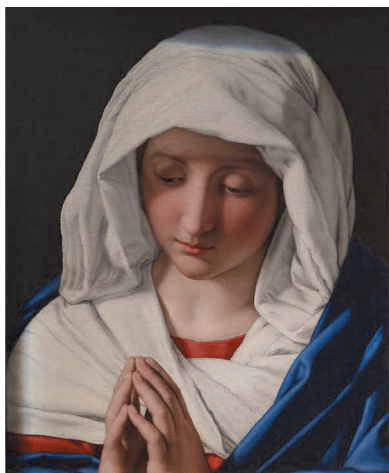


Fig. 16. G.B. Salvi da Sassoferrato, *Virgin in Prayer*. Altomani & Sons srl. Collection

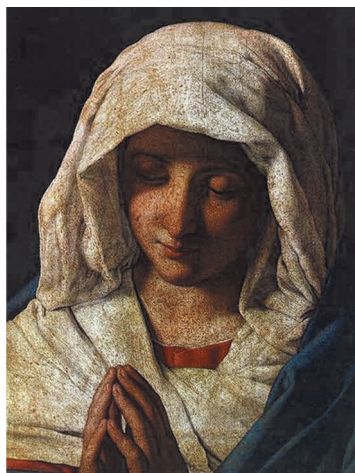


Fig. 17. G.B. Salvi da Sassoferrato, *Madonna at Prayer*, first half of the 17th c. Santa Maria delle Salute church, Venice

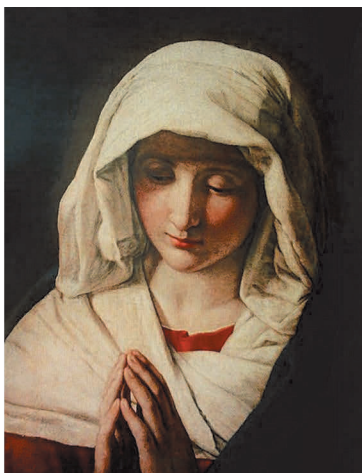


Fig. 18. G.B. Salvi da Sassoferrato, *Virgin in Prayer*, 1640–1650. Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, Warsaw

Remarks on the *Praying Madonna* in the Brukenthal National Museum's Collection.
A Painting and an Engraving Face to Face



Fig. 19. G.B. Salvi da Sassoferrato, *Praying Virgin*, 17th c. Pinacoteca Civica "Francesco Podesti" of Ancona



Fig. 20. G.B. Salvi da Sassoferrato, *Madonna in Prayer*, 1640's. Accademia Carrara, Bergamo



Fig. 21. G.B. Salvi da Sassoferrato (or copy?), *Praying Madonna*. Palazzo Rosso (Brignole Sale), Genoa



Fig. 22. After G.B. Salvi da Sassoferrato, *Praying Madonna*, ca. 1700. Museo Civico, Prato



Fig. 23. Imitator of G.B. Salvi da Sassoferrato, *The Madonna in Prayer*, late 18th c.-early 19th c. Private collection



Fig. 24. Imitator G.B. Salvi da Sassoferrato, *Madonna della Salute*, late 18th c. Santa Maria Maggiore church, Trieste



Fig. 25. G.B. Salvi da Sassoferrato, *Praying Madonna*. Enrico Lumina collection



Fig. 26. Imitator of G.B. Salvi da Sassoferrato, *Mater amabilis*, late 17th c. Pinacoteca Civica in Palazzo Pianeti, Jesi



Fig. 27. Copy after G.B. Salvi da Sassoferrato, *Praying Madonna*, late 17th c. – early 19th c. Mauritshuis, The Hague



Fig. 28. French imitator of G.B. Salvi da Sassoferrato, *The Madonna in Prayer*, early 19th c. Private collection



Fig. 29. Franz Valentin Durmer, *Madonna Velata*, 1802, Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu

54	156	Dobler Georg	von ...	Inbuchipari de jacobinici romani	0.237 : 0.190
		Durmer Franz	de austriaci	Madone velata	0.292 : 0.390

Fig. 30. Register of the German and Austrian Engravings Collection, in which is mentioned the provenance of Durmer's engraving

SOME REMARKS ON DEPICTIONS OF WHITE GROUND CARPETS BY ORIENTAL AND EUROPEAN ARTISTS AND ON THE TRADE WITH ANATOLIAN WHITE GROUND CARPETS

Alexandru Gh. SONOC*

Abstract: *In Timurid, Persian, Ottoman, and Indian paintings, white ground carpets are associated almost exclusively with historical or legendary monarchs and sometimes with high dignitaries, although (considering the prices in the Ottoman register of maximal prices dated in 1640) other categories of wealthy persons could also afford them. According to their depictions in Indian art, the white ground carpets had also a ritual use, both by Muslims and by Hindus. The medium-sized and large-sized white carpets from Uşak's Ottoman court workshops have enjoyed some success both in Anatolia and on the foreign market since the 16th c., so that in Selendi were produced small format imitations, of poorer quality and cheaper, which were connected (by Halil İnalçık) with the Yürük population, that is, with the Turkmen shepherds settled in western Anatolia and in different regions of Rumelia, who used to be ware transporters and were adherents of heterodox doctrines of Islam. It is difficult to say yet whether there is any connection between the white ground carpets and the Sufi Bektaşî order, which was influential among the janissaries. Over time, the types of Anatolian white ground carpets diversified, appeared even hybrid variants (namely those with Uşak medallion and the "Transylvanian" white ground carpets) and European (English) imitations which no longer respected the colour of the original background and in 19th c. also Ottoman ones (in Gördes), then forgeries, in 20th c. In European painting, the depictions of Anatolian white ground carpets (used, generally, as tablecloths, less often for wall decoration or to cover the floor) are rare, and those of carpets with chintamani are still missing, being depicted almost exclusively "bird" rugs (excepting only one of "Transylvanian" type). The chronological limits in which the accounts of the Transylvanian city Braşov document the import of Oriental white ground carpets correspond almost perfectly to the period in which other written sources from Hungary (including Transylvania) mention them. European mural paintings attest these carpets from late 16th c. till early 17th c., and the easel painting from mid-16th c. till late 17th c., then again in late 19th c., along with the interest in Oriental themes and obviously with the preference for the Orientalist style in decoration of house interiors, which contributed actually to the popularity of such themes.*

Keywords: white ground carpets, Oriental carpets, imitations and fakes, Oriental painting, European painting

Rezumat: *În pictura timuridă, persană, otomană și indiană covoarele cu fond alb sunt asociate aproape exclusiv cu monarhii istorici sau legendari și uneori cu înalții demnitari, deși (având în vedere prețurile din registrul otoman de prețuri maxime datat în 1640) și alte categorii de persoane înstărite și le puteau permite. Reprezentările din arta indiană arată folosirea rituală a covoarelor cu fond alb atât de către musulmani, cât și de către hinduși. Covoarele anatoliene cu fond alb de format mijlociu și mare provenite din atelierele curții otomane de la Uşak s-au bucurat de un cert succes atât în Anatolia, cât și pe piața externă, încă din sec. XVI, încât la Selendi au fost produse și imitații de format mic ale acestora, de calitate mai slabă și mai ieftine, care au fost puse în legătură (de către Halil İnalçık) cu populația yürük, adică cu păstorii turkmeni stabiliți în vestul Anatoliei și în diferite regiuni din Rumelia, care erau transportatori de mărfuri și adepți ai unor doctrine heterodoxe ale islamului. Este greu de precizat deocamdată dacă există vreo legătură între covoarele cu fond alb și ordinul sufit Bektaşî, influent printre ieniceri. Cu vremea tipurile de covoare anatoliene cu fond alb s-a diversificat și au apărut chiar și variante hibride (anume cele cu medalion Uşak și covoarele*

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“transilvănene” cu fond alb) și imitații europene (engleze), care însă nu mai respectau culoarea fondului original, iar în sec. XIX și imitații otomane (la Gördes), apoi falsuri, în sec. XX. În pictura europeană reprezentările covoarelor anatoliene cu fond alb (folosite în general ca fiind folosite ca fețe de masă, mai rar pentru decorarea pereților sau așezate pe podea) sunt însă rare, iar ale celor decorate cu chintamani deocamdată chiar lipsesc, fiind vorba (exceptând un singur covor de tip “transilvănean”) doar de covoare “cu păsări”. Limitele cronologice în care socotelile orașului transilvănean Brașov atestă importul covoarelor orientale cu fond alb corespunde aproape perfect cu perioada în care și alte izvoare scrise din Ungaria (inclusiv din Transilvania) le menționează. Lucrările de pictură murală europene atestă aceste covoare de la sfârșitul sec. XVI până la începutul sec. XVII, iar pictura de șevalet de la mijlocul sec. XVI până la sfârșitul sec. XVII, apoi din nou la sfârșitul sec. XIX, o dată cu interesul pentru teme orientale și, evident, cu preferința pentru decorarea în stil oriental a interioarelor, care a și contribuit de fapt la popularitatea unor astfel de teme.

Cuvinte cheie: covoare cu fond alb, covoare orientale, imitații și falsuri, pictură orientală, pictură europeană

Recently, departing from various opinions on Anatolian white ground carpets with *chintamani* (and particularly on those preserved or coming from Transylvanian Saxon churches), I became interested especially on the remarks supposing the origin of this motif in the spots of the leopard pelt (sometimes combined with lines recalling the strips of the tiger pelt) and I analysed the particular symbolic meaning of this motif, connected with that of leopard and tiger pelts, as revealed by the study of central, western and southern Asian paintings (Sonoc 2021), whose conclusions I repeat below.

Being connected with the spots on the leopard fur, the *chintamani* motif was also Timur Lenk's emblem and property sign (*tamgha*), depicted on his coins issued in Samarkand in 1383 and mentioned by Ruy González de Clavijo, a Castilian ambassador who visited his court in 1404 (Clavijo 1782, 143). Generally symbolising the destructive power, but also the destructive passions caused by the instinctual impulses, which a wise man should be able to control, the leopard pelt was a traditional attribute of Ottoman, Persian and Central Asian rulers, but also of Muslim and Hindu warriors and of the ascetics, either of the Muslim ones or (as Shiva's garb) of the Hindu yogis. In the Ottoman Empire, Persia and Central Asia the tiger pelt is less frequently depicted, usually in connection with the specific garb of Rostam, a hero of Ferdowsi's work “Shahnama”. Obviously inspired by some images of this garb, the Ottoman designers combined the appearance of the two felines' pelts, creating thus a new

symbol of the Sultan's power. In India the tiger pelt is an attribute of the warriors and hunters, but also of the most famous Hindu and Buddhist ascetics and even (but less frequently) of the Muslim ones. Already in early 17th century, but more often since late 18th c., in the Indian painting there is a deviation from the previous iconographic canons and often the tiger pelt and the leopard one (which both are attributes of Shiva) may replace each other.

Following these results, but knowing as well that for the white ground of the carpets their makers used undyed wool (which kept its natural colour, but after more than 300 years since they were made may become yellowish), while for the various motifs occurring on them they used dyed wool of various colours, that just the lack of enough dyed wool or of colours to dye so much wool as needed for a coloured carpet ground obviously cannot be considered a satisfactory explanation, I wondered if there could be a particular reason also for the existence of Anatolian white ground carpets, with *chintamani* or with other motifs, as I noted that both artists from central, western and southern Asia and European painters depicted white ground carpets, although usually in certain contexts apparently connected with a higher social status and fame, with earthly or spiritual power and frequently with wealth, as such visual sources (and particularly in Orient) are depicting less often commoners. It is worth therefore to analyse such depictions.

From Evangelical churches of the Transylvanian Saxons, where a large number

of Anatolian carpets survived despite trade and thefts, are known (according to Stefano Ionescu) 9 white ground carpets with *chintamani* of a total of 25 currently existing worldwide (Ionescu 2006, 54), although more recently J. Rageth believed wrongly that worldwide only 13 such carpets would exist (Rageth 2016, 86). Thus, this kind of white ground carpets is truly rare in Transylvania, as already Emil Schmutzler noted long time ago (Schmutzler 1933, 18), even more recently E. Pásztor erroneously stated that these carpets would be frequent in this region (Pásztor 2020, 297), although she actually could list only 5 such pieces from this region (Pásztor 2020, 298 and 300, cat. 303-307), much less than the real number of such carpets from here. With 25 currently recorded items, the Anatolian white ground carpets with *chintamani* are actually particularly rare worldwide, if compared with the much larger number of Anatolian carpets with grounds of other colours, counted all together.

Indeed, the researchers agree (Dall'Oglio 1986, 189, 191-192 and 194; Ionescu 2006, 55; Rageth 2016, 86), that worldwide and regardless of their motif the white ground carpets are rare: probably between 50-100 items with birds (Dall'Oglio 1986, 189), ca. 30 with *chintamani*, including the large sized ones (Dall'Oglio 1986, 191), and extremely few items "with crabs" (or "scorpions", as they are usually known), maybe only 2 or 3 (Dall'Oglio 1986, 191-192), besides some "Transylvanian" white ground carpets (Dall'Oglio 1986, 194, fig. 8-9) and few atypical white ground carpets with Uşak medallion (Dall'Oglio 1986, 194, fig. 10-11), which may have been inspired (for some reasons explained below) right by the existence of the larger format white ground carpets, in the context of a general demand for white ground carpets of various formats, in a certain period. And because not all Anatolian white ground carpets could survive, the number of the still extant such carpets must be, of course, much smaller. The surviving Anatolian white ground carpets were very fashionable in 16th-17th c. Hungary (Batári 1986, 195), although they are less frequent, obviously, than Anatolian red ground carpets. There is no doubt that the Anatolian white ground carpets were only a small per cent of the Anatolian carpets production, if

considering (as above, in the situation of the white ground carpets with *chintamani*) the much larger number of surviving Anatolian carpets whose ground is of other colours. Thus, according to Ferenc Batári, at the Turkish carpet exhibition in Budapest (1914), of 312 exhibited items not less than 27 carpets (namely 20 "bird" rugs, 5 with *chintamani* and 2 "with crabs") were white ground ones (Batári 1986, 196), i. e. 8.65 %. In my opinion, the percentage of the white surviving ground carpets may be even lower, if considering the number of all still extant Anatolian carpets. This makes them even more interesting and important as usually believed, although they are not the most expensive kind of Anatolian carpets on the international art market.

The large format Anatolian white ground carpets (which do not exist in Transylvania and worldwide are very rare) are quality products of some urban workshops, close from this point of view to those of the Ottoman court's manufactures (Ionescu 2006, 54-55; cf. Batári 1986, 196-197), which right for this seem to have been produced most likely in Uşak, by specialised craftsman and not by simple village people, as the smaller ones. The latter are, actually, the coarser ones, and this feature as well as a particular type of prayer rugs showing the *chintamani* motif (to which belongs as well a fragment in the Brukenthal National Museum in Sibiu, coming actually from the Evangelical church A. C. in Dupuş / Tobiasdorf, which I shall mention again below) made Ferenc Batári to think that these archaic or tribal looking Anatolian white ground carpets are recalling the much older Seljuk carpets (Batári 1986, 196-197, fig. 1). The small format Anatolian white ground carpets occurring in Transylvania have a smaller number of knots and a simpler design than the larger format carpets, although the borders and the motives are identical. On Ottoman carpets the motives appeared, generally, at first on larger formats and were copied on smaller format carpets, particularly in 17th c., when there are only motives derived from those of the Ottoman court carpets (Kind information from Ştefano Ionescu, May 30, 2021; cf. Balpınar, Hirsch 1988, 95). Therefore, the smaller white ground carpets were inspired by the larger format models made by the Ottoman court's workshops and necessarily their production began short time

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afterwards, when there was already a notable demand for the larger format white ground carpets, which are of better quality and were intended for larger rooms, as those in a palace, a mosque or even (and notably) in a gathering house for dervishes (*tekke* or *khanqah*). One of them is the carpet (Fig. 1) in the castle from Hluboká nad Vltavou / Frauenberg, once belonging to the princely family von Schwarzenberg. Due to the fame of the carpets produced by Ottoman court's workshop, there was an increasing demand for them, but as they were expensive, the market absorbed even similar looking products, although smaller and of lower quality, but cheaper. These cheaper and smaller carpets may be thus considered as "rustic", "folk" or even (not without reason, as it will be explained below) as "tribal copies", but not as "tribal rugs", because the specific Yürük tribal rugs resemble rather the Kazak ones than the Anatolian rugs (Beach Langton 1908, 171-173).

Considering all the facts pointed above, it would be interesting to see if there was a particular reason, of symbolic nature, for which were made white ground carpets. Because all old Anatolian rugs with *chintamani* have a white ground, until in recent times it was believed that they were produced in Selendi (regardless of their format), as well as other types of old Anatolian rugs with a white ground (Ionescu 2006, 53-57; Rageth 2016, 86; Pásztor 2020, 95, 298 and 300; cf. Balpınar, Hirsch 1988, 97). The reason is the mention of white ground carpets (but of small format) as coming from Selendi on an Ottoman register of maximal prices dated 1640 (Kütükoğlu 1983, 178-179; İnalçık 2014, 490-491, tab. 6), where the price (440 *akçes*) of the white ground small format carpets "with crows" (respectively, "with birds", according to their current name) made in the aforementioned town (Kütükoğlu 1983, 179; İnalçık 2014, 490-491, tab. 6), but particularly that of the prayer rugs "with leopard motive" (*chintamani*) made also there, namely 280 *akçes* and 250 *akçes*, depending on their quality (Kütükoğlu 1983, 178) is comparatively small, if considering that in the same document the price of 150 dram (i. e. 481.05 g) of bred is fixed at 1 *akçe* (Kütükoğlu 1983, 91), a two-doors mouse trap cost 40

akçes (Kütükoğlu 1983, 40) and that a goldsmith was paid for processing 100 drams (i. e. 320.70 g) of silver with 150 *akçes* for a fine work and 125 *akçes* for a rough work (Kütükoğlu 1983, 221). Considering the fact that between 1600 and 1640 the price of bred increased with 33.33 % (Kütükoğlu 1983, 48), but that there was no change of price between 1624 and 1640 (Kütükoğlu 1983, 51), it should be noted that in 1621 János Rimay, the ambassador of Prince Stephen Bocskai of Transylvania in Constantinople informed the latter that he paid for a white dotted rug (thus, with *chintamani*) 318 Turkish *osporas* (i. e. *akçes*) and for a smaller one 200 *osporas* (Batári 1986, 195-196), therefore 13.57 % more for the first and 20 % less for the smaller than the price established in 1640, which does not seem a significant variation of price during almost 20 years.

It should be noted as well that in 1640 carpets "with crows" were much more expensive than those "with leopard motive", which may reflect that the sellers noted the market's preference for the first motive, for some reasons which are difficult to ascertain exactly, perhaps because the latter may have been considered to be "old fashioned". There is no mention of white ground rugs "with crabs" (or "scorpions", as they are usually known), because these names seem to be more recent and to refer, actually, as Ferenc Batári pointed (Batári 1986, 200-201), to a particular type of carpets "with crows", whose motive (in fact, stylised leaves) changed its shape, without (due to the extremely few items of this kind) any possibility to ascertain if there is a significant chronological difference between them and the other aforementioned types of white ground carpets.

According to Halil İnalçık, the white ground carpets made in Selendi (and most likely not only those "with crows") may be connected with the Yürük people, who are actually Turkmens, a branch of the Oguz people, who invaded Asia Minor from 1020's onwards and settled in Western Anatolia because of the wars against the Byzantine Empire, being frequently employed as soldiers and transporters upon camels caravans, but also in conflict with the central government, due to their heterodox doctrines of the Islam; they

had an economy based on pastoralism and were known as well for their textiles, exported since the 13th c. both to the western countries and to the Muslim ones (İnalçık 2014). Due right to quality differences between the smaller and the larger Anatolian white ground carpets, as well as to the specific economy of the Yürüks, it seems very likely that they were involved in the trade with such carpets (at least as carriers, if not also as merchants), they may have provided the necessary wool for their production and may have made the coarser one of them, namely at least the small sized ones and maybe some (at least) of the medium sized ones.

Anatolian carpets with a white ground have been erroneously described as almost square in shape (Kimberly Mumford 1902, 95), which although may be true for a 17th c. item with S-shaped palmettes (considered by Ferenc Batári as a forerunner of the “bird” carpets) from the Iparművészeti Múzeum in Budapest (inv. nr. 19983), whose dimensions are 1.47 x 1.57 m (Batári 1986, 197 and 199, fig. 5), thus with a width / length ratio of 0.93. The width / length ratio of 12 small sized Anatolian carpets with *chintamani* (whose both full dimensions are known or can be surely ascertained) is between 0.61-0.73 (average 0.66), so 2/3 and not close to 1 (as it should be) in the case of an almost square shape). In medium sized carpets (Dall’Oglio 1986, 190, fig. 2) the ratio seems even lower, only 0.54 and in large sized carpets (Dall’Oglio 1986, 190-191, fig. 3-4) as well (0.58 average), which means that for the both larger carpet formats the length is much larger than the width. Technically, it means they were made by a single artisan, working on a common loom, as usually for the village productions and not for the large workshops working for the Ottoman Court.

Because the maximal price register of 1640 mentions the “Selendi bath house carpet (*hamam kâlîçesi*) with crow motive (*karga nakışlu*)”, it was considered that all white carpets were used in baths and the brightness of their colours was explained as due to their almost permanent contact with soap and water (Kimberly Mumford 1902, 94-95). Later, W. R. Valentiner assumed that the white ground of the Anatolian carpets was due to an influence of Chinese tempera paintings with black, purple, and blue-green motives on a

creamy white ground from the Ming dynasty period (Valentiner 1910, XX), i. e. 1368–1644/1662. It should be noted, however, in this context that in the Turkmen tradition white, which symbolizes respect, was used in prayer and funeral carpets (Boguslavskaya, Tsareva 1999, 210). Indeed, there are many white ground carpets with niche (Ionescu 2006, cat. nr. 48-51 and 53-54), which obviously were intended to be used as prayer rugs. To this category belongs also the aforementioned fragment (Fig. 2) from the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum (inv. nr. AD 599) coming actually from the Evangelical Church A. C. in Dupuş / Tobsdorf (Kertesz-Badrus 1978, 58-59, cat. nr. 5; Ionescu 2006, 54). However, there are no reasons to assume that all white ground carpets were intended for Muslim theologians, although (according to the Ottoman tradition) white was the colour allowed to theologians and students of higher Islamic schools (Holt 1901, 33). Their use as funeral carpets is not well documented yet, but it might be a reason for the loss of many of the small and even medium sized ones, if bodies were wrapped in them in order to be buried or if the carpets which adorned the coffins were buried with them.

In the Muslim tradition, the white colour symbolizes both innocence and chastity (Jajczay 1975, 220). Maybe for this reason about the white ground Anatolian carpets was stated as well that they were usually given to the bride by her parents, although traditionally they were produced by herself, for many years (Kimberly Mumford 1902, 94). As already mentioned, worldwide the number of the Anatolian white ground carpet is very small, comparative with other types of carpets coming from the same region. Their relative rarity (in comparison to other Anatolian carpets) would lead rather to the conclusion that giving them as a marriage gift was not at all a widely spread tradition or that it was limited only to the Yürük people.

According also to the Islamic tradition, the flag of the Quraysh tribe, to which the Prophet Muhammad belonged, was white (Hathaway 2003, 96). According to the tradition, the Prophet used a banner consisting of a long piece of white fabric fixed to a lance, whose name was *‘ukab*, i. e. “the eagle” (Kadoi 2010, 145). However, the Prophet used as well a

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black flag in battle, called *raya* (Kadoi 2010, 145), of which the Mamluk sultan of Egypt, as Guardian of the Holy Places, had a relic, which he used as a war banner and which, after the conquest Egypt by the Ottoman Empire, was taken to Constantinople and kept in the imperial palace (Hathaway 2003, 98). According to the testimony of the chronicler Silahdar Mehmed Ağa, this war flag (about whose shape, inscriptions and decorations he does not say more) was made of black wool cloth (Hathaway 2003, 98-99). But according to other opinions, as generally the Arabs hoisted various flags to distinguish between tribes and also on particular places and circumstances, the Prophet used *at least* these two kinds of flags (white and black) and his successors, the first two Rashidun caliphs Abu Bakr and Umar, used white and red flags, that later the Umayyads choose to have white flags, to commemorate thus both the Prophet and his successor Abu Bakr (Podeh 2011, 421).

Later, an idea for the distinction of state symbols developed, and the colour of the banner eventually reflected religious or political affiliations in the Islamic world (Kadoi 2010, 145). Generally, it is believed that “the Islamic green” (understood as being derived from the manner in which it is associated with the paradise in the Quran) was used in flags of Muslim countries with a Sunni majority. In fact, quite late in the Islamic history, the Shia-Isma'ili Fatimid Caliphate (909–1171), whose ruler traced their lineage to the Prophet’s daughter Fatima, was the first Muslim empire which employed on its flag the green colour believed to recall that of a cloak worn by the Prophet (Podeh 2011, 421), although there are not doubts that it was not the single one used by the Fatimids. Much later, the flag of the Mughal Empire (1626–1857) had a golden lion on its green flag, to which was added a rising sun, recalling thus a heraldic combination documented and commonly better known on the flag of Persia, since the Zand dynasty (1751–1779) through the Qajar dynasty (1789–1925) to the Pahlavi dynasty (1925–1979), although the flags of these Iranian dynasties were of different shapes and colours: a white triangle with green borders for Zand Persia, respectively the Iranian red – white – green tricolour since 1925. A famous Muslim theologian, Talat Sait

Halman (1931–2014), explained the reason why green can be found on the flags of both Sunni-majority and Shia-majority regions as having an obscure origin in the shape of the elusive immortal and mythical figure of one Al-Khizar (or Al-Khidr or Al-Khadir), who in many Islamic traditions is called “The Green One”, as he was a righteous servant of God, who also possessed great wisdom and mystic knowledge. Green is thus rather the colour of the religious banner, alluding to the eternal, peaceful and chilling afterlife in Paradise, promised to the righteous believers.

Thus, already in the early Islamic history the colour of the flags differed and conveyed political and religious messages, believed perhaps to derive from the very beginning of the Islamic community (*ummah*). Because the official colour of the previous dynasty (i. e. the Umayyads, who succeeded the righteous and legitimate caliphs, the Rashidun) was white (for the reasons mentioned above), that of the Abbasid dynasty was black (Hathaway 2003, 96-97; cf. Kadoi 2010, 145; Podeh 2011, 421) and those of the Shi'ite (Isma'ili) dynasty of the Fatimids from Egypt was also white, which then became the distinctive colour of the Shi'ites (Hathaway 2003, 97), later supported by Persia, the formidable opponent of the Ottoman Empire.

But right in the Ottoman Empire traditionally the flag of the janissaries was also white, due to their particular relationship with the Sufi order Bektaşî (Hathaway 2003, 98-101) or to their personal dependence on the sultan, as the reign banner (*sancak-i şeref*) received by Emir Osman I (1299–1326) from the Seljuk sultan Alaeddin Keykubad III (1298–1302) was also white, perhaps because according to Chinese cosmology (in which believed as well the Mongols and various Turko-Mongolic dynasties) white symbolized the West (Hathaway 2005, 98-99), and was associated also by the Europeans with the territories controlled by such dynasties, as those ruled by the Ilkhanids and by the Chagatayids (Kadoi 2010, 148), but also by the Golden Horde (Kadoi 2010, 149). The Mongols had a variety of flags (including totemic standards made of metal, wood and animal hair), but Genghis Khan used to signalise his position at the battle using the white flag with 9 tails (*chaga'an*

tuq), as in steppe ideology white has a specific connotation of good fortune and kingship (Kadoi 2010, 145). Due to the lack of relevant literary and visual evidence, Seljuk flags cannot be fixed to any absolute chronology, although it would not be surprising if pre-Islamic Turkic vexillological traditions, for example the flagpole finial (*'alam*), were to some extent in the Seljuk cultural sphere (Kadoi 2010, 145). The Ottoman use of flags and standards evidences the continuation of both pre-islamic Turkic and Mongolic traditions, besides the islamic ones, but also innovations, as consequence of their military achievements and as expression of their political aims. As white, inherited as a dynastic colour by Osman I's descendants (the Ottoman sultans), was also the distinctive colour of the Shiites (Hathaway 2003, 97), it is possible that right this led to the adoption of another official colour of the Ottoman dynasty after the conquest of Constantinople (1453): red, to increase its legitimacy and prestige, as the successor of the Roman and Byzantine emperors (Hathaway 2005, 22; Sonoc 2013, 314-315; Sonoc 2014, 501, n. 37).

The Bektaşî order derived from Sufism, a mystical path of Sunni Islam, but like other Middle Eastern heterodox groups (the Yazidis, the Druzes, the Alawites, the Ahl el-Haq) it incorporated both un-Islamic beliefs as well as 14th-16th c. Shiite ones circulating in Anatolia and was influential not only among the janissaries but also among the Ottoman intellectuals (On the Bektaşî order see Doja 2006). In the current stage of research, it is difficult to ascertain to what extent either the Bektaşî order or the janissaries had anything to do with the small format white ground Anatolian carpets, which were cheaper than other Anatolian carpets of the same period and whose quality was certainly inferior to the latter. In India the Sufi traditions introduced the ritual consumption of cannabis and opium, which became inextricable parts of Indian culture, in relation with the spring festival Holi in northern India, respectively with various domestic rites and hospitality in Gujarat and Rajasthan (Losty, Mallinson 2018, 78).

Ferenc Batári researched on mentions of the Anatolian white ground carpets in certain kinds of 16th and 17th c. written sources (inventories, dowry registrations, testaments

and other documents) from Hungary, inclusively from Transylvania (Batári 1986, 195-196), which corresponds generally to some chronological clues offered by the study of another kind of written sources, namely the accounts of the Transylvanian city Braşov, made long time ago by Albert Eichhorn (Eichhorn 1968). According to Ferenc Batári, the oldest mention of Anatolian white ground carpets is in 1569, when 2 such carpets, in value of 20 Hungarian florins, are documented among the 10 rugs belonging to the Perényi family. Not only in the Perényi family, but generally, in late 16th c. known records of aristocratic personal belongings (Batári 1986, 195), the white ground carpets are rarer as other kinds of carpets: 1 among 39 carpets of György Thuri (1571), but 3 among 10 rugs of Lady Ilona Oláh, the sister of Miklós Oláh (i. e. Nicolaus Olahus), the Archbishop of Esztergom and Primate of Hungary (1579), 6 large white ground ones among 39 rugs of various sizes (of which only 17 small old and new ones) belonging to István Radecius (i. e. Radetzky), Archbishop of Eger (1581) and 2 (of which 1 with black spots, i. e. *chintamani*) among 5 carpets of Lady Anna Máriássy (1592). In 17th c. the situation does not change too much, regardless of the fortune of the owners: 12 medium size white carpets among the 28 rugs belonging to János Balpataki's orphans in Sibiu in 1656 and 17 white Turkish rugs about the 76 carpets recorded in the princely palace of George II Rákóczi in Alba Iulia in 1659 (Batári 1986, 196). Besides a relative increasing of the white ground carpets owned by wealthy Transylvanians, it should be noted that now are mentioned larger items of this kind, not only those owned by János Balpataki's orphans, but even earlier, as in 1628 Mihály Toldalaghi, the ambassador of Prince Gabriel Bethlen in Constantinople informed the latter that he had not found white rugs of the dimensions desired by him. According to these documents (Batári 1986, 196), "bird" carpets are mentioned only in 17th c. (sometimes namely as rugs with "jackdaws", thus identifying the motif more recently considered, generally, to be in fact stylised leaves as depicting *Corvus monedula*, which is notably close to its traditional Ottoman name *karga*, i. e. "crow" or more precisely *Corvus sp.*); for first time 3 white ground table rugs patterned with "birds" in a

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report dated 1621 of János Rimay, the ambassador of Prince Stephen Bocskai in Constantinople, 2 rugs with “jackdaws” (one used as table cloth and one as wall hanging) among the belongings of the orphans of the Transylvanian Princely Councillor and judge István Kassai in the manor houses of Királyfalva and Draşov / Drassó (1647).

In the city accounts from Braşov, “white carpets” are first mentioned in 1568, afterwards they become the most frequent ones and cease to be mentioned around 1640 (Eichhorn 1968, pp. 79-80), that means almost at the age when they are still mentioned in the Ottoman register of maximal prices. Apparently, these two dates may be important chronological clues for the production of such carpets in Anatolia, but as other Oriental carpets of other origin were imported as well to Italy, to the Netherlands and to other Western and even Central European countries, where they are documented either by written sources or by their depictions in European works of art and many even survived, it should not be excluded that such non-Anatolian carpets may have been imported to Transylvania too, although less than those of Anatolian origin only because none survived in churches or elsewhere. Notably and unfortunately, Anatolian white ground carpets (regardless of their motif) are not discussed by Onno Ydema in his work on carpets and their dating in Netherlandish paintings during 1500–1700 (Ydema 1991), although they exist in works of artists from the Netherlands and from other regions as well.

In European paintings, the Anatolian white ground carpets with birds made in Selendi are first depicted on a late 16th c. copy after a portrait of King Henry IV of France (1589–1610) and Navarre (1572–1610) dated 1572 (Fig. 10) from Museo Lazaro Galdiano in Madrid (oil on canvas, 58.2 x 41.5 cm, inv. 8468) by François Clouet (ca. 1515–1572) (Yetkin 1991, 109, photo 54), but mostly in early 17th c., as suggested by the work *Eumenos and Roxana* by Alessandro Varotari called *il Padovanino* (1588–1649) from the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, dated 1625 (Fig. 17) and by a painting once kept at the royal residence in Munich and dated to approx. 1600, by Peter de Witte called

Peter Candid (ca. 1548–1628), who was known also as a designer for the tapestry workshop in Munich (Valentiner 1910, 14; Bode 1922, 50). For this reason, W. von Bode dated the Anatolian white ground carpets with birds between late 16th c. and mid-17th c. (Bode 1922, 50), i. e. right during the period when they are documented in the city accounts of Braşov. E. Pásztor believes that in Europe the Anatolian white ground rugs were used mostly as tablecloths (Pásztor 2007, 93), considering most likely their most frequent depictions in European paintings, but probably also the eventual existence of references in written sources or of ink stains on some carpets. However, there are also paintings by old masters showing the carpets displayed on the floor and only 19th–20th c. Orientalist paintings show them (but rarely) hanging on walls. A depiction of a white ground carpet with birds exists even in Transylvania: it is the mural painting (Fig. 8) recently discovered in a house from Sighişoara / Schässburg (Romania), dated as well in the 17th c. according to older opinions (Ionescu 2012, 12; Boz 2016, 182, fig. 7-8), even in early 17th c. to new ones (Kind information from Şt. Ionescu, May 22, 2021). An older mural painting, dated in late 16th c. (Fig. 7), showing as well a white ground carpet with birds but having a *chintamani* decor on the border, was discovered in Tarnów (Poland), in a house on the Market Square (Alasoy, Uluç 2012, 185; Boz 2016, 182). Such murals are evidences for the hanging of this kind of carpets on walls in Central Europe as well, and already in 17th c. In the current state of research there are no known depictions of white ground carpets with *chintamani* on European paintings (Balpınar, Hirsch 1988, 97; Paquin 1992, 105-106; Ionescu 2006, 54), although this motive occurs in 17th c. Oriental miniatures (Balpınar, Hirsch 1988, 97) and even (according to S. Ionescu) on carpets depicted in Timurid miniatures (Ionescu 2006, 54). To Italian painters the *chintamani* motive was known already in mid-14th c., because textiles (although not carpets) bearing it were imported to Europe from Orient, most likely from Persia or other regions in Central Asia. Thus, Paolo Veneziano (ca. 1300–1365), in his *Coronation of the Virgin* polyptich (dated ca. 1350) from the Galleria dell’Accademia in Venice, depicted

a cushion cover with *chintamani* and calligraphic borders on the Virgin's throne (Safadi 1979, fig. 146), which should be (considering the work's age) most likely a post-Ilkhanid Persian textile. It could be, as well, the earliest depiction of the *chintamani* motive on an Oriental textile in European painting.

The earliest known depiction (Fig. 3) of a white ground carpet with *chintamani* (according to the kind information of its discoverer, Stefano Ionescu) occurs indeed in Anatolia, in an Ottoman Turkish manuscript of *Iskender name* ("The Romance of Alexander"), which actually is a copy made in Amasya in 1416 by Mohammed ibn Maulana Pir Hosein (called *Haği Baba el-Sivasi*) after the writing of Ahmed ibn Ibrahim el-Ahmedi (called *Tağ ed-Din*), who finished it in 1390, but continued it after Bayezid I's death (1402) for the latter's son Emir Süleyman, respectively Şehzade Süleyman Çelebi, Sultan of Rumelia (1388–1411), claimant to the Ottoman throne during 1402–1411 (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Manuscripts Department, inv. nr. Turc 309, fol 162r.). Thus, it may be considered contemporary with the Timurid illuminations to which Stefano Ionescu alluded (Ionescu 2006, 54), but which are unknown to me (if there is not a simply confusion with Timurid works depicting white ground carpets with other motives). In Timurid illuminations there are, apparently, very rare evidences that a pattern recalling the spots on the leopard fur may occur as well on other textiles used by historical persons (although distinguished ones) from other social levels, as may be seen on a bolster and of a wrapping cloth depicted in a scene rendering the poet Saadi and his teacher sitting in a garden, in a copy made in 1426–1427 in Herat of the Saadi's work *Gulistan* ("The Flower Garden"), namely a collection of anecdotes framed as ethical and didactical tales, which is kept at the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (ms. 119, f. 3b) (Lentz, Lowry 1989, 124 and 337, cat. nr. 41).

Later, in the *Shahnama* of Shah Tahmasp (painted ca. 1525–1530), the courtiers of Hushang, the second legendary ruler of Iran, are garbed in leopard pelts, but a vizier wears a gown made of a tiger pelt, the ruler is sitting on a carpet whose field is decorated with a

spotted pattern recalling the leopard fur and a subject brings him as gift a leopard cub in a illustration of the feast of Sadeh (Fig. 4) by Sultan Muhammad (Welch 1976, 92–94). In the same book, similar carpets are depicted in other 3 scenes: two by Sultan Muhammad (the greatest Safavid artist, influenced by the Timurid master Bihzad, the director of imperial book painting workshops in Herat and later Tabriz), showing the fate telling to the evil Zakhak, the son of King of Merdas (Welch 1976, 104–107) and respectively Faridun (actually Fereydu) striking down Zakhak (Welch 1976, 112–115) and one by Mir Musavvir, who depicted King Zal in Kabul, receiving tribute from the local ruler Mihrab (Welch 1976, 129–131). As comparison, should be noted the depiction of a leopard hidden in the mountains in a scene by Aqa Mirak in the same book, which shows King Faridun metamorphosed in a dragon, in order to test his three sons (Welch 1976, 121–123). These illustrations evidence that in early 16th c. Persia white ground carpets adorned with patterns recalling the spots on leopard furs were clearly associated with legendary kings from the country's early, half legendary beginnings, namely with an age when the humans domesticated animals and began to produce metals (which now is considered the Prehistory) till to the early historical age (when a hierarchy of regional rulers began to be established and the more powerful ones fought and killed their counterparts). This iconographical tradition can be noted even in late 16th c., when on a white ground carpet with a pattern reproducing with even more fidelity the spots on a leopard fur occurs in a Safavid miniature attributed to Siyawush (from the school of Qazwin), which renders Suhrab questioning his mother Tahmina about his father Rostam (Persian and Mughal Art 1976, 40–41, cat. nr. 19XI), from a fragmentary manuscript of a large royal *Shahnama* (dispersed after 1914), whose patron may have been Shah Ismail II and dated therefore ca. 1576–1577 (Persian and Mughal Art 1976, 32, cat. nr. 19).

There are also some late 14th c. – late 15th c. Timurid illuminations depicting white ground carpets with other motives. On them are rendered sitting legendary royals, but also a historical Persian monarch (in a legendary context) and a living Timurid sovereign: that

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by Jumayd, in a copy of Khwaju Kirmani's *Diwan* (fol. 45b) made in Baghdad, in 1396, shows Humay and Humayun in their wedding's day (Lentz, Lowry 1989, 55 and 330-331, cat. nr. 13), an illumination from a *Shahnama* in the Aga Khan Museum in Toronto (inv. AKM 268, fol 334r), copied in 1457 in Shiraz and rendering Queen Humay embracing her son Darab (Treasures, 108-109, cat. nr. 96), one by Khwaja Ali al-Tabrizi in a *Khamsa* ("The Quintet") by Nizami from the library of the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi (inv. nr. H. 781, f. 62a), copied in Herat in 1445-1446 which renders Khosrow (i. e. King Khosrow II Parviz) receiving Farhad (Lentz, Lowry 1989, 108 and 335, cat. nr. 32) and finally one by Bihzad (Kamal ud-Din Behzad) in a copy made in 1488 in Herat of Saadi's *Bustan* ("Garden") kept at the General Egyptian Book Organisation in Cairo (Adab farsi 908, fol 2a), shows right Bihzad's generous patron (Mostafa 1959, 6), Sultan Husayn Bayqara Mirza (1469-1506) at a drinking party at his court in Herat (Subtelny 2007, fig. 8). A Persian miniature painted by Abdullah al-Muzahhib (called *Abdullah Shirazi*) in Qazwin or Mashhad in 1582-1583 from a manuscript of *Diwan* commissioned by Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's daughter after her father's murder, kept at the Aga Khan Museum in Toronto (inv. nr. AKM 282), renders a young prince sitting on a white ground carpet and feasting with companions at night (Treasures 2011, 342-343, cat. nr. 110), most likely during the Ramadan. Also on a white ground carpet, in an illumination dated ca. 1580 from an unidentified historical manuscript, an Ottoman Pasha and his staff officers are rendered sitting, when receiving (in a desert encampment) a descendant of Imam Ali ibn Abi Talib (Atıl 1973, cat. nr. 8), the 4th caliph, thus most likely a Shiite.

Due to the fact that both in western and central Asia the Islam (although of various forms) is the dominant religion, a comparison with India, which is well known as a region of a larger religious diversity seems very important, in order to get a more objective view about the symbolic role of the white ground carpets, before to compare these facts with their depictions by European artists, which at their turn is important to ascertain if

they have a particular meaning for the early modern Europeans.

In late 16th c. and early 17th c. India the white ground carpets (but with typical Indo-Persian motives) are actually quite rarely depicted, however still connected with royal characters, either from the literature or from history. King Drupada and his daughter Draupadi in a scene rendering Arjuna winning the latter as wife in an archery contest in a miniature by Banwari Kund dated c. 1598 in a dispersed *Razmnama* ("Book of War") from the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (York Leach 1995, I, 134-135, cat. nr. 1.232, pl. 15). In the Persianate environment of the Mughal court, the white ground carpets kept a certain symbolic importance, as in the 2nd volume of the history of Jahangir and of his predecessors (*Iqbalnamah-i' Jahangiri*) by Muhammad Sharif Mutamad Khan, dated 1600 from the collection of the Free Library of Philadelphia (Rare Books Department, Lewis O44, fol. 8), the emperor Akbar the Great (with whose accession to the throne the work begins) is rendered sitting on a white ground carpet adorned with vegetal patterns and his main advisers on a similar carpet but less richly adorned, while receiving under a tent some other aristocrats (Fig. 5). In relation with portraits of historical monarchs and aristocrats of various ranks and religions such carpets occur more frequently in 18th-19th c., as those of Murshid Quli Khan, in a portrait made in Murshidabad and dated ca. 1720-1740 (York Leach 1995, II, 708, cat. nr. 6.366, pl. 97), also in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (inv. nr. 69.10), of Raja Sidh Sen of Madhi performing *puja*, in a portrait from Mandi, dated 1730-1750 (Losty, Mallinson 2018, 58-59, cat. nr. 15), of Subahdar ("Governor") Amir Khan III of Allahabad on a terrace, in a work ascribed to Nidhamal and dated during 1740-1745 (Losty 2013, 94-95, cat. nr. 9) and of Thakur Chand Singh of Duni, in a portrait made in Delhi or Hansi in 1830 (York Leach 1995, II, 726 and 734, cat. nr. 7.7, pl. 99) in the album *Tazkirat al-Umara'* ("Description of the Princes") from the same library from Dublin (ms. 33), commissioned by Colonel James Skinner. They seem to be rendered most frequently in northern India (particularly in the Pahari painting) and in Bengal. Two mid-18th c. works kept at the Bibliothèque nationale de

France in Paris evidence that imperial Mughal painters depicted white ground carpets also in less frequent scenes with women, both outside, in garden (Smith 2018, 144-145) and inside, at their toilette (Smith 2018, 160-161). In the Punjab Hills white ground carpets occur later, in late 18th c. – early 19th c., both in intimate aristocratic daily life scenes (Kallista 2015, 94-97, cat. nr. 35), among which should be noted particularly those with women writing to their lovers (Sivaramamurti 1970, pl. 25) or musing on them (Losty 2015a, 100-101, cat. nr. 33), but also in scenes with deities or humans as *Ashta Nayika*, i. e. archetypal romantic states (Kalista 2015, 90-93, cat. nr. 33-34) or with aristocrats as characters of *Barahmasas* (Kalista 2015, 98-99, cat. nr. 36), i. e. poetic works inspired primarily from the Indian folk tradition. In late 18th c. – early 19th c. both in Bengal (Losty 2015, 64-65, cat. 20) and in Rajasthan (Kalista 2015, 46-47, nr. cat. 15) royals are rendered sitting on white ground carpets when attending at festivals (as Rawat Gokal Das during the Holi festival in a work dated 1808, made in Deogarh by Bagta), respectively when watching dancers and musicians (as Nawab Saulat Jang and his son, in a work dated ca. 1770, painted in Murshidabad). Also in Rajasthan, in an illustration of a devotional book (the *Sursagar* by Surdas), painted ca. 1720 in Marwar even Krishna's adoptive mother Yashoda is rendered sitting on a white ground carpet (Kalista 2015, 34-35, cat. nr. 10) and on a white ground carpet (and not on Shiva's tiger pelt) was sitting even Parvati during the birth of Karttikeya, the Hindu god of war, according to a painting by a Devgarh School (Rajasthan) anonymous dated 1800-1823 from a private collection (Kramrisch 1986, 65 and 169, cat. nr. 58), which suggests that this pelt (and the carpet, its substitute) were believed to have protective powers. In a painting from Mewar dated ca. 1740-1750 a respected scholar (*acharya*) as Jaijairam Ji is rendered sitting on a small white ground carpet displayed over the main green ground one while listening to devotional chants (Losty 2013, 148-149, cat. nr. 39). Such white ground carpets from India were appreciated on Western markets, as a chintz dated 1800-1775 made in south-East India, on Coromandel Coast, showing on its ground a huge motive of the Tree of Life (*palampore*) recalls actually a carpet, even by

its large format: 335.2 x 213.4 cm (Losty 2016, 106-107, cat. nr. 39).

Thus, in India the white ground carpets are more frequently depicted in the environment of the Mughal court and in northern and eastern regions, where the foreign (Persianate) cultural influences were stronger. It should be noted that both in Persia and in Mughal India the white ground carpets may even substitute the leopard pelts, respectively the tiger pelts on which the Muslim ascetics used to sit in Central Asia, respectively in India. Thus, a Mughal painting dated 1640-1650, attributed to Payag and his studio, shows a group of 4 Sufi sheiks at riverside, where two of them are sitting on a large grey carpet and the other two (who seem to be the more important ones) on a smaller white ground carpet put over the grey one (Losty, Mallinson 2018, cat. 116-117, cat. 34). A Persian miniature painted in 1573 from an illustrated manuscript of Ahmad ibn Muhammad Ghaffari's *Nigaristan* made in Shiraz from the Aga Khan Museum in Toronto (inv. nr. AKM 272) which renders a young Shiite prince hearing a sermon in a mosque may be seen as an evidence that such a white ground carpet without a niche (as usually prayer rugs have) could have been used even in a such occasion (Treasures 2011, 88-89, cat. nr. 16), at least among the Shiites. A white ground carpet is depicted in an imperial Mughal painting from Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris showing Muslim women in prayer (Fig. 6), which is dated ca. 1630-1640 (Smith 2018, 108-109). There are as well convincing evidences that in mid-18th c. India white ground carpets (although not exclusively) were used also while performing Hindu rituals by distinguished persons, either scholars as Jaijairam Ji or monarchs as Raja Sidh Sen of Madhi (1684-1727), the latter being known both as an ardent devotee of Shiva and of Devi and for his proficiency in tantric practices. The white ground carpet has the same role as the tiger pelt for hermits in their regularly fire sacrifice (*jaynas*), as may be seen in an already mentioned Pahari painting kept at the Bharat Kala Bhavan in Varanasi (inv. nr. 929), which comes from the family workshop of Seu-Nainsukh and is dated during the 4th quarter of the 18th c. (Goswamy 1986, 225, cat. nr. 178).

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Summarizing this analyse of the context in which white ground carpets are depicted by central Asian, Ottoman, Persian and Indian artists, it results that Timurid illuminations rarely render legendary royals and more frequently historical ones (sometimes however in a legendary context) as sitting on white ground carpet, unlike apparently the Persian illuminations, where legendary royal characters are depicted more frequently than historical royals or other important persons sitting on such carpets. Late 14th – late 16th c. Ottoman ones render only historical royals, but sometimes also high-ranking officials sitting on white ground carpets, although there are strong evidences (both from Ottoman and European written sources, as well as from the study of European paintings commented below) that even middle-class persons had carpets of this kind. Most likely even common Yürük shepherd families had white ground carpets, as they produced the small format ones, but if Muslim scholars and Janissaries had too such carpets is now still only a hypothesis (and will continue maybe to be for a long time), as well as if the existence of such carpets in gathering houses for dervishes or their use in Muslim funerary ceremonies. In Indian paintings legendary royal characters are rendered sitting on white ground carpets apparently only in late 16th c., unlike historical royals, who are rendered sitting on such carpets in late 16th c. – early 17th c., but especially in 18th–19th c. In late 18th c. and early 19th c. not only royals, high-ranking officials and respected scholars, but also literary characters (either aristocrats or even deities) are rendered sitting on white ground carpets. Although in the Timurid Empire, in Ottoman Empire, in Persia and in India there were different types of white ground carpets, everywhere in these regions their use was associated mostly with the highest levels of the society, although not always (at least in the Ottoman Empire, as indicated by the lower prices of the small format Anatolian carpets of this kind).

In 16th c. European monarchs also appreciated white ground carpets, produced in the Ottoman Empire, but not necessarily the fine and large ones from Uşak, which could cover the floor of palace rooms or of mosques, but even the smaller ones from Selendi, used as tablecloths

(if considering the portrait of King Henry IV of France and Navarre). Although Michael Franses pointed (In Praise of God 2007, 146) that a carpet with *çintamani* is documented as being the property of King Henry VIII of England (1509–1547), thus right in the first half of the 16th c., it cannot be found in the inventory written in 1547 (according to the Master degree thesis in Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies of Angela Sutton-Vane, University of Exeter, October 2011, where the carpets mentioned in this inventory are listed). Besides Henry IV of France and Navarre, several members of the House of Habsburg, as Archduke Ferdinand II of Further Austria and his brother Emperor Maximilian II, the latter's sister Archduchess Elisabeth of Austria, the wife of King Charles IX of France), but also higher aristocrats as Henry Hastings (1586–1643), 5th Earl of Huntingdon (Queen's College, University of Cambridge, inv. nr. 27), portrayed in 1601 (Fig. 11) by Paulus van Sommer the Elder (ca. 1577–1621) in a work kept at the Queen's College of the University of Cambridge (oil on canvas, 207 x 120,7 cm, inv. nr. 27) had white ground Anatolian carpets, as resulting from the study of various written documents and of preserved aristocratic portraits (Yetkin 1991, 106; cf. Boz 2016, 189). These are clear and undoubted evidences that this kind of carpets, considered now by the Turkish researchers to have been produced by the Yürük people, were appreciated in western Europe not only by the middle class, as would be usually supposed, considering the most characters rendered in mid-16th c. – late 17th c. paintings showing such carpets, as a Protestant Doctor of Laws (oil on panel, 106.7 x 81.3 cm) portrayed (Fig. 9) ca. 1560 by Hans Mielich (1516–1673) from the formerly Rush H. Kress collection in New York (Eisler 1977, 42, fig. 33), an unknown family portrayed in 1620 (Fig. 12) by Cornelis van der Voort (1576–1624) in a painting from Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten in Antwerpen (oil on canvas, 119 x 179 cm, inv. 996), the family of the Flemish painter Jan Steen (ca. 1626–1679) in a well-known genre scene (Fig. 13) whose alternative titles are two similar Dutch sayings ("The Way You Hear It, Is the Way You Sing It", respectively "As the Old Sing, So Pipe the Young"), dated ca. 1665 and kept at the

Mauritshuis in Den Haag (oil on canvas, 134 x 163 cm, inv. 742) and in another genre scene (Fig. 14) by the same artist, *The Card Players in an Interior*, dated c. 1660 (oil on oak panel, 45.8 x 60.3 cm) from the Rose-Marie and Ejik van Oterloo collection in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, or later in a genre scene (Fig. 15) by Pieter de Hooch (1629 – after 1684), called *Interior with a Woman Knitting and a Maid with a Girl* dated 1673 from the Guildhall Art Gallery in London (oil on canvas, 74 x 64 cm, inv. 3733). To the same social level (community officials, artisans and even rich peasants) belonged obviously as well many Transylvanian Saxons who donated such carpets to their Evangelical churches, even in rural areas. The latest depictions of an Anatolian white ground carpet with birds by an old master seems to be *Still Life with Flowers, a Squirrel and an Oriental carpet* (oil on canvas, 163 x 137 cm including the frame) by Willem Frederiksz van Royen (c. 1645–1723), dated 1690 (Fig. 16), in 's-Hertogenbosch at Het Noordbrabants Museum. It may have been commissioned as well by someone belonging, most likely, to the local middle class, as the metallic vase and the Anatolian carpet (and maybe even some depicted flowers) were quite expensive goods, even luxury items or, for more sober Christians, vanities.

According to the inventory of the deceased Baron Samuel von Brukenthal (1721–1803), the former Governor of Transylvania (1777–1787) had in his palace in Sibiu “1 well preserved Turkish white carpet in many colours” whose value was 8 Rhine florins (Vlaicu, Gündisch 2007, 78). Accepting that indeed the mentioned carpet was Turkish and not of other Oriental origin and even it is quite difficult yet to ascertain its type (rather a “Transylvanian” one or one with Uşak medallion than other types, whose colours are less impressive), it could not have been made more recently than in late 17th c. or less probably in early 18th c. Although 8 Rhine florins is actually the highest value for 3 carpets of 10 mentioned in this inventory, it is comparatively low, if considering the values of a new stag pelt (12 Rhine florins) or of a chamois pelt (4 Rhine florins) (Vlaicu, Gündisch 2007, 77), respectively of a pair of tiger pelts with red lining and silver ribbons (18 Rhein florins) or of a pair of good bear

pelts (36 Rhine florins), used as travel blankets (Vlaicu, Gündisch 2007, 105), of damask tablecloths and napkins (Vlaicu, Gündisch 2007, 69) or of various European and Ottoman edged and fire arms (Vlaicu, Gündisch 2007, 60–68). The carpet's value, which almost corresponds to that of an ill or an old and weak horse, ascertained to 9 Rhine florins (Vlaicu, Gündisch 2007, 118 and 120), is very low even if compared with the value of Selendi white ground carpets in the register of maximal prices from 1640. But right considering the good condition and the supposed high age of Samuel von Brukenthal's white ground carpet, it seems that for its owner who kept it and apparently considered it as an antique house decoration, it was more worth than for those who, after his death, ascertained the value of his belongings. It should be noted in this context that probably the single work depicting a white ground “Transylvanian” rug is due right to Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640): it is a large one, *Samson and Delilah*, dated c. 1609–1610 (Fig. 18) and kept at the National Gallery in London (oil on panel, 185 x 205 cm, inv. NG6461).

Due to the market success of the Anatolian white ground carpets, European imitations with *chintamani* on green and red ground were produced, particularly in England, more steadily since the 17th c. (Boz 2016, fig. 12). There are as well old Anatolian carpets with *chintamani* on red ground, made in Uşak in the 17th–18th c (largely contemporary, therefore, with the Anatolian carpets with *chintamani* on white ground): such a carpet, kept at Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul, is dated in the 17th c. (Yetkin 1991, pl. 66) and that from the L. Bernheimer K. G. collection in Munich in the 18th c. (Yetkin 1991, foto 58). Carpets with *chintamani* on red ground do not occur in Transylvania, among those donated by the Saxons to their Evangelical churches. Referring to the recurrence of the *chintamani* motif on Anatolian carpets in the 19th c., when such a carpet is called *Sinekli*, Stefano Ionescu points that such carpets were produced also in Gördes, as a fragment of a niche carpet dated during the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid I (1839–1861), which is kept nowadays at the St. Margaret's church in Mediaş / Mediasch (Romania), but coming from the Evangelical Church A. C. from Axente Sever / Frauendorf (Ionescu 2006, 55), not far away. Such 19th c.

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Ottoman free imitations of the white ground carpets with *chintamani* in Gördes, in a period called by western Europeans as “Turkish Baroque” (Ionescu 2006, 55), when such “revivals” were common, may be seen rather as a consequence of the commercial demand for old Anatolian carpets (or even for new items recalling them), because due to their beauty and rarity, the older Anatolian white ground carpets were still appreciated house decorations (even as table cloths, like in 16th–17th c.), as can be seen also in a photographic portrait (Fig. 19) of the German chemist Justus von Liebig (1803–1873), dated c. 1865 or earlier (as a lithograph reproducing it well, but without interest for the motive of the carpet is dated c. 1865). Although in the 19th c. the Orientalist style in decoration of house interiors contributed to an increasing popularity of the paintings with Oriental themes, Anatolian white ground carpets are depicted quite rarely as table cloths, as wall hangings or covering room floors, recalling thus (but to a lesser extent) the situation in late 16th – late 17th c. discussed above.

Apparently, these white ground carpets imported from the Ottoman Empire occur only in late 19th c. works, more often in depictions of modest interiors (in which the carpet is actually the single Oriental object) than in paintings with Oriental themes, and possibly not in whole Europe. In the current stage of research, their authors are only Catalan, Austrian and German painters, as Antoni Salvador Casanova i Estorach (1847–1897) in *A Very Good Hand* (oil on canvas, 42.5 x 56.2 cm; signed *A. Casanova y Estorich / 1880*) from a private collection (Fig. 20), Rudolf Ernst (1854–1932) in *Portrait of an Arab Nobleman* (oil on canvas, 247 x 131 cm), auctioned at Christie’s in London on June 26, 2007 (lot 117) (Fig. 22) and respectively Alfons Spring (1843–1908) in *Sleeping Monk* (unknown technical details) from a private collection (Fig. 21). An interesting detail is that the Anatolian white ground carpets with birds are depicted as tablecloths both in humble monk cell and on a terrace of a Spanish palace. Considering right the fashionable Orientalist style of interiors decorations, an Anatolian white ground carpet with “birds” is not so surprisingly, it is however difficult to ascertain if the painting by

Alfons Spring may be a clue that in late 19th c. old Oriental rugs (and particularly right Anatolian white ground ones with “birds”) still could exist in Catholic monasteries from Bavaria (if not, considering his personal background, even from Latvia), unlike in Transylvania, where the Anatolian carpets survived mostly (excepting few Hungarian Reformed churches) in the Evangelical ones, of the Saxons. Therefore, last but not least, to these works should be added another one (Fig. 23), also influenced by the views of Historismus, namely *Adorning of a Transylvanian Saxon Bride*, dated 1890, from the Brukenthal National Museum in Sibiu (oil on canvas, 172 x 126 cm, inv. 1248), by Robert Wellmann (1866–1946), a Transylvanian Saxon artist who was aware about their cultural importance in the Protestant churches of his fatherland. His Catalan, German and Austrian counterparts were very different artistic personalities, although all were in a certain measure influenced by Historismus and shared his interest for traditional life scenes. Antoni Salvador Casanova i Estorach was at his time very appreciated, as *costumbrista* (painter of Hispanic characters, historical and daily life scenes, in a both Realist and Romantic manner, often with picaresque humour), but in a conservative academic manner (being thus considered a *preciocista*, who rejected the impressionist experiments), and after studies in Rome (1870–1875) he became in Paris (after 1875) famous and even rich through the local demand for his small format paintings (*tableautins*) with such themes (on his life and work: Vergés Princep 1983). Alfons Spring, who was born as a Baltic German in the Courland Governorate of the Russian Empire, namely in Libau (now Liepāja, in Latvia), but settled in 1869 in Bavaria, painted especially scenes of traditional country life (often strongly influenced by Historismus) or from Catholic monasteries and was till recently almost forgotten, despite his talent (on his life and work: Göbel 2011). Unlike them all, Rudolf Ernst was an Austrian genre scenes painter, who settled in 1876 in France (at first in Paris and later not far away, in Fontenay-aux-Roses), and after travels to Spain, Morocco and Constantinople (ca. 1880–1883) he became an Orientalist painter (after 1885)

and even (after 1905) a producer of faience with Orientalist motives (ÖBL 1957, 265). In his aforementioned painting, the depiction of an Anatolian white ground carpet with “birds” beneath an Arab sheikh may be, in my opinion, rather an influence of the Historismus than the record of a real situation.

Despite this scarcity of late 19th c. paintings depicting Anatolian white ground carpets, even later there was a great demand for such textiles (both as collection items and as house decorations), as there are also some 20th c. fakes (including white ground “Transylvanian” carpets as well) by Theodor Tuduc, produced in Transylvania (Ionescu 2020; Boz 2016, 187-188, fig. 13) or elsewhere, by his followers.

Conclusions

In Timurid, Persian, Ottoman, and Indian paintings, white ground carpets are associated almost exclusively with historical or legendary monarchs and sometimes with high dignitaries, although (considering the prices in the Ottoman register of maximal prices dated in 1640) other categories of wealthy persons could also afford them. According to their depictions in Indian art, the white ground carpets had also a ritual use, both by Muslims and by Hindus. The medium-sized and large-sized white carpets from Uşak’s Ottoman court workshops have enjoyed some success both in Anatolia and on the foreign market since the 16th c., so that in Selendi were produced small format imitations, of poorer quality and cheaper, which were connected (by Halil İnalçık) with the Yürük population, that is,

with the Turkmen shepherds settled in western Anatolia and in different regions of Rumelia, who used to be ware transporters and were adherents of heterodox doctrines of Islam. It is difficult to say yet whether there is any connection between the white ground carpets and the Sufi Bektāşi order, which was influential among the janissaries. Over time, the types of Anatolian white ground carpets diversified, appeared even hybrid variants (namely those with Uşak medallion and the “Transylvanian” white ground carpets) and European (English) imitations which no longer respected the colour of the original background, and in 19th c. also Ottoman ones (in Gördes), then forgeries, in 20th c. In European painting, the depictions of Anatolian white ground carpets (used, generally, as tablecloths, less often for wall decoration or to cover the floor) are rare, and those of carpets with *chintamani* are still missing even, being depicted almost exclusively “bird” rugs (excepting only one of “Transylvanian” type). The chronological limits in which the accounts of the Transylvanian city Braşov document the import of Oriental white ground carpets correspond almost perfectly to the period in which other written sources from Hungary (including Transylvania) mention them. European mural paintings attest these carpets from late 16th c. till early 17th c., and the easel painting from mid-16th c. till late 17th c., then again in late 19th c., along with the interest in Oriental themes and obviously with the preference for the Orientalist style in decoration of house interiors, which contributed actually to their popularity.

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- Fig. 18. Peter Paul Rubens, *Samson și Dalila*, cca. 1609–1610. National Gallery, Londra.
- Fig. 19. Chimistul german Justus von Liebig (1803–1873), cca. 1865. Colecție privată.
- Fig. 20. Antoni Casanova i Estorach, *O mână foarte bună*, 1880. Colecție privată.
- Fig. 21. Alfons Spring, *Călugăr dormind*. Colecție privată.
- Fig. 22. Rudolf Ernst, *Portetul unui nobil arab*. Colecție privată.
- Fig. 23. Robert Wellmann, *Împodobirea unei mirese săsoaice*, 1890. Muzeul Național Brukenthal, Sibiu.



Fig. 1. Large Anatolian white ground carpet with *chintamani* in the castle from Hluboká nad Vltavou

Fig. 2. Fragment of a small Anatolian white ground carpet with *chintamani*. Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu

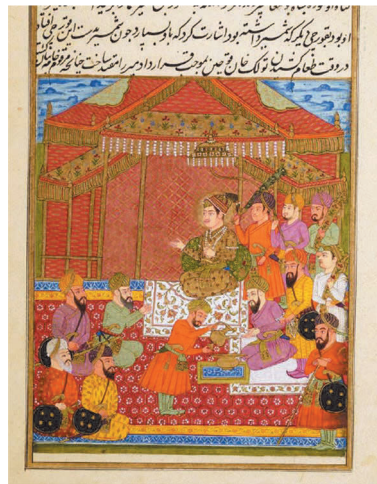


Fig. 3. White ground carpet with the leopard fur spots motif. Illumination from an Ottoman *Iskendername*, 1416

Fig. 4. Sultan Muhammad, *The Feast of Sadeh*. Detail. Illumination in the dispersed *Shahnama* of Shah Tahmasp, Tabriz, ca. 1525–1530

Fig. 5. Muhammad Sharif Mutamad Khan, *Akbar the Great and His Main Advisors*. Illumination in *Iqbalnamah-i' Jahangiri*, 1600

Fig. 6. Imperial Mughal anonymous painter, *Muslim Women in Prayer*, ca. 1630–1640

**Some Remarks on Depictions of White Ground Carpets
by Oriental and European Artists and on the Trade with Anatolian White Ground Carpets**



Fig. 7. Mural painting in Tarnów (Poland), late 16th c.



Fig. 8. Mural painting in Sighișoara (Romania), early 17th c.



Fig. 9. Hans Mielich, *A Protestant Doctor of Laws*, ca. 1557

Fig. 10. François Clouet, *King Henry IV of France and Navarre*, 1572

Fig. 11. Paul van Sommer, *Henry Hastings, 5th Earl of Huntingdon*, 1601





Fig. 12. Cornelis van der Voort, *Family Group with Pear*, 1620

Fig. 13. Jan Steen, *The Way You Hear It, Is the Way You Sing It*, ca. 1665

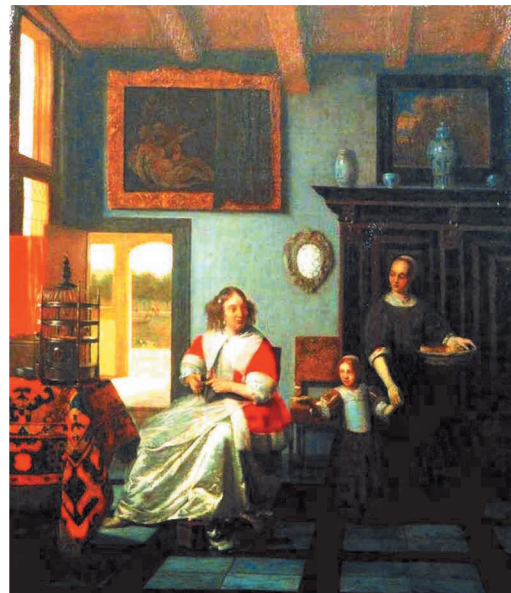


Fig. 14. Jan Steen, *The Card Players in an Interior*, ca. 1660

Fig. 15. Pieter de Hooch, *Interior with a Woman Knitting and a Maid with a Girl*, 1673

**Some Remarks on Depictions of White Ground Carpets
by Oriental and European Artists and on the Trade with Anatolian White Ground Carpets**



Fig. 16. Willem Frederiksz van Royen,
Still Life with Flowers in a Vase, 1690

Fig. 17. Alessandro Varotari called Il
Padovanino, *Eumenes and Roxana*, ca. 1625

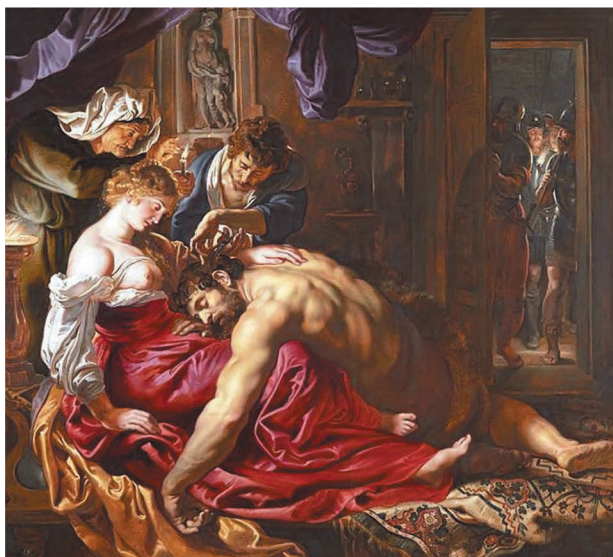


Fig. 18. Peter Paul Rubens, *Samson and
Delilah*, ca. 1609–1610



Fig. 19. *The German chemist Justus
von Liebig* (1803–1873), ca. 1865



Fig. 20. Antoni Casanova i Estorach,
A Very Good Hand, 1880



Fig. 21. Alfons Spring, *Sleeping Monk*. Private collection



Fig. 22. Rudolf Ernst, *Portrait of an Arab Nobleman*. Private collection

Fig. 23. Robert Wellmann, *Adorning of a Transylvanian Saxon Bride*, 1890.
Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu



“THE BEAUTY OF THE SENSES CANNOT EXIST WITHOUT THE BEAUTY OF THE SOUL.”*
PAINTINGS SIGNED BY FRANZ NEUHAUSER, TESTIMONIES OF
BARON SAMUEL VON BRUKENTHAL’S PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

Iulia MESEA**

Abstract: *While the Palace erected in the Big Square (Piața Mare) of Sibiu was considered a true “Temple of the Muses”, the residences in Avrig and Sâmbăta de Jos were, for Baron Samuel von Brukenthal (governor on Transylvania between 1777–1787), the space for the practical application of the Enlightenment principles, respectively, for combining the useful with beauty, for the purpose of universal harmony. It was only the “third step” of this European concept, which started in Versailles, passing through the summer residence in Schönbrunn, to come to life in Eastern Europe. The beauty of the parks and gardens, organized in a harmonious juxtaposition of the models of the French and English gardens, was complemented by the richness of farms where plants were grown and animals were raised for utilitarian purposes, according to the most modern knowledge in agriculture.*

Contextualized, two paintings signed by the painter Franz Neuhauser (1763–1836) are direct and complex testimonies of Baron Brukenthal’s conceptions of the Enlightenment essence and lifestyle. “Cactus Speciosus Grandiflores” and “Sâmbăta” were returned to the exhibition circuit after the restoration, being included in the exhibition “Living the Enlightenment. Brukenthal 300”, a project dedicated to the 300th anniversary of the birth of one of the most prominent representatives of the Enlightenment in Transylvania.

Key words: *Franz Neuhauser, Samuel von Brukenthal, gardens, Sibiu, Avrig and Sâmbăta Enlightenment*

Rezumat: *În vreme ce Palatul ridicat în Piața Mare din Sibiu era considerat adevărat „Templu al Muzelor”, reședințele de la Avrig și Sâmbăta de Jos au constituit, pentru Samuel von Brukenthal (guvernator al Transilvaniei între anii 1777–1787), spațiul de aplicare practică a principiilor iluministe, respectiv, de îmbinarea a utilului cu frumosul, în scopul armoniei universale. Era doar „al treilea pas” al acestui concept european, care pornea de la Versailles, trecând prin reședința de vară de la Schönbrunn, pentru a prinde viață în estul Europei. Frumusețea parcurilor și grădinilor, organizate într-o armonioasă alăturare a modelelor grădinilor franceză și engleză, era completată de bogăția fermelor în care se cultivau plante și se creșteau animale în scop utilitar, după cele mai moderne cunoștințe în agricultură.*

Contextualizate, două tablouri semnate de pictorul Franz Neuhauser (1763–1836) sunt mărturii directe și complexe ale stilului de viață și concepțiilor de esență iluministă ale Baronului Brukenthal. „Cactus Speciosus Grandiflores” și „Sâmbăta” au fost repuse în circuitul expozițional în urma restaurării, fiind incluse în expoziția „Living the Enlightenment. Brukenthal 300”, proiect dedicat împlinirii a 300 de ani de la nașterea lui Samuel von Brukenthal (1721–1803), unul dintre cei mai proeminenți reprezentanți ai Iluminismului din Transilvania.

Cuvinte cheie: *Franz Neuhauser, Samuel von Brukenthal, gardens, Sibiu, Avrig and Sâmbăta Iluminism*

*Freemason saying

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Brukenthal and his Enlightened Model

“Living the Enlightenment. Brukenthal 300” was the exhibition dedicated to the 300th anniversary of Baron Samuel von Brukenthal’s birth, curated by the undersigned, together

“The Beauty of the Senses cannot exist without the Beauty of the Soul.”***Paintings signed by Franz Neuhauser, Testimonies of Baron Samuel von Brukenthal’s Philosophy of Life**

with Daniela Dâmboiu PhD and Alexandru Gh. Sonoc PhD, organized in September–October 2021, housed in the temporary exhibition rooms of the Blue House in the Big Square of Sibiu (No. 5 Piața Mare / The Big Square) (Figs. 1-4).

As I stated in the opening speech of the exhibition, the scale, complexity and significance of the political, administrative, educational and especially cultural work of Baron Brukenthal (which I will not insist on in this study) cannot be presented in its entirety, in a single exhibition or in a book (Dâmboiu, Mesea 2007; Dâmboiu 2018; Mesea 1998; Mesea 2002; Mesea 2017, 34-36; Schuller 1941). What we proposed, through the conceptualizing approach of the material we processed, was to "read" moments from the life, activity and interests of the famous governor of Transylvania, through the symbols and metaphors contained in the heritage works on display, belonging to paintings, graphics, sculptures, decorative arts and books, as well as the structure and decorations of its palaces, in order to feel closer, to open new paths towards the understanding of his thoughts, ideas, intentions and way of life.

Among the works presented in the exhibition were two paintings signed by the painter Franz Neuhauser (1763–1836), which, after analysis and interpretation from the perspective of the proposed theme, proved to be direct and complex testimonies of the Enlightenment conceptions that governed the thinking and the lifestyle of Baron Brukenthal and the circle around him, a clear reflection of the spirit of the Age of the Enlightenment.

After being forgotten for a long time, doomed to remain in storage due to poor conservation conditions, *Cactus Speciosus Grandiflores* and *Sâmbăta Village* were returned to the exhibition circuit after having undergone the complex and lengthy restoration processes carried out by the experts Ioan Muntean and, respectively, Ilie Mitrea PhD, from the Restoration Laboratory of the Brukenthal National Museum.

Both works conceptually support the Enlightenment ideas of knowledge, well-being, beauty, harmony, harmonization of aesthetics with utility (Fulda 2020; Grubner,

Wittemann 2022; Reill, Wilson 2004), present in the organization and administration of the residences in Avrig and Sâmbăta de Jos, as well as the garden of the house on the outskirts of Sibiu (called the “garden house”) (Dâmboiu, Mesea 2007; Fischer 2007; Mesea 1998). Before the actual presentation of the two paintings and their significance, let us make a brief foray into the residences at Avrig and Sâmbăta de Jos.

The Residence in Avrig

While the Palace erected in the Great Square of Sibiu with its magnificent rooms, and collections of numismatics, minerals, books, engravings and paintings, was considered a true “Temple of the Muses”, the residences of Avrig and Sâmbăta de Jos and the “house with garden” in Sibiu (Schuller 1969, 244) were, for Samuel von Brukenthal, the space for the practical application of the Enlightenment principles, respectively, for the combination of the useful with the beautiful, for the purpose of universal harmony. It was only the “third step” of this European concept, which started in Versailles, passing through the summer residence in Schönbrunn, to come to life in Eastern Europe (Schuller 1969, 31, 244-247). It was a reflection of the conception of the time that, harmoniously juxtaposed, architecture and landscaping could be true demonstrations of power, and ensured a certain kind of immortality of their initiators. Beyond this conception, the way in which landscape was understood by the Enlightenment offered a transfer of the theory in the natural setting, with the ability to ensure the moral strength of society and generate goodwill towards others. The refusal to discipline nature on the French garden system was a true metaphor for freedom of thought. The beauty of the parks and gardens, organized in a harmonious juxtaposition of the models of the French and English gardens, was complemented by the richness of farms where plants were grown and animals were raised for utilitarian purposes, according to the most modern knowledge in agriculture. The juxtaposition of romantic and classicist elements (seen as expressions of Enlightenment thought that contained, in its core, the demand for temperance, contradicting the Baroque taste for excess and

abundance) (Grubner, Wittemann 2022) is the modern difference that Baron Brukenthal marks from the baroque type of Schönbrunn Park.

The model was promoted by famous representatives of the Enlightenment from Central Europe, including Moritz von Lacy (1725–1801 Field Marshal) (Fig. 9) (Schuller 1969, 246), Baron Gideon von Loudon (1717–1790 General), Count Philippe de Cobenzl (1741–1820; in the Habsburg Diplomatic Service, Ambassador to Paris from 1801), Count Prosper von Sinzendorf, Count Georg von Starhemberg, Barons Johann von Fries, Peter von Braun, etc., all close to the Viennese court, and members of the Freemasonic lodges, distant or even close acquaintances to Samuel von Brukenthal (Autexier 1998, 72–74).

The aspiration to the heights of natural aesthetics can also be found in Brukenthal's library, which contains a large number of books on the art of gardening, as well as the most recent and well-documented works of botany and other fields of natural sciences (Mesea 2017, 93–96). Among them, we mention only a few: Andrea Baccius, *De naturali vinorum historia*, Roma, 1595; Johann H. Knopp, *Pomologia*, Nürnberg, 1766; Richard Bradley, *Nouvelles observations physiques et pratiques sur le Jardinage*, Paris, 1756; Johann G. Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, Leipzig, 1779; Ioan-Piuaru Molnar, *Economia stupilor*, Viena, 1785; Karl Linnaeus, *Icones plantarum*, vol. 1, Nürnberg; Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon, *Histoire naturelle des oiseaux*, Tom. 2, Paris, 1771.

In 1771, the basic structure of the residence was completed. From the main building, a baroque terraced garden, on either side of a magnificent staircase, descended from the courtyard of the palace, enclosing an artesian well. In the spirit of Enlightenment pluralism, the garden was divided into sectors: the French-inspired ornamental garden, the English park, the pheasant grove garden, the Dutch garden with aromatic herbs, flowers and exotic trees. The English garden included a small villa, a set of ruins and a waterfall. At the edges, the arranged space met the natural one, twinning harmoniously. Theodor von Hermann mentioned in his letters the novelty

he found at each of his visits, the expenses for the most exquisite gardening solutions and the rarest plants (Schuller 1969, 247, 249, 250) At his third visit, on July the 6th 1779, Hermann called the residence in Avrig: “a Transylvanian Eden” (Schuller 1969, 250) (Figs. 5–8).

The residence was also a model farm, where innovations in the field of agriculture were promoted, all for practical purposes, immediately, providing everything needed for the kitchen. For example, 40 different varieties of peaches, 95 varieties of pears and 17 varieties of apples were grown. They were joined in the temperature-controlled orangery by over a thousand bitter oranges and lemons, dates and pineapples, as well as rare varieties of vines. Like aromatic herbs, they were not only used in the baron's kitchen, but were offered for sale in the Sibiu markets (Schuller 1969, 147–151).

In 1776, the cultivation of potatoes began, on the experimental surfaces of the estate, quite difficult and slowly accepted as food by the ordinary population of the province. For animal feed, Brukenthal also introduced the clover crop, a success that led him to receive a request from the imperial court in 1762 to provide seed in Vienna as well. Also on his estate, for the first time in Transylvania, sugar cane was cultivated (Schuller 1969, 243–244).

The profitability of the estate was also supported by the organization of a dairy and two pubs. The stud farm at Sâmbăta had the same purpose, where the ennobling of the local horse breed created a new source for the Viennese market. The overall vision was the foundation of a high-performance, modern agriculture, based on the latest research in the field, which would contribute to the well-being of the area and to the collection of the status. In fact, in 1769, at the request of Empress Maria Theresa, Brukenthal had established in Sibiu a Society for Agriculture which had the role of stimulating agricultural production.

Cactus Speciosus Grandiflora – The Metaphor of Beauty

The Brukenthal estate at Avrig was crossed by narrow paths that led the way to secluded, quiet places with fruit trees, exotic trees, and crystal clear streams, teaching the “lesson of nature.” In the thought of the eighteenth century, the garden symbolized the aspiration

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for a pure, unaltered world, contributing, through the framework it offered, to the refinement of the senses, the harmony of the soul and the freedom of thought.

The interest in the botanical researches is reflected in both the practical and theoretical activity of Baron Brukenthal. While his library contains a significant number of works in the field of natural sciences and, in general, in the fields of earth sciences, including geology, mineralogy, geography, agriculture, at the residences in Avrig, Sâmbăta and even in Sibiu, at the house in the outskirts (the “Klockner'schen Hause”) (Schuller 1969, 228-232), this knowledge was practically applied.

Rare plants, brought from distant lands were true symbols of social status, but through the complexity of the metaphors generated by their appearance, smell and evolution, they acquired meanings derived from the new ideas of the time. Among the Baron's exceptional garden acquisitions was *Cactus Speciosus Grandiflora* (also called *Cereus Serpens*, *Cereus Splendens* and *Queen of the Night*), a rare plant with a heady scent from South America. It imposes its exceptional beauty, affirming at the same time its temporality, through its annual flowering, for a single night. The characteristics that make it special are the exotic, distant origin, the difficulty of growing as a houseplant, the strange shape of the stem, the size of the flower, its ephemerality, the unusual smell of vanilla-dominated herbs, flowering in the absence of daylight and aphrodisiac characteristics (thus being used in homeopathy).

Named in the everyday language *Queen of the Night* = *Königin der Nacht* (Julius Gross apud Fischer 2007, 120), the plant is classified by Carolus Linnaeus (Carl von Linné 1707–1778), the Swedish botanist, physician and zoologist, considered the father of taxonomy and of modern ecology, in *Species Plantarum*, published in 1753 under the name *Cactus grandiflorus*, as the species of cactus with the largest flowers, known at that time (Fig. 10). The flower has a diameter of 30 cm, the inside of the corolla is a light shade of warm yellow, and the petals are pure white. It starts to open around 7-8 pm and closes before sunrise. The flower is usually perfect at midnight and goes out as the morning light approaches. The

opening of the flower in the light of the moon brought the name *Selenicereus grandiflorus* and generated a series of speculations about an esoteric relationship between the plant and the moon. (*Selenicereus*) But naturalists of the time were looking for scientific explanations. The English botanist zoologist and physician Erasmus Darwin (1731–1802) notes that botanists have not yet explained why the cactus blooms at night (Darwin 1791). The famous German naturalist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752–1840) makes the same analogy, arguing that plants such as *Cereus* sleep during the day to recover their energy, as do some animals. For Darwin and Blumenbach, as well as for many other eighteenth-century botanists, this hypothesis stems from a much more discussed and observed phenomenon: many plants sleep at night. From a scientific point of view, the spell begins to dissipate with the researches published by Robert John Thornton, doctor and the botanist (1768–1837) who hypothesizes that this cactus blooms at night due to its relationship with nocturnal pollinators, such as bats and moths. In addition to its sweet scent, the opalescent white petals of the flowering *Cereus* at night reflect the moonlight that directs these pollinators to the flower (Literary Journal 1785, 582).

However, the beauty of the flower and its nocturnal mirage will not be wasted, not even under the apparent “banality” of scientific truth. The flower was a rarity in eighteenth-century Europe and was the “pearl” of the Avrig Garden, being considered “the climax of Samuel von Brukenthal's passion for collecting” (Fischer 2007, 120).

According to the studies of Lisa Fischer, who publishes well-documented material on the gardens of Governor Brukenthal (Fischer 2007), although it was known before 1700, none of the famous properties of Central Europe possessed the flower in the middle and second half of the 18th century. Exceptionally, it was owned by Baron Brukenthal and Martin Hochmeister (1740–1789),¹ who also held it in

¹ Martin Hochmeister was a Saxon printer and bookseller in Sibiu. In 1782 he opened the first library of loan books in the city. In 1778 he founded the first theater magazine “Theatral Wochenblatt” and in 1787 he built the first theater

high esteem, both in Sibiu. In fact, Brukenthal probably had at least two such plants, one being mentioned in Avrig and the other in Sibiu, at the garden house. Its existence in Sibiu, owned by two representatives of the Enlightenment, both Freemasons, proves the circulation of ideas and goods in the eighteenth century, the close ties between members of the cultural-artistic and scientific world of the time, most of them brothers in various lodges of Freemasonry (Autexier 1998; Seipp 1793, 253-259).

The plant is reproduced in several works of the eighteenth century, but it is always a work of graphics, many of them made as engravings to be reproduced as drawings in botanical works. (Fig. 11-14) From our research so far, the Cactus has not been represented in any painting as a subject of a still-life as in the painting of Franz Neuhauser. It is the result of the admiration and attention it enjoys from its owner, Baron von Brukenthal, and the painter Franz Neuhauser, who portrays it, certainly at the request of its owner. Undoubtedly, Neuhauser, also in the service of Baron Brukenthal, made the painting entitled *Cactus Speciosus Grandiflora*, after an experience equally special with Theodor von Hermann's (Mesea 2007, 71-74).

Franz Neuhauser. Biographical landmarks

Franz Neuhauser (1763–1836) next to Johann Martin Stock (1742–1800) was one of the closest artist collaborators of Baron Brukenthal. His work includes portraits, landscapes, still lifes, genre scenes, and religious painting. As a portraitist, he approached the genre in multiple formulas (bust, compositional, landscape, interior, etc.) and stylistic variants (provincial baroque, rococo, neoclassical). At the border between the 18th and 19th centuries, Neuhauser accredited the landscape genre in Transylvania (Mesea, Vlăsceanu, 2018, 102; Sabău 2003, 255).

Immediately after settling in Sibiu, Neuhauser benefited from the ambience that would mark his destiny and his evolution. After having studied for approximately one year in the

Academy of Art in Vienna, the artist pursued a career in teaching, establishing, in 1783, his own drawing school, the first of its kind in Sibiu (Neuhauser 1821, 3). The artist was making and strengthening his fame among the cultural personalities of the town just at the same time with Baron Brukenthal's appointment as Governor of Transylvania (1777) followed by the construction and decoration of his palace in the Grand Square, and the organization of his collections (books, paintings, engravings, numismatics, archaeology) (Hochmeister 1790, 114 sqq.).

In 1794, Franz Neuhauser had, without a doubt, already established a connection with the Brukenthal Collections. Perhaps mostly for the sake of practice, he was executing copies in oil and in graphic techniques of some of the works belonging to the European painting Collection; some of the copies were later kept alongside the originals: Adrien de Venne, Leonhard Bramer, Pieter van Bloemen, Pieter Breugel the Youngest, Giovanni Francesco Guercino or Gonzales Coques (Csaki 1909, cat. 79, 103, 1205). As it is mentioned in documents, the artists were always welcomed in the Brukenthal Palace, and in one of the most luminous rooms of the second floor where the painting collection had been exhibited, there was organized the Painters' Hall (*Malerarbeit Zimmer*) where artists worked or practiced. Among them Franz Neuhauser whose creation bears witness to the influences he assimilated while becoming acquainted with and studying the creations that make up the Brukenthal Collection. Otherwise, the artist from Sibiu had contributed to the decoration of this hall whose destination was probably decided some years later (Sigerus 1935, 31).

His contacts with the Brukenthal collections continued over the following years, when the artist performed some restoring works and, like Johann Martin Stock, contributed to the purchase of some paintings for the Brukenthal Collection. In 1803, he contributed to the accomplishment of the first catalogue of the Collection (*Ältester Katalog*) – mostly accomplished by Johann Martin Stock –, according to Joseph Karl Eder and Johann Ludwig Neugeboren. (Die Gemäldegalerie 1844) *Ältester Katalog* is the first systematization, important tool in the study of

on the current territory of Romania and one of the few in Europe at that time.

“The Beauty of the Senses cannot exist without the Beauty of the Soul.”***Paintings signed by Franz Neuhauser, Testimonies of Baron Samuel von Brukenthal's Philosophy of Life**

the collection and, together with the artistic activity, it wins Neuhauser the appreciation of his contemporaries among them, Lukas Joseph Marienburg, historian, author of many studies on Transylvania (Marienburg 1813, 246; Sigerus 1935, 35).

The activities he carried out and the ambiance of the Brukenthal Model uplift Neuhauser who, following in the footsteps of his mentor, becomes, in his turn, collector, educator, innovator.

***Cactus Speciosus Grandiflorus*, by Franz Neuhauser**, Oil on canvas, 76 x 56 cm, unsigned, undated, inv. no. 793 (Fig. 15)

The work appears recorded only in the catalog of the painting collection made by Ludwig Neugeboren in 1844, which leads to the conclusion that it was commissioned by Baron Brukenthal and was kept in one of the two residences (Avrig or the house in Sibiu at the garden); it was included in the painting collection only after Baron Brukenthal's disappearance, as was the case with several works that are not recorded in the old catalogue (*Ältester Katalog*), as they were not considered collected, but made to be placed in the premises of one of his houses.

Franz Neuhauser reproduces the plant from a close perspective, in order to accentuate its monumentality and to describe it with fidelity, and places it in the center of the composition. Designed against the backdrop of a mountainous landscape, the cactus rises from a pot and unfolds its twigs in an impressive natural spectacle, projected against a landscape background. The Transylvanian plateau runs deep to the Făgăraș Mountains which close it, in a mysterious nocturnal atmosphere. The reddish twilight above the mountain range is an artifice (specific to Romanticism and Enlightenment) that the artist uses to illuminate the darkness in which the cactus blooms. On the dark background, placed centrally, the white flower, of appreciable size, supported by a bud, a little lower, imposes itself on the viewer with the tubular middle formed by the central petals, surrounded, like a halo with rays, by the secondary petals.

The flower existed in Avrig as early as the eighth decade, according to the testimony of Theodor von Hermann, the Baron's secretary,

who enthusiastically wrote in his letter dated July the 19th 1778, about the beautiful French and English gardens, and about the rare plants, among which, the fascinating *Cereus* (Schuller 1969, 249). Then, in the last years of the 18th century, its presence (most certainly another plant) is documented in the garden house in Sibiu, as we learn from the manuscript of the historian Joseph Carl Eder, entitled *Beobachtungen zur Naturgeschichte*, in the possession of Dr. Erika Schneider, researcher in the field of natural sciences, who generously provided us with this information and the context in which it appeared.²

“1797. Today, on the 12th of July, they bloom / in the Sibiu garden of Baron Sam. Bruckenthal on a stalk eight flowers of *Cactus grandiflorus*, / yesterday also on the same stalk bloomed a single flower.” (“1797. Heute den 12. Julius blühen / in dem Hermannstädter Garten des / Barons Sam. Bruckenthal an einem / Stocke acht Blumen vom *Cactus grandiflorus*, gestern hat an eben diesem / Stocke eine Blume geblühet.”)

In the idea of a life lived under the sign of beauty and wisdom, the moment of flowering, understood in a philosophical sense, as a metaphor for beauty, but also for its ephemerality, was transformed by the baron into a real spectacle in which his relatives and guests were invited to participate. “The flower opened at about eight o'clock in the evening, having the size and appearance of a sunflower, of the smallest variety, with infinitely delicate petals, but different from the sunflower, by the fact that in the middle of it rose a bright chalice, like that of a white lily, whose beauty you could never get enough of looking at and admiring”, said Johann Theodor Herrmann, the governor's secretary, in 1779, after

² The information comes from the manuscript of Joseph Carl Eder: *Beobachtungen zur Naturgeschichte* (Observations of Natural History) which is in the possession of researcher Dr. Erika Schneider, who until the late 1980s worked at the Museum of Natural History in Sibiu. Eder's work was in the possession of Dr. Med Egon Gunthardt, who offered it to Mrs. Schneider's father, with the dedication "for your daughter who deals with the history of the natural sciences." I gratefully thank dr. Erika Schneider for the information!

attending such an event, so impressed by the atmosphere of the place that inspired him the affirmation that, in the middle of nature, it became possible for the rigid etiquette to be annulled and that the emotion to be equally shared and the talks carried on as between equal friends (Schuller 1969, 251).

The Residence at Sâmbăta de Jos Village (The aesthetic and utilitarian concept)

The Sâmbăta de Jos castle was built between 1750 and 1760 on a 300-hectare tax estate, purchased in 1759 from Count Gabriel Bethlen. In 1784–1785 new works in the castle were completed and the residence was visited by the governor. In his way from Sibiu to Braşov, an English traveler, impressed by the place described the residence as a spectacular place (Schuller 1969, 260-261).

In 1892, in the Great Hall on the ground floor, a fresco depicting hunting scenes with mountainous landscapes from the Făgăraş area was still visible, attributed by the historian Emil Sigerius to the Austrian painter Anton Steinwald, active in Sibiu in the 18th century. At the end of the 1990s, a fresco depicting game and characters in costumes specific to different regions of the European continent could be seen on a wall to the right of the entrance on the ground floor.

The estate, represented by Franz Neuhauser in a painting and a lithograph, was intended for modern farming. Some of Samuel von Brukenthal's Lipitan horses were here and the others on the Avrig estate. Their growth also had a utilitarian purpose. The ennoblement of the local race led to the demand of the horses from Avrig on the Viennese market, ensuring their fame throughout the empire, the activity being thought of as one of the factors that ensured the growth of the economic power of Transylvania. The acclimatization of white buffaloes – brought from Egypt – to the intra-Carpathian province was another experiment in the field of agriculture. Emperor Joseph II, himself, full of admiration for his performances in this domain, recommended him to King Ferdinand IV of Naples. Also, in order to improve the quality of the wool needed to make fine cloth, the governor imported and raised rams from Spain, Northern Italy and Padua (Schuller 1969, 242).

The castle is located in an area rich in large game (bear, wolf, fox, lynx, wild cat, but also wild boar, deer, black goat). In Olt and in the Sâmbăta River you can fish different species of fish, as well as crayfish. The inventory of Baron Samuel von Brukenthal's fortune mentions several rifles and pistols (for defense and hunting) and various pieces of hunting equipment (quiver, knives, ammunition containers, oceans), which indicate the practice of hunting, as a recreational activity of the baron and of its guests or even by the staff of its household, for the purchase of game etc.

***Sâmbăta Village*, by Franz Neuhauser**, Oil on canvas, 158 x 221 cm, signed bottom left: "F. Neuhauser Professor pinx: 1802", inv. no. 791 (Fig. 17)

The painting has the horizontal development, the sobriety and the balance of the neo-classicist compositions. It follows the screen technique, with a dark foreground and registers of lighter colours towards the horizon, and the bird flight to suggest the perspective. In order to give sort of dynamics to the whole, the composition is closed only on the right side, developing a diagonal, which opposes to the diagonal rays coming from under the clouds. The foreground, in nuances of brown, coloured white and grey and accents of green, is animated by a genre scene with a shepherd and a heard of cows and goats. The Olt Rivers marks the separation line of the large landscape that describes the valley of the river and in the background, the Carpathian Mountains, above which the sun send its rays. The upper register is totally reserved to the beauty of the sky covered with clouds here and there, some of them white and calm, some in menacing dark greys. This part of the composition, treated in a Romantic approach, proves the interest of the painter in the spectacle of the nature which he invests with symbolic values. Metaphorically, behind the Carpathian chain (Făgăraş Mountains) rises the sun of the Enlightenment, represented in that way that refers to the work of the same title by the German engraver of Polish origin Daniel Chodowiecki (1726–1801), a composition considered emblematic for the art of Enlightenment: "*Aufklärung*" / *Enlightenment, a landscape at sunrise*, etching, 1791, colored. 8.7 x 5.1cm. From the series: "Sechs große Begebenheiten des

“The Beauty of the Senses cannot exist without the Beauty of the Soul.”***Paintings signed by Franz Neuhauser, Testimonies of Baron Samuel von Brukenthal's Philosophy of Life**

vorletzten Decenniums” (Fig. 18). With his illustrations, the engraver Daniel Chodowiecki created a panorama of bourgeois customs and feelings during the Enlightenment.

The Brukenthal residence, with the imposing palace and spectacular garden, in a miniature shape, is placed in the middle of the painting, just under the meeting point between the diagonals of the composition marked in the upper register by the rays and the clouds. As in Chodowiecki's work, in Neuhauser's landscape, the light of the rising sun symbolizes the rising age of reason. The feeling of durability or lack of time, of permanence, through which Brukenthal's “work”, this time represented by one of his residences, was meant to face time.

The work was commissioned by Baron Brukenthal probably between 1800 and 1801, as the Baron died in February 1803, and the piece (dated 1802) was purchased for the Brukenthal Collection soon after (May 24, 1803), being the last work entered in the so-called “old fund” of the collection (Csaki 1909, cat. 791, 239). In May 1803, the painter was paid a final payment for his services to the

baron among which a series of works in the European Painting Gallery and this painting. According to the expense records, on May 24, 1803, Neuhauser was paid 189 guilders (Csaki 1909, cat. 791, 239).

Conclusion

Through his bright personality, eager for knowledge, with a passion for beauty, for arts and sciences, with the joy of human connections and sharing his wealth of good and beautiful, well highlighted by the material testimonies we have, in this case, works of the painting collection, Baron Brukenthal was a true representative of the Age of Enlightenment who attracted in this milieu many representatives of intellectual and artistic life, such as Franz Neuhauser, in Sibiu and Transylvania. His activity has forever marked the profile of the city of Sibiu and of this entire geo-cultural space. His Palace, collections, archives all together or each of them are witness of his way of life, of his thinking and ideas which he tried to introduce in the Transylvanian hoping for a living in the spirit of the Enlightenment.

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“The Beauty of the Senses cannot exist without the Beauty of the Soul.”*
Paintings signed by Franz Neuhauser, Testimonies of Baron Samuel von Brukenthal’s Philosophy of Life

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“The Beauty of the Senses cannot exist without the Beauty of the Soul.”*
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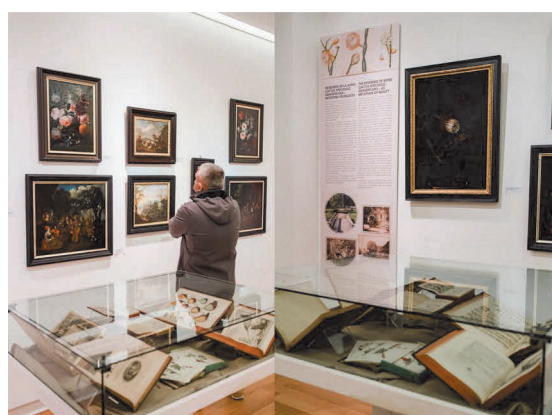




Fig. 5. The Avrig Residence



Fig. 6. Brukenthal Estate in Avrig, 1880–1918

“The Beauty of the Senses cannot exist without the Beauty of the Soul.”*
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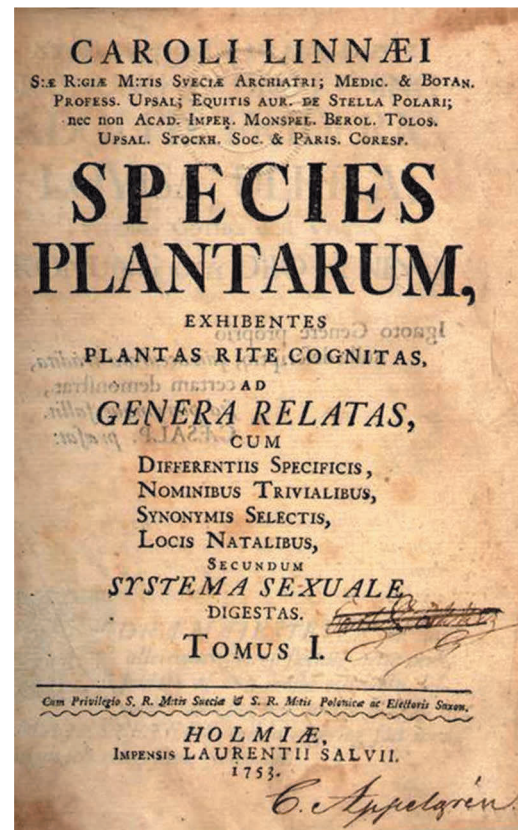


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TRANSMIGRATION OF SPACE. PAINTING AND DRAWING EXHIBITION

Artist: MIHAELA MIHALACHE

Iulia MESEA*

Venue: The Contemporary Art Museum of the Brukenthal National Museum

Period: April 6th – April 30th 2022

Curator: Iulia Mesea Ph.D.

Mihaela Mihalache is a member of a very young generation of artists, and she is in full definition as an artistic personality. She already has confirmations, the most recent of which is the selection of her project *Transmigration of space* for the exhibition year 2022 of the Brukenthal National Museum.

The few biographical data to follow demonstrate the coherence, thoroughness and intelligence with which she builds his career. She underwent the first stage of her academic studies at the National University of Arts in Bucharest, with Professor Marcel Bunea, then at the University of Arts and Design in Cluj-Napoca, in the solid, rigorous academic realism accompanied by the encouragement of individual creativity, specific to the Cluj School which suited her artistic and career interest and projects. The artist completed her master's studies and then, in 2019, she defended her doctoral thesis in visual arts at the University of Arts and Design, with the thesis: *The study of interior space in visual art and culture*, supervised by Professor Ioan Sbârciu. In 2018 she was the Coordinator of the FabZine cultural project, at the Brush Factory (Fabrica de Pensule), and in 2019 she benefited from Artistic Residence within the Artists in Residence program provided by the Ministry of Culture of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. She has participated in numerous group exhibitions, in the country and abroad, and has opened solo exhibitions in Tg. Mureș, New York – online exhibition, Cluj-Napoca, Luxembourg, Kirchberg,

London, Prague and Bucharest. She is a member of UAPR.

Within the present exhibition, in a self-referential discourse, resorting to a deeply subjective neo-figurative, the artist invites us to get acquainted with what she has discovered about herself and considers defines her it in the plan of creation, at this moment. The focus of the artistic approach is the space, with all its real and conceptual-theoretical components. All the elements that define the pictorial space are analyzed and represented, from those that belong to architecture, to those that build the interior. The title, a conceptualization of the artistic approach mean moving, emigrating, from one place to another, also embodying a spiritual dimension, moving through several existences or several stages of existence in relation to or mediated by inhabited space.

Mastering the construction of volumes, of perspective, the composition of Mihaela Mihalache's works juggles with the spaces, with their joining, the succession, the neighborhood, exploits the effects of the passage areas, to which it sometimes gives special meanings. It creates enclosed spaces in other spaces, it suggests safety, but also cloistering, suggesting the chance of escaping through windows or through forgotten open windows for teddy bears. All together they build an environment of intimacy and security, support of the act of creation, but they also show the drop of fear of limitations and the need for freedom.

A successful exhibition signed by a promising artist.

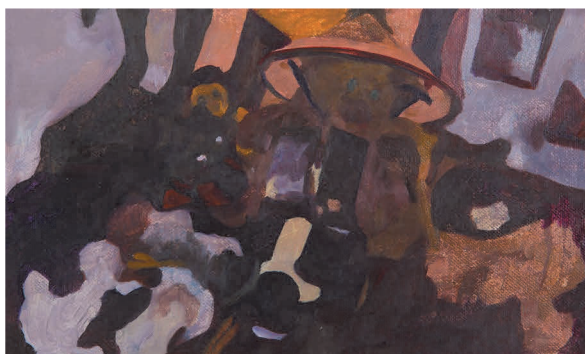
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Transmigration of Space. Painting and Drawing Exhibition

Artist: Mihaela MIHALACHE



Iulia MESEA



Cizi and the team, 2019



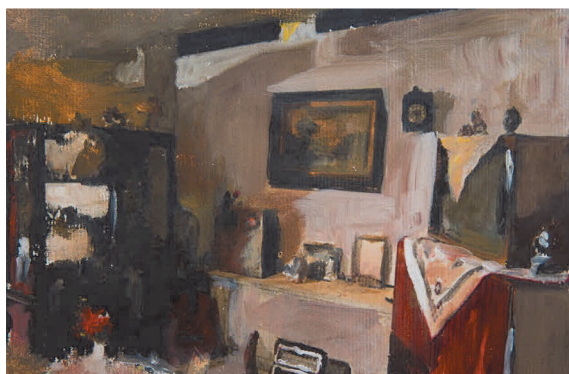
Conversation on the terrace, 2019



Cristina Arcus, 2019



Cuibix in livingroom future memories, 2020



Old interior, 2019



PBF 1, 2018

HOW DID I GET HERE?
Artist: Vladimir PĂUN-VRAPCIU

Daniela DÂMBOIU*

Venue: The Blue House, Multimedia Hall, Great Square, no. 4, Sibiu

Period: April 7th – April 28th 2022

Curators: Doina MÂNDRU, art critic; Ion ANGHEL, curator; Daniela DÂMBOIU, curator

Architect and artist, with remarkable results in both creative areas, Vladimir Păun-Vrapciu is in full ascending of his artistic career.

As an architect, “if the architect is the noble variant of the constructor, Vladimir is for sure a builder and an architect, because many of his architectural projects are produced with his own physical work in the ‘Bauhaus’ style – what you design, you execute, thus you take architecture to the level of art.” (Bebe Țânțăreanu, writer) One of the architectural projects he won – in 2002/2003 (when he was a student in the last year of the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism in Bucharest) – was for the construction of a disadvantaged children’s settlement, a project organized by the Filantropic Foundation ‘Oat Farm’ (Suceava), sponsored by Prince Charles, who was himself the chairman of the jury. Vladimir Păun’s architectural projects have been selected for various annuals and biennials in the recent years (at the National Biennial of Architecture in Romania 2018, 2021, at the Florence Biennial Architecture Section 2022 etc.).

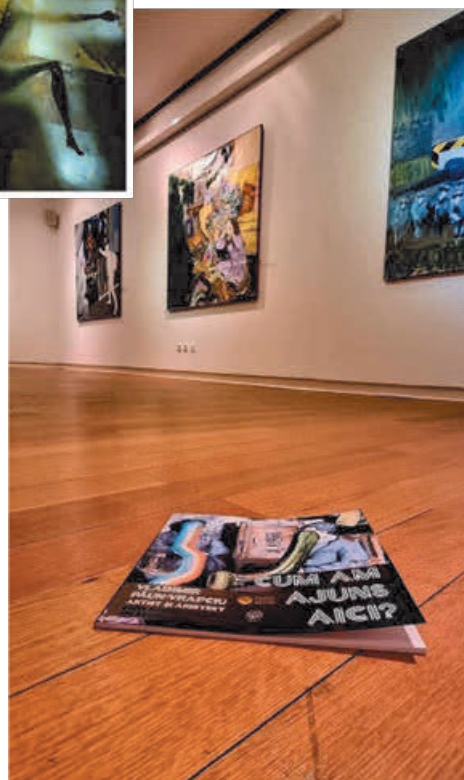
As a visual artist, he has made an impressive journey so far, finding his way in the world of art galleries and museums in our country and abroad; *personal exhibitions*: “Connection in Brahma” (organized in Buzău, his hometown, in 2019, then at the Romanian Peasant Museum, Bucharest, 2019), “The Space” (Saphira & Ventura Gallery, New York, 2022), “How did I get here?” (Romanian Peasant Museum, Bucharest, 2020; The Art Museum, Târgoviște, 2021) a.o.; *participation at several international exhibitions*: at the Florence Biennale (2019), Carrousel du Louvre, Paris (2019), Art Safari

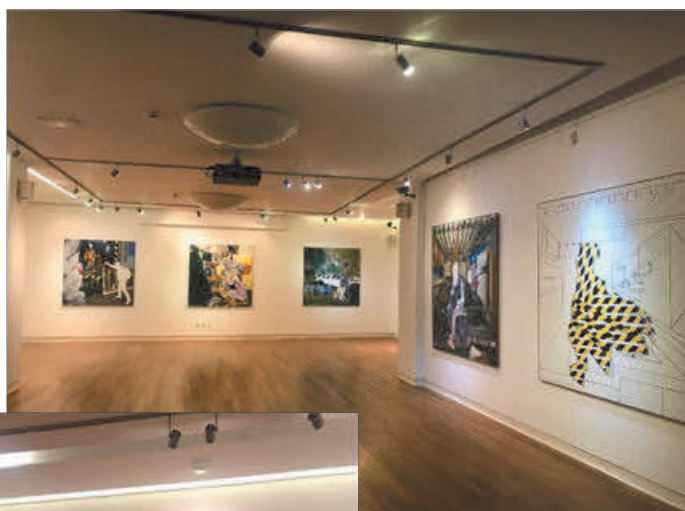
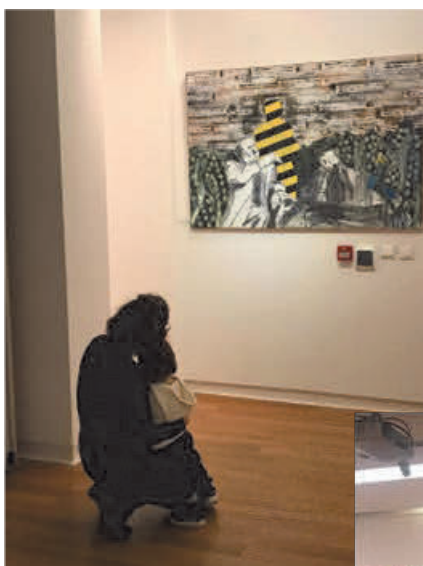
Pavilion, Bucharest (2019), Salerno Contemporary Art Biennial (2020), at the 70th edition of Contemporary Drawing Biennial Osten from Skopje od Drawing, Macedonia (2020, where he was selected from 250 artists who enrolled 819 artworks, and finally he was awarded the “Osten Prize” 2020; “this award has returned over time to artists like Pierre Sounges, Henry Moore, Oskar Kokoschka”), at the Florence Biennial Art and Design (2021, where he was awarded the “Best Artist”), at the Biennial International Art “Adriatica”, Barletta, Italy (2021) etc.

The exhibition on display at the Brukenthal National Museum reflects the complexity of Vladimir Păun-Vrapciu’s creative artistic process. The paintings express his own experience in the two years of the coronavirus pandemic, in which the world lived in unbearable isolation and seemed completely blocked; the artist “burst out” from his own seclusion, in which he felt trapped, concerned by the question we find in the title of the exhibition. Some of his paintings appear to be pictorial collages, reflecting scenes that marked him deeply at one point, as well as feelings and resentments that touched him; all these fragments form together complex compositions, full of symbols. From the viewer’s point of view, it is not easy to decipher the mix of clues and messages without discovering some “keys” and receiving some explanations. Of course that, as viewers, we recognize ourselves in the turmoil of the artist, and we feel challenged and engaged in asking ourselves the same question: “How did [we] get here?” The coronavirus pandemic and the danger of the war near us demonstrate how fragile the existence of the human being is and that art is what will certify the presence of man on earth.

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HOW DID I GET HERE?
Artist: Vladimir PĂUN-VRAPCIU





GENESIS. PAINTING EXHIBITION AT THE BRUKENTHAL NATIONAL MUSEUM

Artist: DOINA REGHIȘ-IONESCU

Iulia MESEA*

Venue: Brukenthal Palace, the rooms for temporary exhibition in the second courtyard

Period: April 29th – May 30th 2022

Curator: Iulia Mesea Ph.D.

A special sensitivity, an admirable mastery of the painting techniques, formal discipline and the professional conscience, distinctly outline the portrait of the artist Doina Reghiș-Ionescu, in the landscape of contemporary art in Romania. The fifty years of activity recommend her remarkable creative force: over sixty participations in national and international exhibitions, over a hundred group exhibitions and twenty personal exhibitions, the presence of a large number of works in private and public collections (including museums) in the country and abroad, to which many awards and distinctions obtained as well as the title of doctor of visual arts are to be added.

Capitalized in works shown in previous exhibitions, subjects inspired by nature, fluttering in strange flamboyant shapes have been the main motifs. The four primary elements: earth, water, fire and air, their symbols and meanings are approached one at a time or simultaneously, over the years proving coherence and consistency. The artist researches them in the encounters of natural, earthly and cosmic forms, and discovers in her art their secret compositions and joints, in codified personalized forms.

Symbol of spiritualization, universal and purifying factor, *AIR* is the element, the space and the way of communication between heaven and earth, major theme in her recent oeuvre. In the etheric layer, the bird becomes the messenger between the worlds, a symbol of liberation, rebirth and resurrection – *flight* also means *ascension*, the detachment of the earth in the physical and spiritual sense. The recognizable shape, connected to the material reality (bird, wing, feather), through simplifications and concentrations, becomes a sign, the embrace of the flutter of wings and detachment. "When I paint wings, I find them

most often in my memories and dreams," says the artist.¹ This deep feeling of flight and elevation gives her art a special light, brilliance and optimism. The theme continued to fascinate her and lead her to complex plastic expressions.

In recent years, the theme of *Genesis* has been superposed on that of the *flight*, in the area of interference between the myth of genesis and the cosmogonic myth, an attempt to retrace the path of making the world from its earliest stages: that of the creation of light and that of the stars. This is the theme and title of the current personal exhibition at the Brukenthal National Museum – "Genesis" – organized eight years after the 2014 personal show. The subject of cosmogony, translated into a world of primordial elements marked by signs and symbols that settle and reorganize into ever new structures, in constant transformation, becomes a path to inner self, referring to personal ideas, to rendering one's own moods, expressed in artistic personal language. The fragile fluidity of the line that descends from Art 1900, in a personal technique that combines painting and decorative art, draws, builds, binds, releases and launches shapes simultaneously. Elegant rhythms, delicate stylizations are marked by precious sinuities, by jeweller meticulousness, to which refined chromatic fields are overlapped. The celestial itineraries dominate the travel that the artist offers us in the present exhibition, towards the *Constellations*, passing through the *Gate to the Light*, deep, in the *Astral Space*.

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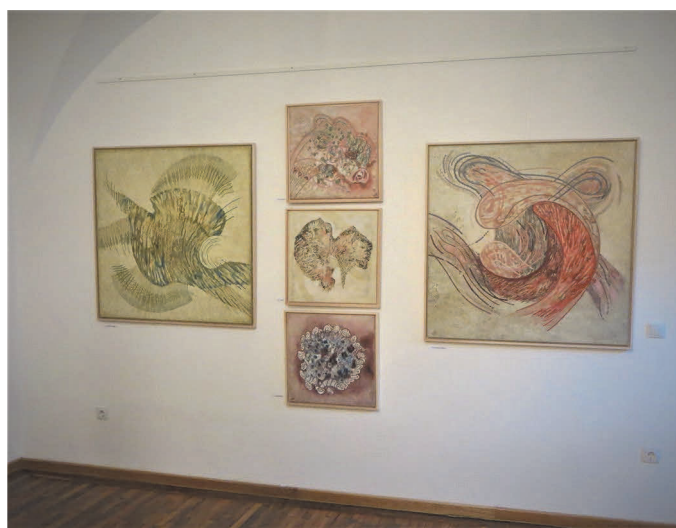
¹ Mesea Iulia Ph.D, Reghiș-Ionescu Doina Ph.D, Velescu Cristian Robert, Professor, *Doina Reghiș Ionescu. Catalog aniversar. Grafică și pictură*, Sibiu (2021)

Genesis. Painting Exhibition at the Brukenthal National Museum.

Artist: Doina Reghiş-IONESCU



Iulia MESEA



THE FADING STORY OF CHIMERA
Artists: Cristian LĂPUȘAN PhD, Kudor István DUKA PhD

Alexandra GĂLĂBUȚ*

Venue: Museum of Contemporary Art, Tribunei Street, no. 6, Sibiu

Period: 6.05–29.05.2022

Curators: Ioan Muntean, Alexandra Gălăbuț

Referring to the concept on which these two artists have built their exhibition approach we observe two elements already presented in the title: namely a story - a fading story, which introduces us into a sphere where we become receivers of a visual narrative that has as protagonists, not necessarily characters as in literature, but two individual artistic visions, powerful ones, that reached the maturity to work together in the confines of exhibition halls, two perspectives of artistic manifestation, which although different, they mutually enhance each other giving rise to a kind of interbreeding: a chimera, a plastic juxtaposition designed to build affective relationships between the viewer and the work.

The invigorating energy emanating from the gestures of Kudor István's work and the candor of the play of light and shadow of the figurative realism approached by Cristian Lăpușan, all of them focus, this time, on a common subject: the portrait/ the human figure as being the measure of all things. The human figure, under the creative effort of the two, becomes an alias or a messenger of the feelings that define us, of the inner universe that surpasses the simple genetic legacy, going beyond the humble appearance after the sacred image and likeness.

The iconographic imprint/illusion of the sacred can be glimpsed beneath the overlapping, flowing and interwoven splashes that make up Kudor István's paintings. We perceive his

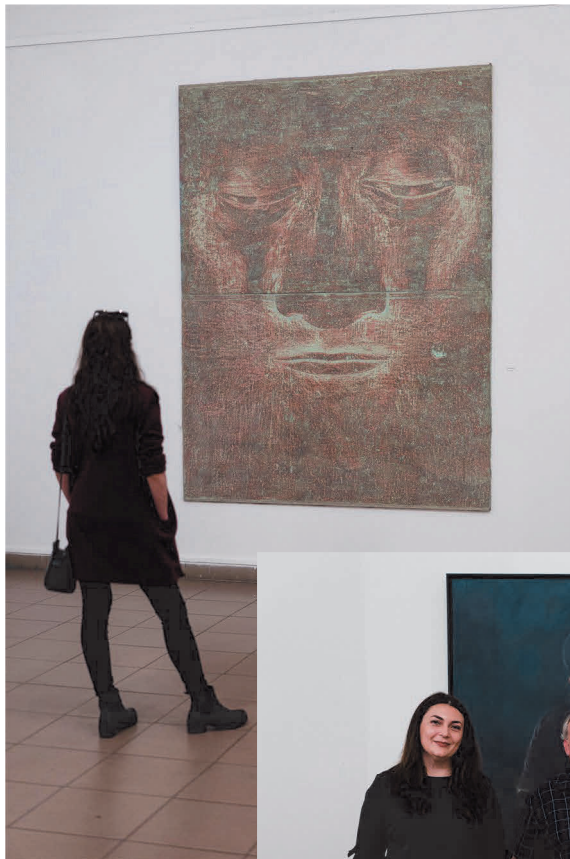
series of portraits as archetypal imprints, in the complexity of which we find the struggle of the generations that preceded us, pictorial imprints that can serve as tools for questioning our present. Without presenting us with faithful renderings of expressions, Kudor István succeeds in visually inducing tension: an almost visceral trembling of human emotions emerging from his own pictorial language and his obvious passion for chromatology.

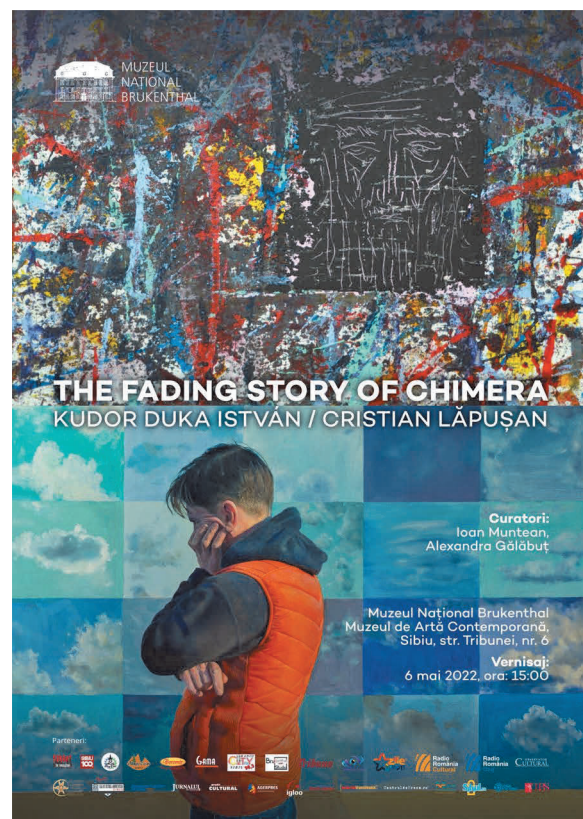
An everyday, apparently profane reality is rendered in a figurative register by Cristian Lăpușan who imagines in his works personal stories and symbolic narratives. Using the perspective of multiple elements inside one image, as if putting together a collage, Cristian Lăpușan transforms the negative space surrounding his characters into a scenographic space where each element (geography, objects, natural phenomena) are carefully curated to amplify the state and feelings of the characters, thus intensifying through artistic meta-language their bodily expressiveness, the emotions experienced in a split of a second.

As is normal and desirable, the experience of a contemporary art exhibition resides in the quality of the works exhibited and their ability to give emotion, not in the critical apparatus written or verbally exposed by a curator. By visiting "The fading story of chimera" you will discover what art actually does for us: it gives us time more than it takes us time, it facilitates a space where ideas can circulate freely, it gives us the intimacy of being more than a chimera, more than a pale narrative...

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The Fading Story of Chimera.
Artists: Cristian Lăpușan, Kudor István Duka





HORTUS CONCLUSUS / MYSTERIOUS GARDENS. PAINTING EXHIBITION

Artist: Vadim CREȚU

Iulia MESEA*

Venue: Casa Albastră, Sala Multimedia, Piața Mare, nr. 5

Period: 8.04.-30.05.2021

Curator: Iulia Mesea Ph.D.

Vadim Crețu, one of the most charismatic representatives of contemporary art in Romania, exhibited for almost two months at the Brukenthal National Museum. The artist graduated from the Academy of Arts in Bucharest, specializing in painting, in 1996, in the class of Ștefan Câlția. Since 1998, he felt the irrefragable impulse to break free from all limitations, gave up his position at the Academy of Arts in Bucharest and decided to be a freelance artist and, since then, he started collaboration with the Van Rijn Gallery in Paris. He organized personal shows in country and abroad, and, appreciated on the art market, his works are to be found in many collections, in the country and abroad. He was awarded the Diploma of Excellence of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Moldova, in 2017, and The Honorary Medal of the Royal House of Romania, in 2021.

The main theme of the exhibition organized at the Brukenthal National Museum, is the *GARDEN*. The works of this cycle overflow with exuberance and freshness and conquer through the synaesthesia effect they create. Vegetation with strange species and proportions, rare plants, fragile young trees or others secular, majestic, shady paths, brightly coloured flowers shining in the sun, pure vaporous chromatic, all invade the pictorial space and conquer the viewer. Upon entering the exhibition, you are welcomed by the beautiful colourful vibrations – the pictorial expression of the joy of living and of comprehending the purpose of beauty – and a subtle and yet pervasive atmosphere of mystery. With each work you discover that this is not an imagined world, the realm of the fantastical and the unknown, as in the work of his mentor, the painter Ștefan Câlția, but it is the mystery of nature and of life, which the artist identifies in every segment of the reality around him and then abstractizes and recreates

using his own personal artistic language, while demonstrating the wisdom of not removing its wondrous veil of mystery. The artist is not a seismographer of the conflictual realities of the contemporary world, but rather of its beauty, which he discovers in the harmony of nature and which he offers to us as an alternative to the chaotic world we live in.

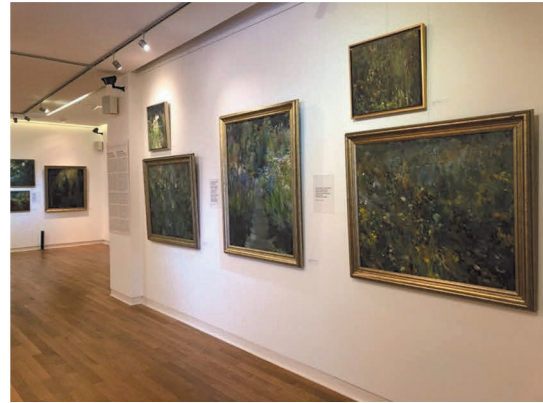
His painting combines the vibration and freshness of impressionism with the taste for essentialisation and power of expressionist art. The intensity of its visual, conceptual and emotional impact resides in the freshness of the feeling the artist experiences each time he stands face to face with the miracle of existence, a feeling he is able to convey in unaltered form. He thus does not attempt to innovate traditional genres and the artistic language, instead choosing to position himself as a direct descendant of the art of modernity, which he reevaluates from a subjective perspective and a high degree of abstraction.¹ Choosing the Latin version of the title of the exhibition, the artist challenges us to a re-evaluation of the meanings transmitted by the images, because “Hortus Conclusus” is the closed garden, the garden of mystery, the garden of divine creation.

Light, colour, sound – the murmur of the waters and the rustle of the leaves in the wind – and the scent of flowers are the effects of the paintings to which the curator joined the suggestions of poetry, displaying in the exhibition verses from famous poets, and musical rhythms. The result was a charmingly spectacular synesthesical experience for all visitors.

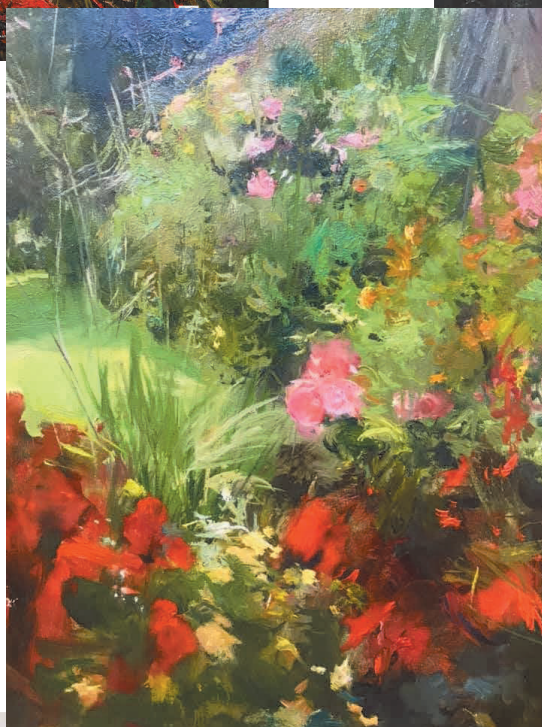
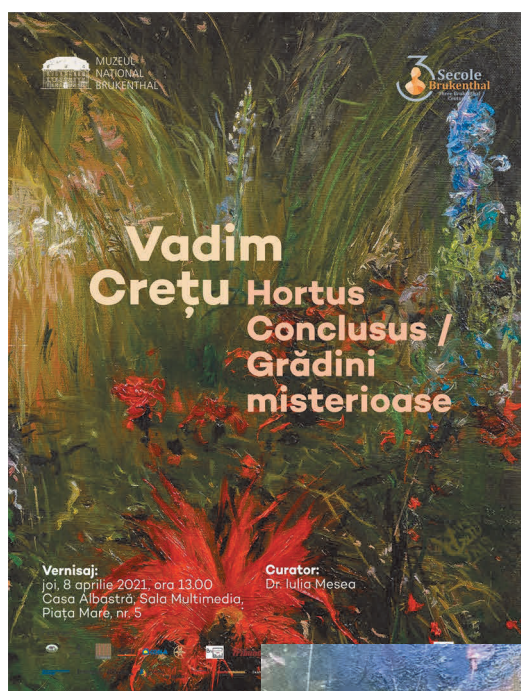
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¹ Mesea Iulia, Păuleanu Doina (texts by), *Hortus Conclusus (Grădini misterioase / Mysterious Gardens) / Vadim Crețu*, București/Sibiu (2020)

Hortus Conclusus / Mysterious Gardens. Painting Exhibition
Artist: Vadim CREȚU



Iulia MESEA



RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE ART COLLECTIONS OF THE BRUKENTHAL NATIONAL MUSEUM (JULY 2021 – JULY 2022)

Iulia MESEA*

Co-authors /Administrators of the collections:
Adrian Luca, Cristina Mihu, Valentin Trifescu

Abstract: *Showing permanent attention to the patrimony, to its administration and to the development of the collections, the Brukenthal National Museum has struggled to continue its policy of enriching its collections, despite the restrictions and various problems generated by the Covid 19 pandemic, that the entire society, including the cultural institutions, has met since the beginning of 2020. Nevertheless, the effects of the pandemic and the profile of the organized exhibitions did not create the proper frame for rich donations. Since the last report, in July 2021, up to now, July 2022, a number of twelve works only (painting, graphics, and decorative art), entered the collections of the museum. Part of them was made by contemporary artists who organized solo shows in the museum, others are donations of the artists' successors and some are made by other donors.*

The donors of this year are: the artists Bruno Maria Brandt, Mihaela Mihalache (through her husband, Alex Cuibus), Gavril Mocenco, Vladimir Păun-Vrapciu; Mrs. Dana Barcan Zaharia (the artist Nicolae Barcan's daughter), Professor Sabin Adrian Luca (Manager of the Brukenthal National Museum) and Andrei Daniel Baici (Greco-Catholic priest in Daia)

Keywords: *Brukenthal National Museum, donations, donors, art collections, contemporary art exhibitions*

Rezumat: *În pofida vremurilor grele pentru cultură și artă generate de pandemia Covid 19 care durează de mai bine de doi ani și jumătate, în perioada iulie 2021 – iulie 2022, probând același interes în dezvoltarea patrimoniului pe care îl administrează, conservă, cercetează și valorifică expozițional, Muzeul Național Brukenthal și-a îmbogățit colecțiile de pictură, grafică și artă decorative cu 12 piese. Urmând tradiția ultimilor ani, o parte a pieselor intrate în colecții au fost donații ale artiștilor contemporani care au organizat expoziții în muzeu. O serie de piese provin din donații ale unor colecționari.*

Donatorii ultimelor douăsprezece luni sunt (în ordine alfabetică): artiștii Bruno Maria Brandt, Mihaela Mihalache (prin soțul ei, Alex Cuibus), Gavril Mocenco, Vladimir Păun-Vrapciu; Dana Barcan Zaharia (fiica artistului Nicolae Barcan), Prof. univ. dr. Sabin Adrian Luca (manager al Muzeului Național Brukenthal) și Andrei Daniel Baici (preot Greco catholic în Daia)

Cuvinte cheie: *Muzeul Național Brukenthal, donații, donatori, colecții de artă, colecționari, expoziții de artă contemporană*

Showing permanent attention to the patrimony, to its administration and to the development of the collections, the Brukenthal National Museum has struggled to continue its policy of enriching its collections, despite the restrictions and various problems generated by the Covid 19 pandemic, that the entire

society, including the cultural institutions, has met since the beginning of 2020. Nevertheless, the effects of the pandemic and the profile of the organized exhibitions did not create the proper frame for rich donations. Since the last report, in July 2021, up to now, July 2022, a number of twelve works only (painting, graphics, and decorative art), entered the collections of the museum. Part of them was made by contemporary artists who organized

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**Recent Additions to the Art Collections
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solo shows in the museum, others are donations of the artists' successors and some are made by other donors.

The works donated are presented according to the collection they became part of and in the alphabetical order of the donors.

A. Brukenthal Contemporary Art Museum

Donation of Dana Barcan Zaharia (the artist's daughter)

Nicolae Barcan, *Landscape I*, oil on canvas, 60 x 50 cm (with frame: 69 x 59 cm), signed and dated, in the lower left corner, with ochre: "N. Barcan-014", inv. no. PC 14.

Nicolae Barcan, *Medieval burg*, oil on canvas, 60.5 x 50.5 cm, (70 x 60 cm with frame), signed and dated, in the lower right corner, with ochre: "N. Barcan-013", inv. no. PC 15.

Nicolae Barcan, *Reverberations*, oil on canvas, 70 x 50 cm (with frame: 72 x 52 cm), signed in the lower right corner, in green: "N. Barcan", undated, inv. no. PC 16.

Nicolae Barcan, *Still Life*, oil on canvas, 65 x 65 cm (with frame: 67.5 x 67.5), signed and dated, in the lower left corner, with grey: „N. Barcan- 04", inv. no. PC 17.

Donation of the artist Mihaela Mihalache through Alex Cuibus, her husband

Mihaela Mihalache, *Memories „India”*, oil on canvas, 100 x 150 cm, signed on the back, top right "Mihaela Mihalache", dated: 2018, inv. no. PC 12.

Donation of the artist Gavril Mocenco

Gavril Mocenco, *Golgota*, oil on canvas, 60.5 x 80 cm (71.5 x 91.5 cm, with frame), signed and dated, top left, in red "MG 2019", inv. no. PC 13.

Donation of the artist Vladimir Păun-Vrapciu

Vladimir Păun-Vrapciu, *Apostle*, mixed media, oil painting, charcoal and gold leaf, 40 x 40 cm (with frame 45 x 45 cm), unsigned, undated, inv. no. PC 10.

Vladimir Păun-Vrapciu, *Apostle*, mixed media, oil painting and gold leaf, 40 x 40 cm (with frame 45.5 x 45 cm), unsigned, undated, inv. no. PC 11.

B. Graphics Collection

Donation of the artist Bruno Maria Brandt

Bruno Maria Brandt, *Nude sketch*, pencil drawing on paper, 295 x 420 mm, signed lower right in pencil: BRUNO BRADT and dated 2013. The work is framed in a black frame of 410 x 510 mm, donation no. 3229/30.8.2021, inv. no. 13790.

C. Decorative Art Collection

Donation of Andrei Daniel Baici, Greek Catholic priest

Bellows organ, beginning of the 20th century, materials: wood, metal and leather. Viennese manufacture (Messerschmidt's Nachf. Josef Strauch), 118x100x60 cm; Provenance: Greek Catholic Parish of Daia; Donation no. 4201/10.11.2021, inv. no. A.D. 794.

Donation of Professor Sabin Adrian Luca, Manager of the Brukenthal National Museum

Desk, end of 19th century, Materials: hardwood, walnut and hazelnut veneer, hardware from end 20th century, 116x66.5x105 cm. Eclectic style. Turned legs joined by turned bars. Suspended drawers on turned legs. Pediment with palmette volutes and acanthus leaves. At the bottom of the desk is a master's note "S1" and, most likely, the name of the commissioner on a label "Krems". Donation deed number 2324/ 23.06.2022, inv. no. A.D. 795

Chair, begin. of the 20th century, Materials: wood, seagrass upholstery in cherry-colored mercerized cotton brocade, linen upholstery fabric, 48x44.5x90 cm. Neo Biedermeier style, Donation no. 2324/ 23.06.2022 inv. no. A.D. 796

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Fig. 1. Nicolae Barcan, *Landscape*



Fig. 2. Nicolae Barcan, *Medieval burg*



Fig. 3. Nicolae Barcan, *Reverberations*



Fig. 4. Nicolae Barcan, *Still Life*



Fig. 5. Mihaela Mihalache, *Memories „India”*

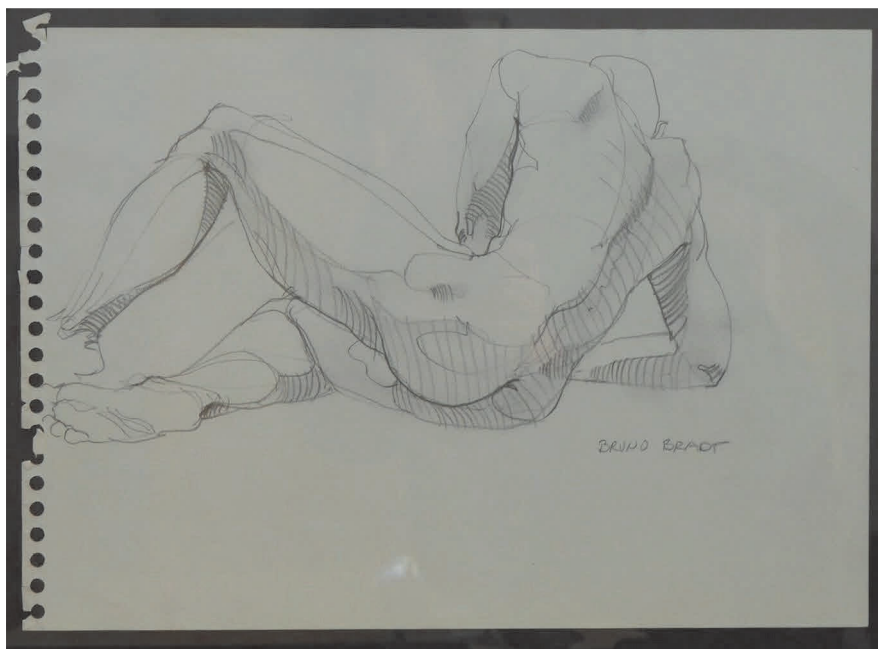


Fig. 6. Bruno Maria Brandt, *Nude sketch*

**Recent Additions to the Art Collections
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Fig. 7. Gavril Mocenco, *Golgota*



Fig. 8. Vladimir Păun-Vrapciu, *Apostle*



Fig. 9. Vladimir Păun-Vrapciu, *Apostol*



Fig. 10. *Bellows organ*, Viennese manufacture, beg. 20th c.



Fig. 11. *Desk*, Eclectic style, end 19th c.



Fig. 12. *Chair*, Late Biedermeier style, begin. 20th c.

BRUKENTHAL NATIONAL MUSEUM IN 2021: A CHRONICLE OF ART EXHIBITIONS AND EVENTS

Dana Roxana HRIB*

Abstract: *The present study is a synthetic presentation of Brukenthal National Museum's cultural offer in the field of visual arts during 2021.*

Keywords: *Brukenthal National Museum, visual arts, 2021.*

Rezumat: *Articolul de față constituie o prezentare sintetică a ofertei culturale a Muzeului Național Brukenthal în domeniul artelor vizuale, pe parcursul anului 2021.*

Cuvinte cheie: *Muzeul Național Brukenthal, arte vizuale, 2021.*

Three Brukenthal Centuries – the message of Prof. Sabin Adrian Luca, Director-General of Brukenthal National Museum:

„Born in 1721, Baron Samuel von Brukenthal – Governor of the Grand Principality of Transylvania (1777 – 1787) – remained in the collective memory not so much through the political and administrative role that history has given him, but through the cultural achievements he has assumed. First of all, von Brukenthal is the founder of the first public museum opened in today's Romania territories – the Brukenthal Museum, an institution whose bicentennial activity we celebrated in 2017. The accomplishment of his work as a collector brings together over 1,000 paintings (15th – 18th centuries), about 1,000 prints (16th – 18th century European engraving) and 2,000 plates included in albums, a book fund of about 16,000 volumes, impressive collections of numismatics, minerals and antiques given to the public, which he considered his spiritual heir.

Protector of local artistic circles, from painters to musicians, Samuel von Brukenthal set the patterns of the Sibiu cultural environment that would materialize, in 2007, in the first European Capital of Culture in our country.

The standardization of human survival, in modern times, concerns indicators related to the physical and social quality of life. The survival of cultural values, produced by the great spirits of mankind, is due to personalities such as Samuel von Brukenthal, through whose care we can speak today in Romania of Titian, Veronese, Cranach, Van Eyck, Brueghel and Memling, to name just a few of the masters who can be admired in exhibitions.

The vast legacy left by Baron Samuel von Brukenthal urges us to pay homage, in 2021, to the importance of his work as a collector and founder of cultural institutions, on the occasion of three centuries anniversary of his birth.”

1. Temporary exhibitions at the Museum locations¹

Out of the 27 temporary exhibitions opened at the Museum's premises during 2021, 20 displayed selections of works in various fields of visual arts along exhibitions dedicated to the field of library:

a. Exhibitions presenting Brukenthal National Museum's heritage:

La bella vita italiana. Italian landscapes in the prints and drawings collections of Brukenthal National Museum in Sibiu (Brukenthal Palace, Prints Cabinet, 9.04 – 23.05.2021): the engravings displayed were the most picturesque works created by the Italian artists like Francesco Bartolozzi, Francesco del Pedro, Marco Ricci, Domenico Cunego, Francesco Piranesi and others from the 17th and 20th centuries.

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¹ The short descriptions of temporary exhibitions are selected from the texts given by the curators for public information.

**Brukenthal National Museum in 2021:
A Chronicle of Art Exhibitions and Events**

Living the Enlightenment. Brukenthal 300 (Casa Albastră/Blue House, Multimedia Room, 23.09 – 31.10.2021): the exhibition was structured according with various aspects in Samuel von Brukenthal's life as the Palace in Sibiu (collections / unity in diversity / decoding of the visual language of the "Royal Art" of Freemasonry), the residence in Avrig (aesthetic and utilitarian concept), the residence in Sâmbăta (aesthetic and utilitarian concept), the utopia of the illuminist democratic ideology versus social reality, the year 1784. The exhibition also offered the opportunity of displaying works of painting and decorative art that are either exhibited for the first time or have not been presented to the public for more than half a century.

Transylvania in a different way: cultural histories from the Principality (Brukenthal Palace, Cartography Cabinet, 20.10-5.12.2021): the exhibition brought into public attention a different viewpoint on Transylvania, with the help of books, maps and engravings produced in Transylvania. The approach differed from the way most of us were taught to regard it by various political mythologies and passions which found their way in society in the past centuries and continue to blur the complex and difficult history of the province as shown by the cultural products created by the locals from 16th to 18th century

The bibliophile baron – 300 years (Brukenthal Palace, Cartography Cabinet, 8 – 31.12.2021): the exhibition displayed some of the most beautiful and valuable editions which the former Governor of Transylvania acquired, many with engraved illustrations, dated in the 17th century and in the first half of the 18th century, written in Latin, German and French, part of them works by ancient authors in the original language or translated.

b. Exhibitions presenting other museums' or collectors' heritage:

Queen Maria and members of the Royal House of Romania – Radu Marți Collection (Brukenthal Palace, Cartography Cabinet, 12.05 – 27.06.2021): the exhibition brought to the public attention what Ernst Kantorowicz understood by the "two bodies of the king". More precisely, on the one hand, we were shown the human / mortal body of the monarch, materialized through a series of portraits and personal photographs in which the non-institutional dimension of the members of the Royal House is captured. On the other hand, regarding the "institutional body" or the "immortal body" of the king, in Radu Marți's collection there are several medals, decorations or statuettes that were made during the monarchy period or that represent the effigies of the members of the Royal House of Romania.

3 Brukenthal centuries: European art 1500-1800 – George Șerban Collection (Brukenthal Palace, Prints Cabinet, 18.06-31.08.2021): the exhibition displayed engraving works after Michelangelo, Da Vinci and Rafael or signed by Rubens, Goltzius, Callot, Rembrandt, Goya, Velasquez, Teniers, Bruegel, etc. The works are original series or edited by various engravers over time, some of them being exhibited for the first time in Romania, on the occasion.

c. Exhibitions of contemporary art:

4 Ages in Life (Museum of Contemporary Art, 12.03 - 25.04.2021)

Artists: Andrea Bernath, Claudiu Doncuțiu Maria Modi, Andrei Szabó

Hortus Conclusus / Mysterious gardens (Casa Albastră / Blue House, Multimedia Room, 8.04 – 30.05.2021)

Artist: Vadim Crețu

Great playwrights of the world: satirical graphics (Brukenthal Palace, Temporary Exhibition Room, 14.05 – 27.06.2021)

Artist: Gabriel Rusu

Circled Absences (Museum of Contemporary Art, 21.05 – 30.06.2021)

Artist: Maxim Dumitraș

Interferences: Glass and painting (Casa Albastră / Blue House, Multimedia Room, 16.06-04.07.2021)

Artists: Ion Tămăian and Raluca Oros

Duplex: Monumental – Drawing inside and out (Brukenthal Palace, Cartography Cabinet and Museum of Contemporary Art, 7.07 – 29.08.2021)

Techniques in dialogue: sculpture, prints and painting (Casa Albastră / Blue House, Multimedia Room, 9.07 – 1.08.2021)

Artist: Mircia Dumitrescu

Medieval echoes (Brukenthal Palace, Temporary Exhibition Room, 29.07 – 15.08.2021)

Dana Roxana HRIB

Organized by Brukenthal National Museum together with Museum Complex Bistrița-Năsăud

Life & Art (Casa Albastră / Blue House, Multimedia Room, 1-31.08.2021)

Oprea Carabulea contemporary art collection

Inter-County Visual Arts Salon of the UAP Sibiu 2021 (Brukenthal Palace, Temporary Exhibition Room, 12.08-26.09.2021)

Organized by Brukenthal National Museum together with Visual Artists Association branches in Sibiu, Suceava, Deva and Bucharest

From Cioran – Three artistic echoes to Cioran's writings (Museum of Contemporary Art, 20.08-30.08.2021)

Artists: Laurence Bourgeois, Mirela Vasile and Jean Marc Barrier

Sibiu Contemporary Art Festival 2nd edition / SCAF (Museum of Contemporary Art, 10.09 - 31.10.2021)

Organized by Brukenthal National Museum together with Brukenthal von Studio Association

Annual Show of Sibiu Photography School 8th edition (Brukenthal Palace, Prints Cabinet, 11 – 31.12.2021)

Theme: Human Body

Organized by Brukenthal National Museum together with Image Art

d. Other exhibitions:

The Statue of Baron Samuel von Brukenthal: exhibition of projects (Casa Albastră / Blue House, Multimedia Room, 3 – 29.03.2021)

Organized by Brukenthal National Museum together with Boromir, Rotary Club, Lions Brukenthal Club

In the beginning of 2021, when Brukenthal National Museum celebrated three centuries since the birth of Baron Samuel von Brukenthal, the project competition was opened for the creation of a statue, dedicated to the museum's founder, to be placed in the Grand Square of Sibiu, near Brukenthal Palace. For the bronze statue, representing Samuel von Brukenthal in the ceremonial attire of the Order of "St. Stephen" (after the 1792 portrait of JG Weikert – the brand image of the museum) were submitted 22 projects, made by artists from Romania and abroad, displayed together in an event exhibition, rarely found not only in the agenda of museums but also in cultural life in general.

2. Online exhibitions:

The cultural agenda of 2021 Brukenthal Year

www.brukenthalmuseum.ro/virtuale/agenda_brukenthal

3. Traveling exhibitions, Brukenthal National Museum exclusive

Nicolae Tonitza: color, emotion and mystery; works from Brukenthal National Museum collections (16.07-26.09.2021)

National Museum of Bucovina in Suceava

4. Participating in temporary exhibitions

In 2021, Brukenthal National Museum participated in 24 exhibitions of which 20 displayed selections of works in various fields of visual arts.

a. In Romania

ArmEGOrte (22.03 – 25.06.2021)

Museum of Oradea City

Brukenthal National Museum contribution: curatorial

Goya, 275 years from artist's birth (30.03 – 30.06.2021)

Regina Maria Municipal Museum Iași

Brukenthal National Museum contribution: curatorial

Tears of the sky (20.04 – 30.05.2021)

Museum of Oradea City

Brukenthal National Museum contribution: curatorial

Great artists of the world (15.04 – 1.09.2021)

Cantacuzino Castle, Bușteni

Brukenthal National Museum contribution: curatorial

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- O tempora, O mores, Gert Fabritius* (10.07 – 1.10.2021)
Thalia Hall, Sibiu
Brukenthal National Museum contribution: curatorial
- Eye Sb You!* (12.08 – 10.10.2021)
Nohai Gallery Sibiu
Brukenthal National Museum contribution: curatorial
- Kabuki* (24.06 – 10.09.2021)
Regina Maria Municipal Museum Iași
Brukenthal National Museum contribution: curatorial
- Goya, 275 years from artist's birth* (15.07-10.09.2021)
Bistrița Museum
Brukenthal National Museum contribution: curatorial
- Inter-County Visual Arts Salon of the UAP Sibiu 2021* (12.08-14.09.2021)
UAP Gallery Sibiu
Brukenthal National Museum contribution: curatorial
- Sibiu Contemporary Art Festival 2nd edition / SCAF* (13 - 23.09.2021)
Sibiu Town Hall
Brukenthal National Museum contribution: curatorial
- Samuel Mütznér. Following Claude Monet* (16.09-26.09.2021)
Dacia Palace, Bucharest
Brukenthal National Museum contribution: 5 works of painting
- Constantin Piliuță. Color and zenith* (16.09-26.09.2021)
Dacia Palace, Bucharest
Brukenthal National Museum contribution: 1 work of painting
- Great artists of the world* (1.10.2021 – 30.01.2022)
Regina Maria Municipal Museum Iași
Brukenthal National Museum contribution: curatorial
- Goya, 275 years from artist's birth* (12.10 – 1.11.2021)
The Senate of Romania, Bucharest
Brukenthal National Museum contribution: curatorial
- Love during pandemic* (14.10.2021 - 30.01.2022)
Nohai Gallery, Sibiu
Brukenthal National Museum contribution: curatorial
- Goya, 275 years from artist's birth* (26.11.2021 – 30.04.2022)
House of Darvas – La Roche, Oradea
Brukenthal National Museum contribution: curatorial
- Ștefan Câlția. Old Glass Factory* (2.12.2021-15.01.2022)
Artep Gallery, Iași
Brukenthal National Museum contribution: 1 work of painting
- Visual Arts Winter Salon of the UAP Sibiu* (17.12.2021 – 2022)
UAP Gallery, Sibiu
Brukenthal National Museum contribution: curatorial
- Art and Life* (18.12.2021 – 2022)
Carabulea Gallery Transylvania, Sibiu
Brukenthal National Museum contribution: curatorial
- Horatiu Mălăele* (18.12.2021 – 2022)
Carabulea Gallery Transylvania, Sibiu
Brukenthal National Museum contribution: curatorial
- b. Abroad**
- Botticelli. Artist & Designer* (10.09.2021-24.01.2022)
Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris
Brukenthal National Museum contribution: 1 work of decorative art

5. Events

a. 3 Centuries Brukenthal

Preview Brukenthal 300 (25.07.2021)

Brukenthal Palace and the historic center of Sibiu

Free visiting program in the Brukenthal Palace, image opportunity for the public in the area of the historical center when meeting with the characters of the baron and his wife, in period costumes.

Samuel von Brukenthal (1721-1803) – a European ahead of his time (Brukenthal Palace, 26.07.2021)

Organized by: Interethnic Relations Department

The unveiling ceremony of the statue of Baron Samuel von Brukenthal (11.09.2021)

Partners: Brukenthal National Museum, Presidential Administration, Sibiu City Hall

The event took place in the presence of His Excellency Mr. Klaus Iohannis, President of Romania.

b. Concerts and performances

4 Ages in Life - Performance musical (Museum of Contemporary Art, 5.05.2021)

Coordonator MNB: Alexandra Gălăbuț

Soliști: Claudiu Fălămaș și Andrei Crețu

Muzeul de Artă Contemporană

Brukenthal Unplugged (Brukenthal Palace, 8.07.2021)

Pan Flute Concert: Soloist: Flavius Tiniță

Organized by: Brukenthal National Museum in collaboration with the Sibiu State Philharmonic
Stradivarius International Tour with the theme "Ode to Joy" (Brukenthal Palace, 26.07.2021)

Soloists: Alexandru Tomescu and Juan de Solaun

Organized by: George Enescu Cultural Foundation

c. Participation in tourist markets

European Castles Fair (Corvin Castle in Hunedoara, 28-29.05.2021)

In addition to publications and the main brand products, the museum stand brought to the public's attention personalized products associated with the Brukenthal Bicentennial but, especially, the new range of personalized products, launched in 2021: Baron's Coffee, medals and other collectible souvenirs marked "3 Brukenthal Centuries".

d. Presentations, round tables, colloquiums

Artist meet-ups (Museum of Contemporary Art, 8.10.2021)

"300 Brukenthal" Colloquium (Museum of Contemporary Art, 22.10.2021)

e. Book-launches

Catalogue Sibiu Contemporary Art Festival 2 (Museum of Contemporary Art, 25.09.2021)

The catalog was launched in print and digital format by scanning a QR code.

6. Video Presentations

Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu - Romania/presentation

www.youtube.com/watch?v=YM-X6ksCqB0

Exhibition 4 Ages in Life

www.youtube.com/watch?v=vKGFgdstX8w

Alexandru Tomescu and the Stradivarius violin in Brukenthal Museum

www.youtube.com/watch?v=-mvO0asZdJo

Baron Brukenthal's coffee

www.youtube.com/watch?v=hf1eFLsQWG4

7. Contests

Project competition for the statue of Baron Samuel von Brukenthal (15.01-1.03.2021)

Organized by: Brukenthal National Museum

22 projects from Romania and abroad were submitted

www.brukenthalmuseum.ro/concurs/index.html

The contest of the exhibition "3 centuries Brukenthal, European Art 1500-1800, George Serban collection" (16.06-16.11.2021)

8. Symposia

Samuel von Brukenthal and his Age Scientific Symposium (11 - 12.11) / online

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9. Published materials related to art exhibitions and events

a. Books

_Alexandru Constantin Chituță, *Brukenthal, Un monument*, Ed. Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Sibiu, 2021, ISBN 978-606-8815-85-5

_Alexandru Constantin Chituță, *Noi considerații asupra icoanei pe sticlă din Transilvania*, Ed. Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Sibiu, 2021, ISBN 978-606-8815-67-1

_Alexandru Constantin Chituță, *Muzeul Peregrinus*, Ed. Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Sibiu, 2021, ISBN 978-606-8815-84-8

b. Exhibition catalogues

_Alexandru Constantin Chituță, *Celebrități din lumea plutitoare*, Ed. Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Sibiu, 2021, ISBN 978-606-8815-75-6

_Alexandru Constantin Chituță, *Goya 275*, Ed. Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Sibiu, 2021, ISBN 978-606-8815-77-0

_Alexandru Constantin Chituță, *Eclectic Land*, Ed. Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Sibiu, 2021, ISBN 978-606-8815-75-6

_Alexandru Constantin Chituță, *Kabuki*, Ed. Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Sibiu, 2021, ISBN 978-606-8815-71-8

_Alexandru Constantin Chituță, *Art and life, colecția Oprea Carabulea*, Ed. Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Sibiu, 2021, ISBN 978-606-8815-85-5

_Alexandru Constantin Chituță, *3 secole de artă europeană*, Ed. Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Sibiu, 2021, ISBN 978-606-8815-82-4

_Alexandru Constantin Chituță, *Horațiu Mălăele*, Ed. Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Sibiu, 2021, ISBN 978-606-8815-90-9

_Alexandra Gălăbuț, *4 Ages in Life*, Editura Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Sibiu, 2021, 85 p. ISBN 978-606-8815-78-7

_Alexandra Gălăbuț, *Sibiu Contemporary Art Festival, ediția 2*, 140 p., Editura Armanis, 2021

_Dana Roxana Hrib, Alexandra Gălăbuț, *Bruno Maria Bradt. Zeichnung/ desen*, Editura Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Sibiu, 2021, 95 p. ISBN 978-606-8815-80-0

_Iulia Mesea, *Culoare, emoție și mister. Lucrări de Nicolae Tonitza din colecția Muzeului Național Brukenthal*, Editura Karl A. Romstorfer a Muzeului Național al Bucovinei și Editura Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Suceava – Sibiu (2021), ISBN 978-606-8698-46-5 și ISBN 978-606-8815-81-7

_Iulia Mesea (coord.), *Catalogul expoziției Salonul Interjudețean de Arte Vizuale al Filialei UAP Sibiu 2021*, Editura Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Sibiu, 2021

10. Programs

_3 Centuries Brukenthal Framework Program (2021)

The program was dedicated to the celebration of three hundred years since the birth of Baron Samuel von Brukenthal, the founder of the museum, and included 9 exhibitions at the museum's headquarters and in public spaces, 3 online exhibitions, 3 commemorative events, 2 concerts and 4 symposia.

The concept of the "3 Centuries Brukenthal" program has been developed and announced by the Brukenthal National Museum since 2020, when the promotional models, the logo of the event and the cultural agenda were made, the diversity of which involved the joint effort of partners from Romania and abroad: Sibiu National Archives, Brukenthal von Studio Association, Monumentum Association, Boromir, Rotary Club, Department for Interethnic Relations, Deutsches Kulturforum östliches Europa-Potsdam, Sibiu State Philharmonic, German Democratic Forum in Transylvania, Lions Club Brukenthal, Sibiu City Hall, Romfilatelia, Samuel von Brukenthal Stiftung, Sibiu Union of Visual Artists and many others.

Dana Roxana HRIB

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