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VI. 2

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WEAPONS AND TROPHIES OF THE VANITAS VANITATUM THEME IN THE TRANSYLVANIAN MANNERIST AND PROTO-BAROQUE FUNERARY ART

Ioan ALBU*

Abstract: The 17th century brings along in Transylvania fashionable art movements of the Western and Central Europe, especially of the new artistic current of the Mannerism, a constant of the funeral art to the 70's of the century, continued by the Proto-Baroque. They are an acquisition of aristocratic and urban forms submitted by Venetian and Dutch layers, which meant introducing a new and eclectic language of reassembling forms. The motifs do not hide 'horror vacui', strongly twisted tenants, 'putti', 'rotuli' (rolls), garlands of exotic fruit and flowers, trophies and allegories twined in the theme "vanitas vanitatum". The study proposes a contextual analysis of the motifs from the range of weapons and trophies emerging in this age in the Transylvanian funeral art.

Keywords: trophies, 'vanitas vanitatum', 'memento mori', funerary art, epigraphy

Rezumat: Secolul al XVII-lea aduce cu sine și în Transilvania curente artistice la modă în apusul și centrul Europei, manierismul, o constantă a plasticii funerare până spre anii '70 ai secolului, și apoi protobarocul. Ele sunt o preluare a formelor aristocratice și urbane ale epocii transmise prin filonul venețian, dar și cel de sorginte olandeză, care au însemnat introducerea unui limbaj nou și eclectic al reasamblării formelor. Motivele nu ascund 'horror vacui', tenanți puternic contorsionați, 'putti', 'rotuli', ghirlande de fructe și flori exotice, trofee și alegorii îngemănate în tema 'vanitas vanitatum'. Studiul își propune o analiză contextuală a motivelor din gama armelor și trofeelor care țâșnesc în această epocă în arta funerară transilvană, cu rășfrângeri în Țara Românească.

Cuvinte cheie: trofee, 'vanitas vanitatum', 'memento mori', artă funerară, epigrafie

Some themes of *vanitas vanitatum* were common and explicit in the Middle Ages. *Memento mori* became a favorite artistic theme especially in the funerary art after the Black Death in the middle of the 14th century. Later, at the Council of Constance (1414–1418), the French scholar Jean Gerson presented the essay *De Arte Moriendi* (Schwab 1858, 457, 683, 786), in a wider attempt to reform the church, setting *ars moriendi* as a general theme which was spread by Dominicans and Franciscans. The *Ars moriendi*, edition princeps, dates back in circa 1450 (<http://www.archive.org/stream/arsmoriendiedit00bullgoog#page/n8/mode/2up>). A huge impact on art also had the *dance macabre*, as the *Heidelberger Totentanz* (*Der doten dantz mit figuren clage und antwort schon von allen staten der welt*) from 1488 (*Heidelberger Totentanz – GW M47257*. <http://digi.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/totentanz1488>).

Since the Renaissance these themes gradually become more indirect, especially in still-lives and

in funerary art monuments intended to remind viewers of the transient and timely character of life, of the futility of pleasure and of the certainty of death. On the other hand, they give moral justification to the representation of fascinating, admirable and lovely worldly things.

Vanitas with different connotations and nuances appears in emblem books of the 17th century, an early example being Antonius a Burgundia's *Mundi lapis Lydius sive Vanitas pe veritatem falsi accusata et convicta*, engraved by Theodorus van Merlen, published in Antwerp in 1639 and extended in further editions. Historians found that the word *Vanity* (*Vanité*) associated to the painting genre appears in France since 1652 as a plural, nevertheless the term in the singular is documented only since 1672 (Verlet 2001, 12).

The *vanitas vanitatum* cycle, the new quasi-independent genre of art, both in painting (still-life) and in funerary sculpture, is therefore linked

* „Lucian Blaga” University, Sibiu, Faculty of History and Patrimony / Universitatea „Lucian Blaga”, Sibiu, Facultatea de Istorie și Patrimoniu, ioan.albu@ulbsibiu.ro.

in the Europe of the 15th–17th centuries, especially in northern Europe and in Protestant, but also in the Jesuit areas, to the theme of *memento mori*, and becomes an almost obsessive theme in the middle of the seventeenth century. Flemish still-life paintings represent in the trompe-l'oeil technique victuals, fruit or fish as a reminder of the Horatian *carpe diem*, as well as ostentatious signs of accumulated wealth, revealing an "epicurean sense of death" (Verlet 2001, 15).

We can search for and find favourable circumstances and conditions of these art transformations from a historical, psychological and aesthetic perspective. The Reformation and the Counter Reformation launched by the Council of Trent (1545–1563), which accuses Reformation of pagan immorality and sensuality, had both the effect of imposing moralistic topics in art. In fact – as the art historian George Oprescu notices – it will "reach a new form of sensualism, which is one of the most striking characteristics of the Counter-Reformation art, especially under its Jesuit aspect" (Oprescu 1985, 12). Catholic painting, somehow opposed to the *vanitas vanitatum* theme, was already discussed by one of the first historians who studied the 17th century art (Male 1984 / 1st ed. 1932). Moreover the new genre brings along a transmutation in still-life and sculptural funerary art representation.

Not accidentally vanity as *memento mori* appears in Flemish paintings in the environment of the rich Netherlands' bourgeoisie where reflections on life and death are correlative to anatomy and medicine development. André Chastel even spoke about "moralizing anatomies", since the engraver gives the dead the attitude of the living personality, so that death takes the appearance of life (Chastel 1978, I, 225). The same procedure is employed by the sculptor in the funerary art.

It was noted then that vanity remains the favourite theme in art for decades, especially in the period that follows Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), a time when the exhaustion caused by war is omnipresent in vast areas of Europe, many countries being ruined and fortunes of individual communities or those previously accumulated permanently lost (Schneider 2003, 79).

Allegories now start to dispose of the intrinsic mystical meaning and strive to personify moral qualities, even if the seventeenth century did not entirely free itself from the medieval spirituality (Hautecoeur 1982, 20–23). André Félibien, who publishes his work in 1685, summarizes the

emblematic approach specific to his current seventeenth century which fuses mystique with philosophy, painting with poetry, and fiction with erudite morality: „il y a des sujets traitez mystiquement, dont l'on ne doit pas faire peu d'état, principalement quand le Peintre a été assez ingénieux pour y cacher les secrets de la philosophie. Et même il semble que cette manière de représenter les choses est particulièrement propre à la peinture, et qu'elle a cela de commun avec la poésie, qui sous le voile de ses belles fictions couvre une savante moralité" (Félibien 1685, 432).

Some art historians consider that the key to reading still-life genre is not interpreting them as allegories that have the connotation of narrative, or as a set of symbols, but as complex metaphors. In this way they are understood as associations between objects, and thus without a "history" to support them. The interpretive role is therefore handed over to the viewer, as this new aspect resembles the freedom of the Reformation environment that involves a private religious experience. The image and its subjacent text remind the man of the fact that he is mortal and that his initiatives are worldly, futile and vain. Both verse / text and image with an enlightening and moralizing role operate by the same rule, *ut pictura poesis* (Koozin 1989, V–VI).

Dutch still-life motifs have already been described by Ingvar Bergstrom as metaphors of moral and religious ideals. He groups vanity still-lives in three areas of interest (Earthly Existence, Transient Life and Death, Resurrection), which can be expanded to the funerary art themes (Koozin 1989, IV–VII).

There are actually four registers and themes in the Transylvanian funerary art of the seventeenth century:

1. **Caducity**, the earthly, transitory and perishable life. Since the precarious human condition is subdued to caducity, this theme is represented by personifications of Time, designed with clear attributes – clock, watches, hourglass and sundial. Another means is the representation of fragile short lasting objects like candles or soap bubbles.

2. **The exaltation of life**, the earthly existence with its joys, **and the power insignia**. The opposite of mourning caducity which comes through the works of art of the time is the obvious exaltation of the living and temporary – flowers, beauty, youth, sensuality, science (books, documents, scientific or musical instruments). On the other hand power signs in funerary art are symbols of the ephemeral

of the secular order represented by precious metals, weapons of warfare, armours and trophies. In the Netherlands under the Calvinist view of life luxury is a well-deserved reward of the pious, honest, moral and devout, an outer sign of their social status and divine blessing (Schama 1997, *passim*). Calvinist influences can be traced in the mentality and art of Transylvanian Saxons as well, for instance at the funerary gravestone of the priest **Johann Hutter** in Cîsnădie.

3. **Death** – The motif of the skull and bones, quite frequent in the funerary art, is an iconographic component with many variations, meant to symbolize the mortal human nature (*mors absconditus*) and anticipate the final status (Schneider 2003, 77).

4. **Resurrection** – wheat, laurel, ivy, but also complete allegories, such as at the monumental mural epitaph for the Haupt family (Fig. 24) (Albu 2002, cat. no. 266, Fig. 110; Kovács 2007, 75–81), or by the representation of the Resurrection scene, as on two funerary tombstones in Sibiu – Schwarz and its unfinished replica in Sibiu (Albu 2002, cat. no. 197, 198).

The marks of wealth, virtues and power of the elites outweigh the display of accumulated assets. Hence the external symbols of power: crowns, including the papal tiara and mitre, knight armours also were constantly part of still-lives, like the globe, a symbol of conquest and territorial expansion. Similarly, the mask, symbol of the joyous muse Thalia and of the theatre, belongs to the same vanity cycle (Schneider 2003, 80). A masterpiece of the cycle is *The Knight's Dream* signed by Antonio de Pereda (c.1608–1678), oil on wood, (Real Academia, Madrid, Fig. 1). The flowers in the vase are symbols of vanity as well, and the human being is compared to the field of flowers that fade quickly (Psalm 103: 15–16). Further on life is interpreted here as a dream. In the *Allegory of Transience* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, c. 1640, Fig. 2) Antonio de Pereda treats imperial power problems in a similar allusive manner (Schneider 2003, 85), as well as Hendrik Andrieszen in his *Vanitas* (London, c. 1635, Fig. 3).

Vanity becomes a *topos* in Mannerism and Baroque funerary art, alongside other iconographical programs, including mainly the representation of the deceased as a whole figure type, the so called *portrait d'apparat*, and thus the funerary portrait of the seventeenth century depicts the deceased as if he were alive, in the case of the

aristocracy in splendid costumes, with armour and weapons. A masterpiece of the genre is Prince George Apafi's sarcophagus in Mălâncrav (1638), signed by Elias Nicolai, now in the National Museum Budapest (Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, Budapest, Fig. 4–5. Roth 1906, 89sq., Fig. XIX—XXI; Gündisch 1976, 218, 222–223, 231–232; Theodorescu 1987, II, 41; Kovács 2003, 16; Kovács 2003a, 625–634; image: http://www.hung-art.hu/magyar/zmisc/faragvan/17_sz/apaffi.html). The deceased is figured in natural size as if he were asleep, with his right hand under the head on a pillow and the left hand resting on his sword. His feet are crossed one over the other. Included in the vineyard decoration, based on the Apaffi coat of arms, various chivalry and funeral motifs – skeleton with sandglass, helmet, gloves, flowers in vases, drums, sword and a field gun. Several inscriptions on banderolls refer to the Vanity-theme: „quod tu es, ego fui. Quid ego sum, tu eris (CIL 12.825: „Viator, viator! Quod tu es, ego fui; quod nunc sum, et tu eris”). – Omnis enim caro sicut foenum veterascit, perpetuum hoc foedus est quod morier. Syr. 1” (Vulgata 14, 18: „Omnis caro, sicut foenum, veterascet, et sicut folium fructificans in arbore viridi”) around the skeleton, as well as „Hodie mihi, cras tibi” at the feet of the deceased.

This device of portraying the subject with the objects associated with him in his daily or official life gives proto-baroque artwork liveliness and acuity. The idea and mental picture of death reveals an allegorically codified funerary sculpture indebted to rhetoric (Verlet 2001, 11).

In funerary epigraphy and art the case in point is placed in relation to eternal truths and values, a mental shift in the late Middle Ages (Huizinga 1970, 233).

Written messages or phrases often accompany *vanitas* cycle objects (*sic transit gloria mundi, vanitas, memento mori, similis bulla*). For example the ancient symbol of Fate as the Wheel of Life (Fig. 6 – Mosaic from Pompeii (30 B.C.–14 A.D.) Inv. No. 109982, Naples, National Archaeological Museum, with an emblem displaying the allegory of death as the great leveller of the social status – skull, *livella/libella*, plumb line, butterfly (soul), wheel (Fortune), sceptre and purple (wealth and power), beggar's scrip and stick (poverty) – a motif spread along with the legend of Pharaoh Sesostri III by the work of Zamosius and Valentin Franck – appears on the gravestone of the town secretary notary **Andreas Literatus** (1678, Fig. 7,

Albu 2002, cat. no. 232, Fig. 98). *Rota Fortunae* appears in manuscripts of the early 15th century, such as Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* (Mss Hunter 371–372), in a copy of the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*. „Status humanus” with the Wheel of Fortune associated with Sesostris gets known by European emblem books, as in Henry Peacham's *Minerva Britannia or A Garden of Heroical Devises* (Peacham 1612, 76). In connection with bunches of grapes or vines, an ancient burial motif grounded in the iconography of the medieval and pre-modern era, the Vine of Life such as on three funerary slabs in Baia (Petrescu 1961, 49), and a tombstone in Sebeş-Alba (Gündisch, Streitfeld 1976, 83, Fig. 29), according to John 15, 1–6 settles in analogy with the Tree of Life (Bitay 1970, 585). As models served the already in 1610 published „Neüw Groteskenbuch“ by Christoph Jamnitzer and a copper plate of Merian (*Triumph of Sestoris*) from 1642 (Reissenberger 1888, 40sq.; Roth 1908, 128; Guy-Marica 1967, 35; Albu 2002, cat. nr. 225). It is also a sign of the fertility of the Promised Land, the huge bunch of grapes from Canaan (4. Mos. 13, 6, 16), here in connection with the idea of the resurrection of the dead. The pseudoheraldic decoration integrates with the *memento mori* representation in an allegory of the *vanitas vanitatum* cycle. The rhetorical inscription in the upper cartouche of Andreas Literatus' gravestone assimilates converse, opposite concepts by means of word change transfer: "*mortuus ut vivas, vivus moriaris oportet, asuesce ergo prius quam moriari mori*" in the same manner seen in a little earlier funerary inscription on the tomb plate of **Georg Clockner** (1670, Fig. 8; Albu 2002, cat. no. 215, Fig. 95): "*vivendo morimur, denique morendo vivemus*". The theme occurs as early as the 13th century, so in chapter XXIV of *De vicinitate mortis* in Pope Innocentius III's book, *De contemptu mundi*: „*morimur enim dum vivimus semper, et nunc tantum desinimus mori, cum desinimus vivere. Melius est ergo mori vitae, quam vivere morti, quia nihil est vitae mortalis, nisi mors vivens*" (Achterfeldt 1855, 50. Hermeneutic examination in Reinlein, 1871). Regarding this issue a typical poem enlightens: "*La mort est une vie, et la vie une mort / Tout se change en se changeant de destin et de sort*" (Dubois 1973, 130).

Representations of funerary art weaponry emerge early in Transylvania, even in the first half of the fourteenth century. One of the oldest samples is the funerary plate for **Socius Pantaleo**, the so-called

"Gothic knight" in Bistrița (1337, Fig. 9; Albu 2009, 148sq., Fig. 19), where the deceased is represented with his sword and shield. Generally, in the funeral *portrait d'apparat*, the sword is used as a function and role symbol (judge scepter) as on the funerary stones of **Georg Jüngling** (1629) (Albu 2002, cat. no. 152, Fig. 69), **Valentinus Franck** (1648, Fig. 10) (Albu 2002, cat. no. 180, Fig. 81), **Andreas Fleischer** (1676, Fig. 11) (Albu 2002, cat. no. 228), **Matthias Semrigger** (1680, Fig. 12) (Albu 2002, cat. no. 240) or **Petrus Weber** (1710) (Albu 2002, cat. no. 290, Fig. 117). However, only in the seventeenth century such representations are integrated in the *vanitas vanitatum* cycle.

Trophies are constituted in narrations which in the Premannerist period benefit of a particular register in the funerary plates' economy, in a special border around the cartridge which includes the eulogium inscription. This kind of iconographic display can already be noticed in the time before Elias Nicolai. Decorative rolls on the funerary plates of Johann Wajda (1599, Fig. 13) (Albu 2002, cat. no. 109, Fig. 54) and Engetter family (1604, Fig. 14) (Albu 2002, cat. no. 127, Fig. 56) send to the banderols of the Last Judgment.

Grotesques, fruit and flower garlands accompanied by leather belts and straps are displayed around cartridges which remind auxiliary pieces of military equipment.

The funerary plate of Consul **Gallus Lutsch** and his wife **Margareta Lutsch**, born Doer (1615, Fig. 15) (Albu 2002, cat. no. 140, Fig. 64) is rich in symbolic representations – trophies, putties, pelicans, lions, dogs, rabbits (hares), all connected to the vanity theme and Resurrection. The explanatory inscription of the eulogium stresses upon the two themes:

LVTSCHIADES IACET HAC/ GALLVS SVB
SINDONE PICTA /

STELLA MAGISTRATVS / GLORIA, VITA
CHORI /

LVSTR^A DECEM POSTQVA(M) SV=/PER
A[N]N[OS] PLVS DVO VITA /

FERTVR AD EMERITOS / GLAVCA PER
ASTRA POLOS /

IAM FRVITVR CAELO CHRI/STVM MIRATVR
AMATV(M)

NEC TAMEN INTVITV / [SE] SATIARE LICET

The gravestone of **Paul Ludovicus** (1626, Fig. 16) also shows trophies, helmets, sceptres, turtles, fruit, pomegranates, pine bulbs and the child

sleeping on skull (Albu 2002, cat. no. 146, Fig. 67). Here the range of trophies – sceptre, helmets – is obviously subordinated to the *vanitas vanitatum* cycle. The plate shows a little child who sleeps on a skull, chained by the serpent who gnaws at the root of life, a symbol of the evil, continuing with battle helmets in the upper corner of the registry, torsos reminding the strategists of the antiquity, each bearing a sceptre, then reptiles and vipers digging at the truncated feet, and pomegranates, a mutation of the decorative meaning and vice versa, ending with broken and twisted arrows behind the grotesque of the moon, a form which resumes the composition as an emblem of death. This abundance of motifs is pushed over to a satiety specific for a *horror vacui* of the mannerism in the first half of the seventeenth century. It binds the eulogy cartridge, which is framed by an *ovolo* profile, and it captures and fascinates the viewer, it is an invitation to linger in honouring a man who was *amplissimus* and *consulatissimus*. The inscription emphasizes these aspects and tries to persuade the explorer. The futility, worthlessness and uselessness of life thus tend to be a theme of admiration. The eulogium stresses upon the accumulated merits and the magnitude of the deceased.

*Hic datur optatam LUDOVICO / attingere metam,
Hoc mea florent membra / sepulta loco.
Sex ego iura dabam. Iudex ut / Sedis aristas,
Civicus atq(ue) duas CONSUL / honore fui.
Ille ego te(m)pla, Scholas, aras, fora, / munere
largo*

*Accumula(n)s, PAULI nomine / magnus eram.
Siste gradus igit(ur) tumulum Philo=/christe
Viator*

Inspice, dic: PAULI molliter osza cubent.

The inscription on the banderol dividing the two sculpted registers / fields is very typical – *SIC TRANSIT GLORIA MUNDI*, emanated from the collections of maxims and sentences / aphorisms circulating in that time, actually a paraphrase, an adaptation after Thomas a Kempis, *Imitatio Christi*, I, 3, 6 – „O quam cito transit gloria mundi” (Walther 1963–1969, no. 29554) based on the passage from the Bible „mundus transit et concupiscentia eius” (Vulgata 2, 17).

The Latin phrase meaning „thus passes the glory of the world” was initially used for the new elected pope as a reminder of the transitory nature of life, of his position and title. In funerary inscriptions, it is correlated to all earthly honors and glory of the mighty.

A transcript of the original inscription on the funerary plate of judge (*Judex Sedis*) **Paul Roth** (1636) (Albu 2002, cat. no. †164) is a personalized variation of the phrase.

*RUFFINUS CECIDIT, NOSTRI HEU SPES
LONGIOR AEVI.
ILLE TAMEN CECIDIT, NAM TRANSIT GLORIA
MUNDI.
TRANSIERIT QUICQUID SIT TERRAE GLORIA
TRANSIT
MORTUUS ET JOVAE NUNC AUDIT GLORIA
COELI*

The bronze epitaph of the mayor of Sibiu **Michael Lutsch**, probably designed in a workshop of Augsburg (before 1632, Fig. 17) (Albu 2002, cat. no. 155, Fig. 70) represents trophies, a helmet, a satchel, cymbals and shields chained in the same cycle of *vanitas vanitatum*. In the eulogy the deceased is compared to Marius of Rome.

*CONSCIA SINT FAMAE SECLA FVTVRA SVAE.
CONSVL ERAT GRAVIS ET NVLLI PIETATE
SECVNDVS*

*ATQVE CIBINIACAE RECTA COLVMNA
DOMVS
VT MARIVS ROMAE SEPTENOS TRANSIGIT
ANNOS*

*CONSVLIS IMPERII SIC QVOQVE SCEPTRA
TVLIT.
MARTIA NON HORRET PATRIAE COMPVLSVS
AMORE*

*CASTRA PEREGRINO SVB IOVE ADIRE SVAE.
PRO PATRIA SIC DVLCE MORI PVTAT ATQVE
DECORV(M),*

*HINC LATVS EXORNAT STRICTA MACHAERA
VIRI*

*EX AEQVO ATQVE BONO LAVS VERA
ASSVRGIT IN ALTVM(M)*

*HINC SIBI IVSTICIAE MENS STVDIOSA FVIT.
ERGO TVVM NOMEN CEDRO DIGVM VSQVE
NOTARI*

*INCLITE LVTSCHIADES POSTHVMA TVRBA
LEGET*

*ADDE QVOD ET PLACIDVM VITAE
TRADVXERIS AEVVM.*

*VT SOCIA ANNA TORI BISTRICIANA FVIT:
QVAE TECVM EGREGIOS BVDAKERI STIRPE
CREATA*

*CASPARIS, VIXIT NON SINE HONORE DIES.
DEPOSITIS CVLTA EST VOBIS CONCORDIA
TELIS,*

*VOS ITA CONCORDES HAEC QVOQVE
TVMBA FOVET*

*QVOD SVPEREST FIDEI VITAEQVE AETERNA
FERETIS**PRAEMIA STELLIFERO TVTA BRABEA POLO*

Drums and cymbals round up the framework of trophies on the funerary plate of **Coloman Gotzmeister** (1633, Fig. 18) (Albu 2002, cat. no. 159, Fig. 71), which is very similar to the iconography of the tombstone of Paul Ludovicus, but the knight-tenants on this plate are the personified figures of Aristides and Rhadamantus, who are referred to in the eulogium.

*Aequus Aristidem et Rhadamanthum / mente
gerebat /*

Colmanus, Patriae portus et aura suae /

Quod Pelicanus amans fortis(ue) figura Leonis /

Denotat, illud erat ciuibus, ecce suis /

Rebus in aduersis; duplicato clarus honore;

Iudicis atq(ue) urbis Regia sceptrum tenens. /

Aulae Consultor uarios auertere casus /

Et doctus uarias saepe subire uices. /

*Gens patria hunc Comitem, uocat hunc / Aula
alma Dynastam, /*

Colmannum his titulis posthuma secula uident

As a resumption of the plate the funerary shield of the same **Coloman Gotzmeister** (1633) (Albu 2002, cat. no. 160, Fig. 72) shows tenants with analogous costumes.

A remarkable work of funerary art is the second gravestone of the Wallachian Prince **Matei Basarab** (†1654, sculpted by Elias Nicolai in 1658, Fig. 19) (Gündisch 1976, 235–237, Fig. 93), whereas on the funerary plate of his wife, Princess **Elena /Elina** (1653, Fig. 20) (Gündisch 1976, 234, Fig. 92), designed by the same artist, no such decoration is available. The right and left fields above the coat of arms are each filled with a breast plate with rising spears and ensigns, a motif that is found in a simplified form at the portals of the Haller and Weidner house in Sibiu. Warlike accessories like field guns leaned on gun carriages, powder kegs, timpani and a drum are represented below the crest. The surrounding inscriptions as well as the Cyrillic letters inscribed around a patriarchal cross are in Church Slavonic. The tomb plate was sculpted at the order of Prince Mihnea III in the Church of the Arnota Monastery, where he also let transfer the bones of Matei Basarab.

The funerary plate of **Valentin Fleischer** (1663, Fig. 21) (Albu 2002, cat. no. 209, Fig. 92), the commander of the town's garrison (*capitaneus urbis Cibiniensis*) wears in the round emblem an arm with a staff / baton, initially an attribute of

Hercules, used as a symbol of the deceased's function. This emblem is explained by the fact that count Andreas Fleischer, his son, mentioned in the inscription as a founder, obtained a coat of arms letter from the Transylvanian prince Michael Apafi only in 1669. The very suggestive inscription located right next to the emblem compares the garrison commander to Alexander the Great in the explanatory epigrammatic phrase of the insignia. The sign of his function becomes a clear symbol of the vainness of the world:

ANIMA DEFUNCTI / AD / VIATOREM: /

*DEXTRA TENET CLAVAM MEA: SED LIBITIMA
SAGITTIS /*

*SAEVA · PETIT · DIRIS PECTORA NOSTRA
VIDE! /*

*SCILICET IMPERIO LE[T]HI SUNT SUBDITA
CUNCTA; /*

*DUX MACEDUM FORTIS · MILES INERMIS
ITEM*

In the last two decades of the 17th century the decoration of funerary monuments becomes much more allegorical.

The Roman soldier in baroque outfit and vesture in the Resurrection scene on the epitaph for count **Matthias Semrigger** (1680, Fig. 22) (Albu 2002, cat. no. 239, Fig. 99) is also representative, together with the allegorical figures of *Fides* and *Agapia*, putties with skull and sandglass.

On the mural epitaph of the **Franck family** (1694, Fig. 23) (Albu 2002, cat. no. 265) Archangel Michael is represented in the typical Hungarian vesture of the time, with sword and shield in his fight with the dragon. On the small epitaph of **Valentin Franck** (1697) (Albu 2002, cat. no. 278), designed by Sebastian Hann, one of the medallions in the upper right corner figures a scene of Jacob's fight with the Angel.

The **Haupt epitaph** (1694, Fig. 24) (Albu 2002, cat. no. 266, Fig. 110; Kovács 2007, 75–81) figures skeletons with arrow-satchels and bows, in the lower part of the Allegory of the Soul-Redemption (*SICUT CERVUS AD AQVARUM // FONTES ITA ANIMA AD DEUM*) taken from Psalm 42, 2. The explanatory inscription *HIC FUGAE TERMINUS* refers to the ineluctability of death.

Conclusion:

Transylvanian Mannerist and Proto-Baroque funerary art implies a strong polysemy, a multitude of meanings and connotations of vanity representations. A set of meanings (*joie de vivre*) is

offset by another (vanity and death) in a dialectical accumulative relationship that makes funerary art decor so hermeneutically rich (Martin 2006, 564).

The idea of vanity, the *vanitas* concept is only one of the antithesis which define both Mannerism and Proto-Baroque. It ranges between the joy experienced in worldly pleasures and the obsession with the thought that all is futile, and thus urges the

need of the contemporaries to enjoy life despite the ineluctability of death (Rollesbroich 2007, 7). Inscription and iconography show a cleavage, a dichotomy between humility (*humilitas*) and consciousness, which reaches its climax in the period, and funerary art works try to justify their own vanity.

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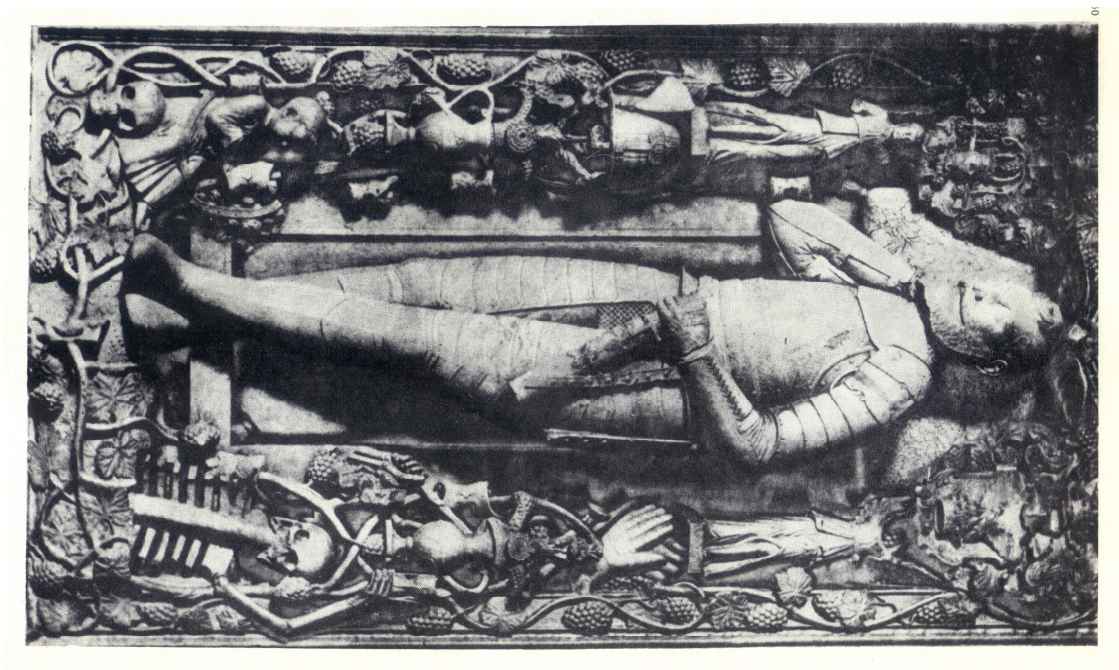
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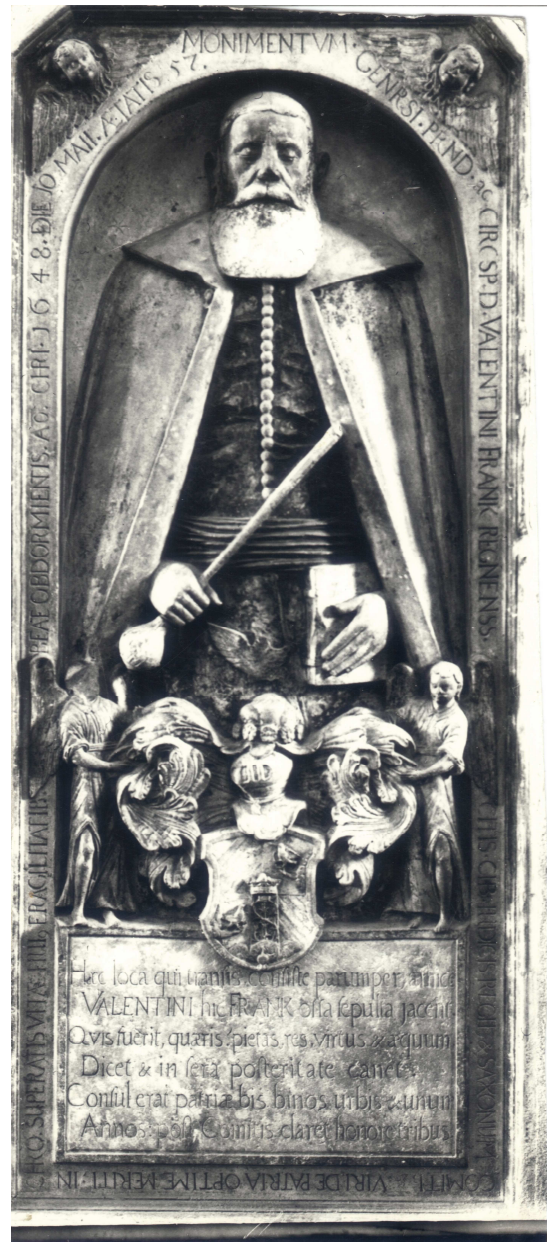
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**ASSUMPTION OF MARY
A PAINTING BY DENIS CALVAERT ALSO CALLED DIONISIE FIAMMINGO IN
BRUKENTHAL COLLECTION OF PAINTING**

Maria Olimpia TUDORAN-CIUNGAN*

Abstract: *The present study reiterates an open debate over the attribution of “Assumption of Mary”, painting in Brukenthal Museum’s Collection to Denis Calvaert, also called Dionisio Fiammingo.*

Keywords: *Denis Calvaert, Martin Pepyn, painting, Brukenthal Collection.*

Rezumat: *Lucrarea reia în discuție contestarea atribuirii lucrării „Înălțarea Mariei” lui Denis Calvaert, zis și Dionisio Fiammingo, contribuind la rezolvarea unei controverse încă deschise.*

Cuvinte cheie: *Denis Calvaert, Martin Pepyn, pictură, Colecția Brukenthal.*

One of the paintings in Brukenthal National Museums Collection that was time and again subjected to controversies is *Assumption of Mary* (oil on canvas, 116,5 x 78,5 cm, monogrammed lower left with the majuscules CD) attributed to Denis Calvaert in 2007 (Tudoran-Ciungan 2007, 66–67).

The painting was purchased as a work of the Netherlandish School (Ä. K. 1844), being mentioned as such in the catalogue of 1844 (Die Gemäldegalerie 1844, no. 35), to be asserted to Otho van Veen’s creation by Theodor von Frimmel (Frimmel 1894, p.50) and to the work of Lambert van Noort by Csaki (Csaki 1909, no. 857).

The last of the attributions mentioned above begun to be questioned in our days by the Museum’s curators, the subject being further discussed with art historians coming from abroad to visit Brukenthal Collection of Painting. In consequence, Daniele de Sarno Prignano and Laura Muti inclined to assert the painting to the Italian School, while CODART art historians as Ivan Gaskel discovered the CD initials, concluding that the painter is Dionisio Fiammingo. Under this attribution the painting was repeatedly published by this author (Tudoran-Ciungan 2002, 187–194; Tudoran-Ciungan 2003, 179–180; Tudoran-Ciungan 2007, 66–67).

Recently, the attribution to Denis Calvaert was contested by the art historian Jan de Maere, with

no supporting argumentation based on scientific opinions (in fact the new attribution has not been published) and the painting displayed under the authorship of a lesser Flemish painter – Martin Pepyn (Antwerp, 1575–Antwerp, 1643). A

representative of Flemish Baroque, Martin Pepyn followed the spirit of the epoch, his work comprising a limited number of religious scenes among which well known is *The Crossing of the Red Sea* (1626), being entirely subjected to the stylistic features of Flemish Baroque.

It is obvious the fact that *Assumption of Mary* is clearly appertaining to Late Mannerism, the painter being influenced by Raphael both under the respect of composition and chromatics.

Dionisio Fiammingo (Antwerp, 1540–Bologna, 1619) represents an important artist for the Italian and the Bolognese School of painting. Trained in the beginnings by Cerstiaen van de Queborn – a landscape painter, he traveled to Italy where attended Prospero Fontana’s workshop in Bologna. It was there that he mastered the art of representing human body and lost the Flemish manner in favor of Italian one. During a long collaboration with Lorenzo Sabattini he travels to Rome and acquires Dionisie Fiammingo as a pseudonym. In Rome he became familiar with the great art of the Renaissance, with Raphael, Michelangelo and Sebastiano del Piombo who will exert a deep influence on his painting and determine him to

* Brukenthal National Museum / Muzeul Național Brukenthal (correspondent), olimpiatudoran@yahoo.com.

make several copies after his inspirational artists (as is the case of a drawing dated in 1574, after *The Last Judgment* by Michelangelo).

It is also in Rome that the artist became to be acknowledged as Dionisio Fiammingo and returns to Bologna to open his own workshop where Agostino, Lodovico and Annibale Carracci, Guido Reni, Francesco Albani and Domenichini will be apprentices.

As a representative of the Late Italian Mannerism, Denis Calvaert became an expert in compositions that include numerous characters, being extremely precise in the render of the perspective, displaying a fluid drawing and a rich palette of color, all these features to be encompassed by the spirit of the Italian art, fact that is to be freely observed in the painting that makes the subject of the present study.

The easel work in Brukenthal Collection envisages not only the using of the traditional approach of the religious subject in accordance with Raphael's *Assumption of Mary* (Pinacoteca Vaticana) or Titian's *Assunta* (Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari Church) but also their chromatics based on shades of red, golden yellow and blue.

A recent discovery is related to Guido Reni's ten years activity (since he was 10 until he reached the age of 20 when entered to Accademia degli Incamminati, run by the Carraccis) as apprentice in the workshop of Dionisio Fiammingo. Guido Reni is known for his biblical and mythological subjects, depicted in refined shapes and displaying a particular expressiveness through the means of subtle nuances of red, blue, green, brown and grey in a special combination that evinces the white parts of the compositions.

In the most recent catalogue dedicated to Guido Reni (Muti and Sarno Prignano 2007) there is a painting entitled *L'Assunzione della Vergine* (S. Ambrogio Church in Genova), in fact a copy after the Calvaert painting in Brukenthal Collection.

The two compositions are similar, structured in two registers: the Heavens (Mary ascending on clouds, surrounded by angels) and the terrestrial plan (the twelve apostles displaying various attitudes and expressions of wonder and ecstasy when facing the miracle, kneeling or standing with arms wide opened and eyes looking upward, around the sarcophagus – Fig. 3). There are the same characters and the same number of them in both paintings. Reni's painting is what one can consider to be a free copy after the easel work in Sibiu, the only difference being made by the

Baroque spirit in which it was painted, resulting in different chromatic approach (the Virgin being dressed in white and gold in comparison with Calvaert's rendering in red and blue – Fig. 1).

Considering the attribution to Martin Pepyn, the question that occurs is why should Guido Reni make a copy after a lesser Baroque painter as Flemish Pepyn active in Antwerp? There are no travels of Guido Reni to Flanders or of Martin Pepyn's to Italy that are known. More over, the acknowledgement of Pepyn's creation in the epoch does not justify the European circulation of his works.¹

On the other hand, it goes with the common practice inside artistic circles of the period that apprentices made copies after originals painted by their masters, which could be the case of Reni's work relating with Calvaert's *Assumption of Mary*². There is also an inspirational aspect that is to be taken into account in both paintings: while practicing in Prospero Fontana's workshop, Calvaert was influenced by his master's *Madonna Assunta con i quarto Santi protettori di Bologna* (Rolobanca Collection, San Marino), subsequently Guido Reni being influenced by Calvaert's own painting on the subject.

In conclusion, the painting entitled *Assumption of Mary* in the Brukenthal Collection is one by Denis Calvaert also called Dionisio Fiammingo, an attribution that brings pride to the Brukenthal National Museum for having in its possession the only work done by the artist that is to be found in Romania, as far as we know.

¹ In this author opinion, Guido Reni painted his work around 1630, due to stylistic and chromatic analogies with *Joseph and Putifar's wife* (1635) and *Saint Archangel Michael* (1635).

² The simple example of Rubens' free copies after Titian or Parmigiano will suffice.

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Fig. 2 and 3 – *Assumption of Mary* – details with the angels: **(left)** Brukenthal Collection, painting attributed to Denis Calvaert **(right)** Guido Reni's painting.

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Fig. 2 și 3. *Înălțarea Mariei* – detaliu cu îngerii: **(stânga)** colecția de pictură Brukenthal, lucrare atribuită lui Denis Calvaert **(dreapta)** lucrarea lui Guido Reni.

Fig. 4 and 5. *Înălțarea Mariei* – apostolii: **(stânga)** colecția de pictură Brukenthal, lucrare atribuită lui Denis Calvaert **(dreapta)** lucrarea lui Guido Reni.

Figure 1



Assumption of Mary,
attributed to Denis Calvaert – detail with the Virgin



Assumption of Mary, Guido Reni – detail with the Virgin

Figure 2



Assumption of Mary, attributed to
Denis Calvaert – details with the angels



Assumption of Mary, Guido Reni
– details with the angels

Figure 3



Assumption of Mary, attributed to
Denis Calvaert – details with the angels



Assumption of Mary, Guido Reni
– details with the angels

Figure 4



Assumption of Mary, attributed to
Denis Calvaert – details with the apostles



Assumption of Mary, Guido Reni
– details with the apostles

Figure 5



Assumption of Mary, attributed to
Denis Calvaert – details with the apostles



Assumption of Mary, Guido Reni
– details with the apostles

A PAINTING RELATED TO RUBENS' *THE FALL OF THE DAMNED*, IN THE COLLECTION OF BRUKENTHAL NATIONAL MUSEUM

Dana Roxana HRIB*

Abstract: *The present study aims towards a more detailed analysis on the attribution to P. P. Rubens' workshop of The Fall of the Dark Angels oil on wood painting in Brukenthal Collection (inv. 997), focusing not on direct relation with the monumental "The Fall of the Damned" (Alte Pinakothek, Munich) but with one of the five drawings done after the original.*

Keywords: *Rubens, "The Fall of the Damned", Rubens' drawings, painting in Brukenthal Collection.*

Rezumat: *Articolul de față își propune o analiză detaliată asupra atribuirii lucrării „Căderea îngerilor răi” din Colecția Brukenthal (inv. 997), acordând importanță nu atât relației cu lucrarea „Căderea damnaților” (Alte Pinakothek, Munich), ci cu unul dintre cele cinci desene realizate după original.*

Cuvinte cheie: *Rubens, "Căderea damnaților", desenele lui Rubens, pictură din Colecția Brukenthal.*

1. The thematic of the damned souls

According to the Mark 3:29, damnation is the *eternal sin* submitted to everlasting divine punishment, being often applied to the dead in hell opposite of an afterworld of bliss (Heaven or Paradise) that rewards pious living. Damned souls are commonly depicted in a place of fire and brimstone, tormented by devils.

Referring to the Last Judgement, Revelation 21:8 enumerates those damned to hell as *the fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and liars, [that] shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is second death.*

In painting, damned souls were envisaged in a most frightening manner by Hieronymus Bosch's *Garden of Earthly Delights*¹, extremely graphically by Hubert and Jan van Eyck in the *Last Judgement*² with damned cast down in the lower centre of the painting, the characters showing the features of the sins they committed in earthly life in Rogier van der Weyden's *Last*

*Judgement*³ and in the impressive vision of Michelangelo's fresco⁴.

In the 17th century, the expressiveness in the staring eyes and gaping mouth of Gian Lorenzo Bernini's allegorical bust representation of a damned soul⁵ brought dramatic heights in the depiction of the thematic. This expressiveness is equalled on a grand scale by Peter Paul Rubens' painting *The Fall of the Damned* (Roberts 1998, I, 202).

2. Biographical context

Born in Siegen/Westphalia (28.06.1577), son to Jan Rubens (an Antwerp lawyer), Peter received a classical education, his artistic training entrusted to Tobias Verhaecht, Adam van Noort and Otto van Veen.

After becoming a master of the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke in 1598, he spent 8 years in Italy (between 1600 and 1608), travelling in the service of Vincenzo Gonzaga in Mantua or on a diplomatic mission to Spain (1603–1604). During Italian period, he became acquainted with the works of Classical antiquity, the compositions of the great Renaissance masters and with those of his contemporaries.

* Brukenthal National Museum / Muzeul Național Brukenthal, dana.hrib@brukenthalmuseum.ro.

¹ Ca. 1300, in the Prado, Madrid, Spain.

² Ca. 1420/1425 in Metropolitan Museum in New York.

³ 1446 in Hôtel Dieu in Beaune, France.

⁴ 1534 / 1541, in the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican.

⁵ *Anima Damnata*, ca. 1619, in the Palazzo de Spagna in Italy.

In 1608 he returned to Antwerp and in 1609 married Isabella Brant. In the same year he was appointed court painter to the Governor/Stadholder, Archduke Albrecht and his wife, the Infanta Isabella.

In 1610 he purchased a piece of land on which he built a large house with studios. In the following decade he received a number of major commissions, including the cycle of paintings for the gallery of the Palais du Luxembourg in Paris (1622–1625), commissioned by the widowed queen mother of France.

3. *The Fall of the Damned*

In the early years (ca. 1620) of the above mentioned decade it is widely considered to be dating *The Fall of the Damned*, conversely known as *The Fall of the Rebel Angels*⁶ (Fig. 1).

Rubens' baroque imagination found new outlets in chosen subjects; he conjured up an apocalyptic vision of the torments of the damned with the same tempestuous energy that is encountered in the artist's hunting pieces, the ferocious combats of men and wild beasts being reflected in the ferocity of demons carrying the damned into hell.

The monumental religious painting by Peter Paul Rubens features the moment of God's final judgement, when sinners are sent to hell, plunge towards their doom in a tornado of whirling bodies, hurled into abyss by Archangel Michael leading an army of angels. David Freedberg⁷ assessed this painting manner as the "most brilliant assemblages of lusciously naked flesh in Western art" (Perryer 2004, 76).

Reminiscent of Tintoretto, the painting depicts the frightful moment of God's last judgment for a Counter-Reformation audience in an inimitable manner. The dramatic play of lights and shadows reinforces the darkness into which the damned figures fall, far from the light of Heaven above.

4. Drawings related to *The Fall of the Damned*

There is a series of five drawings related to Rubens's painting *The Fall of the Damned*, the compositions suggesting that all of them were executed after the painting was completed.

⁶ Peter Paul Rubens, *The Fall of the Damned*, ca. 1620, oil on canvas, 286 x 224 cm. Location – Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

⁷David Freedberg is Pierre Matisse Professor of the History of Art and Director of the Italian Academy for Advanced Studies in America at Columbia University, USA.

Although not of equal quality, the five drawings are generally considered to be a group because they evidently formed part of the same commission or were executed with the same end in view (Rowlands 1977, 84).

Perhaps Rubens intended to have engravings made of the painting, a practice which he carried out for a number of his major works. However, no such engravings were apparently made.

In which concerns the date of sketches' production, according to J. Rowlands: "It is very likely that all these studies were drawn at the same date – 1621, the year when, according to the artist's nephew, *The Fall of the Damned* was painted" (Rowlands 1977, 84).

5. An easel painting related to *The Fall of the Damned*

Of the five drawings, one presents multiple similarities with an easel painting in the collection of Brukenthal National Museum. The two works in question (Fig. 2) are:

- a. Workshop of P. P. Rubens, *The Fall of the Dark Angels*, oil on wood, 63 x 47 cm, Brukenthal National Museum Collection, inv. 997
- b. The drawing PD Oo 3–9 in Prints and Drawings collection of British Museum, 70,9 cm x 47,4 cm.⁸

The sketch of *The Fall of the Damned* has two layers: the underdrawing done in chalks (red and black) with a grey wash and the overwork done with brush in oil colour. While the drawing was done by an assistant, Arthur E Popham⁹ considers (along other authors) that the work with the brush was probably done by Rubens himself as the overpainting in oil is most impressive and thoroughly worthy of the master, enlivening the flat drawing (White 1987).

Both works, the sketch and the Brukenthal Museum's one, present a similar detail of *The Fall of the Damned* original painting: three overweight characters (a man pulled down and gnawed by demons, under a woman carried on the back of another devil and a man caught in a deadly, demonic embrace) are structuring an upside down triangle.

⁸ <http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore>

⁹ Arthur E. Popham (1889–1970) was a British art historian. Most of his life he worked at the British Museum and became especially renowned for his catalogue work.

Besides the common central part of the compositions, there are also differences. There is no string of falling figures in the painting, while the sketch has no representation of the female figure grabbed by her hair at the bottom of the drawing sheet.

In which concerns the brushwork in oil, there is an obvious difference in quality between the painting and the sketch. This difference determined M. Csaki, one of the Brukenthal collection custodians, to consider the painting as a copy after Rubens in his catalogue of 1901 (Csaki 1901). However, he reviewed the first assertion in 1909, considering the painting a production of Rubens' workshop (Csaki 1909).

6. A workshop production

Rubens' work can be divided into three categories: those he painted by himself, those he painted in part (mainly hands and faces), and those he only supervised.

Besides Csaki's opinion of year 1909, there are several other reasons to consider the painting in Brukenthal Collection a Rubens' workshop work: the historiography of attributions along time; Rubens' untraditionally method of using oil sketches on oak panels in various purposes of his workshop; the similar size of the works presenting vertical structured compositions.

Before Csaki related it to Rubens, the painting was at first attributed broadly to the Netherlandish school (Ä. K. 1844) and then to Jacob Jordaens (Führer durch 1893), getting close to Rubens' circle of collaborators. Rubens had, as was usual at the time, a large workshop with many apprentices and students, some of whom, such as Anthony Van Dyck, became famous in their own right. He also often sub-contracted elements such as animals or still-life in large compositions to specialists such as Frans Snyders, or other artists such as Jacob Jordaens (Alpers 1995).

For practical reasons, and to raise the status of his profession, Rubens planned works by making compositional drawings and studies from the model, but also, untraditionally, through oil sketches on oak panels. No previous artist had

given such sketches a large role in the working process. Printmakers also played an important role because prints made after the drawings of the paintings circulated Rubens's work through and beyond Europe. Rubens often retouched finished paintings so that weaker execution by studio assistants did not spoil his original approach (Filipczak 2004). The painting in Brukenthal collection is done in oil colours on an oak panel¹⁰.

There is also to be mentioned here the close similarity between the dimensions of the painting – 63 cm in height and 47 cm in width, while the five drawings range from 70,7 to 74,8 cm in height and from 47 to 48 cm in width, the drawing PD Oo 3–9 being of 70,9 x 47,4 cm.

Not in the least, there is the compositional similarity between the painting and one of the drawings, both emphasizing full figured characters. Due to the fact that the group of three hardly illustrates one of the categories that are to burn in hell for sins as fear, unbelieving, abomination, murder, whoremongery, sorcery, idolatry or deceit, it is more likely that their recurring representation is a sort of master's mark, terms as *full-figured* or *Rubenesque* referring to the art of Peter Paul Rubens and being coined as such.

7. Conclusion

Considering the facts mentioned above, there is a strong possibility that the painting in Brukenthal Collection to be part of the same workshop production that implies the making of the five drawings. As in the case of the drawings, the porpoise of its making could be subjected to different speculations, from a mere artistic attempt done by an apprentice to a projected series of details painted for sale which, as in the case of the engravings, never got to be done. It may have been painted by one of Rubens' studio employees, under his supervision, but never reached to be retouched by the master's hand.

If that the case, there is the possibility to dating the work in 1621 – according to Rowlands' opinion (Rowlands 1977, 84) or in ca. 1620 – as commonly found in different studies.

¹⁰ According to the opinion of Alexandru Sonoc (curator) and Ioan Munteanu (painting restoration expert).

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2. **(left)** Workshop of P. P. Rubens, *The Fall of the Dark Angels*, oil on wood, 63 x 47 cm, in Brukenthal National Museum Collection, inv. 997.
(right) The drawing PD Oo 3–9 in Prints and Drawings collection of British Museum, 70.9 cm x 47.4 cm.

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Figure 1



Peter Paul Rubens, *The Fall of the Damned*

Figure 2



Workshop of P. P. Rubens, *The Fall of the Dark Angels*

The drawing PD Oo 3–9 in Prints and Drawings collection of British Museum

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ELZEVRIRIAN EDITIONS
IN THE LIBRARY OF BRUKENTHAL NATIONAL MUSEUM

Rodica ȘINCA*

Abstract: *The current study aims at opening a gate towards research and awareness of the Elzevirian editions available in the Library of Brukenthal Museum by presenting two of the copies printed by the well-known Elzevir family, both from a bibliophile and librarian point of view, starting from the small size of the book "in octavo".*

Keywords: *The Elzevir family, Officina Elzeviriana, volume in octavo.*

Rezumat: *Acest studiu se dorește o deschidere spre cercetarea și semnalarea edițiilor elzeviriene existente în Biblioteca Muzeului Brukenthal, prin prezentarea a două exemplare tipărite de vestita familie Elzevir, din punct de vedere bibliofil și din punct de vedere biblioteconomic, având ca punct principal de plecare formatul cărții in 8° mic.*

Cuvinte cheie: *Familia Elzevir, Officina Elzeviriană, volum în 8° mic.*

Under the initiative of bringing into light the beautiful books that, willingly or not, become forgotten with the passing of time, registers the hereinafter study. The current study aims at opening a gate towards research and awareness of the Elzevirian editions available in the library of Brukenthal National Museum by putting forward two of the copies printed by the well-known Elzevir family, both from a bibliophile and librarian point of view, starting from the small size of the book *in octavo*. For antique book connoisseurs, as well as for the general public, the Brukenthal Museum's Library holds a wonderful collection of Elzevirian printed documents, that resembles the so called *Lilliputian editions* (books being 11–12 centimetres tall and 5–6 centimetres wide).

Among many other gild edged books, these editions are less valuable for their form, in terms of binding, but valuable from a publishing perspective. The Elzevir family became known for the publishing and frontispiece layout, as they were collaborating with famous book draughtsmen and engravers like the Dutch Christoph van Dyck (Benezit 1999, 948) which provided its letters only to the best master of the time, Elzevir.

In fact, this family of Dutch printers and

booksellers (Der Große Brockhaus 1930, 475), engravers (Larousse 1930, 115), book dealers (Meyers Lexikon 1925, col. 1579) and painters (The Encyclopaedia Britannica 1926, 304), as described in the large specialized encyclopaedias and dictionaries, was not known for its cultural and scientific merits, but for its business accomplishments.

They were good businessmen and, taking advantage of the not at all favourable times they were living in (for example the 30 years War (1618–1648)), they directed their focus towards the printing domain – learning the publishing craft and perfecting it in time. Due to the experience gathered over the years, after a century of publishing activity, the books published in *Officina Elzeviriana* had a special charm and drew attention wherever they were exposed and seen by the prying eye.

The history of the Elzevir family begins with its founder Louis Elzevir (1540–1617) who was successively a librarian, bookbinder, and book dealer. Arrived in Leyden, in the Netherlands, he begins a book business and becomes shortly the printer and bookseller of the University in town.

During his publishing activity he prints over a

* Brukenthal National Museum / Muzeul Național Brukenthal, rodica.sinca@brukenthalmuseum.ro.

hundred papers. The first printing trademark of the Elzevir family, which Louis uses, is an angel holding a book in one of his hands and a burning flame (Révai Nagy Lexikona 1912, 443) in the other hand, afterwards changing it with an eagle resting on a column clasping seven grouped arrows in its claws, with the Dutch motto „Concordia res parvae crescunt” placed above it.

With an active and prosperous business behind him, Louis left his successors the task of carrying forward the family fame that he managed to build. Therefore, five of his sons took over his activity and reached the peak through the later *Officina Elzeviriana*. Thus, in the famous printing houses established by Louis’ sons, among others those in Leiden, Amsterdam, the Hague, or Utrecht, around 2,000 titles were born from the printing matrix, ennobled with *antiqua* characters as well as own characters introduced in the art of printing by the well known family (Renaissance form of the letter E). Among these, the most successful prints were: *The French Bible*, *Corpus Juris*, *Psalterium Davidis*, and, starting 1629, the Latin classics series: Horatius, Vergilius, Caesar, Plutarh, Ovidius etc., printed under the supervision of Daniel Heinsius, literary and scientific counsellor of the Officina (Dîrja 1994, 27), as well as the French classics series. Apart from these two classics collections in 12 centimetres format, Matthias and Abraham Elzevir, who managed the publishing business between 1625 and 1652, printed the *Series Reipublicarum*, consisting in 35 books, in 12 centimetres format, comprising the printing statistic and geographical description of various countries (Der Große Brockhaus 1930, 476).

At the beginning of mid-16th century and throughout the next century, the art of printing suffers a decline. We believe that the only triggering factor of this phenomenon is the remarkable increase in production done on the expense of quality. Even at good quality printing houses such as Elzevir, the aesthetic value decreases (Gherman 1980, 396).

However, reverting to the idea that the Elzevirs were good businessmen, they were the ones who released on the market books in limited editions, in small 12 centimetres format, which were affordable also to low-income social groups. Through this approach they brought out a new vision about the purpose of books, acknowledging that, in fact, „books can not and must not be imprisoned between the boundaries of the one country where they were initially published. Books

are destined to people everywhere.” (Mârza 1979, 106–107)

At the present stage of investigations, in the Library of the Brukenthal Museum have been identified 34 volumes in 8 centimetres small format in this *Series Reipublicarum* that made the Elzevirs famous, but certainly there are also a satisfactory number of large format Elzevirian books. This study aims at analyzing this *Series Reipublicarum* leaving an open door to the thorough research of the elegant volumes. In the context of this study, the subject of the described editions will be briefly mentioned, the detailed presentation of the subject of these editions constituting the topic of a future analysis. The choice of books was not at random, but aimed at mentioning the editions with a higher bibliophile value.

A more known edition of this series is *Helvetiorum Respublica*, known for its beautiful title page done in metal engraving. From the title page history we learn that in the Netherlands the title page engraving was introduced by Christoph Plantin at Antwerp (Fărcaș 1980, 183). The Elzevirs followed the fashion of the time and introduced the engraved title page even in the pocket editions. Through this copy we have the opportunity to enjoy the beautiful engravings and beautiful ornate letters.

The volume *in octavo* (10 x 5 cm)¹ includes on the inside of its cover page a Latin note, *constat 4 fl(orini)*, which reveals the price of the book, an important information for a bibliophile. The fully engraved frontispiece sheet is wholly detached from the well preserved spine of the book, closely assembled with thick green thread. The 17th century binder is made in shiny white parchment, unadorned, well polished and today only slightly yellowed by time. Unlike other volumes (in the 17th century securing the identity of the book was a usual practice, the printer producing more title pages for the same book) this book has only one frontispiece page which presents, in the centre, the title and the complete identification data: *HELVETIORUM // RESPUBLICA. // DIVERSORUM // Autorum quorum nonnulli // nunc primum in lucem // prodeunt. // Lugd. Bat. // Ex officina Elzeviriana. // Anno 1627 // Cum Privilegio. //* Around the frontispiece the anonymous engraver or illustrator placed three men of important position, importance revealed by their clothing. The man on the left shakes hands

¹ Book height V I. 8858; no. inv. 185217.

with the man on the right side, which has his other hand held up in token of friendship, both been watched by the third man who is gazing with satisfaction and delight. The floral adornment and the adorned initial have the purpose of beautifying the content of this small book and are placed before the text itself which includes the five parts or chapters of the description of Switzerland. Like any respected book of this century, the Elzevirian editions have at least one engraved frontispiece; however, the illustration of Dutch editions gradually reduces, probably due to the small format introduced on the market.

The book contains four final vignettes specific for the 17th century in the art of adorned printing, namely: at the end of the table of contents, at the end of Chapter IV, at the end of Chapter V and at the end of the index. These ornaments, meant to beautify the tiny editions, can also be found in the other countries' descriptions. A vignette that particularly draws the attention is the one in which a fantastic animal with a lion's face and ram's horns well curled in the architectural setting in which it is placed, may represent the power, justice and resistance. The animal is well balanced by two bees placed on the sides of the ornament, symbolizing wealth, intelligence and also the vital principle of this universe, to which it materializes the soul (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 1995, 82). From this creature's mouth descends, on a spider's thread, the insect which created it and who meets the crab ascending slowly towards the fantastic creature's mouth. The frailty of the spider's thread may symbolize the veil of illusions created by the insect, that hides the Supreme Reality (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 1995, 37) and that would hardly be pierced by the crab with its characteristic way of moving. Adorned initials are also found throughout the content of book. The chapters are written by one or more authors, more or less known, each describing what they probably saw in their travels in Switzerland.

Topics like history, politics, nature, letters and curiosities of the time manage to fill 552 pages, tiny but simple and elegant, enlighten by the beauty of the Elzevir characters. The end of the book contains the epilogue, a few short notes, the index with the most notable things and the censorship approval for Bonaventura and Abraham Elzevir in 1626, the book being printed the following year. The last page includes an anonymous manuscript inscription dating from the 17th century made by the book's reader or

owner. This entry is not important in content, the reader noting that at page 522 there is a piece of information regarding Anglo-Swiss relations that from his point of view was not convenient for Switzerland at that time. However, the inscription itself is important for the identity and movement of the book, conferring a special value to the copy in question.

The next book chosen is *DESCRIPTIO // REGNI IAPONIAE // Cum quibusdam // affinis materiae, // Ex variis auctoribus collecta // et in ordinem redacta per // BERNHARDVM VARENIVM // Med. D. // AMSTELODAMI, // Apud Ludovicum Elzevirium. // ANNO M.DC.XLIX (1649) //*. The book is in the same volume format, but in a present less well preserved state, having an ex-libris manuscript on the title page: "Petri Biderman BVL 1654". This ex-libris makes us believe that Petri Biderman may have been the owner of the book and that the book was bound in compliance with his own taste and financial possibilities. Unlike the other volume, it has a less pretentious binder. The covers are made of wood, covered with unadorned white parchment, four embossed fins and red edge.

The title page, fully engraved, is composed of two compositionally different scenes. The first scene, visibly reduced in size compared to the second, is situated on the top of the page and represents the Emperor of Japan's court life. In the small engraving, nine presumed Japanese ministers can be observed seated on the floor, their heads in humbled reverence, all forming a rectangle in front of the emperor who is sited in a highly adorned throne, placed on a higher ground, holding a sceptre in his right hand and giving a verdict or, in accordance with the subject of the book, officiating a religious ceremony. The whole scene is drawn on by the engraver in Japanese scenery. The beautiful floral tapestry work and the four coloured paper lamps can be easily observed.

The second scene brings us back in Europe, the only exotic element being represented by three young Japanese man holding a large map, in the center of which is written in capital letters "Iapan". The title of the book seems to be enclosed in a pseudo-table at which an European man (due to the clothes and the big hat on his head), probably the author of the book, writes in a big book the observations extracted from the map held by the three Japanese young men with calm and amiable faces, open to any inquiries made by the writer. At the bottom of the page, in a frame specific for that time, drawn by the illustrator in

order to emphasize the importance of the edition, there is the press box which includes the place, publisher's name and the year in which the book was published. Like the above presented volume, this book is part of the old collection of the library having a round ex-libris stamp "Br. Brukenthal'sches Museum in Hermannstadt".

Following the inscription addressed by the author of the book, Bernhardus Varenius, to the King of Denmark and Norway, Christian IV (1588–1648) (Popa, Matei 1988, 108) for providing financial support to the publication of the book and after the content "Index Capitvm", there is the substitute to the title page: TRACTATVS // *In quo agitur. // De Iaponiorum religione. // De Christianae religionis intro- // ductione in ea loca. // De ejusdem exstirpatione. // Adjuncta est de diversa diversarum // gentium totius telluris Religio- // ne brevis informatio. // Auctore // BERNHARDO VARENIO, // Med. D. // Amstelodami, // Apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, // MDCXLIX //*.

Following this second title page, we find an "*Epistola dedicatoria*" addressed to the magistrate of Hamburg, in which the author expresses his gratitude for the support provided: „*Dabam Amstelodami Calendis Iulii, Anno MDCXLIX.*” (1649). Next is the „*Praefatio Ad Lectorem*” (preface to the reader), which begins with the beautiful words „*Amice lector*” (Fellow Reader), revealing the contents of the book and ending with the expression „*Vale*” (Stay healthy). In the book, the author Bernhardus Varenius, medical doctor sent by the authorities of the company "Des Indes Orientales" describes what he saw in Japan, reporting especially about Japanese beliefs and the

Jesuit's efforts to Christianize them, this being the main focus of the book.

A few conclusions reinforce the value of books presented by bringing general and personal arguments for each edition. Both volumes are prestigious products of well known European printing centers, Batavorum Lugdunum (today Leiden,) and respectively, Amstelodami (Amsterdam). Despite the political and economic situation of the time, the period of great European wars, the Elzevirs manage not to discontinue their printing activities. Conversely, due to their ingenuity, by introducing on the market books in small format, they succeeded in spreading and multiplying the number of volumes issued by their Officina.

Even if the books' covering was not very pretentious, under decent clothing lied topics about which the European reader did not dreamed to read so soon, descriptions of faraway places or wholly unknown. The perusal of this series of republics informs the 17th century man about the Mogul Empire, Ottoman Empire, Chinese Empire or described Africa, Japan, as well as various European countries. Due to their text quality, beauty and clarity of print, sobriety and precision of artwork made by famous engravers who cooperated with the Elzevirians, these books bestow importance on the bibliophile and heritage values residing in a library. And their presence in the library of Baron Samuel von Brukenthal is a proof of the truth of the Elzevirian vision about the purpose of books – “Books are destined to people everywhere”.

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**ARCHITECTURE IN PAINTING:
GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN BAROQUE PAINTING IN THE BRUKENTHAL ART GALLERY**

Valentin MUREȘAN*

Abstract: *The study deals with the presence of the architectural elements in the compositional space of the easel painting, about their role in the assembly of the represented image. Within this theme there were done analyses about works belonging to the Brukenthal Gallery, by some German and Austrian painters of 17th to 18th century, who approached the biblical and mythological scene, the genre scene, the battle scene as well as the landscape and the portrait.*

Key words: *architecture elements in painting, 17th–18th centuries German and Austrian painters, biblical and mythological scene, genre scene, battle scene, landscape.*

Rezumat: *Studiul se ocupă de prezența elementelor de arhitectură în spațiul compozițional al picturii de șevalet, de rolul lor în ansamblul imaginii reprezentate. În cadrul temei sunt analizate lucrări din Galeria Brukenthal, aparținând unor pictori germani și austrieci din secolele XVII–XVIII, care abordează scena biblică și mitologică, scena de gen, scena de luptă, sau peisajul și portretul.*

Cuvinte cheie: *elemente de arhitectură în tablou, pictori germani și austrieci din sec. XVII–XVIII, scena biblică și mitologică, scena de gen, scena de luptă, peisajul.*

However strange it would seem at the first sight, painting and architecture can be considered art sisters, during the time they were together, completed each other, collaborating and sometimes depending on one another. On the painted panel, but especially in fresco the painting accompanied the architecture of the Antiquity, decorating halls and all kind of spaces, from a temple to the public ones and from royal or imperial palaces to private homes. The Middle Ages and the Renaissance continued in a spectacular way and in different formulae, this symbiosis between these two arts as well as Mannerism, Baroque and almost all trends that followed in the art and architecture. It can be considered that only in the 20th century appeared their separation (not necessarily constant or for good) in the same time with the modern architecture, within which the painting, the image (in most of the cases) left its place to color only as scenery, not as a representation. On the other hand the architecture in its turn appears within the painted works, no matters the époques, themes or genres, in order to emphasize the terrestrial element of the events, even of the mythological or biblical ones. Architecture appeared in laical works, towns, buildings, architectural fragments,

details and ruins, suggesting the époque, the place (real or imaginary), the inexorable and destructive passing of the time, the characteristic and own environment of the man, not once together with the surrounding nature, like in icons, in scenes of genres of battle, the mythological, biblical, gallant ones and especially in landscapes and partly in the ambient or background of some portraits or still lifes.

The 17th and 18th century were dominated in European art by Mannerism and Baroque and were very receptive to combining the genres in order of obtaining some spectacular effects, dynamic and decorative ones. So, as sculpture and painting interfere within the architecture in order to increase the monumentality and the abundance of the decoration of the facades, stairs, interiors, the easel painting (but fresco, too) took over and integrated in compositions very different requisitions of elements from the antique architecture and sculpture, alongside with those inspired (seldom copied), from the medieval one or even from contemporary. Among all, the antique colonnade (or only looking like an antique one) had the most frequent presence. The ruins with antique

* Brukenthal National Museum / Muzeul Național Brukenthal, muresanvalentinlucian@yahoo.co.uk.

architecture or sculpture appeared in the rural and fields landscapes of the Dutch, or in their genre scenes, being often present in other species of landscapes rendering nature (Păcurariu 1990, 86–135).

Another *subspecies* of the landscape is the urban landscape, which evolved to the architecture landscape, reaching its *peak* in *veduta* (Pleșu 1981, 8–12). Between these two, the essential difference was in the weight and the details of the characters that animated the town space and respectively the part, the surface occupied by the architectural elements, as well as the importance they got within the painting. In *veduta* landscapes by Guardi, for example, were rendered panoramas of Venice or isolated buildings, partially rendered (but thoroughly) where the characters had a modest dynamic role, being less important, while “the water streets”, the squares, the monuments, the churches and different buildings were attentively emphasized by details, color and light and more, they got a special role regarding making “the atmosphere”, of a contemplative melancholic note, which his *veduta* “breath”. Alongside the minute rendering of the architecture in order to obtain these effects and the atmosphere of a *veduta* the imaginary elements also brought their contribution. The works of Italian *veduta* painters had a large echo in the European town landscape as the landscapes looking like antique ones of Poussin and Lorrain had had (and there still continue to have their advocates).

From the numerous variants of the town and ruins landscapes didn't lack the fortifications, defensive towers and other military buildings, citadels, fortresses, castles rendered by themselves or like parts of the defensive systems (these being sometimes ruins, too), of harbors, towns or abbeys.

The painting of central Europe during the 17th and 18th centuries was situated at a crossroad of styles and tendencies from the art of the west, north and south of the continent, receiving influences from the Flemish and Dutch, Italian and later on French art, being receptive and “completing” the works of all genres (especially of the landscape), with “architectural objects”. The German and Austrian painters of this époque traveled and studied in towns and workshops from the Netherlands and Italy (being also influenced by Italian and Dutch artists who came to different aristocratic, Episcopal, princely and royal courts of the German area). They adapted their manner of painting after the taste and fashion of the day, assimilating the news but in the same time knitting them with old artistic traditions. In this context, the role and the

importance of the objects of architecture included in the space of easel paintings varied function of many criteria, from genre (portrait, landscape, so on), from the theme (mythological, fights, so on) or to the space: indoors or outdoors, rural, town and nature (sea, mountain, forest, so on).

The collection of German and Austrian painting belonging to the Brukenthal Gallery is dominated by works done during the 17th and 18th century and comprises a lot of works by well known and appreciated masters, which have included in their compositions different genres and approaching diverse themes, many architectural themes. These had sometimes an important role in obtaining some artistic effects, or of the equilibrium of the composition of the work, but sometimes they had only an environmental and decorative role within the rendered scene. A debate regarding this theme of history of art should be easily approached among the authors and paintings belonging to the Art Gallery of the Brukenthal National Museum.

The Biblical and Mythological Theme

Within the *religious theme* the German painter **Paul Juvenel** (1577/79–1643) (Thieme, Becker, vol. XIX (1926), 365–367; Erichsen-Firle, Vey 1973, 47; Baroque Art 1993, 233; Tacke, 1995, 133), didn't only use some architectural fragments partly rendered nearby the biblical characters, like in the Gothic medieval icons, but also, as it had been already done during Renaissance, he introduced the characters into the architectural environment that imagined the interior of the temple in which was taking place the scene told in the Gospel (Mathieu 21, 12–13), in *Jesus Banishing the Usurers from the Temple* [Fig. 1] (oil on wood, 46 x 60 cm.), signed down left with the initials P. J., dated 1636, inv. no. 632; Csaki 1909, cat. no. 632, 189; Pigler 1956, vol. I, 329; Baroque Art 1993, cat. no. 60, 234–235; Mureșan 2006, 199–200; Mureșan 2007a, cat. no. 58, 100–102). The space is large, the building combined in a fantasy way antique elements like the triumphal arches of the three naves of the temple with elements from Renaissance, such as the staircase on the right, the golden medallions of the stair and the triforiums but the most in the semi circular curved top with golden decoration of the ceiling that could be seen in the background. The Doric columns like inspiration and the bays with intersected arches without ogives wanted to suggest a genuine antique temple, but there were a lot of elements belonging to the Italian Baroque architecture, but through the insufficient stress of the volumes and the dominating brown and grey of the entire architectural assembly the monumental

effect was lowered to the artificiality of a theatrical background. The characters rendered unfit and superficial, especially the merchants and the usurers, some of them wearing contemporary cloths with the period the work had been painted stressed the artificiality of the architectural environment.

The Austrian landscape painter **Franz Christoph Janneck** (1703–1761) (Thieme, Becker, vol. XVII, 1925, 390–391; Woisetschläger 1961, 60; Bénézit 1999, vol. 7, 470; Preiss 1977, 70–71), placed the biblical scene of *Jesus Healing* [Fig. 2] (oil on cooper, 39 x 58, cm., inv. no. 897; Csaki 1909, cat. no. 897 – assigned to J. G. Platzer, 268; Mureşan 2006, 213–215; Mureşan 2007a, cat. no. 57, 98–99), in landscape where the antique touch was given exactly by the architectural elements placed in the background and in the right of the compositions. There were parts of the colonnades, a top of a pyramid and a ruined stone building, a massive, many storages one (in the background), or fragments of channeled columns but without capital, round arches above the massive but ruined walls. Palm trees and cypresses appearing on the left and in the background, wanted to underline the geographical space as an east Mediterranean where the healing wonder had taken place. The differences are great regarding the rendering of the architectural elements, which at Juvenel overwhelmed the characters, while at Janneck, the biblical drama was vigorously emphasized through all means (composition, color, and gestures, so on). The architectural elements were only some ruins too conventional and less important in the assembly of the composition, sometimes quite inadequate, because the wonder healing had taken place not among the ruins but on the contrary, at that time the buildings, rendered as ruins, had been in good shape, in full Roman Imperial splendor. Regarding from the genres' point of view the painting falls into religious category due to the characters and the theme.

Another biblical character, doing his wonder healing among the ruins appeared in the painting: *Saint Peter Healing a Sick Man* [Fig. 3] (oil on canvas, 47 x 62 cm., inv. no. 775). In the bibliography this work was commented upon together with its counterpart *Socrates in Jail* (inv. no. 776) where were no architectural elements and it was not approached here (Csaki 1909, cat. no. 775, 234; Thieme, Becker, vol. XXIV, 1930, 556; Ionescu 1966, 268 and 270; Ionescu 1970, 20; Garas 1971, 80–81; Tudoran 2002, 43–44; Mureşan 2007a, cat. no. 105, 176–179) painted by

the Austrian painter from Tyrol, **Paul Troger** (1698–1762) (Thieme, Becker, vol. XXXIII, 1939, 415–419; Egg 1962, 11–34; Auernhammer 1962, 31–33; Feuchtmüller 1937, 98; Preiss 1977, 168–172; Schrenzel 1985; Baroque Art 1993, 372–373; The Metamorphosis 1993, 391–392). In these paintings, too, the main antique architectural suggestion was the rendering of the colonnades and of other ruins of houses inspired from Roman architecture: forums and temples. But, being a common knowledge that in the Empire the Christians were banished and Peter himself was killed by the Romans, there was natural that the act of healing to take place among the ruins, on the outskirts of the town, where they were practicing their ritual (Vătăşianu 1967, 17–25) till the Edict in Mediolanum (313) of Constantine the Great. After the habit of the époque, Troger took from other works, his or others (paintings, engravings), the props of an antique environment, he didn't make it up like Poussin and Lorrain, monuments and Roman and Greek towns. The painter wasn't interested in "the stylistic purity" of this environment that is why we haven't been surprised by a portal (right) with colonnades resembling closely to those of a Christian church, later on. There can be noticed how Troger used some fragments of architecture and ruins in order to restrict the space where the drama took place, emphasizing the few characters, but well cast and expressive in gestures and movement.

Maybe the most characteristic and "clean" painting belonging to the collection of German and Austrian Painting approached also a religious theme, is *Interior of a Temple* [Fig. 4] (oil on wood, 37 x 52 cm., signed down left: *J. F. Zimmermann fecit*, inv. no. 1285, Frimmel 1894, 67, Csaki 1909, cat. no. 1285, 387). This is the work of a less known German painter **J. H. F. Zimmermann** (1740–1792), active in Hamburg and Braunschweig as "a theatre" painter (a scene-painter) and he reached Rome round 1785. It seems that in the Brukenthal Gallery there is the only easel painting by this author (signed), that was known till 1947 (Thieme, Becker, vol. XXXVI, 1947, 511). The work rendered thoroughly a pompous interior (an imaginary one) like a Baroque church that can lead to buildings by Borromini and Bernini. The perspective opened to the central nave having a heavy decoration, with marble colonnades and composite capitals, Baroque parts, molding in garland and mascheroni, bas-relief in stone, hidden statues, triumphal arches, urns and decorated cornices. Some stairs climb to the pagan shrine (where a sacrifice was

burning with a white smoke) situated under the cupola, with other statues. The lateral nave opened (partly) in the left of the composition, with pilasters, painted ceiling and a window having a Baroque arch. The interior architecture imposes due to the static note of the composition, in which a single character (shown by his back, in a blue cutaway and with his cocked hat in his hand) disturbed the majestic and mysterious silence of the interior of the temple, in which the rendering of the light coming through the windows as well as the presence of some shadows amplified the note of natural reality.

As it had been remarked by the art historians, the artistic Greek and Roman heritage, after it was revitalized in the Renaissance works, it had the tendency to be more and more spoiled by the mixture of old types of buildings and monuments, by the alteration of other elements of antique architecture, so that after Mannerism they appeared in different fantasy combinations (in the first place in the exterior decoration), which got that aspect named *barroco*, coming from the Portuguese word with which the jewelers from the Iberia peninsula named an irregular pearl, having a shortcoming, but only in comparison with perfect equilibrium and harmony so much admired by the Renaissance artists (Bazin, 1970, 5; Ciorănescu 1980, 9–10; Hubala 1984, 18). Not less in the painting the elements of antique architecture in the Renaissance works made place to the fantastic amalgam of antique and decorative, as for example, in the great buildings imagined by Vredaman de Vries (1567–1630), who was active a while at the court of Rudolf II in Prague (The Metamorphosis 1993, 303; Fučíková 2002, 16). So, the Baroque put into value (especially in architecture) the antique art, more as a scenery, adapting it to the taste of the époque, introducing within the painting fragments of antique architecture, in order to suggest briefly the historical frame of some biblical or mythological scenes. What preoccupied mostly the painters belonging to Mannerism and early Baroque was the rendered scene and not the environmental frame of antiquity, in which it took place. This case can be illustrated by valuable work done by **Hans von Aachen** (1552–1615), an important painter at the court of Rudolf II (among others: Thieme, Becker, vol. I, 1907, 40–42; Jacoby, Michels 1989, 15; Tacke 1995, 26; Fučíková 2010a, 3–11). In the mythological scene illustrating *The Kidnapping of Proserpine by Pluto* (oil on canvas, 109 x 150 cm., signed on the wheel of Pluto's cart: H. V. A., dated: 1589, inv. no. 1 (Csaki 1909, cat. no. 1, 1; Pigler 1956, vol. II, 216;

Mureșan 2006, 192–194; Mureșan 2007a, cat. no. 1, 15–17; Fučíková 2010b, cat. no. 26, 141), appeared surprisingly the minor attention given the environment generally, and to the architectural frame especially. This ambient was reduced to two columns with composite capitals rendered on the extreme left of the composition, left in shadow. The main characters (especially Proserpine in all the voluptuous dynamic of her desperate gesture) were in the center of the attention, being the focuses of the work although they were not placed in the geometric point of it.

Prefiguring less the Baroque type than Aachen's work, the painter **Hans Rottenhammer** (1564–1623/25) (Thieme, Becker, vol. XXIX, 1935, 97–98; Mander 1977, 422–423; Tacke 1995, 203; Bénézit 1999, vol. 12, 7; Borggrete *et al.*, 2008, 11–23), stayed closer to the late Italian Mannerism, in his work: *Diana and Callisto* [Fig. 5] (oil on copper plate, 31 x 38 cm., inv. no. 976; Csaki 1909, cat. no. 976, 292; Mureșan 2006, 197–198; Mureșan 2007a, cat. no. 78, 135–136; Garnot 2009, 152; Mureșan 2010, 156–158). This work was also rendering a mythological theme by illustrating its climax. Here could be found the same focuses of the characters in proscenium, composing a scene with stressed sensual accents, in which the rendering of nudes seemed the unspoken but certain aim of the work. The attention given to the “architectural objects” which “furnished” the scenery was also secondary, but the representation of the temple in ruins on the right was more attentively and convincing than in Aachen's work. The three Doric columns, having the entablatures covered with vegetation, with a niche where was carved the nude of a male character, other walls to the background, a portal, a fragment of a column on a stylobate, suggested in a more convincing way the époque of the events and had a more important compositional and color role.

In the same time with the spectacular affirmation of the Classicism of Poussin, there was established a coming back of the antique architecture (with an obvious attenuation of the Baroque alterations), in the attention of the painters, it being treated more detailed, having a more important role in the assembly of the ambient in which the painter chose to present the antique scenes. Now in the biblical and mythological scenes, the imaginary monuments and towns were closer to the old Imperial Roman art: columns, amphitheatre, triumphal arches, monumental statues, temples, colonnades, capitals and gables, coming back in all their splendor and elegance and got a kind of autonomy within the composition, having a more

important role in creating the idyllic, sensual, and pastoral atmosphere of the mythological and “Arcadian” scenes. But when the importance of the ambient space grew, the scenes restrained, losing in intensity and progress. The characters became “silhouette-gesture”, having their faces vaguely outlined (staffage), lost also the status of being in the center of attention of the image in the favor of the antique scenery that integrated them. Later on, in the same time with the first signs of the Romantic trend to be, the architectural scenery began to comprise more fragments of monuments and medieval ruins.

As in the case of the late Mannerism, in the Classic landscape the characters had the same reduced importance and were rendered only briefly faces, although their color role was major. The mythological scene became a pretext, Poussin and Lorrain imagining buildings, temples, monuments, Greek and Roman forums and populating the Mediterranean landscape with characters among them, and in their works the antique architecture was seldom in ruin. Being taken away by other painters, the antique landscapes appeared having less buildings and more antique ruins. This was the case with the works with mythological theme by **Johann Heinrich Schönfeld** (1609–1684) (Thieme, Becker, vol. XXX, 1936, 227–228; Pée 1971, 7–11; Klessmann 1975, 9, 39; Adriani 1982, 52–64; Jacoby, Michels 1989, 219; Tacke 1995, 225–226; Bénézit 1999, vol. 12, 507). The German painter worked 12 years in Naples and 6 years in Rome, but also in other Italian towns, adopting the manner of Poussin and Lorrain, as could be seen in his counterpart works: *Arcadian Landscape with Bathing Women* [Fig. 6] (oil on canvas, 74 x 134 cm., inv. no. 1056), *Landscape in Arcadia with Nine Muses* (oil on canvas, 73 x 134 cm., inv. no. 1057; Csaki 1909, cat. no. 1056 and 1057, 317; Pée 1967, cat. no. 8, 9, 19 and 20; Pée 1971, cat. no. 8, 9, 89 and 90; Mureșan 2006, 204–205; Mureșan 2007a, cat. no. 87 and 88, 149–150). His characters were well rendered in gestures and dynamics, moving quite gracefully and having an important role in the color of the painting, but irrelevant regarding their faces, and regarding the subject without any reference to a hero or a certain mythological legend. The Mediterranean landscape, inspired from Poussin, the arid natural scenery and the architectural ambient with ruins not with antique buildings as well as the assembly atmosphere of his works emphasized the personal manner of work of Schönfeld, nowadays less and less appreciated.

Living during the same period of time with Schönfeld, the Austrian painter **Tobias Pock** (1610–1681) (Thieme–Becker, vol. XXVII, 1933), 170–171; Feuchtmüller 1973, vol. II, 39–40; Preiss 1977, 121; Adriani 1982, 68, 180; The Metamorphosis 1993, 382) who was the author of the great shrine with Saint Stephen’s Martyrage in *Stephansdom* in Vienna, also painted “the two paintings of architecture” (considered to be counterparts): *Cards Players on a Terrace* (oil on canvas, 112 x 93 cm., signed and dated, right, down, on the pedestal base; Tobias Pock F: 1645, inv. no. 899) and *David and Bathsheba* (oil on canvas, 112 x 93 cm., not signed, no data, inv. no. 900) bought by Brukenthal (Csaki, 1909, cat. no.: 899 and 900, 269–270; The Metamorphosis 1993, cat. no. C. 141, 302–303; Mureșan 2006, 169–170 – *The Cards Players* – and 201–202 – *David and Bathsheba*; Mureșan 2007a, cat. no. 74 and 75, 128–131). With these paintings we are in the heart of Baroque.

The spectacular architecture overwhelmed the “part” of the characters and “collaborated” with sculpture in order to impress the eyes and the mind of the viewer. The every day’s life in the aristocratic world was lost and became irrelevant by comparison with the ample display of the white marble columns with golden capitals, of the massive statues in rondo-bosso and of the imposing vault. The colors in special contrasts gave the scene an intimate and quiet atmosphere, breaking it in a way from the superior register with the architecture that dominated it.

Less skillful in colors, dominated by browns with many tones and more contrasts, in rendering the subject appeared the work *David and Bathsheba* [Fig. 7], in which the architecture had the same imposing and monumental tones, but less achieved. In the background, on the left appeared (not significant) David in the balcony, the palace wanted to be more sumptuous, as closer to the Baroque architectural fantasies inspired by the drawing of Vredeman de Vries, although the work was not, in this respect to the level of that considered to be its counterpart. That is why is no wonder why some specialists consider this work not to be by Pock, but painted later by some other hand in order to stay beside the one painted by Pock (This is the opinion of Bruno Bushadt (Augsburg) expressed in a letter on 14th March 1969, which can be found at the Documentary Cabinet of the Brukenthal Gallery. Mureșan, 2007a, cat. no. 75, 131). The scenes were not well framed either in the painting with the mythological

theme, or in the landscape genre and there weren't indoors scenes, either.

Known better as a fresco painter and working more in Prague and Vienna the German **Rudolf Byss** (1660–1738) (Thieme, Becker, vol. V, 1911, 317–318; Adriani 1982, 56–57 and 165; The Metamorphosis 1993, 362; Tacke 1995, 66) achieved few easel paintings and those that reached nowadays are quite rare. In the two counterparts: *Antiochus on His Suffering Bed* [Fig. 8] (oil on copper plate, 28 x 38 cm., no data, no signature, inv. no. 160) and *Didona's Suicide* (oil on copper plate, 28 x 38 cm., signed right, down: Bys fecit, no data, inv. no. 161), the theme were taken from two legends from the antique history (Plutarchos writing about Antiochus (XLIII, Demetrios) and Virgil about Didona (*Eneida*. IV, 640 and IV, 642–705; Csaki 1909, cat. no. 160 and 161, 54; Pigler 1956, vol. II, 300; Seifertová 1997, 16; Mureșan 2007a, cat. no. 26 and 27, 57–58). Byss built in every painting an ample ambient of a palace interior with elements of Greek and Roman architecture but in the same time having a stressed note of genuine Baroque palace (especially in the painting with Antiochus). The staffage characters were very expressive through their gestures and their faces, then by their cloths (mainly those of the second ones), but they succeed to sent back to antiquity. Although the scenes were emphasized by the characters rendered in a great diversity of colors in harmony of contrasts and shades, the architectural frame had an essential role in creating the Baroque note of the interiors, being an unwonted contrast between the antique subject and characters, “playing their roles” on a Baroque “scene”.

The same suggestion of a majestic frame belonging to a Baroque palace through same elements of monumental antique architecture exhibited the Austrian painter (of a Dutch origin, but born in Sweden), **Martin van Meytens the Young** (1695–1770) (Thieme, Becker, vol. XXV, 1931, 318–319; Feuchtmüller 1973, 124; Lisholm 1974, 133–136; Preiss 1977, 94–96; Baroque Art 1993, 280), in one of few works with a biblical theme, *Esther and Ahasver* (oil on canvas, 202 x 183 cm., inv. no. 752; Csaki 1909, cat. no. 752, 226; Lisholm 1974, cat. no. 212, 112; Baroque Art 1993, cat. no. 101, 281–282; Mureșan 2006, 215–216; Mureșan 2007a, cat. no. 68, 117–119). The big surface of the canvas allowed the artist to render in the first plan characters wearing pompous cloths of Oriental inspiration, whose portraits were clearly defined. The composition was built in equilibrium, the architectural ambient in detail was brought

proscenium, but worked in dark colors dominated by grey, emphasized the characters dressed up in brighten colors with a lot of contrasts. On the other hand, through their dynamics and their color they underlined the monumentality and the titivated decoration of Ahasver's palace having columns with golden capitals, with a series of triumphal arches flanked by twin colonnades.

The Genre Scene

Under the influence of the Reform and indirectly due to the intransigence of the Jesuits within the Contra Reform from the biblical and mythological scene detached, during the 17th century, the laical scenes inspired from the every day life. The rural or town genre scene, as well as the gallant scene with characters and moments from the life of the aristocracy and wealthy bourgeoisie, but also the fight scenes or hunting ones spread in the entire European painting. The German and Austrian painters adopted these themes in diverse forms and stylistic influences. Generally, they painted the scenes in a landscape, even the gallant and genre ones, being seldom presented (less than in the Dutch paintings) in domestic indoors spaces, belonging either to bourgeoisie or aristocracy. Illustrative in this respect is the painting: *Venetian Party* [Fig. 9] (oil on wood, 28 x 42 cm., inv. no. 550; Csaki 1909, cat. no. 550, 165), done after **Josef Heintz the Young** (1590–1660/78) (Thieme, Becker, vol. XVI, 1923, 312–313; Tacke 1995, 105–106). The town in the background didn't seem to be Venice, the mountains on the left and vague elements that could be distinguished from the architecture of the buildings without clear points, seemed more invented than rendered after reality. The proscenium plans of the work, where the party took place, were represented more detailed, with characters in époque colored cloths that particularized them, with visible faces, making clear that they were the center of interest of the work. The architecture of the terrace where the party took place was just a frame that flanked the scene, with two colonnades in the median plan opening the perspective upon the town. The walls were pierced by many openings with many characters in these too, stressed the movement and refreshed the colors from the static monotony of the dominant brown within the architectural frame, emphasizing the scene and the town background where it took place.

The artistic formula as well as the styles were the inventions of the great masters, and once consecrated they were taken over and circulated, with little differences among small masters,

imposing themselves also due to those ordering paintings as well as the art lovers.

A painting by **Franz Thomas Canton** (1677–1734) (Thieme, Becker, vol. V, 1911, 527–528; Bénézit 1999, vol. 3, 197) based on a composing and stylish formula taken over from the Dutch genre scene is *Market Scene* [Fig. 10] (oil on copper plate, 26,5 x 36 cm., inv. no. 168, Csaki 1909, cat. no. 168, 56–57, Bénézit 1999, vol. 3, 197; Mureşan 2006, 113–114). It was also known as *The Rural Fair* (Schilleru, 1954, 180). The biblical and mythological characters disappeared, and the aristocracy left its place to the town and rural plebeians, that could be seen in proscenium of the composition, by diverse gestures and color and well harmonized. The buildings distributed from right till the centre of the composition, partly ruined, treated thoroughly enough in dark brown, had here a double role, that of stressing by contrast the sensation of movement from the inferior register where was the market, and on the other side that of marking the strong compositional verticals, which brought the equilibrium to the horizontality of the proscenium. Besides the compositional attributes, the buildings of medieval type that appeared had a passive role of background-frame of the scene, alternating with the bushy foliage of the trees that temperate in this way their rigidity, integrating them in the assembly image.

At the end of the 18th century these kind of crowded landscapes full of an entire agitating population, caught doing divers activities were relatively frequent met in the Dutch painting, but it spread to the German painters, mainly at those in the Northern areas, closer to Holland. *Harbor at the Sea* [Fig. 11] (oil on copper plate, 49 x 61 cm., inv. no. 219) *Town with a Harbor at the Sea* (oil on copper plate, 49 x 61 cm., inv. no. 220) are paintings (Csaki 1909, cat. no. 219 and 220, 73–74; Frimmel 1894, 48) that were assigned to **F. v. Decler**, (painter about whom was known/supposed that he was active round 1780 in Köln or Bonn; Frimmel 1894, 48; Csaki 1909, 73; Thieme, Becker, vol. VIII, 1913, 527). The paintings were done in the same compositional conception and colors taken over from the Dutch, the scenes taking place on the beach, at the outskirts of fortified towns. As at Thomas Canton the buildings and fortifications appeared ruined and running wild, covered with vegetation, inhabited only due to the market held in front of them. They had the aspect of solid Dutch buildings from the 17th century, dominating the proscenium where were also

staffage characters. These made the inferior register more dynamic and the colors and the sea barely could be seen. On the other hand the architectural and town side, through the monumental proportions of the buildings imposed clearly to the attention, becoming the centre of the landscapes, conceived with fantasy and a good artistic execution.

Hans Graf (1653–1710) lived and worked long time in Vienna, being and adept of Dutch manner and genre scenes (Thieme, Becker, vol. XIV, 1921, 484; Bénézit 1999, vol. 6, 350). He preferred the scenes in harbors, another variant of the genre scene, in which the characters in full activity crowded in the first plans and the landscape was in the backgrounds with large perspectives on the natural environment, with hills round the harbor, where appeared some boats, too, as it could be seen in the two counterpart paintings: *Landscape with Harbor* (oil on canvas, 35 x 46 cm., inv. no. 439) and *Hilly Landscape with Harbor* (oil on canvas, 35 x 46 cm., inv. no. 440). In these paintings that were more genre scenes than landscapes (Csaki 1909, cat. no. 439 and 440, 136–137), the architectural objects were more suggested, far away on the hills, and the walls and towers of some forts on the banks of the sea joined some harbor buildings (storages, warehouses or huts) all rendered briefly among the masts and sails of the boats. Other times the harbor architecture appeared proscenium overwhelming the genre scene around them, canceling almost completely the landscape represented only by the sky with light effects and clouds in the upper register. This being the case of other two counterpart landscapes (Csaki 1909, cat. no. 441 and 442, 137; Mureşan 2006, 103); *Marina Landscape with Buildings* (oil on canvas, 46 x 35cm., inv. no. 441) and *Harbor and Buildings* [Fig. 12] (oil on canvas, 46 x 35 cm., inv. no. 442) in which the architecture (also of Dutch inspiration) was the “main character” of the harbor image. It is used to be considered the rendering of a marina harbor, although (this being the case of these two paintings by Graf) there could be observed the quiet water, little present in the economy of the image and without specific effects, namely waves. Then the boats with only one mast and oars appeared instead of big maritime ships led to the idea that these were river harbors or fishing ones, in spite of the fortifications sometimes exaggerated monumentally.

Two works by **Karl Eigen** /Aigen/ (1684–1762) (Thieme, Becker, vol. I, 1907, 147; Preiss 1977, 12–13; Bénézit 1999, vol. 1, 119) who was Graf's

pupil had also harbor theme conceived after the Dutch model. They are: *Houses in the Harbor* (oil on wood, 20 x 25 cm.), inv. no. 98) and *A Harbor Wall* [Fig. 13] (oil on wood, 20 x 25 cm., inv. no. 99) in which the environmental frame suggested the harbor more due to rendering some architectural parts, not to the marina landscape, which was rendered only partly and there were also boats with sails. A fortification with a round tower and respectively two buildings was the entire rendered architecture; the genre scenes were in the proscenium establishing the centre of interest of the painting, with characters and animals with burdens, elements proving that Eigen was an excellent painter of staffage characters (Csaki 1909, cat. no. 98 and 99, 34; Mureșan 2006, 106–107).

The massive ruins of some “Cyclops” constructions appeared in the genre scene in the painting *Ruins with Pub* (oil on canvas, 54 x 72,5 cm., inv. no. 316; Csaki 1909, cat. no. 316, 95) by the German painter **Christian Ernst Dietrich** (1712–1774) (Thieme, Becker, vol. IX, 1913, 259–261; Klessmann 1975, 19–20; Jacoby, Michels 1989, 100; Bénézit 1999, vol. 4, 576–577). There seemed to be the ruins of a great Romanesque cathedral that covered almost completely the background of the landscape and in front of which was the pub. There was a village house with a store and a warehouse or a stable, built partly under a vault covered with ivy and having an improvised ladder. The proscenium was occupied by some staffage characters almost non significant, introduced to emphasize the huge proportions of the ruined architecture, which was the most significant and representative part of the landscape, this also being conceived to underline them.

The Battle Scene

The military variant of the genre scenes is the battle scene, which can be distinguished from the fight scene, because in the former one the adversaries are rendered in the proscenium, in a reduced number, so the stress and the physical effort are visible in their gestures, and the faces are well individualized, reflecting their feelings of hatred or the states of pain, rigid and anger caused by the fight on life and death of the enemies. The fight scene rendered in these terms was characteristic for the Renaissance. Later in Baroque the scenes got a scope in space, the number of characters grew in number, but their faces were rendered briefly in the favor of underlining the gestures, more diverse and aggressively expressed. There was what is called the battle scene, in which the warriors, weapons,

horses, coats of mail, shields, helmets and flags or guns, appeared in a whirlpool of colors and movements rendered in an assembly of the battle field, having a large panorama. Many times this panorama was in a plunging perspective or “bird flight”, globalizing and in which appeared silhouettes more or less defined that began to constitute what was called “the collective character (Wölfflin 1967, 67¹). Within the military scenes the architectures were generally firefly rendered and had a secondary role, as could be seen in the two counterpart paintings *Chivalry Fight* (oil on canvas, 70 x 195 cm., inv. no. 1000) and *After the Battle* (oil on canvas, 69 x 199 cm., inv. no. 999), works (Csaki 1909, cat. no. 999 and 1000, 300; Mureșan 2006, 174; Mureșan 2007a, cat. no. 80–81, 141–142) by the German **Georg Philipp Rugendas** (1666–1742) (Osborn 1929, 210; Thieme, Becker, vol. XXIX, 1935, 178–179; Jacoby, Michels 1989, 210; Adriani 1982, 127 and 182; Bénézit 1999, vol. 12, 88). In both scenes the center of interest was focused on the soldiers, seen closely (fighting or at the end of the battle), they occupied the great surface in the proscenium till the median plan and to the background (Osborn, 1929, 72²). The landscape ambient of the scenes was rendered briefly, conventional and in both works the fortresses that appeared on the hills in the background were little outlined (at the extremities of each scene), more to complete the compositional space and to particularize with other elements belonging to the military field, the frame and the atmosphere of the works.

The same way of rendering the battles and places was also used by **Johann Ferdinand Kien** (1682–1715) (Thieme, Becker, vol. XX, 1927, 267; Schilleru, 1954, 81; Bénézit, 1999, vol. 7, 790), in his works: *Chivalry Battle between Men of War and Tartars* [Fig. 14] (oil on canvas, 40 x 61cm., inv. no. 643) and *Chivalry Battle near the Castle* (oil on canvas, 41 x 61cm., inv. no. 644). In these works (Csaki 1909, cat. no. 543 and 544, 192–193; Mureșan 2006, 175) the Austrian painter placed in the centre the two fortified castles, rendered them thoroughly on the background of the sky, but their

¹ “The number of the characters became greater, they lose in the obscurity of the arriér plan, the eye gives up to follow each and every individual figure and holds only the assembly effect. This gives the impression of an endless richness, the imagination being always in movement...”

² “The painter G. Ph. Rugendas from Augsburg is capable to make scenes of terrible, stormy, tangled and full of movement battles. Groups in tension, dramatic situations are made with virtuosity” Osborn, 1929, 72.

role in the assembly of the works was not of more importance than at Rugendas, although here the fighters were more like a mass of staffage characters seen from above, merely amorphous, reduced to movement and gestures. At these two painters, in the construction of the paintings the sky full with clouds and the thick smoke rising because of the fighting got an important role, occupying a larger surface in the upper register.

The Landscape

The evolution of the European painting, by passing from rendering the nature in the Dutch landscape with staffage characters to that classic of Poussin and Lorrain, had an echo in the Central European Landscape, marking here a coming back to the architecture of antique inspiration within the landscapes with renderings from the nature.

The most important and the most representative painter of the new trend, who contributed more to the spreading of the classicist landscape in the Austrian painting, was **Anton Faistenberger** (1663–1708), from Salzburg (Thieme, Becker, vol. IX, 1915, 202; Feuchtmüller 1973, vol. 2, 102; Adriani 1982, 99–100 and 167; Tacke 1995, 80–81; Bénézit 1999, vol. 5, 268), who worked in Rome after Poussin and studied "Gaspard Poussin" (Dughet). But Faistenberger was receptive to the new landscape with emotional accents, foreshowing the Romantics (Descargues 1961, 94³), which was inaugurated by Salvator Rosa, Italian painter, sometimes considered as mediocre (Clark 1969, 56–57⁴). Sometimes he was appreciated as the landscaper who did the passing to Romantics. So in the work of the Austrian landscaper the two tendencies took place complementary, some other time interweaving quite harmoniously, but in works belonging to each of these manners the role of architectural elements was different. In *Landscape with Old Buildings* [Fig. 15] (oil on canvas, 63 x 80 cm., inv. no. 363, Csaki 1909, cat. no. 363, 111), the light effects and the imaginary town (background, right), with temples, a column, a pyramidal monument and all

kinds of buildings in the Roman antique architecture manner, Faistenberger was closer to the Poussin style. But in the painting considered as a counterpart: *Landscape with River and Ruins* [Fig. 16] (oil on canvas, 63 x 80 cm., inv. no. 364; Csaki 1909, cat. no. 364, 111), only some spots of light and clouds on the blue sky remembered „the solar and the Mediterranean“ Poussin. On the other hand the restless atmosphere and a dramatic note in rendering the woods and the river showed the influence of Salvador Rosa. The ruined architectures of the castle on the left and of that on the mountain in the left background were the characteristics of medieval constructions and partly due to these, the landscape won its pre Romantics note that could be found at Rosa, too. Although in none of the paintings the architectural elements didn't play the most important role, they were only secondary scenery, rendered briefly enough in the landscape space.

Christian Hülfgott Brand (1695–1756) studied at the Art Academy in Vienna and although he didn't travel to Italy he passed from the Dutch landscape manner of 17th at the Italian vision of Faistenberger (Thieme, Becker, vol. IV, 1910, 525; Feuchtmüller 1973, vol. 2, 102; Preiss 1977, 30–31; Bénézit 1999, vol. 2, 733). His works illustrated the evolution of his landscape manner and the role he gave to the architecture in the assembly of the landscapes. From *Landscape with Towers and Bridge* [Fig. 17] (oil on canvas, 23 x 32 cm., inv. no. 120, Csaki 1909, cat. no. 120, 40; Mureşan 2006, 123), in which the stone bridge and the medieval towers were in the centre of attention, rendered thoroughly and emphasized by the surrounding landscape. He passed then to works where the landscape was dominating and even staffage characters were more preeminent and big medieval castles with strongholds and strong curtain walls stood only ex center, like picturesque presences, having a modest compositional role, as in *Mountain Landscape with Fortifications* (oil on canvas, 30 x 41 cm., inv. no. 115; Csaki 1909, cat. no. 115, 39; Mureşan 2006, 122) and its counterpart, *Landscape with a Castle on a Hill* (oil on canvas, 30 x 41 cm., inv. no. 116; Csaki 1909, cat. no. 116, 39; Mureşan 2006, 122). The assimilation of some pre Romantics elements were obviously in the poetical *Landscape with an Abbey on the Hill* (oil on canvas, 36 x 41 cm., inv. no. 11; Csaki, 1909, cat. no. 111, 38; Mureşan 2006, 122; Mureşan 2007a, cat. no. 21, 48–49) in which the landscape seemed to interweave with the massive medieval architecture of the old ruined abbey. Although the importance of the nature fragment

³ And about whom it could be said: "(...) he is the transition artist, that where the detail is already of the future, but whose general conception stays [anchored-n.n.] in the past."

⁴ "Inaugurated a new form of sentimental inspiration and discovered the rhetorical means of expressing it. The fact that these feelings were exaggerated and the way of expression were ordinary, did nothing else but to contribute to his popularity. An artist that invented scene accessories that can be lent with effect could be sure of his success".

was reduced and its role was that of emphasizing the building, in this painting, the landscape contributed in an essentially way to the creation of a specific atmosphere of the Romantics taste to come. When approaching the landscape with rural elements, Ch. Hülfgott Brand amplified the landscape panorama and placed the little genre scene with staffage characters in the proscenium, imitating the rendering of the houses and of the churches towers of the village to some details briefly drawn, like in *Village Landscape* (oil on canvas, 29,5 x 38,5 cm., inv. no. 110, Csaki 1909, cat. no. 110, 38).

Hülfgott's son, **Johann Christian Brand** (1723–1795) studied also to the Art Academy in Vienna (Thieme, Becker, vol. IV, 1910, 525–526; Feuchtmüller 1973, vol. 2, 102; Preiss 1977, 48–49; Krapf 1983, 1–19; Bénézit 1999, vol. 2, 733), taking contact with the new classicist vision of the landscape, but like his father he practiced also the Dutch-Flemish type of the 17th century. In two of his works of traditional type: *Landscape with River and Castle in Ruins* (oil on wood, 16 x 20 cm., inv. no. 122; Csaki 1909 cat. no. 122, 40; Mureșan 2002–2003, 205; Mureșan 2006, 125–126) and respectively the counterparts: *Landscape with Castle in Ruins* (oil on wood, 16 x 20 cm., inv. no. 123; Csaki 1909, cat. no. 123, 40; Mureșan 2002–2003, 205; Mureșan 2006, 125–126), J. Ch. Brand introduced architectural elements, which he combined in equilibrium with the landscape frame of Dutch-Flemish inspiration. But by introducing the light of Poussin inspiration in rendering the sky and the medieval architectures, brought newly effects. The two ruins of the buildings with a tower on the bank of the water and the church, added in this respect a pre Romantics effect of atmosphere like at Salvador Rosa. In these combinations the importance of the ruins grew, even if they are limited buildings and they appeared rendered briefly, got essential monumental notes in the compositional structure of the landscapes.

Combining the Dutch-Flemish landscape with the manners of Pousin and Rosa, having merely the same results like Johann Christian Brand, was practiced by **Maximilian Josef Schinnagel** (1694–1761) (Thieme, Becker, vol. XXX, 1936, 84; Feuchtmüller 1973, vol. 2, 102; Preiss 1977, 145, vol. 2, 428). In the counterpart paintings: *Hilly Landscape with Ruins* (oil on canvas, 50 x 65 cm., inv. no. 1036; Csaki 1909, cat. no. 1036, 312) and *Mountain Landscape with Ruins* (oil on canvas, 50 x 65 cm., inv. no. 1037; Csaki, 1909, cat. no. 1037, 312), the fragments of Roman antique architecture appeared in the centre and on the sides of the

landscapes, at different sizes and distances, but harmonized with the landscape that surrounded them and in which the staffage characters had only a decorative role. Placing some medieval ruins within the landscape (eclectically enough), didn't change too much the terms of the landscape, but only varied the light effects. *Landscape with a Castle in Ruins* (oil on canvas, 33 x 37 cm., inv. no. 1038, 312; Mureșan 2006, 127). But when Schinnagel wanted to amplify the landscape in a formula closer to Rosa, he decorated the space with well drawn staffage characters, reducing the architecture at minimum, like in: *Peasant House* [Fig. 18] (oil on canvas, 81 x 105 cm., inv. no. 1030; Csaki 1909, cat. no. 1030, 310; Mureșan 2006, 127–128) and its counterpart *Road in the Woods* (oil on canvas, 81 x 105 cm., inv. no. 1031; Csaki 1909, cat. no. 1031, 311; Mureșan 2006, 127–128) where was rendered only a wooden hut overwhelmed by the great surrounding woods. Between other two counterparts of the same Schinnagel, in the Brukenthal Gallery: *Landscape with Horses* (oil on canvas, 67.5 x 88 cm., inv. no. 1032, Csaki 1909, cat. no. 1032, 311) and *Landscape with Cows* [Fig. 19] (oil on canvas, 69 x 90 cm., inv. no. 1033, 311), the painter introduced architecture only in the second one. Here appeared a real image of the Petronell Castle, in Austria (near the border to Slovakia), as it looked in 1750 (Kitlitschka 1967, 105–126; Furch 1991, 6–13⁵). The other details of the landscape were reduced to some trees in the proscenium being rendered a lot of kind ruminants (did by Johann Christoph Viechter), which fitted quite artificially in the assembly of the composition.

Many other works in which the architectural elements were present in diverse formulas had different shapes and sizes, belonging to different styles, appeared in the landscapes by other painters and of course in some anonymous ones. The examples we had given and the analysis we had done demonstrated sufficiently enough that within the landscape genre the architectural object had a role to play.

⁵ Built initially in the 9th century, it was rebuilt in the Renaissance style, and then in the Baroque style during 1660–1667, by the Italian architect Domenico Carlone, who belonged to the aristocratic family Abersperg-Traun. The Italian sculptor brothers Ambrosius and Georgio Regondi executed the stone decoration; with moldings made by Giovanni Castello and Giovanni Piazzoli and decorated in fresco by Carpofo Tencalla. The Turks destroyed it 1683, but it was rebuilt in 1690, in fresco by Johann Bermhardt von Wiellern. In this shape could be seen nowadays, being restored in 1950.

The Portrait

In the case of portraits, the details of architecture also appeared, if the character was rendered indoors or on a background of a landscape (town, rural, mountains...). In other cases the landscapes with architecture could be seen through a window nearby the character. In the Baroque portrait they generally gave up to these background-landscape or "open window" type, quite often even to details around the characters, of the interior where he or she appeared, in order that these not to encroach upon representing the model by creating secondary compositional focuses. Having the space reduced to a neuter background, the physiognomy, the gestures, the attitude and most of all the cloths, were better rendered by the artist, if it was the case of an aristocratic character in rich cloths, or a portrait where the stress was on expression. Although the temptation of rendering the model in variant hypostasis asked by the commendatory or wanted by the painter led to the changing of the ambient of the portrait and these cases, sculptures, furniture, suggesting interiors, curtains, but also elements of architecture could be found in the Baroque portrait. The diversity of the formulas in painting portraits of the German painters can be illustrated with a lot of works belonging to the Brukenthal Collection.

An interesting equestrian portrait of the emperor *Charles VI on Horseback* [Fig. 20] (oil on canvas, 60 x 49 cm., inv. no. 43; Csaki 1909, cat. no. 43, 14; Mureşan 2000–2001, 190–191; Mureşan 2007a 141–142) by **Johann Gottfried Auerbach** (1697–1753) (Thieme, Becker, vol. II, 1908, 245; Jacoby, Michels 1989, 25; Baroque Art 1993, 137; The Metamorphosis 1993, 358; Bénézit 1999, vol. 1, 543) and it was a collaboration with the painter Johann Georg Hamilton (1672–1737) the latter painted the horse and the fragment of landscape in the background. The architecture part we were interested in was, here the building of the barrack in the background, on the right (painted, maybe by Hamilton, too, after an engraving), which became later The Theresian Cavalry Academy. Like in the work by Schinnagel with the Petronell Palace, the building seemed rendered thoroughly and completed well the background, otherwise quite dull, as it could be seen in other paintings by Joh. G. Hamilton, when he didn't collaborate with other landscape painters more talented than he: Ch. H. Brand, Schinnagel, etc.

A portrait of the same emperor, work by a German painter left anonymous (German Anonymous, 17th–18th centuries), *Emperor Charles VI* (oil on

canvas, 247 x 155 cm., inv. no. 1361; (Mureşan 2007a, 143) represented the emperor young and wearing cloths from the Spanish court, and in order to suggest the interior of the palace, the artist placed in the background a portal with a half round arch and pilasters with Corinthian capitals. Through the arcade of the portal there could be seen the balustrade of a terrace, but there wasn't any detail of the landscape, only some clouds on the sky, everything in dark tones, in order not to create an imagine in an imagine, which to turn away the attention from the imperial portrait in the centre of the composition. The architecture part was a secondary one, like the curtain on the right, which had the role to underline the red cushion with the crown and the globe with a cross on the golden table and the scepter in the hand of the emperor.

A portrait of the wife of Charles VI (German Anonymous, 17th–18th centuries), *The Empress Elisabeth-Christine* (oil on canvas, 150 x 114 cm., inv. no. 262; Csaki 1909, cat. no. 262, 83; Mureşan 2007b, 142) by another German painter who used quite the same props of ambient around the character, the pompous cloths, the rendering of the crown, the curtains in the background that emphasized the model. Regarding the presence of the architecture that suggested an interior of a palace appeared partly among the curtains a marble colonnade with golden base. The colonnade can be interpreted like a symbol (the column of the state); with a similar signification (the column of the society) it could appear in some other aristocratic portraits. Sometimes the architectural scenery rendered partly was completed and diverted with sculptured sets, as in the case of the portrait of the princess Caroline Henriette von Lobkowitz, *The Wife of the Prince Georg Christian von Lobkowitz* (oil on canvas, 147 x 114 cm., signed right, down: Auerbach, dated 1740, inv. no. 42, Csaki 1909, cat. no. 42, 13; Mureşan 2006, 82; Mureşan 2007a, cat. no. 15, 37–39), portrait painted by Gottfried Auerbach. In the close background there could be seen an urn sculpted in stone and a wall with an ornamental cornice. These details suggested the terrace from the garden of a palace (the scenery sending to the aristocratic position of the model), but they had the role to emphasize the princely character, this being the reason that in this space there was no garden landscape.

As it could be established in the portraits, the architectural elements were more fragmentary and briefly rendered, or only suggested (in the "indoors" portrait), but in the background of the

portraits were preferred architectures contemporary with the model, suggesting the immediate actuality and the real (daily) ambient around it. In the portraits of 17th–18th century seldom appeared ruins or antique architecture, or medieval ones in ruin.

In the German and Austrian still-lives the elements of architecture as a scenery of the frame and by chance, the works were composed by the props specific to the genre, and in the collection of the Brukenthal Gallery they are missing or are totally insignificant, so they are not going to be discussed here.

The analysis of the architecture in the easel painting and the examples could continue within the German and Austrian school of painting as well as within other schools belonging to the collections of the Brukenthal National Museum. Also this research could be extended upon other époques or styles from the history of art, beginning from ancient times till nowadays. Restraining the investigation only upon the paintings by German and Austrian painters in the Brukenthal Gallery, our study aimed to emphasize this important

compositional, stylish and theme element only for the German and Austrian Baroque. As the cloths can give hints about the character that wears it, within the vedutta the architectural object is the defining element and the main character of the painting. In the paintings discussed here (as it could be seen), the architectural element had a secondary role, environmental or scenery, not being essential, not even when it had great proportions or it was rendered on a bigger surface of the work.

The idea of methodical cutting up and studying only one defined element or of some details from the works of a painter, school or trend can be extended with no limits, and this analysis on particular cases and applied concretely can lead (as we tried to demonstrate here), to the discovery and emphasizing many newly artistic aspects, not noticed or neglected before, whose importance appeared obviously in the assembly of the work, from the thematic, compositional and color point of view, as well as the style of the discussed painting.

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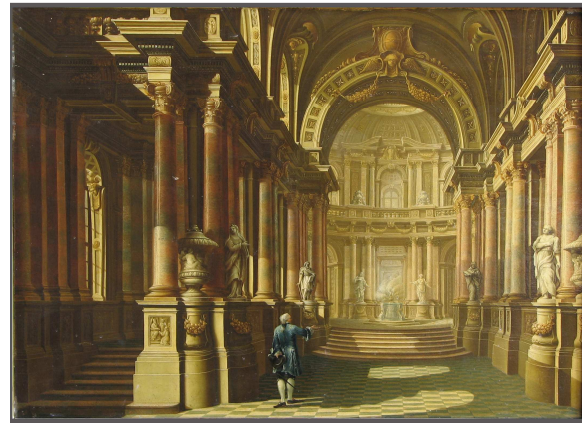
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EMBLEMATIC PROGRAMS WITHIN THE JESUIT FUNERAL CEREMONIES IN TRANSYLVANIA (BEGINNING OF THE 18th CENTURY)

Zsolt KOVÁCS*

Abstract: *During the decades dividing the 17th and 18th centuries, in Transylvania, came into existence the funeral ceremonies provided with a rich background of architectural and visual elements. The ceremonies of this type were organized by the Jesuit Order on the occasion of the sovereign's death or of other members of Catholic elite in the principedom. Our research contemplates to outline this phenomenon by looking over the familiar cases in the printings and the written sources of the time.*

Keywords: *funeral ceremonies, emblem, Jesuits, ephemeral decoration, Sibiu, Cluj-Napoca*

Rezumat: *În deceniile de la cumpăna secolelor al XVII-lea și XVIII-lea apar și în Transilvania ceremoniile funerare prevăzute cu un bogat decor cu elemente arhitectonice și vizuale, ceremoniile de acest tip fiind organizate de către ordinul iezuit cu ocazia morții suveranului sau a unor membri ai elitei catolice din principat. Studiul nostru propune semnalarea acestui fenomen prin trecerea în revistă a cazurilor cunoscute prin tipăriturile sau prin sursele scrise ale vremii.*

Cuvinte cheie: *ceremonii funerare, embleme, iezuiți, decorație efemeră, Sibiu, Cluj-Napoca*

Since the end of the 19th century, the funeral ceremonies constituted one of the constant concerns of Transylvania related historiography, during that period a series of relevant documents were published about the organization and the outspread of such events which included a symbolic weight assumed from the royal funeral ceremonies of the medieval time. After a period when the historians' concern was limited to the publishing of certain sources, the first relevant syntheses have been published at the end of the 80's of the past century (Szabó 1989; Kovács 1995), then also appearing the first publications to interpret the funeral ceremony of the aristocracy during the 16th to 18th centuries as a show comprising multiple symbolic connotations imaging the noble society (Szabó 1986). As for the ephemeral architecture of such ceremonies, the participation to their construction of the first-rate artists of the time also had drawn the attention of the art historians (Galavics 1973). The issue of the emblematic elements used on the occasion of these ceremonies on the territory of the royal Hungary started to concern the literary and art historians only since the 90's of the same century (Knapp 2003; Knapp, Tüskés 2003; Székely 2005; Knapp, Tüskés 2009).

One of the peculiar phenomena of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* view of the Baroque was those 'pompaefunefbris' dressed on the occasion of the funeral ceremonies organized upon the death of notorious people. The central element of such ceremonies constituted the construction designated as *castrum doloris* (the grief stronghold), a wooden, parget, board and textile architectural element, which by its figurative, painted, graphic and printed elements included several genres of the baroque. This was not only a spectacular view, but allegorically interpreting the details it could become as well the spreader of certain abstract ideas connected to the deceased. Besides this representative function, it played a major role within the funeral liturgy as well (Székely 2005, 203).

The *castrum doloris* is a construction made of antique architectural elements. This replaced the medieval wooden bier, decorated with candles during the 16th century, as a modern type of the princely representation. As for their shapes, they showed a series of various types: with pillars and tester, as triumphal arch, church, obelisk, tower etc. This sort of ephemeral architecture spread very quickly, being used by other groups of the elite as

* Babeş – Bolyai University, Universitatea Babeş – Bolyai, Cluj – Napoca, gykzsolt@yahoo.com.

well, like the aristocracy and the high clergy (Székely 2005, 203).

In the Habsburg Empire, we have knowledge of the first examples of *castrum doloris* since the middle of the 16th century within the emperors and archdukes' funeral ceremonies. On the territory of the royal Hungary they present together with the first manifestations of the Baroque in the 1640's, when the first structures of this type were built by the high aristocracy (1645 the Earl Miklós Eszterházy, 1646 Maria Fugger, the wife of Earl Miklós Pálffy etc.). The number of funeral ceremonies including a *castrum doloris* and emblematic elements was increasing after the wars against the Turks in order to retake the territories they have occupied, though the first examples in the prestigious religious centers, as Győr, appeared only in 1695 (Székely 2005, 203).

The purpose of this study is to signal the occurrence of this cultural phenomenon in Transylvania by couple of examples performed within the first two decades of the Habsburgs' rule in the history of the principedom, by an attempt to present the earliest known cases in Transylvania. All of the cases hereunder are connected with the activity of the Jesuit Order, such ceremonies, among others, being included within a large Counter Reformation propaganda.

The funeral ceremonies including symbols in Transylvania may be classified into two distinct types: the funeral ceremonies organized after several emperors' death and those organized on the occasion of the death of prestigious members of the Catholic elite.

Chronologically, the first ceremony organized upon the death of a sovereign is of the emperor Leopold I in 1706. After the sovereign's death, the members of the Jesuit Order in Sibiu, on the 8th of July, organized in their oratory in the central square of the town a pompous funeral ceremony in the memory of the deceased. The news related to the preparation of such an event spread throughout the town, and one of the most important historiographers of the time, István Wesselényi, on the 22nd of June, wrote in his notes: "The Jesuits make arrangements for the emperor's exequia as well, also painting charts" (Wesselényi 1983, 456), referring to various representations including inscriptions. The Jesuits' ceremony in Sibiu subsumes to a long line of funeral ceremonies organized in the town. They started on the 8th of

July with the Jesuits' ceremony, continued the next day as well, and on the 10th of July, the Evangelical Church with its titular saint the Virgin Mary was dressed in black for the more austere ceremony of the Lutheran community, where the oratorical and musical elements prevailed, and on the 11th of July the Lutheran collegium wished goodbye to the sovereign as well. Among these ceremonies, it is to observe the ceremony organized by the Jesuits for its abundance of visual elements. The same Calvinist aristocrat of Sălaj provides us with the first related thoughts: "Once the German sermon was first achieved, they started the liturgy and the exequias. At 11 o'clock [N.B. the ceremony started at 9 o'clock] we were also summoned, when everybody was so crowded that even the colonels were forced to leave the church, and those who stayed had to stand up because of us. The same for women, the princess¹, our lady and our lord² and general³, all the four stayed in the first row, and behind them it was us. The coffin was on the *maiestas*, on top of which there were the three crowns and the crucifix. All the interior of the church was covered in black cloth, [and] the altars, and higher above there stood the two-headed eagle, with LI, that is Leopoldus Primus in the center, underneath a setting sun, surrounded by the emblems of the countries he ruled over [...] over the effigies of the 14 predecessor emperors and kings. Besides these, in the church, there were other charts with characters. Pater Bellosi⁴ delivered a good speech in Latin, listing the countless eminent virtues and deeds of the ancient kings, all of them mirrored our passed emperor, Leopold. Finally, he showed us that we had not lost this kind and merciful emperor, but he transfigured through all the virtues within the emperor Joseph" (Wesselényi 1983, 476).

The program based on the compliance of the architecture, painting and literary elements of this ceremony came to our knowledge from the book issued the same year, by the diligence of the senate of Sibiu (Oratio 1706). The text referred to reveals that within the interior of the church the members of the order laid down an iconographic program based on three primordial elements: the heraldic representations outlined the space where the

¹ Dorothea Elisabeth Rabutin, Princess of Schleswig – Wiesenburg, General Rabutin's wife.

² Governor György Bánffy and his wife, Klára Bethlen.

³ Jean – Louis Rabutin, general commander of Transylvania.

⁴ Stephan Bellusi SJ.

deceased activated, a series of portraits referred to his dynastic inheritance, but at the same time, this series was an eulogy of the passed emperor, also underlined by the emblems presented within the paintings located on the two walls of the nave. From the description of the decorative and symbolic elements, made for this ceremony, it results that the most important visual element of the interior was on the main altar in the central axis of the edifice. On its superior part, there was the two-headed eagle holding the glaive and a scepter, a symbol of the Roman – German Empire, but during the time, of the Hapsburgs as well. On the chest of the eagle there was an inscription with chronogram: LeopoLDVs / VnVs In CvnCtIs / o DoLor! / oCCVbVit.

On the altar entablement there were ranged 14 emblems of the imperial provinces, this row being closed on both sides by a genius, each of them holding a shield with an inscription with chronogram about the motivation of arranging such a memorial event. In the centre of the altar, through symbolic elements and obvious reference to the iconography of the Sun King, an image of the sun between the clouds, with dying rays, drowning in the waters of the sea, the letter LI, in gold, clarifying the meaning of this representation. In front of the main altar there were placed 14 pillars decorated with different engravings representing death and the Habsburg emperors' effigies. On the first pillars two inscribed shields underlined the fact that the former emperors were the prototypes of the deceased emperor, and through their peculiar virtues they foretold the virtues of the deceased descendant. Thereupon, Rudolf I is the victorious one, Frederic III is the strong one, Albert I is the triumphal one, Albert II is the august one, Frederic III is the peaceful one, Maximilian I is the blessed one, Charles V is the glorious one, Ferdinand I is the righteous one, Maximilian II is the advised one, Rudolf II is the merciful one, Mathias I is the magnanimous one, Ferdinand II is the devout one, Ferdinand III is the wise one, and Ferdinand IV is the pious one. The program of the 14 portraits located on the pillars of the loft was explained through the 14 emblematic scenes of the predecessors' life of the deceased, fastened on the walls of the nave. Besides the motto outlining a peculiar feature of each of them, and a painted image of the predecessor's life, in relation to the said feature, the ideational author of the program called on this time to the examples of certain biblical characters, the power and the

virtues of the house of Hapsburg were therewith legit. Thus, for example, the victorious Rudolf is compared to Gideon, the strong Frederic III was compared to Samson, the august Albert II is compared to Joseph at the pharaoh's court, the blessed Maximilian I is compared to Josaphat, Charles V's glory is compared to David's after Goliath's defeat, and the mercy of Rudolf II is compared to Moses' on mount Sinai etc. The message of these paintings, also explained through the verses underneath was underlined by an attached symbolic image. The pulpit, the other location of particular importance of the liturgy and of the interior of the church was also taken in through decoration within the interior iconographic program: on it, there was a crowned eagle rising into the sky, over the city of Vienna, referring to the emperor's redemption, also explained by the inscription *Aeluctatur ad astra*. This program made of visual and written elements was complemented by an inscription with chronogram located above the altar, and by two long epistles, where the main motives refer already to the inheritor's person, Joseph.

The other imperial funeral ceremony where emblematic elements occur as well was the ceremony organized on the 8th of July 1711 in the Jesuit Church of Cluj (the one in Óvár, former Dominican), after the death of the emperor Joseph I (Joseph accrescens 1711). Two ephemeral edifices reigned within the interior of the church: on the location of the main altar, there stood a triumphal arch like *castrum doloris* of 40 feet⁵ long, and in the centre of the church there was the mausoleum. The *castrum doloris* was decorated with various trophies, and its iconographic program was centered in the genealogical idea of the deceased's predecessors, this time laid down as *Primii X saeculorum Imperatores*. Under the openings of the triumphal arch, chronologically were placed the statues of the ten emperors, also identifiable by the label found on the statues pedestal. Of the emperors' series, the statue of Charles the Great like *Imperii Romano-Germanici Fundator*, then the second century was represented by Ludovicus IV, the third century by Henricus II, sixth century by Henricus V, fifth century by Otto IV, the sixth century by Henricus VII, the seventh century by Rupertus Palatinus, the eighth century by Carolus V, the ninth century by Mathias I. A relevant place was occupied by the deceased's

⁵ 12.6 meters.

statue considered *Decimi saeculi Author* (author of the ten centuries) as well, and at its base there was the inscription with chronogram *I eX DeCeM Caesar*, its importance being also emphasized by two places of the Bible: *Initium in saeculo habet*. 4 Esdr. c. 9. v. 5. and *Rex saeculorum*. Book of Revelation. c. 15. v. 3. On the columns of the triumphal arches stood spheres representing the virtues corresponding to the ten centuries: I. *Religione*. II. *Prudentia*. III. *Pietate*. IV. *Iustitia*. V. *Magnanimitate*. VI. *Sapientia*. VII. *Clementia*. VIII. *Fortitudo*. IX. *Magnitudine*. X. *Virtutum compendio*. The crown of this castrum doloris was overtopped by the statue of a two-headed eagle carrying the crown of both the Hungarian and the Bohemian reigns, and it was decorated with the badges of the order of the Golden Fleece to which it was attached the anchor of hope made of the deceased and the inheritor's initials, I, that is Iosephus, and C, that is Carolus, underlined by the inscription: *FortVnante Deo haC anChora firMetVr, votis suis applaudente Electorum coronam: RegI Hesperiae IMperatorI eLIgenDo CaroLo VI*. On the eagle chest, the chain of the above mentioned order surrounded an inscription with chronogram, laying down the program of the construction: *CastrVM DoLorIs Iosepho I saeCVLI DeCIMI aVthorI*. The main altar of the church was figured with other symbolic elements: on the two sides two eagles, the imperial one, the other identified by the royal Hungarian crown. The royal eagle was decorated with a painting representing the tribute shown to the emperor by the defeated army of the Kurucs, brought before the imperial regiments. The inscription *Iosepho I RedI CeDIt aMore VICta Pannonla* explained the presented scene. The other emblem stressed the emperor's victories by the suggestions referred to his most important campaigns, like the campaign against the French, the siege of Turin, the seizure of Tournai, the victory of Isel. While the other emblem included as its main visual element the Hungarian crown placed on a throne, with an olive branch, in this case the imperial crown was placed on a throne, together with a handful of thunderbolts and a long sword and with the inscription *Iosepho I RegI CeDant tIMore VICtI*. The mottos of the two emblems resume in fact the slogan of the emperors of the house of Habsburg: *Amore et timore* (with love and dread). On the walls of the nave there were fastened 10 emblems, exemplifying by the analogies with the ten emperors the deceased emperor's virtues, a seemingly program to those seen in the case of the ceremonies in Sibiu. Besides

emblems, a symbolic representation appears for each virtue, and the last emblem is the synthesis of the nine in the person of Joseph I. The other ephemeral construction in the interior of the church was the so-called *MAUSOLAEUM DoMVs Caesareo-HabspVrgICae*, a wooden structure, located in the center of the church, and rising up to the dome. The six stairs of the entrance inside the edifice were flanked by 12 lions, which according to the Book of the Kings 10 v. 20, represented Solomon's throne, a parallel between the biblical character and the house of Habsburg often used in the political iconography of the time (Bubryak 2003, 258). Above the entrance there was an eagle with the inscription *ThronVs DefVCtI MonarChae*, and the archivolt of the entrance is decorated with 4 fasces, representing the tokens of power. On top of the structure it was placed the imperial crown. Four pyramids of the same height supported by four colossuses presented the *Orbis Monarchias* (the Monarchies of the world): Leanae sitting on the earth globe represented *Monarchia Assyriorum*, Ursus represented the Persian one, Pardus represented the Greek one, and Bestia terribilis, (Dan. 7) represented the Roman one. The inscriptions on these pyramids are in such a manner conceived so they underline the line of heredity from the Assyrian Empire to the Habsburgs' Empire, the last inscription was: *MAnet haeC apVD AvstrIaCos*, thus the origin of the Habsburgs' Empire originating from the Roman Empire. The four pyramids in the conception of the contemporary people had another connotation as well, referring to the victories of Joseph I in Spain, Belgium, Italy and Hungary. In the centre of these structures on a platform it was placed the imperial coffin covered with black silk material and it was decorated with the imperial insignias. The emperor's sarcophagus was guarded by four eagles and it was surrounded by six allegorical characters of the most important virtues of the Habsburgs, presented by personifying of several predecessor emperors, these virtues being each visualized by a symbolic image. The background of the interior was completed with the images of the two lateral altars, suggesting the idea of the end and of a new beginning, through the emblem of the glorious death and of the triumph through virtue of Joseph I, and by the scene where the inheritor Charles VI receives the crown from the elector princes. Additionally, in this program also appeared the blazons of the various provinces of the empire, and by showing the blazons of the

Transylvanian principedom on top of the pulpit it was granted with a relevant role in this ensemble.

Besides the funeral ceremonies organized on the occasion of the death of various members of the imperial family, the second type, much more of interest as regards the emblematic program, was the ceremony organized in the presence of the body, for several members of the Catholic elite in Transylvania. Their importance is stressed by the fact that in the case of the first type were more defining the influences emanated from the political and spiritual centers of the empire, like Vienna and Tynavia.

The first funeral ceremony known to us, where the visual elements of the emblems play a major role, is the burial after the 20th of April 1693 of Simon Kemény's wife, Katalin Perényi, in the castle of Brâncovenești. The usage of the emblematic instruments in this case can be explained by the deceased's origin from the royal Hungary, also specified in the title leaf of the tome: *Brachy ton areton hodoiporikon* (Fig. 1) printed in 1693, by the Jesuit print shop of Cluj: *Ad augendam Funebris Pompae (de more Patriae)*. This tome includes 17 eulogies in verse about the deceased's family, life and virtues, at the beginning of the each was filled in an engraving portraying a scripture, often with the heraldic image of the deceased (a crowned woman headed gryphon, sitting on top of a crown). Within the preface of the tome, the anonymous author reveals us the fact that these emblems had been conceived for the grave burial in the castle of Brâncovenești, so that the audience not only hear the verses about the deceased's glory, but also see with their own eyes. Considering the 17 emblems included in the tome, which on the occasion of the ceremony were fastened in the interior of the church or chapel, certain remarks need to be formulated. We may notice the influence of the imperial ceremonies to create a phantasmal world of the predecessors and relatives by recourse to certain heraldic elements, and very convincing on this line was the first emblem representing a structure, it seems in the shape of a *castrum doloris* decorated with the blazons of the most significant members of the relatives' family, like Zsigmond Forgács, Imre Perény, the prince János Kemény and the royal palatine Pál Eszterházy. In the series of the emblems, the presentation of the deceased's virtues and various elements of *memento mori* (Fig. 2) take a very notable place (Knapp, Tüskés 2009, 148–149).

In Sibiu, on the 10th of November 1704 passes the principedom treasurer **István Apor**, one of the most important patrons of the Catholic Church and of the Jesuit Order. We have knowledge of the circumstances of this ceremony from the diary of the same István Wesselényi (Wesselényi 1983, 303–305). The significance of such a ceremony is also stressed by the fact that the superior of the Jesuit Order in the town personally invited, one day before, the most notable members of the aristocracy of the time, located in the isolated Sibiu, due to the Kuruc war. The author of the diary laconically describes the decorations and the ephemeral architecture elements, used on the occasion of the funeral ceremony. Half of the loft side of the interior of the Jesuit oratory of Sibiu was dressed in broadcloth, and at the centre of this space was placed a '*castrum doloris*' of which the main element was a coffin spread with black velvet, on which were placed the painted mortuary blazons of the deceased, and atmosphere of the ceremony was dramatized by countless candles. Besides these common elements of the funeral ceremony, '*castrum doloris*' and candles, on this occasion 15 emblems were used presenting various conditions of the death, suspended, probably on the broadcloth. Within the introduction of the funeral liturgy, the Jesuit father Talian sermonized in Hungarian, and after the conclusion of the liturgy, one of the most prestigious members of the Order in Transylvania, Stephan Bellusi preached in Latin. The significance of the deceased's patronage also conditioned the panegyric characteristics of the funeral sermons, note observed as well by the contemporaries. The importance of the visual elements within this ceremony is also stressed by the fact that after two days the emblems presented in the church were sent to the governor György Bánffy, who failed to take part in the funeral ceremonies because of health problems.

Besides what we know from written sources in relation with the usage of the emblems within several funeral decorations of Transylvania, other laconic references of the written sources reveal that during the period dividing the 17th century and 18th century the conceiving of emblematic images for this sort of decorations had become a phenomenon often seen within the burials of the notable members belonging to the Catholic elite of the principedom. Therefore, a letter of the Jesuit László Baranyai tells us that members of the order planned to organize a ceremony with emblems on the 14th of July 1699, on the occasion of burial of

the count László Gyulafi in the Jesuit church of Cluj („Sepultura D. C. Gyulafi est determinata ad 14. Juny Claudiopoli, pro qua paro concionem et aliquot symbola, hic affixiones vocant, parant et Claudiopolitani orationem funebrem P. Professor et Mgr. Rhetorices, contionem RP. Vizkeleti...” See: MPEA IX. 148.). Likewise, the Jesuits of Cluj conceived the decorations for the ceremony of István Haller, the president of the Royal Deputation, organized in 1710 in Sânpaul (Mureș County), in this case the images commissioned by the members of the order were fastened on the walls of the Haller castle („Nec solum intra urbem, sed et in dominio sex milliaria abhinc dissito baronum Haller Szent Pal dicto parentavimus admodum solemniter sepeliendo illustrissimo regiae deputationis praesidi Stephano Haller libero barone de Hallerko, cum Latina funebri oratione typis mandata et Hungarica dupplici concione pictisque ac docte simul et ingeniose inscriptis symbolis, quae contextos atris peristromatis parietes magnifice exornaverunt. Illuc etiam Claudiopoli deveximus funebrem nostrum apparatus ac necessariam nostrae iuventutis comitivam”; Rus 2008, 262). Another example of this phenomenon we find in 1713, when the Pauline Church of Teiuș was decorated with a program inspired from the deceased Gábor Jósika’s blazons, in this case some of the printed images of the decoration were spread among the people present there at the conclusion of the ceremony („Apparatus item symbolico-funebris ex gentilitiis defuncti baronis signis desumptus virtutes eiusdem domini exprimens typo vulgatus sub finem exequiarum magno numero distributus est.”; Rus 2008, 312). The same phenomenon may be noticed the next year, on the occasion of the burial of György Nápolyi in the church of Uriu („Ad splendorem parentalibus conciliandum, donec corpus in pago Or septem abhinc milliariibus huc deportaretur. Composita sunt interim per nostros, partim e gentilitiis defuncti insignibus desumpta, partim vitae eius et virtutibus aptata symbola, concinnatum quoque epitaphium aliaque eiusmodi monumenta typis prius excusa et tempore sepulturae distributa”; Rus 2008, 330).

Another type of funeral ceremonies organized by the Jesuits was for officers of the imperial army, deceased during their mission in the principedom. Such a ceremony was that of the **general Georg Friedrich Kriechbaum**, baron of Kirchenberg, the treasurer of the principedom and the commanding general of Transylvania (for his biography, see Egger 1982), and took place in March 1710. The

funeral ceremonies were organized in the same oratory of Sibiu; the most relevant elements of the decoration were placed in front of the main altar. As for the iconographic program of the ceremony, this time certain episodes of the Roman history were used as examples mirroring the deceased’s virtues (Posthuma gloria 1711; Knapp, Tüskés 2009, 149-150). In front of the main altar it was built a ‘castrum doloris’ supported by four monumental pillars. In the middle of a podium was installed the general’s coffin watched over by four pyramids, in between there were eight statues of heroes of the Roman history: C. Fabius, Horatius Cocles, P. Scipio, Manlius Capitolinus, L. Fabricius, Furius Camillus, Scipio Aemilianus and P. Valerius.

On top of the coffin in between the wings of an eagle, the Roman effigy of the general was placed, with the inscription: “EFFIGIES BELLIDUCIS ROMANI”, and on the pedestal it was found the dedication inscription: “IN GEORGIO FRIDERICO a KRIECHBAUM”.

On the trunk of the columns four victorious scenes of Kriechbaum’s military career were fitted: the battle of Zenta (1697), the siege of Turin against the French (1706), the conquest of the city of Munich (1705) and the siege of Oradea (1692). The summit of castrum doloris was decorated with insignias: on top of the four chapters there was a helmet, and in between them there were three lions, each holding a shield. The emblems on these shields described through symbolic elements the journey of the celebrated person in life: their inscriptions depicting this passage – *praeluxit* (enlightened), *post Eclipsim* (after the eclipse) *Translatus ad astra* (passed to the stars). The summit of the castrum doloris received a baroque baldachin, of which tip was decorated with a tree on which hanged various trophies of the deceased called *Mars Austriacus*. On this tree, there was the statue of a dead bear, probably referring to the deceased’s blazon. The inscription placed on top of the structure named the entire program: POSTHVMA GLORIA / GENERALIS / FRIDERICI / IN / HONORIS CENOTAPHIO / HISTORICE ADVMBRATA.

Likewise the previous cases, the eight emblems fastened on the walls of the nave, through different scenes of the Roman history, endeavored to present *Christiana et Bellicae virtutes* of the general. Therefore for his devoutness it was recalled the history of Fabius, for his loyalty to the emperor, Fabritius’, for the outstanding protection of the people of the empire, Horatius Cocles’, for his

audacity and other virtues shown in wars, *Furius Camillus*, *P. Scipio's*, *Scipio Aemilianus*, *Manlius Capitolinus* and *P. Valerius*.

Based on the presented emblematic programs we may understand that during the period under study the members of the Jesuit Order of Transylvania matured a series of iconographic programs including multiple references not only to the biblical language peculiar for that environment, but also to the inheritance of the antiquity or to the dynastic history of the Habsburgs imperial house, in order to communicate some abstract ideas in relation with the deceased, ingeniously using the instruments of literature and visual arts. The usage of these cultivated programs is owed to a great extent to the defining significance of the Jesuit education during that period, when among the studies in the Jesuit collegiums figured the study of emblematics as well (Knapp, Tüskes 1999). The students of these collegiums were endowed with sufficient cultural background to conceive on different occasions, among which the funeral ceremonies as well, emblematic programs peculiar to that event. The usage of such instruments was available to the members of the Society in all circumstances where the interest of the order or of its members requested such an endeavor. Through the reenactment of the art historian Géza Galavics it is well known in the literature that particular case where the prince Francisc Rákóczi II, for political reasons, requested to the members of the order in Hungary the formation of a new province, separated from the Austrian one, and since the Jesuits failed to achieve such a task, attempted to prevent their expulsion, by dressing in October 1705, in front of the City Hall of Cluj, a triumphal arch to honor the prince. The ability to use

different sorts of artistic genres related to the house of Habsburg, worked under these circumstances as well, the two forefronts of the triumphal arch were decorated with elements resembling to those used within the funeral ceremonies: the portraits of the prince's predecessors of the Transylvanian princely families, vedute and allegorical scenes (Galavics 1980, 482–490, Szirtes 2008).

The spectacular visual and literary iconographic programs used on the occasion of such ceremonies should have had a significant influence on the audience, testifying for the first time in Transylvania of the exuberance of the baroque art. Concerning the importance of the impact of these structures, it is convincing the case of the same Wesselényi, who among other things notes that the next day after the funeral ceremony of Leopold I of Sibiu, he returned in the Jesuit Church, together with the governor Bánffy's wife to reexamine the "inventions" inside the church. The lines of the emblems laid down by the members of the Jesuit Order for the ceremonies of Istváb Apor had been given by the Calvinist governor György Bánffy to his children as translation homework from Latin.

In conclusion, we should underline the importance of the funeral decorations presented here for considering the beginning of the baroque in Transylvania, in our opinion these could be accounted for the first spectacular display of the new style in this province. Besides arguing this idea, our study intends to be a pleading for these ephemeral genres of the arts, which, though they failed to survive till nowadays, by their reenactment through the written sources, printed or in manuscript, complete our vision on the artistic phenomena of the baroque period.

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1. *Brachy ton areton hodoiporikon...*, Cluj, 1693.
Frontispiece with the coat of arms of Katalin Perényi



2. Emblem nr. VIII. *Brachy ton areton hodoiporikon...*, Cluj, 1693

**THE SPECTATOR AND THE GUARDIAN SOME OF THE FIRST PERIODICALS
OF THE 18th CENTURY IN ENGLAND, NOVELTIES IN THE COLLECTIONS
OF THE BRUKENTHAL LIBRARY**

Gabriella ZSIGMOND*

Abstract: *“The Spectator” and “The Guardian” were some of the first periodicals in the 18th century in England. Both were published by Sir Richard Steele and Joseph Addison, essayists, play writers, journalists and politicians. This work presents briefly the historical background, as well as the biographies and other works of Steele and Addison. The Brukenthal Library is in the possession of a republication from 1747 of the first volume of “The Spectator” and another republication from 1750 of “The Guardian”. There is also a sample in French: “Le Spectateur”, Amsterdam, 1722. Our aim was to draw the attention upon some novelties in the Brukenthal library such as these periodicals of 18th century.*

Key words: *periodicals, Steele, Addison, Brukenthal Library*

Rezumat: *The Spectator (Spectatorul) și The Guardian (Gardianul) au fost unele dintre primele periodice în secolul al XVIII-lea în Anglia. Ambele au fost publicate de Sir Richard Steele și Joseph Addison, esești, dramaturgi, jurnaliști și politicieni cunoscuți, legați de o lungă prietenie. Lucrarea prezintă pe scurt fundalul politic cât și biografia autorilor și a altor lucrări ale acestora. Biblioteca Brukenthal se află în posesia unei reeditări din 1747 a primului volum din Spectatorul și a unei reeditări din 1750 al Gardianului. De asemenea se găsește și un exemplar în limba franceză: Le Spectateur, Amsterdam, 1722. Scopul nostru a fost de a atrage atenția asupra prezenței inedite în Biblioteca Brukenthal a unor periodice timpurii.*

Cuvinte cheie: *periodice, Steele, Addison, Biblioteca Brukenthal*

The 18th century began with the war of succession to the throne of Spain and ended with the dominating figure of Napoleon all over Europe. As the British essayist Seeley said: “From the Spanish succession till the defeat of Napoleon, France and England fought a new war of 100 years, for the New World and domination of the seas.” (Muresan 1967, 72).

In 1707 took place the definitive union of Scotland with England in The United Kingdom of Great Britain, and as a result of the 7 years war (1756–1763) Great Britain got the French colonies in Canada and India and began the colonization of Australia. But in the independence war of the American colonies England was defeated (1775–1783). Great Britain was the great initiator and organizer of the coalitions against the revolutionary France and then against Napoleon, during 1789–1815. During the 18th century on the throne of England succeeded, as follows: William I

II (stathouder of Holland) and Mary (1689–1702; Mary till 1694), Queen Ann (1702–1714), and the three kings George: George I (1714–1727), George II (1727–1760) and George III (1760–1820).

In order to pass from the historical data to the culture of the 18th century, we must admit that: “The special function of the 18th century was that of spreading the common sense and wisdom in life and thought, to polish the manners and to humanize the behavior.” (Trevelyan 1975, 586).

In the 18th century also was fulfilled a process that began during the Stuart period – namely to establish the custom to write in English instead of Latin. This change had very important consequences, thinking and learning became national, more popular and more linked to literature. Also they were interested more in the approximate intelligence of the citizens then in an audience of scholars spread in all the countries of

* Brukenthal National Museum – Brukenthal Library / Muzeul Național Brukenthal – Biblioteca Brukenthal, gabriela.zsigmond@brukenthalmuseum.ro.

Europe (Trevelyan 1975, 587). The aristocratic leadership explains a great part of this thing. "The patrons were 'milords' used to travel all over Europe, being in the company of the high society of the capitals and royal courts of Europe...The bound with the continent was tided as it was reciprocal: the admiration of the foreigners for the British institutions and thinkers was one of the main cause of "the encyclopaedia" Enlightenment movement, of rational philosophy in France. Names like "the Great Newton, Locke and Hume were names highly looked up to in Paris as well as in London and Edinburgh." (Trevelyan 1975, 587).

Sir Richard Steel (1672–1729) was an English essayist, dramatist, journalist and politician, best known as principal author (with Joseph Addison) of the periodicals "The Tatler" and "The Spectator". He was born in Dublin and as his father died when he was only five he was taken under the protection of his uncle Henry Gascoine. He was sent to study in England at Charterhouse in 1684 and at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1689. At Charterhouse he met Joseph Addison, and thus began one of the most famous and fruitful literary friendships, which lasted until disagreements (mainly political) brought about a cooling and a final estrangement shortly before Addison's death in 1719. Steele moved to Merton College in 1691, but left it 1692 without taking a degree to join the army. He was commissioned in 1697 and promoted captain in 1699, but, lacking the money and the connections necessary for substantial advancement, he left the army on 1705.

Meanwhile he embarked on a second career, as a writer. He declared himself against dueling and published in 1701 a moralistic tract "The Christian Hero", of which 10 editions were sold in his life time. In the Brukenthal Library there is also the sixth edition of this book, London, 1712. In the same year (1701) he wrote his first comedy, "The Funeral". Performed at Drury Lane with success the play made his reputation and helped to bring him to the notice of King William and the Whig leaders.

In 1705, apparently actuated by mercenary motives he married a widow, Margaret Stretch, who owed considerable property in Barbados. His wife died in 1706 and left her husband with a substantial income. Steele's second marriage, contracted within a year of Margaret's death, was to Mary Scurlock, who was completely adored by Steele. His hundreds of letters and notes to her provide a vivid revelation of his personality during the 11

years of their marriage. Having borne him four children (of whom only the eldest, Elisabeth, long survived Richard), she died in 1718. (The New Encyclopaedia Britannica 1994, vol. 11, 231).

In the early part of Queen Ann's reign (1702–1714), Steele was a gazetteer-writer of "The London Gazette", the official government journal. On April 12th 1709 he launched the thrice-weekly essay periodical "The Tatler". Writing under the name of Isaac Bickerstaff, Steele created the mixture of entertainment and instruction in manners and morals that was to be perfected in "The Spectator". "The general purpose of whole" wrote Steele "has been to recommend truth, innocence, honor, and virtue, as chief ornaments of life." From here one can see his attachment to simple virtues of friendship, frankness, and benevolence, his seriousness of approach tempered by colloquial ease and lightness of his style.

Steele was appointed to the post of governor of Drury Lane Theatre in 1714, knighted in 1715, and reelected to Parliament in the same year. One of his main contributions to that theatre's prosperity was his last and most successful comedy "The Conscious Lovers" – one of the most popular plays of the century and perhaps the best example of English sentimental comedy. We want to notice the presence in the Brukenthal Library of a sample of this play published in London in 1723.

Steele's health was gradually undermined and in 1724 he retired to his late wife's estate in Wales where he died in 1727.

Both as man and writer Steele was one of the most attractive figures of his time, much of his writings-easy, rapid, slipshod, but deeply sincere-reflecting his personality. (*The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1994, vol. 11, 232).

Joseph Addison (1672–1719), English essayist, poet, and dramatist, who, with Richard Steele, was a leading contributor to the guiding spirit of the periodicals "The Tatler" and "The Spectator". His writing skill led to his holding important posts in government while the Whigs were in power. (*The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1994, vol. I, 91).

Son of a clergyman he was enrolled at age of 14 in the Charterhouse in London. Here he began his lifelong friendship with Richard Steele. Then Addison went to Oxford. Through distinction in Latin verse he won election as Demy to Magdalen College in 1689 and took the degree of M. A. in 1693. He was a fellow from 1697 to 1711. At Magdalen he spent 10 to Lord Keeper Somers, the

years as tutor in preparation for a career as a scholar and man of letters. In 1695 he wrote "A Poem to his Majesty" (William III), with a dedication influential Whig statesman and brought favorable notice not only from Somers but also Charles Montague (later Earl of Halifax), who saw in Addison a writer whose services were of potential use to the crown (The New Encyclopaedia Britannica 1994, vol. I, 92).

After a European tour (1699–1704), he began to see much of Steele, helping him to write a play. In practical ways Addison also assisted Steele with substantial loans and the appointment as editor of the official London "Gazette".

The Whigs success in the election of May 1705, which saw the return of Somers and Halifax to the Privy Council, brought Addison increased financial security in an appointment as under secretary to the secretary of state for southern affairs (The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1994, vol. I, 92).

In 1708 Addison was elected to Parliament and later in the same year as a secretary of state for Irish affairs, serving it for two years.

In the year 1710, the Whigs were no longer in power and Addison had more time for writing. He decided together with Steele to make a fresh start with a new periodical "The Spectator".

With the death of Queen Ann on August 1, 1714 and the accession of George I, Addison political fortunes rose. He was appointed secretary to the regents (who governed until the arrival of the new monarch from Hanover) and in April 1717 was made secretary of state. Ill health, however prevented his taking a very active part in Government affairs, and he resigned the office the following year. Meanwhile, he had married the dowager countess of Warwick and spent the remaining years of his life in comparative affluence at Holland House in Kensington. Unfortunately, a political dispute, in which Addison and Steele took opposite sides, estranged the two friends during the last year of Addison's life. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, near the grave of his old patron and friend Lord Halifax.

As a writer he brought to perfection the periodical essay in his journal, "The Spectator". Dr. Johnson's praise of "The Spectator" as a model of prose style established Addison as one of the most admired and influential masters of prose and language (The Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1994, vol. I, 92–93)

"The Spectator" was a periodical published in London, by the essayist sir Richard Steele and Joseph Addison from March, 1, 1711, to December, 6, 1712, and subsequently revived by Addison in 1714 (for 80 numbers). The periodical is mentioned in Graesse Catalogue (*Graesse Catalogue* 1865, vol. VI, 489), where is also mentioned the republication from 1747, which is to be found in the Brukenthal Library. This is the republication of the number I of the periodical. There is also to be found in the Brukenthal Library a French translation "Le Spectateur", Amsterdam, 1722.

"The Spectator" adopted a fictional method of presentation. The papers were written by Mr. Spectator, an "observer" of the London scene. Because of its fictional framework "The Spectator" was sometimes said to have heralded the rise of the English novel in the 18th century. The real authors of the essays were free to consider whatever topics they pleased, as in Addison's critical papers on "Paradise Lost", John Milton's epical poem (The New Encyclopaedia Britannica 1994, vol. 11, 78). Here we want to mention also that there is to be found in the Brukenthal Library a republication of these critical papers, namely *A General Critique upon the Paradise Lost in The poetical Works of John Milton*, Edinburgh, 1779.

In addition to Addison and Steele, themselves contributors included Alexander Pope, Thomas Tickell and Ambrose Philips. Addison's reputation as an essayist has surpassed that of Steele, but their individual contributions to the success of "The Spectator" are less to the point than their collaborative efforts: Steele's friendly tone was a perfect balance and support for the more dispassionate style of Addison. Together they set the pattern and established the vogue for the periodical throughout the rest of the century and helped to create a receptive public for the novelists (The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1994, vol. II, 78).

The Brukenthal Library was opened for the public in the same year as the Museum, namely 1817. At the opening the library had 15972 books, nowadays approximately 300000. The library enlarged its fond by annexing the Chapel Library in 1879, which greatest value was the great number of incunabula. Nowadays the Brukenthal Library has 422 incunabula and a number of 33000 of books belonging to the 16th to 18th century. Within the collection of 18th century approximately a number of 440 of marks (not volumes, because at a

mark there can be a work in many volumes, such as the Bell edition: *The Poets of Great Britain from Chaucer to Churchill*, in 109 volumes) were books printed in England. Among them there can be found in the Brukenthal Library a republication from 1747 of the first number of "The Spectator" and a republication from 1750 of "The Guardian". The first edition of the latter was published in 1710 (Graesse 1865, vol. VI, 489) also by Steele and Addison but it had never had the success of the "The Spectator".

Both "The Spectator" and "The Guardian" that are to be found in the Brukenthal Library belong to the old fond of it. They are in a good preservation shape, being of a small size: 12,5cm x 7,5cm, in octavo.

Our aim was to draw the attention upon the treasure and the diversity of books belonging to the Brukenthal Library.

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**PIOUS PARASCHIVA CHURCH FROM RĂȘINARI
INTERIOR AND BELL TOWER PAINTING**

Saveta-Florica POP*

Abstract: *The interior murals of Pious Paraschiva Church entirely attributed at 1760–1763 to the painter Grigorie Ranite and his son Ioan is analyzed diachronically, stylistically and based on the 1795 document written by the archpriest Sava Popovici. The interventions in the last two decades of the century require the stylistic differentiation of the narthex painting, scenes on the facade of the tower and areas of the altar. The Rășinari iconographic program reveals striking similarities with buildings from Brâncoveanu era, representing the prototype of Transylvanian churches from the second half of the eighteenth century.*

Keywords: *Mural painting, Rășinari, Grigorie Ranite, Ioan Grigorovici*

Rezumat: *Pictura murală interioară a Bisericii Cuvioasa Paraschiva, atribuită integral, la 1760-1763, zugravului Grigorie Ranite și fiului acestuia Ioan, este analizată diacronic, stilistic și pe baza documentului de la 1795, redactat de protopopul Sava Popovici. Intervențiile din ultimele două decenii ale secolului impun o diferențiere stilistică a picturii pronaosului, a unor scene de pe fațada turnului și a anumitor zone din altar. Programul iconografic rășinărean denotă similitudini pregnante cu edificiile epocii brâncovenești, constituind prototipul bisericilor transilvănene din a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea.*

Cuvinte cheie: *pictură murală, Rășinari, Grigorie Ranite, Ioan Grigorovici*

The old church from Rășinari is associated with the “foundation” of Radu Negru Voda, transmitted by chroniclers and supported by some historians (Meteș 1935, 46; Meteș 1977, 16, n.18). Nicolae Iorga considers that the 1383 act of donation to a church dedicated to Saint Paraschiva belongs to Rășinari community signaling the existence of an old church in the locality near Sibiu (Iorga 1906, p. XXXIII). In another context, the document drafted in 1383, indicating the Rășinari boundaries as “old boundary book” the one from 420 of Emperor Attila being renewed in 1488 during the reign of Matei Corvin, was regarded with some caution by the same historian (Iorga 1906, 229–231, n. 1). Rășinari village (*Isztina, Resinár, Städterdorf, and Stitus*) with its old denominations is reported in the Archaeological Repertory of Sibiu County. Here were discovered archaeological materials from Hallstatt period, deposits and isolated findings of metal objects; from the Roman period we have monetary treasures and the medieval times are attested by a fortification (Luca *et al.* 2003; Păcală 1915, 71).

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Rășinari village is subjected to heavy taxes by the Sibiu magistrate, renewing the complaint to the

Court and Aulic Chamber of Vienna demanding a place in Wallachia, “for they are ready to leave their homeland and look elsewhere for a life in vain.” (Păcală 1915, 422; Meteș 1977, 131–132). The situation of Rășinari people is perpetuated until 1786, when the decision of Emperor Joseph II will spare the locality of any ruling, being declared free royal commune.

The Census of 1733 mentions Rășinari village as deanery belonging to the Chair of Sibiu, with 688 families and 15 priests, of whom 11 were Uniates, 4 non-Uniates and 2 church singers, only 1 church and terrain for ploughing of 0.57 hectares (ANDJ Sibiu, Brukenthal Fund, L 1–5, no. 349, 59; Șematism 1900, 560; Ciobanu 1926, 690; Hitchins, Beju 1989, I, II, 104, V).

The plan of Pious Paraschiva Church in Rășinari is rectangular, room type, with simplified baroque forms, built of stone and brick in the middle years of the eighteenth century (see church plan at <http://mihaivpopaarchitector.blogspot.com/2009/12/restaurare-biserica-Rășinari-2009.html>). The Bell tower, *adossé* to the edifice, has an opening on three sides. The interior pavement was made entirely of stone slabs. It seems that the prototype

* Orthodox Archdiocese, Alba Iulia / Arhiepiscopia Ortodoxă Alba Iulia, ulbsrest02@yahoo.com.

was the Jesuit Church in the Great Square, Sibiu, built between 1726 and 1733, itself a copy of Schottenstift Viennese church, completely rebuilt in the fifth decade of the eighteenth century. The church of Rășinari is decorated with mural painting ornaments both inside and outside. The signature of the local painters “Popa Ivan” and “Dascăl Nistor Stară, 1758”, placed on the altar’s façade testifies the intervention of the two artists whose collaboration started almost four decades before (Pop 2010/a, 159–175).

The inscriptions referring to the church construction are located in three exterior areas. One of these is carved on the wooden lintel of the church’s entrance door: “In the year of (the/Our) Lord 1755, May 29” (by tradition, it is mentioned that a wooden church from Rășinari, dating 1688, has been sold to the community of Satu Nou, Halchiu commune, Brașov County, probably after the edification of the existent church although the 1750 and 1760–1762 censuses specify only one worship place). In May 17, 1761 dean Tatomir of Rășinari points to an “old, very old” church (“*Templum antiquum utpote vetustissimum*”) so old that the oblivion is laid upon those who built it (Miron 2004, 336, n.228). When painting this area, the artist transcribed the inscription “Since the building of the church, in the year of Our Lord 1755, May 29” in the drum, on the surface nearness. The inaccurate reading of the year from this inscription recorded in 1725 by the dean Emilian Cioran from Sibiu, leads him to assert that the church works, considering also the stages that succeed until the end of the decade, took place in almost a century (Cioran 1940, 325).

The second inscription is on the west facade of the narthex, in the access area to the bell tower (Fig. 1). The rectangular shape inscription is incised in stone: “The age of the old church, the year of our Lord XC 420, and the new 1758”; at the bottom of the stone there is another text, smaller and unreadable. We believe that this area of the narthex had mural painting – as witness standing the surrounding area stained from under the plaster, revealing the image of a saint’s face and decorative surfaces.

The third inscription is below the cornice of the first level on the southern side of the bell tower (Fig.1). The inscription is carved in a square stone block “The age of the old church, the year of our Lord XC 420, and the new 1758” and at the bottom of the engraving “Priest Vasile Ș” (we believe he is the sixth priest mentioned in the record from 1754–1755, distinguishing him from its predecessor,

Priest Șărb). The year 420 cited in the engravings on the facades chronologically corresponds with the year reported by the historian Nicolae Iorga in the mentioned document. The priest Emilian Cioran considers the building of a church 420 years before that of 1755–1758).

The *Șematism* from Blaj claims in 1900 that Bishop Peter Paul Aron built a beautiful stone church located in the middle of Rășinari square which today is “orthodox”. Augustin Bunea mentions that the edifice was completely restored in 1757 at the expense of Bishop Aron and the Uniates. The justification is based on a letter of the bishop from June 10, 1757, sent to a priest from Rășinari: “and there, with the help of God, was ordained the new church” (*Șematism* 1900, 560; Bunea 1902, 215, n. 4), mentioning a new church not a restored one.

The whole mural painting from Rășinari, interior and exterior, must be seen from the perspective of one of the largest and best preserved iconographic program of Transylvania, made by painters who claim their iconographic and artistic training from painters present in the most important artistic Brâncoveni construction sites. The custom of decorating the facades with mural paintings will be resumed in Transylvania after centuries of absence (Drăguț 1965, 100), the Rășinari phenomenon being associated with the mutuality and immutable cultural links with the artists from the southern part of the Carpathians (Porumb 2003, 109–111; Pop 2010 /a, 156–175).

The historical concise sketch of the locality Rășinari drawn in 1878 by Petru Brote refers, in some contexts, to the “old church”, without specifying the presence of painting or the name of any painter (Brote 1878).

In his Transylvanian journeys, the great historian Nicolae Iorga, reads and writes in Rășinari a part of the notes immortalized on the sheets of the rich collection of old Romanian books (one *Triod* from 1761 is given “for nothing”, in 1807, to the Șelimbar church; see Iorga, 1906, 155–156, n. 531–534, 168, n. 579), without making the most lapidary reference to the mural painting, which we believe it was impossible not to notice; only the conservation state could have mitigate the colour, without suppressing its iconographic vigour.

Biographical notes on Romanian church painters are given to us by Ștefan Meteș, who, in 1929 gathers significant data, without claiming a comprehensive approach in a field of research that does not belong to him. He has never been to

Rășinari, the information being communicated by dean Emilian Cioran (Meteș 1929, 4, 129, n.13). The artistic and cultural dimension that the historian Ștefan Meteș attributes to Rășinari “where the famous icon painters were” is correctly reported to the reality of that time, because from Rășinari community emerged some of the most talented artists in Transylvania. Radul Zugravul from Rășinari, active at the beginning of seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, probably trained close to the great artist from southern Carpathians, Pârvu Mutu, is insufficiently known, both the painter and his work being analyzed in terms of a single icon from a private collection in Syria (*Virgin Mary and Child* icon signed and dated “1700, Radul din Rășinari” in Georges Abou Adal's collection – see Căndea 1997, 298, 299, no.134; Pop 2011/a).

Ștefan Meteș makes reference to the icon of the *Virgin Mary and Child* made in 1785 by Gheorghe Zugravul, the son of Iacov, and the signature of Ioan Popa Grigorovici from the same year, on the church's exterior wall. Ioan Grigorovici together with Ioan Chiș are considered the authors of exterior mural painting (The latter signs along with Gheorghe Zugravul on the icon *Virgin Mary with Child* – Meteș 1929, 129, Porumb 1998, 327, Pop 2010/a, 159–170).

In 1940, dean Emilian Cioran, who offered information about the Rășinari painters to the historian Ștefan Meteș a decade and a half before, publishes a story about Pious Paraschiva Church of Rășinari. The original information focuses on the transliteration of the document drawn up by Priest Sava Popovici, dated November 7, 1795, found in 1931 in the canopy above the altar table. The act drawn up by Priest Sava is a real statement of the work performed by the hired craftsmen and church expenses between 1787 and 1795. The document proves extremely valuable for tracking the evolution of the mural painting which began in 1758 with exterior ornament.

First, we note the concise information that dean Emilian Cioran from Sibiu gives us about the painting of Rășinari church. He mentions the themes on the northern side, at the “Mourning” scene there is the dedicated inscription of judge Bucur with his wife Soră, painted in 1758 by “Zugrav Pop Ioan [Ivan?], Dascal Nistor Star[a]” (Cioran 1940, 333). The remark regarding the interior painting is limited to the inscription kept at the base of the pendant on the southern side of the nave: “It seems that the dome and evangelists were painted in 1760” by “Zugrav Grigorie, Ioan sin ego”.

The inscription from 1761 on the southern facade of the Episcopal Church in Curtea de Argeș that confirms the two painters, Stan and his brother Iacov, as the sons of priest Radu from Rășinari, causing Emilian Cioran to say that they could paint the church in fragments, between 1763–1787, without referring to a specific area. The two men from Rășinari were not involved in the artistic embellishment process of the church in the village, painter Iacov settles at Feisa (Alba County), and Stan in Oraștie (Hunedoara County) (Cioran 1940, 333; Dumitran *et al* 2010, 38, 58; Pop 2010/b, 101, n.56).

Through the document drafted in 1795 by dean Sava Popovici, we are being communicated the various works carried out at Rășinari church (the document is no longer kept at Rășinari, the researches in Old Romanian Books Collection from the Faculty of Orthodox Theology of Sibiu proved useless. Here is preserved a beautiful manuscript *Small Octoechos*, inventory number 6759, written by the same dean, with the St. Ioan Damaschin's figure painted by Ioan Zugrav, mentioned in the inscription from the altar). The document begins with the temple painted during 1784 – 1785, paid in 1787. Internal and external works are recorded: in 1795 “Proskomedion was made” and “have consented to the painting of the altar” (Cioran 1940, 332, 334). Probably, the intervention at the altar implies the stage when the space holes for windows and the restoration of the paintings was made. The name of the painter and the details of the pictorial intervention have not raised the interest of dean Sava, neither in this area, nor in the ones mentioned. Only at the altar we have signalled the presence of “Ioan Zugrav”, the artist who painted the image of Christ on the niche of the door from this area.

The attempt to locate the scenes and the painted dimensions, by reference to the paid amount, does not give a subjective image of the works done. We know that in 1795, 35 fl is paid for the tower painting; on its outside facade 110 fl; “the nave of the church with the passions of Christ” 80 fl; “narthex painting 26” (it is surprising the small amount of money compared to the narthex area that we believe the act refers to), “at the tower eaves covered with plates” 170 fl. The church's interventions coincide with the stage in which “throughout the village” a significant number of stone crosses, painted by the same painters, and build by Rășinari community “on their expense in order to be remembered forever” (Cioran 1940, 335).

The studies published by the academician Marius Porumb diachronically illustrate the stages of mural painting adornment of the church, indicating the existence of the iconostasis made by Grigorie Ranite at the beginning of the seventh decade, replaced after two decades and a half with the existing one (in several studies Marius Porumb refers to the painting of the Rășinari church. The materials have resulted in two volumes of major importance for the Transylvanian painting – see Porumb 1998; Porumb 2003).

According to the inscription from the *Burial* scene that preserves the signature of the painters, the first stage of the mural paint from Rășinari, the one from 1758, is attributed to local painters Popa Ivan and Nistor Dascălul. The themes around the altar are also assigned to these painters, as well as the image on the northern facade of Pious Paraschiva, dated 1758 (Porumb 1998, 325; Porumb 2003, 45, 49). It is believed that Ivan and Nistor Dascălul painted the altar's apse or "a few niches and several scenes from the altar apse". Interior painting will be completed two years later, in 1760, by Grigorie Ranite and his son Ioan. The wall ornament from the bell tower and the two registers on the southern side are attributed to painters Grigorie and Ioan.

To the painter Ioan Grigorovici, who signs in 1785 on the southern façade, is attributed the scene from *Anastasis* proximity, signalling the probability of his establishment in Sibiu area, even in Rășinari (Porumb 2003, 51). It is unlikely that the southern facade was painted partially, as we see Ioan's intervention rather as a "retouch" after the glazed spaces were made: "the nine windows from the pews were made" (Cioran 1940, p. 335; for Ioan Grigorovici see Dumitran, Popescu 2010, 93–104).

From those mentioned above until this stage, we conclude that for the dating of the interior and exterior mural painting, the document written by the dean Sava Popovici was not taken into consideration, although the document signals a series of interventions carried out between 1787–1795 (for exterior mural painting see Pop 2009, 101; Pop 2010/a, 156–170; Pop *et al.*, 67–79).

The interior mural painting is entirely attributed, in 1760, to the two painters Grigorie Ranite and Ioan, without specifying the difference in style between the narthex and the paintings around the existing windows in the altar. Painting the steeple also involves scenes made after the ornaments carried out by the two mentioned painters.

A reconsideration of the stages of interior mural painting and the one from the bell tower, considered in the light of "many interruptions to which the circumstances forced the Rășinari community" (Cioran 1940, 333), the so far unidentified dating and the inscription in the narthex on the southern side, still anonymous, allow us a more detailed scan of the entire wall.

1760 The pendant from the basis of the drum's tower, which illustrates the Evangelist Luke, preserves the inscription "1760, the painters were at this vault with the evangelists Grigorie, Ioan sin ego", which confirms the realization of the tower with pendants by the two painters (Fig. 4). This surface is considered, according to tradition, together with high areas of the nave, the first stage of mural painting, followed by the apse's concha, the hemicycle's wall, surfaces of the nave, the vault and walls of the narthex, the porch painting, and possibly the facades (Abrudan 2009, p. 292). Although after finishing the altar, the nave, the wall separating the narthex and the nave, the two painters adorn the area under the bell tower and its southern facade. At this stage, the painters also executed the painting on the south and north side of the nave, except the semicircular area from the narthex (Fig. 6). The nave painting (Fig. 2, 3) resembles from the compositional and stylistic point of view with the one from the altar (the inscription on the left side of the altar, near the *Zotic Priest* scene is almost entirely lost, it is repainted later but it is unreadable). The two painters' interventions could have started as early as 1759, at which time the painting of Crasna hermitage ended (Gorj County), as stated by the inscription preserved in the narthex (Porumb 2003, 58; Dumitran 2010, 89, n.42).

Naturally, after the painting of the altar is done, the mural painting of the triumphal arch and semicircular surface between the altar and dome is executed (Fig. 5), areas influenced from a stylistic point of view by the two painters from the south of the Carpathians. Art historian Ana Dumitran considers that Grigorie Ranite and his son completed during 1760–1761 the mural painting from the altar and nave, and "part" of exterior painting without specifying the subsequent interventions to the Rășinari Church (Dumitran 2010, 89).

1761 The inscription on the southern side of the narthex reveals once again the names of two painters Grigorie and Ioan who had executed the frontlets (wall separating the nave and narthex), the icons in the outer room and the arch from the

narthex with the holy female martyrs frieze, having on the north pilaster the image of *Pious Paraschiva*, on the southern one the portraits of the two grandchildren of Popa Șerb, Aleman and Bucur, and the inscription “This holy and godly achievement which was seen done in the narthex, meaning the front with the four large narthex icons were made on the expense of His Holiness Priest Șerb and his wife Sora and the children of His Holiness Bucur, Savu, [...] Stanca, to have eternal remembrance being the priest of this holy church and [all] [...] and others [...] being painters Grigorie Ionita ego sin 176 [1], with letter, 1761 with figures”, inscription in Cyrillic. The wall mentioned as frontlet, “fruntariu”, was destroyed (Cioran 1940, 327).

1761–1763 The two painters adorn the area under the bell tower and its southern facade (Fig. 1). The lower part of the mural painting under the tower is covered with plaster; the tests certify its existence.

[1794]–1798 The year 1794 marked on the west facade of the narthex (we do not consider dating to be of critical reference because in the restoration/recovery interventions on the painting subjective touch-ups were used) and the year 1798 on the rotulus held by St. Sava illustrated in the narthex, leads us to consider that the painting of this area was made either in two successive stages, first in 1794, second in 1798, or in this interval (Fig. 8). To painter Ioan Grigorovici, seen in 1798 at Rășinari, painting the dated and signed wooden cross, found now at Astra Museum in Dumbrava Sibiului, can be assigned the mural painting of the narthex. What surprises us in this area is the stylistic differentiation of faces; some of them retain the successive chromatic applications, with an obvious concern in rendering the anatomical elements, others being schematically illustrated, with dull colours, without volume, but vigorous with strong contours. We consider these differences to be the effect of repeated interventions to which the mural was exposed. The painting from the west travée of the narthex was affected during the tribune’s construction.

1795 We believe that the painter Ioan Grigorovici painted the scenes on the southern side of the bell tower, *Birth of Christ*, *Sts. Peter and Paul* (Fig. 1) and “I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink” (on the west facade of tower, the scene seems isolated, the newly applied plaster may be responsible for the existence of other images). This year, for the painting on “the outside tower” and “the eaves of the tower covered with plates” is paid 110 and 170 fl. (Cioran 1940, 335); the latest can be identified with the surface close to the door

from the bell tower entrance, on the west wall of the narthex) (Fig. 1). The painting interventions do not stop here – now is being realized the semicircular arch, between the base of the dome’s drum and the nave, signalled “the back of the church where Christ’s passions are” for 80 fl. In this case, the calligrapher of the document mentioned the illustrated themes that are of utmost importance in order to identify the area. A stylistic analysis of the themes with the wooden cross mentioned above enable us to connect them to the painter Priest Ioan Grigorovici.

[1795] The surfaces around the altar windows and the underside of the arch, with bishops in circular medallions are a grafted interventions on the templates and colours commonly used by Grigorie Ranite and his son, probably in 1795, when “the holly altar was painted” (Cioran 1940, 334). The figure of the bishop under the poly-lobe arch supported by columns, at the bottom of the underside of the right arch window of the altar that has the face and hands in the style of the two painters is relevant, but the garments are re-painted (Fig. 3).

In 1795, the document from Rășinari indicates “the painting under the tower” for which 35 fl. are paid. The only area which is in discordant note from the iconographic and pictorial unity is on the drum of the entrance door of the church, where the figures of the prophets Aaron and Melchisedec are illustrated, and they probably flank the Mother of God (Cioran 1940, 335); we also include here the inscription with year 1755, being copied from the beam, probably at this stage.

Mural painting iconography

Responsible for the achievement of all artistic works at the Pious Paraschiva Church is the Rășinari community, led by its priests and scholars. The aesthetic message is generated by the mobilizing and synergetic availability of the Rășinari community for cooperation with the reverence power of the Holy Spirit. The exterior painting of the church expresses the creed of a doctrine, the soteriological faith is shown by the eternized inscriptions around each theme.

We have no knowledge about a contract of the painters who decorated the church, we only infer that the painters of the facades, Popa Ivan and Nistor Dascălul, have done their work at the highest level, because it reflects their artistic personality and immortalizes their name in the community (Stoicescu 1967, 408, 413, 420–422); in the contract signed on November 12, 1750, the painter Andrei promises that for the church built by

lady Bălașa Brâncoveanu in Bucharest he will paint "all the themes as they should be". The venerable age that Nistor Zugravul would have had, would not allow him to commit for the inner ornament. In the 1733 census, Popa Ivan was recorded as Uniate, which led us to believe that it was his denial by the community who made efforts to return to orthodoxy. The painter Grigorie Ranite from Craiova was not anonymous to the Rășinari community. Being employed by Bishop Grigorie Socoteanu for the execution of the painting of Episcopal chapel from Vâlcea and previously hosted in the house of a priest from Rășinari, was an additional recommendation for the painter from Olt.

The steps to restore the mural painting were initiated in 1971 and finished in 1984, but during this time the degradation state of paint ornaments has increased. In 1987 the restoration works are interrupted, but in 1991 the intervention of another restorer is approved, the operations taking place between 1994 and 1996. The official report for acceptance of the works is dated October 12, 2000; according to File no. 2032 *Estimate regarding the restoration works from Pious Paraschiva Church Rășinari Sibiu*, File no. 2539 *The acceptance of the painting restoration work from Pious Paraschiva Church Rășinari Sibiu*, kept in the Archives of Sibiu Archdiocese). The scientific analysis made for the restoration works concern the composition of the fresco mortar, with a levelling surface (*arriccio*) of 2–2.5 cm made of river sand with grains of different sizes and smashed brick. The colour coat base (*intonaco*) has 2 mm and is made of lime paste with hemp and with the underlying layer forms well fastened masses (according to files with the number 7547, *Pious Paraschiva Church Rășinari Sibiu* and 7549, *Pious Paraschiva Church Rășinari Sibiu*, kept in the Archives Office of National Historic Monuments, Bucharest).

The iconography of the altar

In the circular medallion from the apse's calotte is illustrated *Platytera Virgin and Child* surrounded by Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel encircled by six angels faces (Fig. 2). The Synod of Archangels is illustrated in two groups on each side of the medallion, in their hands they have a disc with the monogram of Christ and a golden rod with a red cross (The text of the medallion is in Cyrillic "You who are more honourable than the cherubim and more glorious beyond compare than the seraphim, without corruption you gave birth to God the Word"). The altar is meant for eschatological issues; the apse is the place par

excellence "oriented" towards Parousia, reserved for also theophanic themes, the encounter with the Lord being anticipated in the Eucharist. In the mural painting, starting from the sixth century, the image of the Virgin and Child, standing or sitting on the throne, takes the place of Jesus Christ, being associated with the idea of intercessory linked to the second coming (we find it illustrated like this since the sixth century, in the mosaic from the conch in Poreč Church, flanked by two angels, by the founder and the saints; also, this image is rendered in the icon from Sinai Monastery and in the mural painting of Santa Maria Antiqua Church in Rome, dating from the mentioned period, see Delvoye 1976, 134, fig. 23, 29).

In the east, in a rectangular space surrounded by clouds, we have the theme *Coronation of the Virgin* by the Father and Son, the Holy Spirit completing the Trinitarian image (Fig. 2). The Father holds a globe in one hand, the Son gives the blessing, and angel faces besiege the scene. On the southern and northern side, is rendered the *Tabernacle of the testimony* with the twelve seeds of Israeli people led by Aaron and Moses. On the southern side we have: Aaron, Naphtali, Dan, Gad, Asher, Joseph, Benjamin, on the north Moses, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun (Fig. 2). Traditionally, the iconography of the altar has in the central axis the image of the Trinity (Popa, Iancovescu 2009, 201). Here, the iconographic program merges two scenes, the one of the Holy Trinity in a variant similar to the Romanian painting of the eighteenth century and the Coronation of the Virgin (the theme is considered somehow distant from the traditional iconography programs, although this is illustrated in the sixth century at Parenzo, Istria by the hand of God who stretches from heaven the crown of glory, the mighty symbol of divine motherhood. In over a half century it suffers significant changes; see Di Natale 2006, 46, fig. 39; Sendler 2008, 82).

The eastern wall has in its upper part the *Apostles' Communion* image, where Christ is shown in double aspect, sharing bread and wine, under the canopy that houses the table of gifts' sanctification (Fig. 2). The apostles are grouped six by six, illustrated from the front or in slight profile. The inscriptions with their names are missing; the group from the left surprises *Peter* in the moment of the Communion, and ends with *Judah* who refused to participate in the Communion. Nearby is a fortress, the wall has varied openings and the architecture with towers ending in a pyramidal shape. (The image of Judah who refuses

communion is also illustrated on the eastern wall of the altar from the Church of Filipeștii de Pădure and in the Grand Church of Hurezi Monastery; see Popa, Iancovescu 2009, 204, fig. 121).

The second register illustrates the frieze of bishops placed under the poly-lobe arcades supported by columns with square base, with a spindle divided by spherical elements and floral capital, at the top there are vegetable stalks (Fig. 3). The bishops are illustrated as bust, front or in slight profile; they bless and hold in their left hand the closed codex. They are dressed in clothes decorated with vegetal or geometric motives, garnished with precious stones surrounded by a double string of pearls. We believe that the opening of the window is responsible for the loss of two other figures and on the outside for the fragmentation of the Annunciation image (Pop 2010/a, 156–170). From right to left we have: *Epifanie the Bishop of Chirul*, *Porfirie the Bishop of Gaza*, *Tarasie the Bishop of Constantinople*, *Leon the Bishop of Catania*, *Arsenie the Bishop of Caesarea*, *Amfilohie the Bishop of Iconiei*, *Eftimie the Bishop of Sardiei*, *Teofan the Bishop of Lycia*, *Nicodim the Bishop of Moravia*, *Filotei the Bishop of Gruza*, *Mihail the Bishop of [Nadiși]*, *Grigorie the Bishop of Neocezareei*, *Vasile the Bishop of Parma*, *Ierotei the Bishop of Athens*.

The lower register is reserved for the Holy Hierarchs rendered standing, with richly decorated costumes; they bless and hold in their left hand a rolled rotulus or a closed codex (Fig. 3). From right to left are painted: *Saint Chiril*, *Saint Spiridon*, *Saint Andrei Criteanu*, *Saint Nicolae*, *Saint Grigorie Bogoslov*, *[Saint Vasilie] Velichi*, *Saint Ioan Zlatoust*, *Saint Atanasie [Atišchi]*, *Saint Sava*, *Saint Ignatie*.

The presence of St. Andrei Criteanu in this group of bishops is fairly rare, the painter Grigorie uses the iconographic program promoted in Brâncovean painting (St. Andrei Criteanu is part of the group of Bishops illustrated in the altar of the Great Church at Hurezi Monastery; also, there is an analogy in the *Apostles' Communion* theme when Judas does not accept the Eucharist; see Popa, Iancovescu 2009, 203, 272). Here, we can feel the direct, paternal contact that Grigorie Ranite had with his father, the painter (H) Ranite, who was present at the mural painting from the small and secluded convent St. Ștefan build in the proximity of Hurezi Monastery (Popa, Iancovescu 2009, 147). The bishops in the lower register have rotulus in their hands, on which are written, after the traditional Byzantine manner, prayers that cover the entire liturgy.

In the left lower side of the southern window we have a holy bishop under the poly-lobe arch; he is blessing and holding the closed codex (Fig. 3). Underside of the arc shelters eight bishops with closed books, in circular medallions between which we have vegetal decorations. From right to left: *St. Evsevie the Bishop of Samosatelor*, *St. Methodius of Constantinople*, *St. Policarp of Smyrna*, *St. Grigorie the Bishop of Nice*, *St. Teodor the Bishop of Ancyra*, *[St. Porfirie]*, *St. [...]*. The lower right side renders a saint in the suit of a priest: surplice, epitrachil, chasuble and embroidering slippers. The strained-glass surface renders the image of priests Ioil and Varuh who hold a veil. The scene above the window evokes one of the miracles of Christ probably the *healing the man blind from birth* with the figure of Jesus in the centre, blessing the glassy young man, surrounded by apostles and other figures. The narrative style of the theme is rendered by the organization of the composition, with the two architectures posted scenically and the crying female characters. The arched surface from window area is reserved for the Synod of the Holy Archangels supporting the medallion with Christ Emmanuel.

The northern window, in the lower right side illustrates *St. Holy Martyr Lucian* priest of Antioch, under the poly-lobe arch, a pendant with “*St. Zotic the Priest, feeder of poor*” (The area near St. Zotic has an inscription of five lines written in black, lost almost entirely. From the inscription can still be decipher: “These [...], that is, [...], again, [...], the one at [...], [done]”, without having the slightest clue about the information submitted). The underside of the window's arch renders nine bishops in circular medallions. From right to left: [...] (faded text) *Arsenie the Bishop*, *[Ignatius Teoforul Bishop of Syria]*; *[Ef]timie the Bishop*, *Vasile the Bishop of [Amasea]*, *St. Theodotus the Bishop of Cyrene*, *[Nicolai] the Bishop*, *St. Bishop (faded text)*, *St. Teo [...]* the Bishop of Moravia. On the sides there are two biblical characters that support a veil. In the drum it is illustrated the *miracle of the five loaves and two fish* (the 8th Sunday after Pentecost, Matthew 14, 14–22). The vaulted area receives the theme *Elevation of the Cross*, with an architecture depicting a church in the background.

The altar has a rich decoration; the scenes are separated by phytomorphic decorative mouldings limited by lines applied in red, surrounded by white contour (Fig. 2, 3). The vegetal stalks are applied with light colour on a dark background, having the shape of volutes or branches with curly

leaves. Their role is to serve as the earthly plan or to separate the two plans, to highlight the characters in the rendering of Christ under the canopy (the decoration that Grigorie Ranite uses is also borrowed from the Brâncoveanu artistic area; bishops under the poly-lobe arcade are also rendered at the small and secluded convent St. Ștefan, where we can also find the multitude of vegetable stalks commonly used at Rășinari taken from his father).

The iconography of the nave

The arch of triumph illustrates the faces of the apostles, the true pillars of the Church, with Christ in the central medallion (Fig. 5). From south to north: *Apostle Philip*, *Apostle James*, *Apostle Simon* hold a closed rotulus; *Apostle Mark* and *Apostle Matthew* hold closed codices, *Apostle Peter* turned towards Christ, holds the key in the left hand. In the right side of Christ, *Apostle Paul*, *Apostle John*, and *Apostle Luke* with closed codices; *Apostle Andrew*, *Apostle Bartholomew*, *Apostle Thomas* hold a closed rotulus. Apostles are rendered as bust, in tunic with linear elements and from a chromatic point of view they are rendered by light-dark contrast. The robe is wrapped around the waist, covering completely or partially the shoulders and is rendered in an ample game of geometric folds. The characters' robes are shown in red and blue, adding ochre and green (Fig.5). In the area lower to the triumphal arch, on the southern pilaster is illustrated the image of *St. Joachim* standing and of *Saint John the Baptist* as bust. The northern wall renders *St. Anne* with the *Mother of God* as a girl and the *Holy Archangel Michael* in armour, with the sword and chalice in his left hand. The lower southern and northern area, near the arc of triumph, illustrates: *St. Simeon the Stylite*, *St. Nicholas* on the throne, *St. Damian [the Stylite]*, *Jesus Christ as Priest* on the throne.

The nave's vault, between the arch and dome, shows in circular medallion the image of *God the Father* who blesses and holds a globe, the inscription indicating the *Holy Trinity* (Fig. 5). The tunic illustrated in light colour involves linearity and a phytomorphic decor applied in red. The cloak wrapped around the waist covers his left hand; it has a rigorous graphic form with geometrics folds. Six faces of angels surround the medallion, two groups are standing, with floral decorated tunics, wearing a golden rod and holding a disc with the initial "S" (*Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts!*) (Fig. 5).

Ample illustration of the *Ascension* succeeds the *Holy Trinity* theme, Christ being depicted in

circular medallion led by four angels with opened wings; to the south, Virgin Mary is flanked by two angels and four Apostles, other seven Apostles balance the theme on the northern side (Fig. 5).

On the southern side the vault has the following themes: *the Nativity*, *Baptism*, *Pentecost*, *the Holy Trinity* (with the three young men at Mamre oak); on the northern side we have: *the Annunciation*, *Entry into Jerusalem*, *the Resurrection of Lazarus*, *the Resurrection*.

The dome is dominated by the image of *Christ Pantocrator*, a theme devoted in this area after the iconoclastic period of the late ninth century (Fig.4). In the three registers of the drum we have the following themes: *groups of angels*, *Hetoimasia*, *thrones*, *Seraphim with ripida*; *Jesus Christ*, encircled by the register of bishops: *Bishop Silvestru*, *Bishop Inoce [nțiu]* (perhaps the I), *Bishop Petru*, *Bishop Sofronie*, *Bishop [...]* *Bishop Meletie*, *Bishop Benedict*, *Bishop Leontie*, *Bishop Ioan*, *Bishop Gherman*, *Bishop Adrian*, *Bishop Nichifor*, *Bishop [...]* *Evtihie*, *Bishop Alexandru*, *Bishop Metodie*. The third register renders *the Angelic Liturgy* "Blessed is the Kingdom of the Father and the Son and" (in the southern Romania, in the eighteenth century, the image gradually separates from the altar's hemicycle, the place of birth of the theme being found at the end of the century in the drum of the Great Church of Hurezi; see Popa, Iancovescu 2009, 208), *the Holy Trinity* (the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit under the canopy), *Lamentations of Christ* led by seven angels who hold in their hands the elements of liturgy: *ripida*, *omophorion*, *air*, *censer*, *cross*, *candlesticks* (Fig. 4). The pendants are reserved to the holly evangelists *St. John*, *St. Luke*, on the southern side, *St. Mark*, *St. Matthew*, on the northern side, each with his specific symbol. Ap. John is rendered with his head slightly bent, so that his ear comes in perfect resonance with the beam of light descending from the right, a symbol of divine inspiration, telling to Prochorus the beginning of the Gospel: "In the beginning was the Word" (The miniatures render a similar image in the manuscript Greek Gospel from Praxapostolos, page 134 v, made in Constantinople after the models of X–XI centuries; see Gastgeber 2009, 44, 45).

Six decades before, the representation of the Angelic Liturgy knows a noticeable change in the iconography program of the Great Church from Hurezi Monastery. Instead of the Grand Priest that blesses the Great Entrance, under the ciborium is illustrated the Holy Trinity with God giving the

blessing for the beginning of the Liturgy, an image present in the iconography of Rășinari church. Ioana Iancovescu refers to the New-Testamentary image of the Holy Trinity, insistently repeated at Hurezi, in various contexts, which she believes is a “programmatically option of the iconographer” taken from Moldavian painting that will be prevalent in the subsequent iconographic programs in the southern Romania, perpetuated in Transylvania (Popa, Iancovescu 2009, 208). These images confirm once again how well did Grigorie Ranite knew Brâncoveanu iconographic program and how faithful he rendered it in the Rășinari church, which will serve as a model for Transylvanian painting in the second half of the eighteenth century and in the next one).

On the southern side of the nave, in the underside of the longitudinal arch, are illustrated from east to west: *St. Leontie the Martyr*, *St. Iraclie the Martyr*, *St. Aretie the Martyr*, *St. Acachie the Martyr*, *Jesus Christ Emmanuel*, *St. Isihie the Martyr*, *St. [Ign]atie the Martyr*, *St. Sisenie the Martyr*, *St. Severian the Martyr*. In the upper register, in circular aperture, *the Holy Virgin Oranta*; *Prophet Ilie*, *Prophet Elisei*. The second register: *St. Thomas Sunday*, *the Sunday of the Women who went to Christ's Tomb*, *the Sunday of the [paralytic]*, *Sunday of the Samaritan Woman*. The register continues with circular medallions of Holy Martyrs: *St. Ecdichie the Martyr*, *St. Filact [...]* *the Martyr*, *St. Eraclie the Martyr*, *St. Chirion the Martyr*, *St. Gorgonie the Martyr*, *St. Theophilus the Martyr*. The lower area of the southern side is reserved for the frieze of military saints with embossed halos (on the northern side, the halos are flat): *St. Trifon the Martyr*, *St. Artemie the Martyr*, *St. Dimitrie the Martyr*, *St. Gr[ig]orie*, *St. Nestor*, *St. Mina*, *St. Hristofor*, *St. Gheorghe the Martyr* (in the lower register of the nave, towards the narthex, the faces of the saints underwent an inadequate, aggressive cleaning which resulted in the almost integral loss of the faces, but they were subsequently re-painted. Such interventions can be seen in other areas of the nave's registry, *Jesus Christ* on the throne, *St. John the Baptist*) (Fig. 6). In the underside of the transverse arch, on the northern side, the martyrs are rendered in semicircular medallions: *St. [...]* (covered by pulpit's canopy dated 1795), *St. Alexandru*, *St. [Ache]psima*, *St. Smaragd*, *St. Hudie*, *Jesus*, *St. [V]ale[nt]in*, *St. Domnos*, *St. Viviane*, *St. Gorgonie*, *St. Atanasie* (Fig. 6). In the upper register: *the Entrance (Presentation of the Theotokos into the Temple)*, accompanied by five female characters with lighted candles, *Archangel*

[...], *St. Fluor and St. [Lavru]* are in the circular aperture area. The following register: *the Sunday of the Blind*, *the Sunday of the Paralytic*, and *the Sunday of Zacchaeus* (Fig. 6). Then comes the frieze of saints martyrs rendered under trilobite arcades: *St. Valerie*, *St. Mina*, *St. [...]* *St. [Eu]tichie*; at 5 martyrs the inscriptions cannot be read (Fig. 6). The register of martyrs in the lower part: *St. Mercurie*, *St. Pantelimon*, *St. Procopie* (Fig. 6), *St. Teodor Stratilat*, *St. Teodor Tiron*, *St. Nestor*, *St. Di [mitrie]*, *St. Ana with the Theotokos* (on the pillar near the pulpit).

The semicircular vaulted surface of the nave, from the narthex, enclosed in quadrant boxes (Fig. 6), which we attribute to Ioan Grigorovici has circular scenes and illustrates the *Cycle of the Passions*: “When they brought Him to trial and testified unfair testimonies against Him”, “When they forced Him to carry the cross”, “The Flagellation”, “When they dressed in a red cloak”, “When they brought him to Annas and Caiaphas”, “When they took Him to Pilate”, “[When they prayed in the Gethsemane Garden]”, “When Judas kissed Him”, “When they took him to Pilate and dressed him in white garments”, “When they dressed Him as an emperor”, “When they put a crown of thorns on His head”, “When they [said] to Pilate: ‘nothing to you and this right man’” (we identify this area with “the back part from the church inside where there are the Passions of Christ” reported in the document of 1795; see Cioran 1940, 335). In the lower part of the arc, on the southern and northern wall, are illustrated: *St. Pro[Hor] the Martyr*, *St. [...]* *the Martyr*, *St. Trofim the Martyr*, *St. Damian*, and *St. Cosmas doctors without silver*, *St. Chir doctor without silver* (the inscription indicates *Chir Ioan*) (Fig. 6).

The underside of nave-narthex arch illustrates circular medallions with holy female martyrs: *St. Macrina*, *St. Hristina*, *St. [Agrip]ina*, *St. Iustina*, *St. Ana*, *St. [I]rina*, *St. Parasc[h]e[va]*. On the pillars, on the lower side, there are illustrated two saints without inscriptions. The themes are taken from the narthex's arch nearby, the painting being done recently; the wall separating the nave from the narthex was here (Fig. 6)

The narthex

In the transverse arch the following female martyrs are illustrated: *St. Macrina*, *St. Parascheva*, *St. Hristina*, *St. Agripina*, *St. Iustina*, *St. Melania*, *the Holy Virgin Oranta*, *St. Anisia*, *St. Tatiana*, *St. Tecla*, *St. Glicheria*, *St. Irina*, *St. Ștefania* (Fig. 7). The southern side has the inscription: “This holy and godly thing ... being painters Grigorir, Ioniță ...” and the young characters standing “Alăman,

the nephews of priest Șerb, Bucur” rendered in a slightly semi-profile, holding a plant in their right hands, with the left hand pointing to the work that he has been done. The priest Șerb and his family are immortalized in the mentioned inscription, the two grandchildren, without indicating their contribution are also illustrated in this area. In pendant, on northern side, is illustrated St. Parascheva, the protector of the Rășinari Church, standing.

The vault of the first bay shows three *Ecumenical Councils* and on the northern side the *Synod of the Holy Apostles* (Fig. 7). Among the councils’ inscriptions only one is preserved and it refers to the Ecumenical Synod from Nicaea, synod convened by Emperor Constantine the Great, formulating the *Symbol of Faith*: “I believe in one God, the Father Almighty” (one of the councils’ inscriptions has says: “This holy church was restored in the year of our Lord 1994 by artist Liviu C, the priest being Nicolae Jianu, 15 March” in Cyrillic characters interspersed with letters due to the restoration works).

On the southern side of this bay, in the upper register there are two themes from the *Annunciation Akathist*: “[The incomprehensible understanding] the Virgin seeking to understand”, “Virgin carrying God in the womb ran to Elizabeth” The lower register preserves two of the seven sacraments of the Church: “the Sacrament of the Baptism” and “the sacrament of marriage”. The underside of the longitudinal arch illustrates the female martyrs: *St. Sofia*, *St. [...]*lisa, *St. Leonida*, *St. Irina*, an angel with two crowns in his hands in the central medallion, *St. Sofia*, *St. [...]*lina, *St. Mel[ania]*, *St. Si[l]via*. An inadequate “retouch” of the inscriptions can be responsible for the repetition of the two holy names on both sides of the arch. In the lower part are illustrated: *Saint Ioachim*, *Antonie the Great*, *Teodosie the Great*, *Sava the Sanctified*.

On the northern side, on the underside of the arc, the following female martyrs are illustrated: *St. [...]*, *St. Sofia*, *St. [...]*, *St. Nimfodora*, angel with two crowns in his hands, *St. Teodora*, *St. [...]* Teofana, *St. [...]*leopa. Then, we have two images of the Akathist of Annunciation: “Knowing herself pure, the Holy Maiden spoke to Gabriel boldly”, “An Archangel was sent from heaven to cry “Rejoice!” to the Theotokos”. Below there are two other scenes: “When Joachim prayed on the mountain”, “The conception by St. Anne”. The lower register renders the themes: *St. Eftimie the Great*, *Sava the Sanctified*, *St. Teodosie*, *St. Ana with the Virgin*.

The transversal arch, between the two bays of the narthex, illustrates from south to north the female martyrs: *St. Veronica*, *St. [Te]ona*, *St. Singlitichia*, *St. Xenia[a]*, *St. Silvia*, *St. Iuliana*, *St. Lucia*, *St. Natalia*, *St. [...]*sora, *St. E[...]*lada, *St. Eupraxia*, *St. Pulheria*, *St. [Crist]ina*.

The second bay has on the vault three Ecumenical Councils, on a rotulus the following text is preserved “The Synod [...] which was held in the days of Emperor Justinian”, *Raising of the Holy Cross* is shown on the western part.

In the underside of the longitudinal arch, on the southern wall we have the martyrs: *St. Marin*, *St. [Hrisant]*, *St. Prisc*, *St. Teod[u]*l, *St. Teofil*, *St. Eutihie*, *St. [Teofil]*, *Sf. Candid*, *St. Salomia* (St. Salomia is the mother of the seven holy Macavei Martyrs, commemorated on August 1st, who although have suffered martyrdom before the coming of Christ, are honoured for the faith they showed). The upper register illustrates “the angel announcing the Mother of God”, “the Mother of God gives Joseph the good news”, and then we have “the Sacrament of Holy Unction”, “the Holy Sacrament of Confession”. On the lower side of this area, the saints rendered under the arcades were divided by the intervention of the court in the narthex.

The underside of the arch on the northern wall illustrates the martyrs: *St. Pit[...]*, *St. [Ilia]*, *St. Teofil*, *St. Avi[...]*, *St. [Aaron]*, *St. Chiril*, *St. Aviv*, *St. Claudiu*, *St. Casian*, and it continues with themes of the Akathist of Annunciation: “The power of the One above [will overshadow you]” (Luke 1, 35), “The Magi bring gifts to the Virgin” and two other sacraments, the priesthood, with scenes “Dance, O Isaiah”, and “[the ordination of the priest by the bishop]”, four other saints are in the lower part.

The western wall of the narthex is intended to illustrate the themes of the *Book of Revelation*, creating the area which separates the inner space, dominated by the image of Christ Pantocrator, and the exterior one, reserved for the *Judgement Day* illustration (under tower), continued with the ample scene *Deesis* in the wall recess from the southern side (Fig. 9). The surface is divided into several scenes, some of which are accompanied by texts taken from the *Book of Revelation*, but are preserved only partially “[...] golden candlesticks [...] instead of the 7 [...] similar to [...]”, “I saw on His chair as Smyrna’s stone around the chair”, “I saw the [...] coming down from heaven dressed in a cloud and a rainbow over his head”, “and I saw to His right what [...] chair, a book with seven seals

[...], Ch.5”, “Ch. 7, and I saw four angels holding in their hands the four winds of the earth. 1794” (Fig. 9). Recent, massive repainting interventions applied in the area distorted the original aspect of the painting. Only the texts partially preserved are the testimony of an intervention at the end of the eighteenth century.

The underside of the entrance door’s arch has circular medallions with *Jesus Christ*, *Virgin Mary*, *St. John the Baptist* and two saint martyrs on the side, a small *Deesis* scene of intercessors and prayer. The inscription on a rotulus nearby, almost completely degraded, cannot be read.

The iconography of the belfry

Under the tower, above the entrance door and on both sides is illustrated *Christ on the throne*, who blesses with both hands, framed by the Apostles, in the left: *Apostle Paul*, *Apostle John*, *Apostle Luke*, *Apostle Bartholomew*, *Apostle Mark*, *Apostle Philip*; on the right: *Peter*, *Apostle [Thomas]*, *Apostle Simon*, *Apostle Andrew*, *Apostle James*, *Apostle [Matthias]*. In the lower part, in the right of Christ is the group of righteous, in the left is the group of the sinners (the intervention made in 1789 to the bell tower is mentioned in the 1795 document, when the village judge Coman Șerb and “all six priests” sign a contract with craftsman Mihail Betzinger from Sibiu, “in order to rise a part of the tower of our church and cover it with tin plates”; Cioran 1940, 327–328).

In the drum, on the painted area, we have the inscription: “From the building of the church, the years of the Lord 1755, May 29”, being illustrated Melchisedec and Aaron, and other figures partially legible. On the door, in caissons are rendered: *St. Apostle Peter* and *St. Apostle Paul*, the first holds an open codex “My beloved, love the brotherhood, fear God, party in justice, Ch. 2 Verse 17” (First Epistle of St. Peter) and the keys in his right hand, the second is rendered with the sword in his hand.

Under the tower, the vault illustrates on the east-west axis the image of *Jesus Christ in glory*, blessing with his both hands, flanked by four angels with trumpets. Then we have the theme “Mother of God, Christian Salvation”, illustrated Oranta, with the child blessing with both hands, framed by a double, rounded and diamond shaped halo, flanked by three angel faces. One group of angels frame the scenes, we can also find them in the areas bounded by the broken bow. The areas of metallic golden foil applied to halos, wings, garments, mouldings, slippers, are probably a subsequent intervention, like the blue background applied in order to refresh the colours of the scenes.

In the transversal arch located to the west, seven martyrs are rendered in circular medallions: *St. Protasie*, *St. [Ghervasie]*, *[Nazare]*, [...], *St. C[h]elsie*, *St. [...]*, *St. Tarasie*, the lower part of the area is covered with plaster.

The underside of the southern arch illustrates the river of fire for the doomed and the balance of justice that saves a part of the souls: “River of Fire, the punishment for the sinners”, “Antichrist”, “the disobedient”, “the expensive”, “the judge”, “the one takes bribe”, “the poisonous”, “who beats his parents”, “the onanist”, “the usurer”, “deceiver”, “Greek”, “woman who takes herbs to have no baby”, “who smokes [tobacco]”, “the arrogant”, “[...] sniffs tobacco”, “the one who listens at the window”, “the adulterer”, “whore”, “the balance of justice”.

Among those who are destined to perish, one scene stands out, the one indicating “the Greek” with a balance hanging by his nose, and holding in his hand collars ready for selling. The Greek merchants were known as “Sultan’s people” from the time when the middle part of Hungary was under direct Turkish rule, having the right to trade freely in the kingdom of Osman and in the countries under the Sultan’s rule. The unfair trade of the Greeks led to the repeatedly intervention of the Saxons of Transylvania and the Transylvanian Diet, but without result, because they knew how to evade the Transylvanian commands through the characteristic cunning, disdaining diligent and honest work, “through dishonest speculation, and at the expense of others they assure for themselves very important material earnings” (Metes 1920, 212–213).

In the underside of the western arch, in the side is illustrated the theme of “the death of the unmerciful rich man” covered by plaster; *King Avgust*, *King Darius*, *King Alizandru*; the scene of the unmerciful rich man: “I will break my cellars and I will build them even greater”, “You fool, this night I will ask for your soul”, “the death of the righteous Lazarus” is under the plaster. Beside the scene of the unmerciful rich man we have a reference to the “hanging” which may be associated with the end of Judas, who sold Christ for money. Below is shown a tobacco plant and the text “[...] or who is with tobacco”.

The underside of the northern arch renders the heavenly images, “Adam, Eve”, “the Expulsion of Adam”, in the lower part is illustrated a fortress covered with plaster. On the right side, “the righteous Avraam” holds in his arms a soul as a baby, other souls being rendered around it (Fig. 8). Nearby, there is a person wearing a cross,

foreshadow of the sufferings and death of each man. In the lower part of the righteous Avraam is illustrated the group of the holy Apostles who guard the entrance to the city of Eden.

The surface under the tower was reserved to illustrate the *Judgment Day*. The limited space did not allow for a comprehensive approach as in Filipeştii de Pădure or Hurezi Monastery, where this theme has an entire side of the porch. Here, the painter had to adapt to a limited space, creating an organic structure with the ample *Deesis* scene from the southern side (Fig. 1).

The upper register on the southern side of the bell tower is divided into three niches. The central area illustrates the theme St. Pious Parascheva, protector of the church, framed by St. Great Martyr Dimitrie and St. Glorious Prophet Ilie Tesviteanul, with scenes from their lives (Fig. 1).

In the niche from the left, St. Dimitrie is illustrated on the throne, holding a cross in his hand, rendered in a slight semi-profile, facing the central character. In the circular medallions and in the surrounding areas are illustrated the following themes: "When they brought him before the Emperor", "When St. Dimitrie blessed Nestor", "When Nestor killed Lie", "When [the king cut Nestor's head]" (Fig. 1).

St. Pious Parascheva from the central niche is surrounded, on the two central pillars, by hagiographic scenes; in the upper area New-Testamentary *Holy Trinity* is rendered, the Father and the Son bless it and hold a cross, the symbol of martyrs, and the Holy Spirit, in the appearance of a pigeon pours His grace, an angel in flight brings the crown to the saint. Under the eaves we have: the *Birth and Baptism of Holy Parascheva*. Around the saint, in circular medallions are illustrated the following themes: "When they prayed to the Mother of God", "When they gave His clothes to the poor", "When her parents beat her", "When they gave His clothes to another poor", "the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary", "When they found the body of the Holy one]" (Fig. 1).

St. Glorious Prophet Ilie Tesviteanul is clothed in a tunic and a wide cloak, sitting on the throne with the rod in his left hand, the right hand is raised around the chest, facing the central character. Under the eaves we have: "When the ravens fed St. Ilie", in the niche above the saint: "Rise, eat and drink", "When they separated the Jordan", in the lower part: "When they went to Sarepta of the Sidon to a widow woman" (Fig. 1). In this area of the tower bell, the painter frequently uses architectural elements: high towers with two slope

roofs, arches supported by columns, columns supporting a roof.

The lower register of the tower has five martyr faces, in circular medallions under the eaves. On the southern entry axis Christ is displayed, here we also have the inscription: "The age of the old church, the year of our Lord XC 420, and the new 1758", "Priest Vasile Ş" located between the frieze of martyrs: St. [...], Jesus Christ, St. Timotei, St. [...] (partially destroyed), St. Pangratie, St. [...] (partially destroyed).

The lower part of the register has the themes: St. Peter and Paul and the Birth of Christ. The two scenes are done in a later stage; the contour and decoration of the string course differs in colour from the rest of the facade, although the motive follows the curved and contra curved line, but the stalks and fruits have a more intense chromatic.

In the left side of the surface is illustrated the *parable of human life* by the image of wheel guarded by two angels. In the left corner, Christ supports a cross with the text "If anyone wishes to come after Me, he must deny himself, and take up his cross and follow Me", in the right the text "For whoever wants to save his life will lose it, but whoever loses his life for Me and for the gospel will save it" (Fig. 1). On both sides of the wheel two angels try to direct its progress by cords anchored to the object. Around the wheel, we have texts associated with different ages of man: "Oh, world, how [I love you], 10", "Now I want to live, 20", "I would like you to take me up, 30", "Oh, what great glory [I] have reached, 40", "I fell from glory and I was wrong, 50", "Oh, misleading world, how you deceive me, 60", "Deceiving [...] world" (Fig. 1). *Fortuna labilis* (changing fate) a common theme in the ancient and medieval literature, seems to have had a source of inspiration in the *Book of Wisdom of Jesus, son of Sirach* ("Why is proud the one who is all earth and ashes?... all men are earth and ashes"), *Ecclesiastics* (10, 9; 17, 27). Daniel Barbu signals this theme on the western facade of the small and secluded Chuech Păpuşa, where a young man is carried by a wheel and accompanied by the inscriptions "I want to rule", "King", "I have reigned and I returned just where I came from", or the text from *Pildele filosoferi*, Târgovişte, 1713 "Time is nothing but a wheel which forcibly brings us every day near death" (Barbu 1989, 234; Duţu 1968, 109).

On the west facade of the tower a single preserved theme joins the eschatological message under it: "I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink" (Mt. 25, 35). The stage, covered with plaster and

only partially preserved, illustrates characters wearing traditional costumes from Mărginimea Sibiului, a common thing met in *the Birth of Christ* theme from the southern side; the shepherd, the woman who pours water for bathing the baby, and the character near Joseph, wearing a thick coat specific to the region (Fig. 1).

Starting from the eighteenth century, predominantly in the second half, painters took a certain freedom, introducing in the traditional themes various elements inspired by everyday life. It is the time when they addresses a more realistic concept in the manner of painting, maintaining and repairing some models, enriching them with details taken from the nature (Stoicescu 1967, 409), which expresses the creative freedom of painters at the end of Romanian Middle Ages (Voinescu 1967, 69 believes this period in painting to be the “downward” line in relation to the sources of Byzantine tradition and the “upward” line regarding the works resulted from direct study of nature). The narrative style is found in the paintings from Moisei Monastery since the seventeenth century when in the composition are rendered elements from everyday life and architectures similar to Romanian villages.

The iconographic program of the Pious Paraschiva Church from Rășinari, carried out by painter Grigorie Ranite and his son Ioan, translate in a faithful manner the iconography specific to Brâncoveanu buildings and, in Transylvania, represents the iconographic prototype of churches dressed in pictorial adornment over a century – in the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. The lineage of the painter Grigorie Ranite, as son of artist Hranite, acclimatized to the Brâncoveanu mural assemblies, establishes the defining hallmark of promotion and undisguised dissemination of art from the south of the Carpathians. Throughout his artistic career, Grigorie Ranite remains loyal to the paternal manner and painting style. The painting secrets are shared with his son Ioan, settled in Transylvania, perpetuating the artistic creation initiated in the south of Carpathians¹.

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**2. Madonna with Child, Crowning the Virgin,
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3. Holy Hierarchs, altar apse



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**07. Female Martyrs, Ecumenical Synod,
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08. Bosom of Avraam, tower base, Northern arch



09. Scenes from the Apocalypse, Western narthex

**THE ITALIAN PAINTINGS
FROM THE COLLECTION OF ZSIGMOND ORMÓS (1813–1894)**

Marius CORNEA*

Abstract: *Through the bequest of the 18th of September 1895, the majority of the paintings, prints and drawings in Ormós Zsigmond's collection entered the inventory of the Historical and Archaeological Society of Banat (Timișoara), thus representing the nucleus of the present-day European paintings, prints and drawings collection (centuries 15th–20th) of the Art Museum Timișoara. The author of the article discusses the provenance of the Italian paintings from the collection of Zsigmond Ormós (1813–1894), the Prefect of the Timiș County in the Austro–Hungarian Empire in the second half of the 19th century.*

Keywords: *collection Zsigmond Ormós (1813–1894), Italian Painting, Timișoara, province of Banat, Austro-Hungarian Empire*

Rezumat: *Prin donația testamentară din 18 septembrie 1895 aproape întreaga colecție de picturi, gravuri și desene a lui Zsigmond Ormós (1813–1894) a intrat în patrimoniul Societății de Istorie și Arheologie din Banat (Timișoara), formând nucleul colecției de pictură și grafică europeană a Muzeului de Artă Timișoara. Autorul acestui articol discută proveniența picturilor italiene din secolele XV–XIX din colecția lui Ormós, comite de Timiș în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea.*

Cuvinte-cheie: *colecția Zsigmond Ormós (1813–1894), pictură italiană veche, Timișoara, provincia Banat, Imperiul Austro-Ungar*

This year will be published the first *Illustrated general Catalogue of European Painting from the Art Museum of Timișoara*, that offers the outcome of the researches carried out during the period 2001 to 2010 regarding the history of the circulations and attributions, epochs and artistic schools of the paintings and portrait miniatures of the European collection of the Art Museum of Timișoara. The 427 paintings (82 Italian paintings, 23 Flemish and Dutch, 110 German and Austrian, 177 Hungarian, 26 French, 9 pertaining to other schools) and 49 portrait miniatures, which have been the objects of researches, come from Zsigmond Ormós's collection (Pecica, 1813 – Budapest, 1894) (Fig. 1), from purchases and gifts, as well as from transfers from the National Art Museum of the S.R. of Romania Bucharest (1967).

Through the bequest of the 18th of September 1895, the majority of the painting in Ormós's collection entered the inventory of the Historical and Archaeological Society of Banat (Timișoara), thus representing the nucleus of the present-day European paintings, prints and drawings collection (from 15th to 20th centuries) of

the Art Museum Timișoara. In his quality as the Prefect of the Timiș County in the second half of the 19th century, collector and art historian, Zsigmond Ormós's pioneer work in the field of museology in Banat led to the publishing of the catalogue of his own art collection in 1874 (second revised and enlarged edition in 1888), making an outstanding contribution to the establishment of the Historical and Archaeological Society of Banat (1872), to the publishing of the society's issues, as well as to obtaining a building for the Timișoara museum (Áldor 1883, 1–31; Patzner 1895, 81–116; Borovszky f.a., 224; Radu 1974, 6–13; Kakucs 1996, 191–201; Kiss 1996, 202–206; Miklósik 1996, 207–216; Medeleț, Toma 1997, 53–54; Miklósik 2002, 606–608 ; Toma 2005, 379 – 392).

In the entirety of Ormós's collection, Italian painting occupies an important place in terms of both value and number, revealing the art collector's preference for the 16th to the 18th century Northern Italian art. In 1857 Zsigmond Ormós's first trip to Venice is documented (last visit in 1883), with the

* Art Museum Timisoara / Muzeul de Artă Timișoara, corneamarius@hotmail.com.

intention of purchasing works of art, thus being advised by painter Elek Szamosy (1826–1888), who restored some of the paintings in his friend's collection. In the Ormós collection there were 30 paintings executed by Elek Szamosy, 17 of which copies and interpretations after Bonifazio Veneziano, Giorgione, Titian, Veronese, Tintoretto, Palma il Vecchio and Luca Giordano, executed in Venice between 1858 and 1859 (today part of the inventory of the Art Museum Timișoara).

At the end of his journey through Italy in May 1859, Ormós presented the National Museum in Pest with a gift of 15 paintings, which were to be transferred between 1875 and 1877 to the National Gallery in Budapest, a museum which had been opened in 1871. In the State Archives, the Timiș Branch, the list of 16th to 18th centuries paintings presented as a gift by Ormós is being stored (The Ormós fund no. 131, 178):

– Sebastiano del Piombo, *Portrait of a Woman*, oil on canvas, mm 540 x 447, Museum of Fine Arts Budapest, inv. no. 1010. Katalog 1967, vol. 1, 737: Venetian school, 17th century

– Francesco Albani, *Nymph and Faun*, oil on canvas, mm 690 x 520, Museum of Fine Arts Budapest, inv. no. 511 (270). Katalog 1871, 19, n. 52 (Francesco Albani); Katalog 1895, 120, n. 511 (Francesco Albani); Katalog 1967, vol. 1, 593 (school of Rome, second half of the 17th century)

– Bolognese school, *David with the Head of Goliath*, transferred in 1885 to Timișoara, to be found today in the Art Museum Timișoara. Catalogue 1873, 25, n. 13 (Bolognese school); Ormós 1888 (Pompeo Batoni)

– Paolo Farinati, *Jesus Handing Out Bread and Fishes*, oil on canvas, mm 590 x 1375, Museum of Fine Arts Budapest, inv. 921. Katalog 1871, 19, n. 47 (Paolo Farinati); Katalog 1967, vol. 1, 475 (Girolamo Muziano)

– Flemish-Dutch School, *Landscape*

– Giovanni Cariani, *Holy Virgin with Infant and Saint Francis of Assisi*, oil on canvas, mm 680 x 660, Museum of Fine Arts Budapest, inv. 79 (142). (Katalog 1895, 19, n. 79 – artist from Veneto, 16th century; Katalog 1967, vol. 1, 395 – Lorenzo Lotto)

– Cima da Conegliano, *Holy Virgin with Infant and Saints Francis and Catherine of Alexandria*, found today in the Art Museum Timișoara. (Katalog 1871, 13, n. 2 – Cima da Conegliano)

– Giulio Carpioni, *Death of Leander*, oil on

canvas, mm 365 x 485, Museum of Fine Arts Budapest, inv. 600. (Katalog 1871, 20, n. 84 – Giulio Carpioni; Katalog 1873, 26, n. 49 – Giulio Carpioni; Katalog 1895, 139, n. 600 – Giulio Carpioni; Katalog 1967, vol. 1, 125 – Giulio Carpioni).

– Giulio Carpioni, *Bachanale and Satyr*, oil on canvas, mm 365 x 490, Museum of Fine Arts Budapest, inv. 602. (Katalog 1871, 20, n. 85 – Giulio Carpioni; Catalogue 1873, 26, n. 50 – Giulio Carpioni; Katalog 1895, 140, n. 602 – Giulio Carpioni; Katalog 1967, vol. 1, 125 – Giulio Carpioni).

– Domenico Maggiotto, *Young Shepherd*, found today in the Timișoara Art Museum. (Katalog 1871, 28, n. 79 – Domenico Maggiotto).

– Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo, *The Vision of Saint Hieronymus*, oil on canvas, mm 295 x 220, Museum of Fine Arts Budapest, inv. 666. (Katalog 1895, 153, n. 666 – Giandomenico Tiepolo; Katalog 1967, vol. 1, 236 – Francesco Fontebasso).

– In the manner of Salvator Rosa, *Miracle performed by Jesus Christ*, oil on canvas, mm 626 x 470, Museum of Fine Arts Budapest, inv. 3152. (Katalog 1967, vol. 1, 334 – Italian school, 17th century).

– Anonymous, *Italian Landscape with Church* (Budapest). (Katalog 1885, 32, n. 291 – Anonymous; Katalog 1892, 33, n. 282 – Anonymous).

– Paris Bordone, *Salvator Mundi* (today in the Art Museum of Timișoara). (Katalog 1871, 15, n. 47 – school of Paris Bordone).

– Elek Szamosy, *Holy Virgin*. (Katalog 1871, 7, n. 27 – Elek Szamosy; Katalog 1885, 22, n. 109 – Elek Szamosy; Katalog 1892, 8, n. 23 – Elek Szamosy).

Ormós's collection is clearly described in the catalogue published in 1888 (the first edition of the catalogue came out in 1874): 153 paintings from the 15th to the 19th century, 36 water colours, 41 portrait miniatures from the 18th and 19th centuries, 48 drawings, 112 engravings, 49 porcelain items, 26 metal works, 8 glass items, 9 tapestry works, 200 photographs, 80 books and art albums, each item being published together with an analytical, record index card, summing up a total of 598 catalogue numbers, with an author, subject, technique, size, origin, biographical data of the artist and stylistic considerations. In the foreword of the catalogue, Ormós mentioned the fact that he had used, as a manner of writing, the catalogue from 1881 of Count Adolf Friedrich Schack's

collection (1815–1894) from Munich, also underlining the main moments of his intellectual biography. Studying the catalogue of the 1888 collection, we may find that Ormós published 53 Italian paintings, which had been purchased starting with the year 1857 from Venice from the Feretti collections, Martinengo, Da Mosto, Lorenzi and Montini, from Florence from Agostino Tempesti, academic artist and restorer and from the antique shops in Venice, Florence, Rome and Naples, Cologne, Munich, from the Egger brothers in Vienna and from the art auctions in Budapest.

12 paintings were purchased from the **Feretti collection in Venice**, on the 30th of July, 1st and 2nd of August 1857, 8th of February 1859:

– Pietro Liberi, *The Circumcision of the Infant*, oil on canvas, mm 460 x 450, inv. no. 61, nowadays Venetian school, 17th century.

– Lazzaro Baldi (1623–1703), *Portrait of Leonardo Fioravanti*, oil on canvas, mm 965 x 800, inv. no. 5, signed and dated on the book on the lower left side: *L.B.F. 1685*. Purchased for 8 Florins.

– Luca Giordano, *Alexander the Great Refusing Water from the Helmet*, oil on canvas, mm 1150 x 1430, inv. no. 43 (recently attributed to Niccolò Bambini (1651–1736)). Purchased for 10 florins.

– Luca Giordano, *Alexander the Great Cutting the Gordian Knot*, oil on canvas, mm 1150 x 1430 mm, inv. no. 31 (recently attributed to Niccolò Bambini). Purchased for 10 florins.

– In the manner of Giuseppe Porta Salviati (1520–1572), *Young Woman*, oil on canvas, mm 425 x 325, inv. no. 18, nowadays Venetian school, late 16th century–early 17th century. Purchased for 13 florins.

– School of Guido Reni, *Saint Elisabeth*, oil on canvas, mm 1410 x 1030, inv. no. 48 (nowadays Italian school (Milan ?), second half of the 17th century). The theme of the painting is actually *Saint Ursula*. Purchased for 16 florins.

– School of Titian, *Holy Virgin with Infant and Saint Rochus*.

– Anonymous, *Holy Virgin with Infant and Saint Rochus*, oil on canvas on panel, mm 560 x 445, inv. no. 28. It was recently identified as an old copy after the altar painting by Girolamo Bedoli, called Girolamo Mazzola (approx. 1500–1569), to be found in the Dome of Parma. Purchased for 4 florins and 20 scudi.

– Giorgione, *The Sacrifice of Iphigenia*, oil on wood, mm 195 x 170, inv. no. 39 (recently attributed to Lamberto Sustris (1515/1516–approx. 1595)). Purchased for 9 florins.

– Donato Veneziano (15th century), *Saint Hieronymus in the Desert* (Fig. 2), cherry wood, mm 670 x 270, inv. no. 9 (recently attributed to Leonardo Boldrini, active in Venice, between 1452 and 1497). Purchased for 3 florins.

– Donato Veneziano, *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (Fig. 3), cherry wood, mm 670 x 270, inv. no. 8, (recently attributed to Leonardo Boldrini). Purchased for 3 florins.

– Domenico Fedeli, called Domenico Maggiotto (1713–1794), *Young Shepherd*, oil on canvas, mm 650 x 560, inv. no. 53. Purchased 2 florins.

From the **Martinengo family** collection in Venice in November 1858 he purchased for 4 golden napoleons *David with the Head of Goliath* as a painting of an anonymous artist from the Bolognese school (Oil on canvas, mm 1260 x 970, inv. no. 56). Later it was attributed by Ormós to Girolamo Pompeo Batoni (1708–1787).

From the **Da Mosto collection** (Venice) he purchased, on the 28th of November 1858, a painting attributed to Gregorio Lazzarini, *Artemisia*, for 10 florins (Oil on canvas, mm 850 x 1190, inv. no. 70. Nowadays Venetian school, second half of the 17th century, between Niccolò Bambini and Antonio Molinari).

3 paintings were purchased from the property of the academic artist **Amadeo Lorenzi from Venice**, on the 26th and 28th of February 1859:

– Andrea Meldolla, called Andrea Schiavone (1510/1515–1573), *The Rape of Europe*, oil on wood, mm 315 x 420, inv. no. 38. Purchased for 9 florins.

– In the manner of Giorgione, *The Judgement of Paris*, oil on wood, mm 640 x 480, inv. no. 42, nowadays Venetian school from the second half of the 16th century, interpretation after Andrea Michieli, called Il Vicentino. Purchased for 30 florins.

– Paris Bordone (1500–1571), *Salvator Mundi*, oil on canvas, mm 550 x 455, inv. no. 17, nowadays Venetian school from the first half of the 16th century and the painter restorer Elek Szamosy (19th century). Purchased for 22 florins and 22 kreuzers.

From the **Luigi Montini collection** from Verona, put up for auction in Venice, he purchased a

painting for 32 florins in 1857: Giovanni Battista Pittoni (1687–1767), *Atalanta and the Suitors* (Fig. 4). This painting was previously part of the collection belonging to Dr. Gregorio Avesani (Rossi 1854, 49; Franzoni 1979, 636; Gardner 1998, 54) from Verona (Casa del Civico Spedale, Via SS. Apostles n. 3027). The painting (oil on canvas, mm 3090 x 1920, inv. no. 10) was attributed by Theodor Ionescu (Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu) in 1962 to the artist Antonio Balestra (1666–1740) from Verona. The theme of the painting was recently identified as *Aeneas and Achates meet Venus in a Hunting Suit*.

11 paintings were purchased from Florence from the collection of academic artist **Agostino Tempesti** on the 20th and 24th of October 1872:

- Francesco Gessi (1588–1649), *Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, oil on canvas, mm 660 x 490, inv. no. 11. Purchased for 165 pounds.
- Copy after Raphael, *Madonna del cardellino* (the original work is in the Uffizi gallery in Florence).
- Copy after Raphael, *Selfportrait* (the original work is in the Uffizi gallery).
- Agostino Carracci (1557–1602), *Hercules Spinning out the Golden Fleece*, oil on canvas, mm 1070 x 780, inv. no. 33 (recently attributed to Michele Desubleo (1602–1676). Purchased for 104 Pounds and a half.
- Copy after Correggio, *Holy Virgin with Infant* (the original work is in the Uffizi gallery).
- Carlo Maratta, *Holy Virgin with Infant and Saint Dominic*, oil on canvas, mm 760 x 990, inv. no. 62. Nowadays it is considered a workshop (?) copy of the painting *The Miraculous Healing of Saint Dominic of Guzman* by Sebastiano Conca (1680–1764) from the picture gallery in Stuttgart (oil on canvas, mm 755 x 1000, inv. no. 3199). Purchased for 66 Pounds.
- Giovanni Battista Piazzetta (1683–1754), *Girl with Birdcage*, oil on canvas, mm 310 x 250, inv. no. 69 (recently attributed to the circle of G. B. Piazzetta). Purchased for 27 pounds and a half.
- Copy after Guido Reni, *Beatrice Cenci*.
- School of Andrea del Sarto, *Joseph of Arimathea Holding the Body of Jesus*, oil on canvas on wood, mm 760 x 595, inv. no. 46 (recently attributed to a Florentine workshop, around 1520). Purchased for 143 pounds.
- School of Andrea del Sarto, *Angel of Passion*, oil on canvas, mm 1060 x 520 mm, inv. no. 41 (recently attributed to an unknown Italian painter

from 19th (?) century. Purchased for 82 Pounds and a half.

– Cosimo Ulivelli (1625–1704), *Holy Virgin* (from the scene *Annunciation*) (Fig. 5), oil on canvas, mm 400 x 290, inv. no. 64. Purchased for 110 pounds.

21 paintings were purchased from **Venice** in 1857 (30th, 31st of July, August), 1858 (October, November, December), 1859 (April) and in 1862:

- Carlo Caliari (1570–1596), *Portrait of a Venetian Nobleman*, oil on canvas, mm 660 x 450, inv. no. 6. Purchased for 5 florins.
- Felice Damiani da Gubbio (approx. 1540–1608), *The Nativity*, oil on canvas, mm 825 x 980, inv. no. 20, nowadays Venetian school, 17th century. Purchased for 14 florins.
- Pietro Rotari (1707–1762), *The Allegory of Poetry*, oil on canvas, mm 755 x 590, inv. no. 68. Purchased for 4 florins.
- Pietro Rotari, *The Allegory of Painting*, oil on canvas, mm 760 x 590, inv. no. 65. Purchased for 4 florins.
- Anonymous, *The Penant Saint Magdalen*, oil on canvas mm 560 x 400, inv. no. 29 (nowadays Italian school, 17th century). Purchased for 7 florins and 36 scudi.
- Francesco Fontebasso (1709–1769), *Joseph Introducing Ephraim and Manasseh to Jacob*, oil on canvas, mm 604 x 455, inv. no. 50. Purchased for 5 florins and 20 scudi.
- Sigismundo Migali, from Milan, 18th century, *Trompe-l'oeil* (Fig. 6), oil on canvas, mm 675 x 610, inv. no. 24, purchased for 3 florins (nowadays Italian school, 17th century, in the manner of Andrea Gottardo Remps/Rens, attested in Venice between 1685 and 1690). Sigismundo Migali could be considered the commissioner of the painting, with the residence in Milan near Porta Tossa.
- Marcantonio Franceschini (1648–1729), *The Allegory of Restrained Force and Passion* (Fig. 7), oil on canvas, mm 1480 x 2155, inv. no. 66 (recently attributed to Gregorio Lazzarini (1655–1730). Purchased for 36 florins.
- Paris Bordone (1500–1571), *The Nativity*, oil on canvas, mm 670 x 390 mm, signed on the lower right side: PARIS BORDONE, inv. no. 2 (recently attributed to an Italian unknown artist from Veneto, 17th–18th centuries). Purchased for 6 Florins and 40 kreuzers.

- Pietro Vecchia, *The Apostle Peter*, oil on canvas, mm 495 x 405, inv. no. 30. It is considered as a painting of the Italian school (Venice ?) from the second half of the 17th century. Purchased for 2 florins.
- Marco Palmezzano, *The Mystical Betrothal of Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, oil on wood, mm 530 x 658, inv. no. 45, nowadays Venetian school from the first half of the 16th century, possibly Francesco Rizzo da Santacroce). Purchased for 2 napoleons.
- Venetian school, *Aurore*, oil on canvas, mm 750 x 1170, inv. no. 16, nowadays Venetian school, 17th century. Purchased for 2 florins and 4 scudi.
- Copy after Titian, *Saint John the Baptist*, oil on canvas, mm 820 x 580, inv. no. 23, nowadays copy from the first half of the 19th century after the original from the Gallerie dell'Accademia (Venice). Purchased for 12 florins.
- In the manner of Leandro da Ponte, called Leandro Bassano (1557–1622), *The Descent from the Cross*, oil on canvas, mm 700 x 840, inv. no. 52. Purchased for 24 florins.
- Anonymous, *Hercules*, oil on canvas, mm 705 x 535, inv. no. 26, nowadays Italian school (pupil of the Art Academy of Venice), first half of the 19th century. Purchased for 2 florins.
- School of Pietro da Cortona, *The Martyrdom of Saint Martina*, oil on canvas, mm 620 x 840, inv. no. 44, nowadays Italian school (Venice ?), mid 17th century.
- Polidoro Lanciano (1514–1565), *Mystical Betrothal of Saint Catherine*, oil on wood, mm 535 x 750, inv. no. 34 (it is considered a painting from the workshop of Polidoro Lanciano).
- In the manner of Eustache Lesueur (1617–1655), *Saint John the Baptist as a Child*, oil on canvas, mm 370 x 270, inv. no. 91, nowadays Venetian school, 17th century, in the manner of Giulio Carpioni. Purchased for 6 florins and 30 kreuzers.
- Andrea Meldolla, called Andrea Schiavone (1510/1515–1573), *Saint Magdalene in the Desert*, oil on wood, mm 215 x 145, inv. no. 40. Ormós had received the painting from the artist Elek Szamosy, who left Venice in April 1859.
- Italian anonymous (in the manner of Giovanni Bellini and Palma il Vecchio), *The Holy Family with Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, oil on wood, mm 640 x 750, inv. no. 12 (recently attributed to Francesco Rizzo da Santacroce, active in Veneto

between 1490 and 1548). Purchased for 3 golden napoleons and 2 florins.

- Giovanni Bellini (approx. 1430–1516), *Holy Virgin with Infant*, oil on wood, mm 875 x 825, inv. no. 27, signed and dated in the lower middle side: IOANNES BELLINVS P.1479. It is considered as an old copy/interpretation after Giovanni Bellini.

In February 1859 he purchased for 2 florins from a Frenchman who was leaving Venice *The Allegory of Justice* (oil on canvas, mm 550 x 430, inv. no. 60) attributed to Chiara Varotari (1584–after 1663).

In 1858 Zsigmond Ormós purchased from Cologne *The Holy Virgin with Infant and a Parrot* (oil on canvas, mm 870 x 920 mm, inv. no. 19) in the manner of Perugino for 45 florins/30 talers. Today it is considered a painting by an unknown artist from the 17th century, who worked in the manner of Perugino (1446–1524).

From the antiquary Josef Anmüller in Munich in September 1860 he purchased for 7 florins and 30 kreuzers the *Portrait of the Young Seminarist Wilhelm Zeno Erthal* by an unknown painter (oil on canvas, mm 740 x 540, inv. no. 86, dated on the upper right side 1689). This painting was attributed to Sebastiano Bombelli (1635–after 1716) by Roberto Longhi in 1962.

First hand paintings, copies after great masters and questioned paternity or with an unidentified author are published in the catalogues of the collection written by Ormós in Timișoara in 1874 and 1888 – Italian, Flemish and Dutch, German and Austrian, Hungarian and Banat paintings.

The most mentioned artistic painting centre in the 1888 catalogue is Venice with paintings attributed to Giovanni Bellini, Cima da Conegliano, Giorgione and Titian, Gregorio Lazzarini, Giovanni Battista Piazzetta, Domenico Maggiotto and Giovanni Battista Pittoni. The Naples school is represented by a highly prestigious name for the 17th century: Luca Giordano, present with two paintings depicting scenes from the life of Alexander the Great, and the Roman school with paintings attributed to Pietro da Cortona, Lazzaro Baldi, Carlo Maratta and Pompeo Batoni. The Emilia school (Bologna) has been illustrated with the paintings of Agostino Carracci, Guido Reni, Francesco Gessi and Marcantonio Franceschini, and the Florentine artistic centre with the paintings of Andrea del Sarto, Perugino and Cosimo Ulivelli. Also, copies after Rafael, Giorgione, Titian, Paolo

Veronese, Tintoretto, Correggio and Guido Reni could be encountered in the collection. Among the authors of the drawings, the most prestigious names belonged to the Italian schools: Andrea Mantegna, Tintoretto, Agostino Carracci, Giovanni Battista Piazzetta and Giovanni Battista Tiepolo. In the catalogue, the paintings are ranked alphabetically after the artist's name. Studying the collection during the last century has led to the conclusion that most of these attributions are erroneous. Ormós has obviously collected according to his taste and for the delight of his eyes, thus owning all types of paintings, from religious and mythological themes to portraits, landscapes and still lifes, genre scenes, historical themes and allegories. Also, Ormós's collection included paintings attributed to Flemish and Dutch schools (Jan Fyt, Philips Wouwerman, in the manner of Rembrandt, Frans Pourbus the Young, copy after Anthon van Dyck, Jan Le Ducq), German (school of Lucas Cranach the Elder, school of Albrecht Dürer, Asam Cosmas Damian, Maximilian Schmaedel, Ludwig Thiersch) and Austrian (Johann Kupetzky, Anton Ignaz Hamilton), Hungarian (Johann Donát, Antal Fialla, Ede Komlóssy, Antal Ligeti, József Marastoni, Károly Markó the Young) and French (manner of Eustache Le Sueur) artists from the 15th to 19th centuries, together with copies after Rembrandt van Rijn, Pieter Paul Rubens and Anthon van Dyck's paintings and over 620 engravings and drawings (attributed to Cornelius Bloemaert, Jacques Callot, Dominique Nollet and Johann Kupetzky).

Collector Ormós Zsigmond's complex personality, an intellectual of fine erudition, is also proved by his personal art library, presented in the 1888 catalogue and which contains books and dictionaries especially linked to his research and study interests: 16th and 18th centuries Italian art. Only 80 books on painting and drawing are mentioned in the catalogue, fundamental texts which bear the signature of Johann Joachim Winckelmann and Jacob Burckhardt. Ormós was also very alert about the last biographical issues, thus owning the complete edition of the history of Italian Art written by J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle (German edition, 6 vol., Leipzig, Verlag von H. Hirzel, 1869–1876), together with works of Italian artistic interest signed by Cennino Cennini, Leon Battista Alberti, Lodovico Dolce, Carlo Ridolfi (*Le meraviglie dell'arte*, Padova, second edition, 1835) and Rafael's monograph written by J. D. Passavant (1839, 1858), J. Burckhardt (*Der Cicerone* and *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*), Oskar Mothes (*Geschichte*

der Baukunst und Malerei Venedigs, Leipzig, 1860).

Zsigmond Ormós had written three monographic works about Raphael (1867), Giorgione (1872) and Johann Kupetzky (1888).

Ormós's collection included 200 photographs taken by Ponti and Naya (Venice), Enrico Pezzana (Parma), J. B. Philpot (Florence), Turgis jeune (Paris), Piloty and Loehle (Munich), Gyula Ádám – photographs of famous paintings of Giotto, Beato Angelico, Andrea Orcagna, Benozzo Gozzoli, Taddeo Gaddi, Massacio and Masolino, Andrea del Sarto, Dürer, Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Rafael, Titian, Correggio, Guido Reni and B. E. Murillo.

The study of the European painting collection by István Berkeszi, Ioachim Miloia, Anatolie Teodosiu, Stela Radu, Annemarie Podlipny-Hehn and Rodica Vârtaciu was materialized through the publishing of several guides of the picture gallery in 1896 (reprinted in Kalauz 1916), Călăuza 1927 and Ghid 1978. These works record the exhibited paintings. In the 1978 guide book, the names of the artists and the titles of the paintings were supplemented by thin general information regarding the paintings. In 1977 the permanent exhibitions were closed, and after 1989 the European paintings would be temporarily exhibited in 1994, 1999 and 2001 within events accompanied by exhibition leaflets and catalogues (Vârtaciu 1994, Vârtaciu 1999, Vârtaciu 2001, Miklóšik 2001) In December 2006 the main exhibition was inaugurated, displaying a value based selection of works belonging to the European painting inventory, on the second floor of the County House/Old Prefecture Mercy wing, a building known to the people of Timisoara as the Baroque Palace (Cornea 2005, Cornea 2006, Cornea 2007).

This first general illustrated catalogue records the various opinions of Romanian museum curators who have dealt with promoting this inventory through exhibitions and articles, as well as the opinions expressed by foreign specialists.

Valuable suggestions and information on painting attributions were often provided through exchange of opinions with my teachers in Italy and with specialists from France, Spain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, Poland, Germany, the Czech Republic, Austria and Romania, to whom I am indebted in this respect: Bernard Aikema and Enrico Maria dal Pozzolo (Università degli Studi di Verona), Prof. Mina Gregori, Paolo Benassai, Silvia Benassai, Federico Berti, Andrei Bliznyukov, Chiara Olivetti, Alessandra Tamborini

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Researching this European painting inventory resulted in reviewing and changing some initial attributions that had proven wrong, as well as including some anonymous works in provincial schools or in certain prestigious artists' sphere of influence.

During the 2005–2006 academic years, as a scholar of the Roberto Longhi Institute of Art History Studies in Florence (president – Mina Gregori), and during the 2006–2007 and 2007–2008 academic years, as a beneficiary of the research

and post-graduate training scholarship „Nicolae Iorga” granted by the Romanian Institute for Culture and Humanistic Research of Venice (Directors Acad. and University. Prof. Ioan Aurel Pop and Monica Joița, Ph.D), I have undertaken documentation and research work regarding the Italian painting and graphic arts fund within the project entitled „Italian painting and graphic arts, during the 15th and 19th centuries, in the Art Museum of Timisoara Inventory catalogue". Along with the systematization of the iconographic aspects of the 250 works of Italian painting and graphic arts, I also aimed at reviewing the attributions, the dating and the inclusion of these works into art schools, and, perhaps suggest some changes or propose possible identifications, if the research provided sufficient arguments in this respect.

The activities of documentation and research during the October 2005 – August 2008 period, was carried out within the following institutions: Fondazione di Studi di Storia dell'Arte Roberto Longhi Florence, Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Villa I Tati di Bernard Berenson (Harvard University) Settignano, Correr and Querini Stampalia libraries in Venice, the library of the Giorgio Cini Institute in Venice, in museums throughout Italy (Florence, Rome, Milan, Venice, Turin, Naples, Bologna, Padova, Verona, Vicenza, Genova, Ravenna, Pisa, Siena, Belluno, Ferrara, Rovigo, Bassano del Grappa), Germany (Berlin, Hamburg, Dresda, Leipzig) and in London.

Regarding collector Zsigmond Ormós, he is more than a simple memory in his province in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, today located in Romania: paintings with attributions that are certain or undergoing research, along with the collection of portrait miniatures, drawings and engravings, which make up the present core of the European Art Gallery within the Art Museum of Timisoara.

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**1. Vastagh György (Szeged, 1834–Budapest, 1922),
Portrait of Zsigmond Ormós, the Prefect of Timiș County (1885)**



2. Leonardo Boldrini,
Saint Hieronymus in the Desert



3. Leonardo Boldrini,
Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata



4. Antonio Balestra
Aeneas and Achates meet Venus in a Hunting Suit



5. Cosimo Ulivelli (Florence, 1625–Florence, 1704), *Holy Virgin*



6. Anonymous, 17th c., *Trompe-l'oeil*



7. Gregorio Lazzarini (Venice, 1655–Villabona di Rovigo, 1730),
The Allegory of Restrained Force and Passion

THE PROBLEM OF ORIGINS AND INFLUENCES IN TRANSYLVANIAN WOODEN ARCHITECTURE IN CORIOLAN PETRANU'S WRITINGS

Vlad ȚOCA*

Abstract: *This paper aims at investigating Coriolan Petranu's ideas regarding the origins and influences of the Romanian wooden architecture of Transylvania as reflected by his works. These aspects play a central role in his writings. Petranu's core belief is that the Romanian wooden religious architecture is profoundly original, influencing the art of neighbouring regions and peoples, and that it has been only slightly influenced by the major Western styles of masonry architecture.*

Key words: *wooden churches, wooden architecture, Coriolan Petranu, Transylvania, peasant art.*

Rezumat: *Lucrarea își propune cercetarea ideilor privind originea și influențele bisericilor românești de lemn din Transilvania în lucrările lui Coriolan Petranu. Aceste aspecte joacă un rol central în scrierile acestuia. Credința sa era că arhitectura românească de lemn era profund originală, influențând la rândul ei arta regiunilor și popoarelor vecine și că a fost doar parțial influențată de stilurile principale de arhitectură din Occident.*

Cuvinte cheie: *biserici de lemn, arhitectură de lemn, Coriolan Petranu, Transilvania, artă țărănească.*

In Coriolan Petranu's (1893–1945) writings, the topic of Transylvanian Romanians' wooden church architecture played a major part. In the works dedicated to wooden architecture the aspects concerning its origins and the influences – received or transmitted – held a central position. The present paper aims at analysing these ideas as they surface from Petranu's works published during the whole of his career.

The papers in which Coriolan Petranu discussed the problematic of Transylvanian Romanians' wooden religious architecture are fairly numerous related to the whole of his writings. These works are of a very diverse nature, some being of an outstanding scholarly character, others represent the result of polemics – academic or not –, while the rest are vulgarising and propaganda texts. His most important works are those dedicated to the wooden architecture of Arad and Bihor Counties. The two monographs – *Bisericile de lemn din județul Arad*. Sibiu: Krafft & Drotleff, 1927 (The Wooden Churches from Arad County) and, respectively, *Monumentele istorice ale județului Bihor. I. Bisericile de lemn*. Sibiu: Krafft &

Drotleff, 1931 (Bihor County's Historical Monuments. I. The Wooden Churches) – are exhaustive repertoires of the monuments in the two counties. These two very important works are complemented by a series of other works of which a mention must be made of the following: *Biserica reformată din Sighet și bisericile de lemn din Maramureș*. Separatum din *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională (Cluj)*, vol. X, 1945, Sibiu, 1945 (The Reformed Church from Sighet and the Wooden Churches of Maramureș); *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Siebenbürger Rumänen im Lichte der bisherigen Forschung*. Cluj: Cartea Românească, 1927; *Artă românească din Transilvania*. Universitatea „Regele Ferdinand I” din Cluj–Sibiu. Biblioteca Viață și Cultură. Seria: *Problema Transilvaniei*, fasc. 3, Sibiu: Cartea românească din Cluj, 1943 (Romanian Art in Transylvania); *Ars Transsilvaniae. Etudes d'histoire de l'art transilvain. Studien zur Kunstgeschichte Siebenbürgens*. Sibiu: Krafft & Drotleff, 1944; *L'art Roumain de Transylvanie*. Vol. I. Texte, Extrait du *La Transylvanie*, București, 1938.

* Babeș Bolyai University, Art History Department / Universitatea Babeș Bolyai, Catedra de Istoria Artei, Cluj-Napoca, vtoca@hiphi.ubbcluj.ro.

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As a former student of the Art History Department of the Vienna University, Coriolan Petranu was – at least in his scientific works – an adept of what Ján Bakoš calls “genetic formalism”. (Bakoš 2004, 87)

This type of discourse had the most profound impact on the historiographies of Central Europe after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Genetic formalism used as a research method in art history is opposed to the concept of *Geistesgeschichte* (Bakoš 2004, 87), as coined by Max Dvořák (Dvořák 1924). E. H. Gombrich considered that this concept, very appreciated by many of those who studied at the University of Vienna, was responsible for resurrecting “prescientific habits of the mind”, “totalitarian habits of the mind”, which ultimately proliferate the “habit of mystification” and creating “romantic mythologies” (Gombrich 1973, 53). In Petranu’s writings this last approach was conspicuously present in his polemic or vulgarising texts. Reviewing his works, an effort on his behalf to adapt his ideas to these very different approaches is revealed.

A large part of Petranu’s writings was dedicated to Romanian folk art and its relations with that of other peoples of Transylvania. The art historian considered that in this field Romanians have been the most important because their folk art had a seminal role for the other nations of Transylvania as well as for areas outside of it. The author found numerous elements borrowed from the Romanians by Saxons, Hungarians or Szeklers. Thus, from his point of view, the Romanian folk art has been profoundly original, preserving and spreading elements that survived from a distant past, while the influences received from Transylvania’s other nations or from high art were insignificant (Țoca 2010, 361–365). In what the relationship with Transylvania’s other nations is concerned, the Romanian folk art stands out because of “the artistic value of its products, [and] influences exerted on peoples living alongside, and neighbouring ones” (Petranu 1945a, 26–29).

Petranu believes a totally different relationship was established between the nations of Transylvania in what high art, of western tradition, is concerned: “In what high art is concerned, western historic styles were introduced by Saxons and foreigners, western art was spread by Saxons and Hungarians, while the Byzantine style [was introduced] by Romanians. The western styles came to Transylvania first of all from Germany and Austria, the Byzantine style from Wallachia and Moldavia, in rare cases from other provinces of

Byzantine art” (Petranu 1945a, 27–28). As he often did in his vulgarising texts, as in *Arta Românească din Transilvania* (Romanian Art in Transylvania), Petranu had an ambivalent discourse, not revealing things in their totality, or insinuating. A first impression, when reading the fragment quoted above, might be that Hungarians had an equally important role in the development of Transylvanian art, as the Romanians and the Saxons had. A more attentive reading can highlight nuances that may be overlooked at first. Thus, the *Saxons and foreigners* were the ones to *introduce* the western styles, while Saxons and Hungarians spread them. In other words, Hungarians were just consumers of western art, this later never becoming their own. In the same text, this aspect is fully explained, as the author asserts that Hungarian monuments are “in their vast majority the [result of the] work of non-Hungarians (foreigners) from former Hungary and even other countries” (Petranu 1945a, 28). At the same time, the monuments of the Saxons are superior in *number* and *value* to those of the Hungarians – Petranu never explains, as he very often does, what this value is. Romanians are considered to be, from the start, different from the Saxons and Hungarians. They were the ones to introduce in Transylvania the Byzantine style, which was, in a good measure, that of Wallachia and Moldavia, an aspect considered by the author to have a great importance. The fact that the most influences came from the two Romanian principalities, is a new proof, in Petranu’s opinion for the strong bonds that existed, during time, between all Romanians, irrespective of state borders. The author points out that the Romanian monuments are *as old as* those of the nations living alongside, and that their value is at least equal to the ones of the other nations.

In Petranu’s opinion, a field where Romanians have always been unquestionably superior is that of wooden architecture. This is an original form of art that singles out the Romanians, because the Saxons and Hungarians haven’t created this kind of monuments. In order not to distort the scientific truth, the author mentioned the existence, in the past, of this kind of monuments in the architecture of the other two nations. But at the end, Petranu adds a value judgement, saying (again without offering any explanation) that the monuments of the Saxons and Hungarians are “far more inferior” compared to those built by the Romanians.

As it has been previously pointed out, central European art historians – Coriolan Petranu is no exception – had been interested, between the two

world wars, to ascertain the place taken and the role played by the art of their respective nation within the larger framework of universal art (i.e. western). Petranu considered that, in this respect, the Romanians contributed with two major elements: the wooden churches and the folk art, the first of which represent "a Romanian, independent group, of European wooden churches, having a high artistic and historic value". (Petranu 1944a, 28) Petranu displays here the same diplomacy seen before (one might say the same guile). The sentence continues saying that this group of Romanian wooden churches stands side by side with "the northern one of the eastern Slavs and of the western Slavs, and maybe it even surpasses them" –not making it clear why are they superior (Petranu 1944a, 28–29). The text quoted above represents the conclusion to a presentation given in Warsaw, Poland, and the Poles have always been very proud of their beautiful wooden architecture (as have been the Ukrainians and other Slavs). It is obvious that basic courtesy prevented Petranu from offending the hosts by ignoring their – without doubt important – contribution to the development of this field. This is quite unique in Petranu's works, because he constantly ignores or minimises their role (although this text too, contains a value judgement). Petranu states that the two groups *stand side-by-side*, meaning that they are in fact separate, and not connected to one another. On many occasions the Transylvanian scholar pointed out the fact that there was no influence from the Ukrainian and Polish churches that was received by the Romanian ones, and that in many cases, much to the contrary, the churches of the Slavs were influenced or even built by Romanians, or by groups of expatriates, or "Vlahs" that have lost their national identity. Emphasising his idea, Petranu affirms that it is possible that even Scandinavian architecture received influences from this region, mainly in what decoration is concerned, as a result of commercial exchanges (Petranu 1944b, 283–301). His opinion was in contradiction with that of many scholars of that period, including that of his professor and mentor Josef Strzygowski who, in spite of considering the Romanian churches a separate group, tended to include it in a continuum of wooden architecture spanning from the east up to the far north of Europe, including all the areas where timber was abundant enough. In order to avoid conflicts, especially with his revered master, Petranu preferred to keep silence and only vaguely mentioned the subject.

In Petranu's view, folk art, of which religious wooden architecture is an important part, has always played a major role within universal art, through its intrinsic qualities, among which he identifies its archaic character and minimal reception of influences from high art, but most of all because of the influence it exerted over the art of the other nations of Transylvania and also of the neighbouring countries.

A very interesting problematic within Petranu's writings is that of dating these monuments. Compared to the problems discussed previously this particular aspect can offer a series of surprises, resulting from the nature and tone of the statements. At the time when Petranu wrote, dating these monuments posed serious problems, resulting from the conservation state of the monuments and the absence of documents and inscriptions. Most of these last referred to the churches' paintings, thus offering only very vague clues regarding the date of construction. Although according to these inscriptions, the earliest monuments date from the end of the 16th century, Petranu believed that the surviving monuments replicated an older style, thus placing the moment of creation of their style in a much earlier period.

When introducing the supposition according to which the Transylvanian type was established around the middle of the 14th century, based on the steeple's gothic elements and its very elongated clad spire, Petranu quotes Franz Schulcz (Schultz) (Haas – Schulcz 1866, 1–14), but considers that these are just some elements that superposed much older ones. He believed these last must have had a long evolution behind them, which "based not on the influence of historic styles, but the material: wood" (Petranu 1931, 27). Because here it suited the demonstration of his theory, Petranu rejected Alois Riegl's – which served him well on other occasions – in order to demonstrate aspects also related to dating monuments, and adopted Gottfried Semper's opposing ideas that claims that the style is determined in a great measure by the material. Petranu's demonstration was in this case as follows: the Romanians have had an ancient wood civilisation, which survived the passing of the centuries without being altered in its most core aspects.

In the above mentioned volume about the monuments in Bihor County, it is interesting to compare the dating operated by Petranu and that made by the Commission for Historical Monuments from Budapest, published in 1901, which used data from the state's and county's

archives, and from field research. Petranu expressed his doubt in what this study was concerned, although in many cases this paper dated many churches much earlier than he did, sometimes even with a couple of centuries. But ultimately Petranu was a scholar, a positivist one. For him the document was sacred and was beyond doubt. In this case it was not anymore about interpretations and theories, but solid proofs, and Petranu could ignore them although the results of the Hungarian inventory served his interests better. In cases as the one mentioned, we are dealing with the situation described by Ján Bakoš, in which the art historians of central Europe, former students of the Vienna school, managed not to fall into a romantic nationalism, precisely by using this type of positivist discourse. Petranu's tone was in this case restrained, even appeasing. But he could not refrain himself from pointing out the fact that the work was authored by a non-specialist, A. Vende, a journalist. He admitted, though, that much data, probably given by locals, was used without being verified, and also admitted the fact that in numerous cases the churches had been moved and that more than thirty years had passed since the inventory had been published (Petranu 1931, 32–33).

In his monograph about Arad County's monuments, Coriolan Petranu, in accordance with Strzygowski's method, described the atmosphere created by these monuments and the emotional environment in which they were created. It is a phenomenological approach that he did not use again in the book about Bihor County's monuments, because he considered it an unneeded repetition of the same information, already used in his study about the monuments of Transylvanian Romanians (*Die Kunstdenkmäler der Siebenbürger Rumänen im Lichte der bisherigen Forschung*). Here, Petranu made clear his intention of marking the place and importance of the Romanian wooden architecture within the larger framework of European art history, of which it is part. This part of the text was largely based on Josef Strzygowski's latest studies. Petranu quoted him and compared the Romanian churches with the Croatian ones (also studied by Strzygowski), affirming that in both cases not their size matters, but their monumentality, this being a general characteristic of eastern European monuments.

Coriolan Petranu shared Rudolf Wesser's opinion, who divided European wooden architecture into four groups, one of them being the Romanian one, considering that this point of view stressed the fact that this group played a special role within the

continent's wooden architecture and had a profoundly seminal character (Wesser 1903). Combined research carried out by art historians between the two world wars, and most of all those of Josef Strzygowski could, in Petranu's opinion, shed a new light on this type of architecture and also mediaeval art in general, making necessary a new evaluation through new investigations. The old literature not only ignored this way of building, but it concentrated on regional and national studies, in which wooden monuments were seen simply as replicas of those made of masonry. Strzygowski's works were also valuable for offering a global vision of the European wooden architecture, offering explanations about origins and influences, although serious problems arose from the absence of published information for all the areas. He saw the wooden architecture of Eastern Europe as keeper of local traditions, which had their origins in the distant prehistory, when this area was a mediator between east and west, while being different from the last. Therefore, Strzygowski claimed that this area must not be seen as inferior or barbarian. Characteristic for Eastern Europe were constructions using horizontal logs, spanning from Finland to the Balkans, from where this type irradiated to other areas, some of which are very distant. According to Strzygowski's theory the Romanian churches went "hand in hand" with those of the Slavs. The horizontal logs type was characteristic for the areas where timber was abundant, while timber framing is used where it was scarce. This last method appeared only in the 6th century, while the other was much older. As examples, Petranu quoted Vitruvius and also mentioned Attila's wooden palace. Many other examples from across Europe were given in order to prove the existence, from ancient times, of this type of construction and also its widespread.

The roofing systems used in the Croatian and Romanian churches seemed to have originated in western timber framed structures, mainly from the German areas. But Strzygowski formulated a hypothesis that Petranu took into consideration, more out of respect for his master, than being truly convinced. This theory claimed, the import of elements from the distant east, from Mazdaist Iran, with the eastern Slavs acting as a transfer medium. Strzygowski and his circle are well known for their daring theories concerning these eastern influences in European art, and also those concerning the north of the continent. Interestingly, Petranu did not dismiss from the start such a hypothesis (as he

had done with the ideas of his Hungarian colleagues, which also stated against the authentic and unaltered character of the Romanian art), cautiously saying that the Austrian scholar's studies posed a series of questions for the Romanian wooden architecture and therefore, not having concrete evidence of square buildings with four posts at their centre, an influence from Mazdaism could not be proved. It was, in Petranu's view "still a hypothesis, still waiting for its confirmation" (Petranu 1931, 37).

An important element in the study of wooden churches in Petranu's writings was the debate concerning their steeples. In this case, the problem of their origins and influences had a great importance, as the author identified both ancient local origins and later western influences. Quoting foreign scholars, mainly German, such as Fr. Wemmer and J. Strzygowski, Petranu considered the steeple's origin to be found in ancient defensive structures, giving as examples Roman structures or later ones such as Attila's wooden palace. He assumed the existence of towers in pre-Romanesque times, most likely as defensive structures. These towers were not high and slender, as indicated by all the examples, and Petranu admitted the possibility of the existence, by this time, of the open defensive galleries (Petranu 1931, 38). Relating to masonry churches, Petranu showed that the steeples in Densuș and Strei had this kind of roofs, being very different from those of later wooden churches. The scholar admitted the fact that the presence of steeples is not documented and therefore not certain, pointing out that in many places, Maramureș included, churches without steeples existed. He mentioned examples in the Arad County where the steeple was a separate structure. His explanation was that many churches did not have bells and, in fact did not need them. He admitted a later date, which is the end of the 18th century or even the beginning of the next, for the merging into a single structure of the two elements: the church body and the bell tower.

Coriolan Petranu stressed the need of future research that would shed light on the possible relationship between Romanian wooden churches and Hungarian masonry ones, and that of western influences received by churches in the Bihor County. Petranu believed that in western Transylvania there was a local church type, which although absorbed foreign elements, influenced in turn the architecture of other areas, such as the Slovakian ones in Transcarpathia. As a conclusion he stated that the churches from Arad County "are

part of the Romanian Group of churches from Transylvania and neighbouring areas inhabited by Romanians, they must not be considered just as being related to, but as part of the same body" (Petranu 1927a, 38). Here, in the western parts, there are some differences from Transylvanian wooden architecture. In the Arad County Gothic traditions are forgotten and are replaced, because of the Hungarian and German monuments in the area, with Baroque elements, especially in the shape of the clad spire. At the end of the text, in a few words, the author concluded that the style of the wooden churches in the Arad County is determined only by the building material, and does not represent a transposition in wood of western historical styles, which had "only influences on the shape of the steeple and the more recent painting" (Petranu 1927a, 40).

It now becomes clear why, in Petranu's writings, the study of steeples becomes so important. It is important to note that he admitted, as a scholar, external influences received from both Germans and Hungarians, having in mind the way in which he avoids or nearly rejects this subject in his writings from *Ars Transsilvaniae*, for example. In his monographs about the monuments in Arad and Bihor Counties he openly admitted and talked about these influences and placed the existence of high and slender steeples before the 17th century. Beside its characteristic shape, another influence coming, most likely, from Hungarian (but which were "in any case not built by Hungarians") and German masonry constructions was that of the galleries and corner turrets. He based this information on numerous old prints that had been published – including those collected by M. Popescu as *Cetăți și orașe ardeleni* (Transylvanian castles and towns) (Popescu 1928). Another question asked by Petranu was whether these structures represented a local type or they were imported, being at the same time amazed that nobody ever thought about this. In his opinion Transylvanian steeples have three main characteristics: the gallery below the clad spire, the four turrets at the base of the clad spire and the pyramidal, slender spire. This last attribute was not much discussed since it represents a characteristic of the Gothic style in the transition period from the Romanesque. In order to confirm the existence of these structures in Europe at an early date he gave numerous examples, starting from the Carolingian era until the Renaissance or even later, including the French, German, Central European or even Italian environments. Petranu said the gallery having defensive purposes existed

everywhere in Europe, although it was later replaced by machicolation.

Coriolan Petranu proposed a surprising theory regarding the origin of these steeples in Maramureș and the neighbouring counties. He believes that the prototype was represented by the old tower of St. Michael's parish church in Cluj. This must have been the most impressive and the most beautiful steeple in the region and therefore it became a model for masons as well as master carpenters (Petranu 1945b, 8–10). It is an interesting and important theory since it was published in 1945 and thus represents one of Petranu's last works. The logic behind this hypothesis is similar to that in his volume about the wooden architecture of Bihor County. Following is an excerpt from the conclusion:

From those said above results that all constitutive elements of the Transylvanian churches are to be found in the West, in religious architecture, but mostly in the defensive one. In Transylvania, too, the church's tower had an observation and defensive role, beginning with the Romanesque period [...]. Most of the Saxons' fortified churches date from the 15–16th centuries, the Szeklers' fortified churches are fewer and of lesser importance. The widespread of the type of steeple in all of Transylvania, is explained by the general and continuous necessity of defence. The introduction, in Transylvania, of this type of steeple, with its mentioned characteristics, can be attributed to Saxons (who had commercial ties with Flanders and Germany) and other foreign masters, as they had also done with the Romanesque, Gothic and Renaissance etc. From the steeples erected by the Saxons and foreigners [elements] could have been borrowed by Romanians and Hungarians. In time, this type of defence became less efficient, even useless, though the gallery and the turrets have been kept, their role being changed to a purely artistic one: the gallery and the turret become a decoration for the steeple, the gallery does not have anymore a floor, and often does not exceed the steeple's base (as opposed to the defensive ones), the arches have the sole practical purpose of letting the sound of bells pass (Petranu 1931, 42–43).

This fragment is a good example for Coriolan Petranu's way of thinking and the way in which he used to tell some things while hiding others, and at the same time for how a whole generation of central European art historians wrote. A close analysis of the text reveals the ideas woven into it. First of all the demonstration reaches the conclusion that all the constitutive elements of Transylvanian steeples are found previously in

Western Europe. Their origin is to be dated before the Romanesque period, as defensive structures.

This demonstration is meant to place in a genetic relation Romanian Transylvanian art with that of Western Europe, as shown by Ján Bakoš. This means that the art of Romanians in this region was of European character and tightly bound with similar phenomena in the West. In Transylvania the fortified churches were attributed to Saxons and Szeklers, but those of the last represent an insignificant contribution. Once more, one can see, as in most of Petranu's writings the way in which he minimises the contribution of Hungarians and Szeklers in the development of the country's art. True to his theory according to which Saxons are the main vehicle for spreading Western art, Petranu states that the introduction of this type of steeple can be attributed to them. They have always been bound to Western Europe, which allowed them to receive strong influences from there, while Romanians and Hungarians could adopt these models from their neighbours, the Saxons.

We have previously mentioned Petranu's theory concerning the model represented by the steeple of the St. Michael parish church in Cluj. Why did he single out this structure and not one of the many in the Călata region (Kalotaszeg)? The answer is obvious if we consider the whole of Coriolan Petranu's writings: he considered the church in Cluj to be a Saxon monument and, we have previously seen, according to the author's view only they had had an important role in spreading Western styles and structures. The churches in Cluj's vicinity, although much more similar to those made by Romanians had the sole fault of being made by Hungarians, and this constituted a reason strong enough to be rejected by Petranu as a model for the Romanian churches. This was also the largest and most important monument constructed by Saxons in this northern part of Transylvania. Without going into more details, we must mention that this demonstration is conducted based on old images of the church and its steeple, which are quite inaccurate. This way of seeing things originates in Petranu's positivist thinking, for whom the document – old prints, in this case – is seen as a reliable, undeniable and trustworthy source, and therefore does not put it to a critical test. But this absence of critical thinking is present on many other occasions in Petranu's works, especially when he aimed at demonstrating a thesis. An example can be found in the fragment of text following the one reproduced above. This last seems to have definitively closed the subject of the

origins of Romanian churches' wooden steeples. But things are not quite settled if we take a look at the text that follows the one quoted above:

Although the derivation from the west of Transylvanian steeples is plausible, we must ask ourselves, if there hasn't been, before the arrival of Saxons in Transylvania, a wooden architecture, which could form the basis for explaining the origins. Did the Dacians, the Romans, the invading peoples have watchtowers? On Trajan's column we have a masonry watchtower, with a square base, wooden gallery and a pyramidal roof, whose prototype must have been made of wood. On a coin issued by Gordianus from Markianopolis (Moesia) one can see a fortress with many roofed towers and maybe also a gallery. We can see four turrets at the corners of a tower, on the temple of Venus from Paphos, reproduced on a coin issued by Caracalla and Septimius Severus. The wooden gallery on towers was known by the Romans [...]. Viollet-le-Duc explains the four turrets from Romanesque churches in France by the ancient tradition. Thus Roman architecture was familiar with the wooden gallery, the pyramidal clad roof and corner turrets. In Priskos' description, who in 448 visited Attila's palace, some towers appear on the wooden fence of Onegesios' house, and in another place reference is made of wooden porticoes and artistically carved planks in Attila's palace. — There is a great distance in time between the Roman period and the Romanesque one in Transylvania, when the first known Romanian masonry church appears in Transylvania: the one in Densuș, which must have had a long evolution behind it, without leaving any traces because of the wood's lack of durability as a building material. This absence of wooden monuments does not exclude the possibility of continuity from Dacian architecture from the oldest of times until today, in a way similar to that of the absence of written sources, which cannot deny the continuity of a Daco-Roman population in this land. What we do not know is the moment, when the wooden tower was joined with the church's body, a new problem for which we do not have a solution from Daco-Roman times. If we would admit the hypothesis of the continuity of Daco-Roman wooden architecture, we must recognise, though, in the clad spire and steeple's extreme slenderness, a Gothic influence, borrowed from the buildings erected by Saxon and foreign masters in Transylvania (Petranu 1931, 43–44).

This addition made by Petranu and the introduction of a new hypothesis is almost paradoxical. But, again, things are quite normal if we take into consideration the whole of his writings and in perfect accord with his beliefs. Of course, common sense and his solid scholarly background as a member of the Vienna school compelled him to

take into consideration a hypothesis as the one presented earlier, in which Transylvanian art is related with the West and its material culture. We have seen how this is done, and the way he included willy-nilly his ideas about the role of Hungarian and German art. But Petranu's problem with this hypothesis was that it excluded any possibility of bringing into discussion the Romanians' continuity of living in this land, so the solution is represented by the introduction of this new problem of a possible genetic link between the Romanian monuments he was researching and Dacian or Roman structures. It is possible that Petranu found himself facing a dilemma, and had no solution for getting out of it, thus left it as it was by formulating two opposing work hypotheses, that would be solved by future research. Both theories were dear to him and he believed in both of them. When he discussed folk art the solution came much easier, without faults in the construction of arguments or any other problems, but in this case the choice had not been easy to make and therefore he avoided it by blaming the state of research at that given moment.

The link between this theory and that of the continuity of Romanian presence north of the Danube is obvious. There is also a similarity of the type of sources that were used, or rather their absence. Petranu states that just because monuments were missing one must not exclude the possibility of the existence of a continuity of architectural forms, in a way very similar to that of the absence of written sources concerning the presence of Romanians north of the Danube, which did not deter those who advocated the theory of permanent inhabitancy of the territories populated today by Romanians. Petranu's claim that the first known Romanian masonry church, the one in Densuș, is just a link in a chain we are not able to restore today, is very similar to the way in which supporters of Romanian continuity have used their sources. In this case the written sources used by Petranu were also very vague and further removed from a virtual real situation than were the prints used to prove his other theory about the steeples of northern Transylvania.

The last sentence of the fragment quoted above is interesting because it altered everything previously said and goes back to the first theory. By admitting the fact that the Transylvanian steeple's slenderness was a Gothic influence and that could only be explained by influences coming from Saxon defensive architecture, Petranu appeased the two hypotheses and found a middle way that must, of course, be confirmed.

Returning to the two fragments quoted above, extracted from the volume about Bihor County's monuments, it becomes clear, once again, the difference in discourse and narrative between Petranu's proper research works and the polemic and vulgarising (propaganda) writings. A review of the scholar's works confirms the initial hypothesis that he had a different approach for each type of text he writes. Interestingly, most of the polemic and propaganda texts were written later than the monographs discussed above. A much more tensed attitude can be noted in these later writing as World War II nears and it became rage after the Second Vienna Award. On the other hand there are

enough scholarly works published in the fifth decade of the past century, including the one mentioned about the church in Sighet and the ones in Maramureș, the one about St. Nicholas' church in Brașov published in the same year (Petranu 1945c) or the one about the church from Roșcani published in 1940 (Petranu 1945d, 8–10). All these had the same restrained tone and scholarly scope as the monographs we reviewed. Therefore it is not a difference developed as the time passed and the political environment changed. The difference must be attributed to the objectives the author had in each text.

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**DOCUMENTATION: RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE ART COLLECTIONS OF THE
BRUKENTHAL NATIONAL MUSEUM (July 2010–July 2011)**

Iulia MESEA*

Abstract: *The author introduces the creations which became part of the collections of the Brukenthal National Museum between July 2010 and July 2011. These works, donated to the museum, are concisely analysed, the acts of donation documented and completed with details about the donors. In the above mentioned interval, the following creations became part of the collection: The 'Mortuary Mask' and 'Cast of Alexandru Ciucurencu's Hand', Trude Schullerus' 'Sunflower', Georgeta Grabovschi's 'Venetian Landscape', 'Thought', by Elena Surdu Stănescu and 'Diptychum', by Aurel Contraş, as well as Nuțiu Romul's, 'Incommodious Design'.*

Keywords: *Brukenthal National Museum, donations, Alexandru Ciucurencu, Trude Schullerus, Geta Grabovschi, Elena Surdu-Stănescu, Aurel Contraş*

Rezumat: *Autorul prezintă lucrările care au intrat în colecția de artă a Muzeului Național Brukenthal, în perioada iulie 2010 – iulie 2011 sub formă de donații. Operele sunt analizate succint, actul de donație fiind documentat și prin informații referitoare la donatori. Au intrat astfel în colecție: Masca mortuară și Mulajul mâinii pictorului Alexandru Ciucurencu, tabloul „Floarea soarelui”, al lui Trude Schullerus, „Peisaj la Veneția” al Georgetei Grabovschi, două lucrări de sculptură: Elena Surdu Stănescu, „Gând”, și Aurel Contraş, „Pomelnic”, și lucrarea lui Nuțiu Romul, „Design inconfortabil”.*

Cuvinte cheie: *Muzeul Național Brukenthal, donații, Alexandru Ciucurencu, Trude Schullerus, Geta Grabovschi, Elena Surdu-Stănescu, Aurel Contraş*

In the art section of the previous issue of the BRUKENTHAL.ACTA MUSEI magazine, we initiated the presentation of the Brukenthal collection, either acquisitions or donations. We insisted upon the importance of donations in the establishing and in the enriching of the collections over time. In 1803, Baron Samuel von Brukenthal, founder of the museum, bequeath his collections to the Evangelical church. In the years to follow other generous collectors (mostly from Sibiu), as well as artists who were, in one way or another, connected with Sibiu, followed in his example and donated some of their creations.

In the lines to follow we will focus on the works which came to complete the collections of painting, graphic arts, sculpture and decorative arts between July 2010 and July 2011.

The Brukenthal collection comprises a few paintings which are significant for the style and for the artistic quality of the creation of Alexandru

Ciucurencu, one of the painters who brought force and renewal to Romanian art: *Mother, Still Life with Pansies, The Chess players*. In his paintings, classical in shape and composition, ardent and surprising in colour, his profound, unpredictable, restless, sometimes contradictory personality, dominated by the solar fascination of colours, by an obsession to capture the essence of shapes, by the sense of plastic construction, of a healthy, melancholically chromatic matter, throbs intensely.

In September last year, Mss Florica Mihalcu and Mihaela Leonida, while visiting Romania, donated *Mortuary Mask*¹ and *Cast of Alexandru Ciucurencu's Hand*².

¹ *Mortuary Mask of the Painter Alexandru Ciucurencu*, armed polyester, 20 x 17.5 x 16 cm, donation of Dr. Florica Mihalcu and Dr. Mihaela Leonida, September 2010, MNB inv. no. S.570.

² *Cast of Alexandru Ciucurencu's Hand*, plaster, 34 x 13.5 x 8 cm, donation of Dr. Florica Mihalcu and Dr. Mihaela Leonida, September 2010, MNB inv. no. S.571.

* Brukenthal National Museum, The Art Gallery /
Muzeul Național Brukenthal, Galeria de Artă,
iulia@brukenthalmuseum.eu.

The beautiful friendship that tied the Mihalcu and the Ciucurencu families accounts for the fact that these two pieces, together with photographs and documents that reveal aspects of the artist's life and personality, were in the possession of the Mihalcu family.

The generous donation was accompanied by the permission to publish a series of photographs, as well as notes, memories and thoughts of Mihail Mihalcu about Ciucurencu (see Annex).

The lines evoke mostly the sad end of the artist's life: he died alone and Mihail Mihalcu's text is full of the sadness caused by the fact that such an intense personality, whose creations were "hunted" by the "high and mighty" of the 7th and 8th decades, an artist of an exceptional value, member of the Senate of the Institute of Fine Arts in Bucharest, of the Romanian Union of Artists, of the Academy of Romania, of the Council of Culture, respected, admired, copied, was allowed to end in poverty and oblivion.

Although they enjoyed approaching a great variety of themes, artists of all times have evidently had a bias for flowers. They filled them with symbols, and the various manners of approach resulted in an outstanding quality of the decorativeness and in an everlasting popularity. Flowers were painted in sophisticated vases, transparent glasses or clay pots, and were even captured in compositions in their very environment. Resorting to only a few characteristics of modern painting, the impressionists Auguste Renoir and Paul Monet, the expressionist Edvard Munch and the unmistakable Vincent Van Gogh have explored and exploited floral motifs and transformed them into masterpieces of universal painting. The burning colours and the force of representation turn the sunflowers into an emblem of the integrality of Van Gogh's creation.

Trude Schullerus, one of the most appreciated painters active in Sibiu for almost eight decades (1889–1981), also approached flowers. She depicted them in a traditional realistic manner, consonant all along her artistic evolution, without major changes in conception or style, accepting certain suggestions, only in the field of artistic language and coming mainly from the expressionists, which caused her to abandon redundant details and to resort to the reducing of plastic shapes and to the enhancing of the expressiveness of the chromatic.

In a delicate, tender, manner of approach, Trude Schullerus expressed her true, deep love for her place of birth. In some of her creations, the two motifs appear together: the mountains which embrace the Transylvanian plateau are the background for the flowers she paints.

We see this in *Sunflower*³, painting donated to the Brukenthal collection by Mrs. Margarete Miess Bologa and Professor Sandu Bologa from Cluj-Napoca. The painting had been a present from their friend, Marietta Thullner-Berthok. Mrs. Berthok and Mr. Bologa had studied together in the German High School, in Sibiu, in the troubled years of the Hungarian occupation of northern Transylvania and had remained friends over the years. In 1950, Mrs. Thullner had commissioned Trude Schullerus, the painter famous for her artistic achievements in Sibiu, a painting which she intended as a present for her husband's birthday. The subject of the composition was to be the sunflower, a symbol with which she had identified herself in her childhood, when her mother had written a poem with the same title. The *Sunflower* became the best loved object of art in the Thullner – Berthok home, but the restrictions imposed to those who wanted to emigrate to Germany, forced them to part with it, so they presented it to the Bologa family. When the Bologa family chose to emigrate to Canada, they decided that the best place for the *Sunflower* was the Brukenthal Museum.

In her painting, characterized by brightness and a fresh chromatic, the flowers themselves, vital and rustling, become sources of light. Trude Schullerus displays the talent with which she makes use, without abusing it, of the contrast of colour and of the directing of light in an expressive composition with an inner vitality and a well directed emotional potential.

Accessible or encrypted and elitist, figurative or abstract, executed in the most varied techniques and means, contemporary art makes and represents the "difference" but has also the tendency to be integrating. In its programme of profound and natural integration in the life of the community, the Brukenthal National Museum aims to be, in a delicate and competent manner, the mediator in the

³ Trude Schullerus, *Sun Flower*, oil on canvas, 75 x 93 cm, signed bottom right, in red: „T. Schullerus”, not dated (1950), donation Mrs. Margarete Miess Bologa and Dr. Sandu Bologa (Cluj Napoca / Toronto), Provenience: Marietta Thullner-Berthok (Sibiu / Germania), inv. no. 3213.

relationship between contemporary art and the public. The exhibitions of contemporary art have brought a large number of visitors, whose understanding, appreciation and taste for modern art have increased. It is a gesture in favour of the contemporary artistic phenomenon intended to bridge a relationship between the ordinary art consumer and the museum – guarantor of the true value of the work of art. Also, these exhibitions can be a source of enriching the collections, since the artists generously donate some of the works they have exhibited.

Two such donations came from, Elena Surdu Stănescu and Geta Grabovschi, at the end of 2010. Between 5th and 31st October 2010, the Brukenthal National Museum hosted an exhibition of sculpture and painting, *Images of Love* (curator and author of the catalogue: Iulia Mesea), presenting creations of the two artists. Their works were brought to Sibiu shortly after having been awarded the Gold Medal of the *International Exhibition of Painting, Sculpture and Mosaic*, Cannes 2010.

The public responded warmly to the message of their creations, refined and sincere, an essence of harmonies and emotion. In a gesture of noble elegance, two artists each donated one of their works.

Elena Surdu Stănescu, a graduate of the „Nicolae Grigorescu” Institute of Plastic Arts, boasts of a rich contribution to exhibitions and art galleries in the major cities of Europe, but also in America and Asia. Tumultuous and conquering, the sculptress is nonetheless an incurable romantic (Mesea 2010, 5). With talent, profoundness and responsibility, she accepts the challenge of tradition, to which she is, admittedly, rooted. Reflected by words, stone, bronze or wood, her emotions are always deep, sometimes discrete, sometimes volcanic, always extreme, in creations inspired by existentialism. Between the power of matter and the imponderability of hope, endowed with the capacity of essentialising shape, in her work *Thought*⁴, the artist conveys her own feelings, ideas, love. We discover the artist's bias for strong, luminous materials which she transforms with a deep respect for their personality, unveiling their own core of beauty, decanting and essentialising shapes.

Georgeta Grabovschi studied philosophy in Bucharest and then art at the École Supérieure

d'Art “Françoise Conte”, in Paris. Her talent and the importance of her creation have gained recognition when important organizations welcomed her membership: the Romanian Union of Plastic Artists, the Salon des Indépendants, Paris, and the Fédération Internationale Culturelle Féminine Paris. In 2003, France distinguished her with the “Ordre national du Mérite”. After 1990, she exhibited in Bucharest, Paris, Düsseldorf, Nice, Madrid, New York and New Delhi. Most of her creations are in private collections in France, Germany, USA, Canada, Italy, Belgium, Norway, Turkey, Japan etc. Transparencies and metallic brightness, an insinuating and surprising rhythm of forms and surfaces, which invokes astral sonorities, give birth to her painting. A dazzling dance of couples, of bodies, of contours, of colours, truth and mystery, confession and secrets. Regardless of the genre she approaches, her creations are musical harmony on canvases of disquieting, barely withheld emotion (Mesea 2010, 5).

Her painting, *Venetian Landscape*⁵, donated to the Brukenthal Museum, suggests a new reading of one of the most renowned motifs of the city of ideal love, the church of Santa Maria della Salute, situated on the banks of the Canal Grande. The city of the gondolas is, in this painting, a mysterious, apparently impugnable citadel. In the foreground, the gondolas, lonely and abandoned, drift on a metallic water which seems to take them nowhere. The murky sky, in hues of grey with bluish, reddish reflexes, induces the same disquieting atmosphere. The thin layer of colour is spread with a knife. The colours, metallic shades of blue, brown and violet, a characteristic of most of her creation, are employed to enhance the atmosphere.

Another creation which came to complete the Brukenthal collection, was part of the exhibition of Aurel Contraș, the sculptor born in the northern part of Transylvania, in Meseșeni Sălajului, where he learned about beauty in a space purified by the presence of the centuries old wooden churches. The National Brukenthal Museum hosted his exhibition, “Sign and Shape”, between April 19th and May 20th 2011.

The personality of the artist was shaped on the foundation of rural ethic. His creation is deeply rooted in this world, where the rhythm of existence is governed by the laws of the land and watched

⁴ Elena Surdu Stănescu, *Thought*, marble on a wood base, 33.5 x 19 x 20 cm, donation of the artist, November 2010, inv. no. S.572

⁵ Georgeta Grabovschi, *Venetian Landscape*, oil on canvas, 60 x 70 cm, signed bottom right: „G. Grabov(...)”, donation of the artist, November 2010, inv. no. 3212.

over by the laws of the Universe. The values of this world also govern his creation: life, with its stages, from birth to the passage into eternity, beliefs and toil. These great themes intertwine, give each other strength and, through his creation, connect with the grand history of mankind, with the small history of man (Mesea 2011).

Intense emotion and anguish are selected in accordance with his own emotions and transposed in works which become signs: signs of sadness (*Loneliness*), signs of hope and prayer (*Icon, Sign of Meditation, Abode for the Soul*), signs for remembrance and for the elevation of the near and of the anonymous (*Sign for remembrance, Sign for Ascension*), signs for the ultimate salvation (*Sign for the Ark, Resurrection*), signs for the salvation of the Earth, of nature (*Sign for the Turtle*).

The artist respects the matter he shapes for its nobleness and purity and, by essentialising it, endows it with a certain sacrament. He deciphers and preserves the message of the matter, enhances the expressiveness of wood by associating it especially with bronze, but also with stone, association which tames their coldness (Mesea 2011). In *Diptychum*⁶, creation which won him first prize at the 2008 edition of "Brâncușiana", in Târgu-Jiu, we have proof of the artist's skill in associating, in a natural and expressive manner, the two matters. It is a creation which invokes memory, it is a remembrance of the loved ones as well as of the countless anonymous heroes who made history. By suggesting a metaphysical and aesthetical meditation, the sculptor's visual-semantic address employs the forms of modernity to establish a strong relationship with tradition.

Between the 10th and the 28th of February, the Contemporary Art Gallery hosted, at No. 6 Tribunei Street, Romul Nuțiu's exhibition, *Painting for Thinking*. The artist, one of the professors teaching at the Faculty of Fine Arts in Timișoara, was born in 1932. He studied at the Ion Andreescu Institute in Cluj and also at the Nicolae Grigorescu Institute in Bucharest. Since 1957, galleries from Hungary, Germany, Austria, Brazil, England and Italy, have been hosting his creations. A group of artists, active in Timișoara in the '70s, Cotoșman, Bertalan, Flondor, Nuțiu, were trying to express, in an encrypted visual formula, their delimitation, their dislike of the communist regime and its realities. Romul Nuțiu's exhibition is one of

the many exhibitions dedicated by the Contemporary Art Gallery to the creations of these artists. Abstract expressionism is the stylistic formula for which Romul Nuțiu opted in his creation, no matter the medium chosen – painting, sculpture, object, installation. Expressing, at the highest level, the new artistic attitude, characteristic for mid 20th century, the artist's creation is placed under the sign of intellectualism with a reflexive and conceptual content, also incorporating a romantic nearly violent dynamic, a playful attitude, and the pleasure of sensorial experiences (Romul Nuțiu 2004, 7). Liviana Dan and Anca Mihuleț, curators of the exhibition, characterise his art: "Nuțiu is interested in the ways he can experiment, persevering in the service of established artistic milieus, but also in the *Sinn – Bedeutung / Sign – Significance*. The intense psychological intimacy results in aesthetic experience and action, in abandoning control in favour of the drawing board, primordial images, archetypal symbols and physical automatism. The exhibition *Painting for Thinking*, a pictorial investigation with a promise for performance, has a certain abstract profile with hermetic effect."

*Incommodious Design*⁷, the work the artist donated to the museum, bears testimony to what characterises his style: the expressionist intensity of vision and gesture, the formal dynamic, the combination between the freedom to improvise and a bold sense of chromatic.

Besides donations, we would like to add, in this context, that art collectors have another option they can resort to when they want to share the artistic values they have with the public: they place them in the custody of the museum in order for them to be exhibited. Thus, the generosity of two Romanian collectors made it possible for the museum to exhibit in the Reception Hall of the Brukenthal Palace, a number of masterpieces they recently purchased: Nicolae Grigorescu, *Ox Cart*⁸, Nicolae Grigorescu, *Girl with Red Beads*⁹ and Pierre Bellet, *Sleeping Nude*¹⁰.

⁷ Nuțiu Romul, *Incommodious Design*, mixed technique: wood, iron and acryl, 195 x 122 cm, donated by the artist in 2011, inv. no. S.575.

⁸ Nicolae Grigorescu, *Oxen Cart*, oil on canvas, 65 x 80.5 cm, signed bottom right in red: „Grigorescu”, dated: 1899, private collection, custody MNB.

⁹ Nicolae Grigorescu, *Girl with Red Beads*, oil on canvas, 65 x 44 cm, signed bottom left: „Grigorescu”, private collection, custody MNB.

¹⁰ Pierre Bellet, *Sleeping Nude*, 44 x 79 cm, signed bottom right: "P. Bellet", private collection, custody MNB.

⁶ Aurel Contraș, *Diptychum*, bronze and wood, 35 x 15 x 20 cm, donation of the artist, May 2011, inv. no. S.576.

Annex / Anexă**Amintiri dr. Mihail Mihalcu despre pictorul Alexandru Ciucurencu (documentul în original)****1.**

Era prin 1977, pe la sfârșitul primăverii. Ciucurencu avusese de luptat mult cu o viroză care îi lăsase urme serioase. Într-o zi am ajuns pe la el după ora 16.00. Doamna Palade, menajera lui, i-a scos chaise-longue-ul afară, la intrare, și ne-am așezat la fumat și vorbit. Era o după-amiază plăcută. Tot vorbind, s-a lăsat seara cu răcorile ei, și am intrat în atelier.

Ciucurencu și-a aruncat ochii pe lucrarea de pe șevalet și a zis ca pentru sine: „A căzut lumina.” Apoi către mine: „Măi băiete, la fiecare lucrare ar trebui să pui lumina ținând seama de locul și momentul zilei în care va fi expusă și văzută....”.

2. Ciucurencu și colecționarii

Ani și ani am tot tras de Ciucurencu să-mi vorbească despre colecționarii pe care i-a cunoscut. Și-au fost vreo câțiva. Dintre cei mai remarcabili: Zambaccian, Dona, Mircea Iliescu, Mișu Weinberg, și atâția alții, că nesaț Apostol chelnerul. Și mi-a spus tare puțin. Din ceea ce am putut afla de la el și de la alții, consemnez din memorie, acum.

Doctorul Mircea Iliescu, care lucra la Institutul Cantacuzino și un număr de ani a fost prietenul și doctorul pictorilor, îmi spunea că, în tinerețile lor, Asvadurova era mai remarcabilă în ceea ce picta decât Alexandru Ciucurencu (A.C.). Apoi a început, zicea el, să-l imite pe Ciucurencu...

Apostol Apostolide, vestitul chelner-colecționar, îmi spunea prin 1968, că între Asvadurova și dr. Iliescu ar fi existat, în tinerețile lor, cel puțin un flirt. Și că, din această cauză, Ciucurencu nu ar vorbi despre Mircea Iliescu.

Ciucurencu îmi spunea că, la prima lui expoziție personală (probabil 1934), spre plăcuta lui surpriză, este remarcat de Zambaccian care-i cumpără câteva lucrări.

Referitor la colecționari, A.C. îmi spunea, de mai multe ori, că e normal – și nu de condamnat – că un colecționar, atunci când nu mai e atât de entuziasmat de o lucrare pe care o posedă, să o schimbe cu alta, de la alt colecționar. Îmi spunea, de asemenea, că nu-i nici o rușine ca atunci când un colecționar este strâmtorat, să vândă o lucrare pe care o cumpărase de la el.

3. Ciucurencu și... un profesor de sport

Într-o dimineață în anii '60, l-am găsit în atelier cu un tânăr încălțat în bascheți și cu o costumație sportivă căruia îi mai arăta lucrări. Un peisaj cu ploi era lângă scaunul acestuia și părea deja cumpărat. Se uita în continuare la ceea ce îi arăta A.C. și nu făcea nici un comentariu. În final, a plecat cu peisajul (Ciucurencu mi-a spus că era o vedere din veranda locuinței lui).

L-am întrebat cine e – tânărul. Eram curios. Era într-o epocă în care toți puternicii zilei îl descoperiseră și-și băgau banii în pânzele și cartoanele lui.

Mi-a spus că este un profesor de sport, ca-l întâlnise într-o cârciumă (la „Triumf”, lângă Arcul de Triumf) și că acesta îl adusese cu o seara înainte acasă, după ce maestrul se făcuse pulbere. Drept mulțumire, îi arătase unele lucrări și fusese deosebit de impresionat de faptul că remarcile pe care le făcea, după ce-i arăta o lucrare, erau pline de sensibilitate și bun-simt.

Lucrarea pe care o luase în ziua în care îl văzusem și eu, îi plăcuse mult și-l întrebase pe A.C. cat ar costa. El îi spusese jumătate din prețul pe care îl lua, în epoca respectivă, la lucrările cumpărate din atelier. Tânărul adusese banii a doua zi și își luase lucrarea.

4. Ciucurencu și delegația de muncitori

Era pe la începutul anilor '70 și Ciucurencu ne anunțase că peste câteva zile o delegație de muncitori de la uzină... va veni să-l viziteze și să cumpere lucrări de la el. Era bucuros că venise și vremea când lucrările lui vor intra în case de muncitori. Era selectiv cu cei cărora le vindea lucrările lui, și mulți colecționari și mai mari ai zilelor aceleora făceau mari eforturi să-și investească banii în lucrările lui, uneori așteptând și insistând mult timp până reușeau.

A venit ziua cu pricina, delegația a venit, a văzut, a cumpărat (la prețuri inferioare celor obișnuite), a mulțumit, a făcut poze cu artistul și a plecat.

Peste câteva zile s-a aflat că „delegația de muncitori” fusese compusă din câțiva ingineri și câțiva tovarăși de la cadre.

5. La moartea lui Ciucurencu

Cu înmormântarea lui A.C. povestea e mai lungă și mai complicată.

Mă anunțase că a murit un doctor – numele nu-l mai știu – de la spitalul C.F.R. 2 unde fusese internat și îngrijit cu atenție emoționantă de respectivul.

După amiaza m-am dus acasă la el, unde fusese depus corpul (în holul casei). C. ședea cuminte, cu mâinile pe piept, slab dar liniștit, vegheat la cele patru colțuri ale sicriului de câte o lumânare în câte o cană de Pisc. Era îmbrăcat într-un costum bleumarin care, după cum stătea pe el, părea făcut de un tinichigiu.....

Și era atât de singur....

Nici un neam, nici un elev, nici un colecționar, nici o oficialitate.

E drept că neamuri avea puține și, cu cele pe care i le cunoșteam, nu era în raporturi bune. Cu o soră de la Tulcea, era în raporturi proaste dintr-un motiv care, poate, trebuie prezentat. Ca orice muritor, A.C. își avea și el vanitățile lui. Pe la începutul anilor '70, îi intrase în cap să-și transforme o casă părintească din Tulcea într-o casă memorială „Ciucurencu”. Așa era moda în vremea aceea. Cine putea – și A.C. putea măcar atât – își făcea din viață o „casă memorială”. Și-o făceau ca să fie siguri....Scoteai niște chiriași, primăria o declara „casă memorială”, donai câteva lucrări și mobile, participai la „deschidere”, plasai vreun neam sau cunoscut ca administrator-director peste sine-însuși și o femeie de serviciu, primăria tipărea bilete de intrare și achita apa și lumina. Și apoi totul intra în uitare (nu cele două salarii și raporturile anuale de „realizări”) căci nu venea aproape nimeni să vadă zestrea casei după ce plătitise un bilet de intrare. (...)

Ca urmare a tratativelor lui A.C. cu primăria din Tulcea, soră-sa care locuia în casa părintească și era și ea moștenitoare, nu numai el, ar fi trebuit să se mute „la bloc”, într-un apartament cu chirie, pe care li-l oferea primăria. Și ea nu a vrut. Era o femeie cu posibilități foarte reduse, cu găini și purcel în curte, care se mai ajuta cu ce creștea. „La bloc” n-avea curte și, în plus, avea și alte obligații (chirie, întreținere). Și era dintre acei oameni modești pentru care blocul este depersonalizant, ca o pușcărie. Și, de aici, supărarea ei pe el, că vrea să-i strice așezarea și echilibrul economic, și a lui pe ea, că a rămas tot o ignorantă.

Elevi avusesse câțiva. Unii dintre ei aveau și o oarecare reputație... Pe toți îi ajutase. Iar ei, știindu-l pe „dom” profesor tot în fruntea mesei (artist al poporului, membru al conducerii U.A.P.), cunoscut, curtat și cumpărat (ca lucrări) de protipendada politică, îl măguleau și se declarau de-ai lui. Și-i solicitau și sprijinul pe la oficialități. Dar prin spitale îl uitaseră și tare era singur acum acest artist deosebit și cald.

Înainte de a muri, cu vreo două luni, îl vizitasem la spitalul C.F.R.2. Întrebat de mine – nu din inițiativa lui – mi-a spus că nu venea să-l vadă nici unul dintre elevii lui. Doar doctorul despre care am amintit îl ținea la „reanimare” că să aibă un tratament mai ca lumea. Acasă la el plătea un salariu doamnei Palade (fosta „damă de companie” a Asvadurovei) și Mariei, bucătăreasa, de pomană. Declaraseră că ele nu pot și nu știu să-l îngrijească deși salariile și le luau cu regularitate. De aceea, amintitul doctor, neputând să facă altceva, îl internase la el la spital.

Când l-am văzut că-mi cere mie țigări, că nu are, m-am cutremurat. Era părăsit de toți și de toate. Am ieșit, am colindat chioșcurile din actuala Piață a Presei Libere și i-am adus niște pachete de „Snagov” pe care i le-am lăsat cu toate protestele lui.

Nu știam cum să-l ajut. (...)

Și era goală camera în care era expus „bătrânul”... Și nici vreunul dintre colecționari, vreunul dintre acei care-l pândeau până mai terminase o lucrare, nu era acolo... Nu erau nici ziariștii care-l tot trăgeau de mânecă să zică ceva în cadrul vreunui interviu pe care îl completau ei ulterior, „din burta” și „cum trebuie”. A.C. furniza doar poza recentă. Nu erau nici oficialitățile. Murise doar un pictor...chiar dacă era el „artist al poporului” și academician. Hei....ce știam noi „ăștialaltii” cum și când trebuie să se miște carul oficial și dinapoia oficialilor!

Cam a treia zi s-a trezit și Academia. Doar era academician! Au trimis un „director” să organizeze evenimentul.

Prima condiție pusă de sora lui Sașa a fost să-l îngroape cu preot. Tocmeala, încercare de „lămurire” cu referire la Statul nostru, la „superstiții” și la faptul că a fost „membru de partid”...Soră-sa nu numai că nu s-a lăsat „lămurită” dar s-a și înfuriat și pus problema clar. Nu va fi înmormântat decât creștinește. S-a mai opus puțin „oficialul” dar s-a prefăcut că se lasă convins. Știa el ce știa.

Expunerea corpului și luarea de rămas bun de la cel plecat dintre noi s-a făcut într-un hol al Conservatorului, din clădirea de pe strada Știrbei Vodă. Ziceau oficialii că l-ar fi expus la Ateneu dar că acum nu se putea fiindcă fusese zgâlțâit la cutremur. Era în ultimele zile ale anului 1977 și peste București trecuse un cutremur cumplit în acea primăvară. Pofțit de elevii lui m-am dus și eu acolo. Era iarnă, eram șubrezit fizicește și comod și îmi ziceam că nu mă voi duce până la Bellu. Dar n-a fost să fie așa!

„Moșu” stătea cuminte și în holul Conservatorului, cum stătuse și acasă. Aici nu mai avea o iconiță pe piept, lumânări nu mai erau aprinse și a început să vină lumea. Se uitau și la A.C., dar se uitau mai ales la niște decorații și medalii, puse pe o pernă roșie, ca în casele bune. Toată viața n-a avut Sașa înfățișare de războinic. Nici nu știu dacă făcuse vreo

zi de armată, dar decorații avea. Decorațiile se dădeau și se dau și cu alte motivații și de aceea oamenii le priveau îndelung.

Adunarea nu era prea mare. Lipseau oficialitățile mai înalte. Lipseau și oficialii ce-i rodeau pragul, după lucrări. Erau, în schimb, vreo câțiva academicieni. Academia îi organiza funeraliile. Dintre ei, mi-l amintesc pe Șerban Cioculescu și, spre surpriza mea, pe Corneliu Baba (C.B.). Ciucurencu nu-l detesta cordial. Mai mult....

C.B. era foarte bolnav – după câte știam – dar venise, ca un domn ce era și este. Probabil că nici el nu-l iubea pe A.C. dar, la înmormântare, se mai uită unele lucruri....

La un moment dat a început ceea ce „în lumea bună” se numește, probabil, „ultima gardă”. Patru academicieni cu brasarde roșii pe mânecă s-au așezat în cele patru colțuri ale sicriului și au stat vreo 5–10 minute, în poziție de drept și cu figurile cum se cuvine pentru înmormântări. Pe Cioculescu mi-l amintesc că stătea în colțul dinspre piciorul drept. Și tare mă mai miram că-l cunoșteam de pe la ședințele de comunicări. Tăcea, nu numai că nu a tras nici un calambur, dar nici nu a scos nici un cuvânt....

Catafalcul sau ce-o fi fost, era costumat în scutece roșii. „Moșu” fusese „membru de partid”, „artist al poporului” și apartenența sa arăta și așa. Nu ca să știe toată lumea ceva. Nu! „Fiindcă așa trebe”!

În cele 5–10 minute de gardă a academicienilor vine Piliuță la mine și-mi spune: „Dom' ingineh, al treilea rând e cel al colecționarilor și să fiți și Dv. acolo!” I-am zis o trimitere și l-am poftit să se duca el „în gards” că i-a fost elev și l-a făcut om. El nu s-a dus nici unde l-am trimes eu și nici „în gardă”. (...)

S-au rostit și niște cuvântări. Dintre ele mi-o amintesc numai pe a lui Șerban Cioculescu ca mai remarcabilă. (...)

Și-apoi, parcă ar fi știut ce planuri am, mă pomenesc că iar îmi zice Piliuță: „Dom' ingineh, a dat U.A.P. două autobuze ca să ne ducă și să ne aducă de la Bellu. Mergeți și Dv? Când ne întoarcem, mergem cu băieții la „Bihor”, acolo unde am băut de atâtea ori cu „moșu”, să-i facem un „parastas cum îi plăcea lui!”

Auzind programul, n-am rezistat și-am mers la cimitir. Înaintea mea cu vreo două scaune, Hăulică ne adormea cu o dizertație, i se părea lui, despre Ciucurencu. Academicienii, unii „profi” de la Arte Plastice și unii șefuleți de la partid dispăruseră... ca un făcut, pe lângă noi au defilat, în drum, o serie de cârciumi prin care își făcea „numărul” cel pe care Ovidică, modelul, îl numea „calmucul”.

Ovidică era fiul unui universitar, profesor de matematică, oltean. Era băiat „de familie”, cum se spunea. Dar era o poamă care reușise să ajungă doar model, la Arte Plastice, și mentor în draci al studenților, viitorii „maestri ai artelor plastice” și, mai ales, ai cârciumilor.

N-am stat prea în inima asistenței, lângă groapă. Așteptam, cu aprehensiune de înțeles, momentul acela când asistența aruncă, în chip de adio, pământ pe coșciug. Treaba întârzia. M-am dat cu Aurel Nedel, elev de-al lui A.C., după niște cruci, ceva mai departe, să fumăm o țigară. N-am fumat numai una, am fumat vreo 3–4 și slujba de înmormântare nu mai începea!

La un moment dat, din adunarea de lângă groapă, vine spre noi pictorul Virgil Miu. L-am întrebat:

- Ce se întâmplă, Miule? Nu vrea „moșu” să intre în groapă?

- Nu, domnule, se opune soru-sa.

- Da' ce-a apucat-o?

- Au tras-o în piept ăia de la Academie și n-au adus popă. Și ea nu vrea să-i lase să-l îngroape până nu vor aduce un popă.

- Și când vine popa?

- A plecat Trăienică (Brădean) să aducă unul.

Și a venit un preot și a slujit slujba „scurtă”, că era un friguleț țapăn și din cer cădea lapoviță în prostie. Și a rămas Ciucurencu acolo, lângă Asvadurova că o mutase din alt mormânt de la Bellu, în actualul, unde voia să vină și el când va fi cazul și ocazia. (...)

La cimitir n-au mai venit dintre oficialități decât reprezentantul Academiei, „administrativul”. C.B., bolnav de inimă, n-a venit pentru că nu putea să vină. Dar cel puțin prețiosul și importantul (în ochii lui) critic de artă, cred, putea să vină. Era tânăr. Puteau să vina și șefii și șefuleții care-i toceau pragul să-și investească banii în „ciucurenci”. Au venit o parte dintre elevii lui, o soră și o verișoară.

Pictorul Virgil Miu, la o țigară, după cruci, mi-a povestit o serie de întâmplări cu Ciucurencu, „la școală” și în niște „tabere” de pictură. Lucruri interesante și pe care nu le știam. Erau întâmplări dinainte de a-l cunoaște eu pe „bătrânul”. Între altele, și bune și mai puțin bune, una în care A.C. a luat poziție, într-o „tabără” contra consilierului tehnic sovietic, cel cu artele plastice. Alta se referea (în termeni cenușii) la înverșunarea cu care, în epoca proletcultistă, C. sărise și el în capul lui Țuculescu. Motivarea: formalism, reacționarism, formule cu care se „ucidea” în vremea respectivă.

Autobuzele ne-au dus după înmormântare până la „Bihor”, cârciuma (la intersecția Căii Plevnei cu Berzei) unde beau, începând de prin 1961, cu Piliuță, cu artiști plastici și dramatici, cu fete din baletul Operei și maestrii de balet, cu

colecționari, cu profesori universitari și șoferi de taxi. Lângă cârciuma unde se făcea „parastasul” era nu numai atelierul lui Piliuță (Cal. Plevnei 44, et. 8), ci și un garaj mare de taxiuri, al I.T.B. (pe strada Cobălcescu).

Aici au venit mai puțini decât cei de la cimitir, doar cei mai apropiați. Ni s-au adăugat și dr. Chivu, de la Colțea (pictor amator intrat în U.A.P.), neuropsihiatru, dr. Boanghis (dentist la o policlinică din Drumul Taberii, pictor și el dar și colecționar), câțiva alți colecționari, maeștrii de balet Cotovelea și Sabău și un șofer de taxi („nea Georgel”), fost hangiu, recalificat după naționalizare, un adevărat Ion Creangă al caldarâmului bucureștean. Mai erau: criticul Ion Tătaru, Mitică Cuciuc și vor mai fi fost poate încă câțiva. Parcă a fost și actorul Vasile Nitulescu, poetul Nichita Stănescu, în total vreo treizeci de persoane.

Piliuță plătea și „conducea parada”, dar cu decență... M-a așezat lângă dr. Chivu, dr. Boanghis și Nea Nicu Bărbănuș (profesor de chimie și colecționar). Era vorbit cu responsabilul de la „Bihor”, acesta se aprovizionase, unise vreo 4–5 mese, pusese fețe de mese și tacâmuri. (...)

Stăteam și așteptam să se servească gustările. Venise ceea ce era mai important pentru mulți dintre comeseni, vinul și apa minerală. Masa era întinsă în cea de-a doua cameră a cârciumei... Întâi toți participanții s-au ridicat în picioare, au vărsat creștinește câte o picătură din pahar pentru „moșu” și sufletul lui plecat în ultima călătorie.

Apoi s-a trecut la obiectul „ședinței”: băutura cu temei și discuții pe parohii și pe prietenii. Doar dr. Chivu, cu obiceiul lui surâs mefistofelic pe buze, tăcea și „cumpăra”. Era, pe vremea aceea, un foarte căutat psihiatru și avea o clientele foarte variată: de la actori la un trompetist care trăgea răcnete de trompetă la meciurile de fotbal, până la fete nemăritate, ofițeri de securitate s.a.

După vreo jumătate de oră, cu excepția unuia, toți tăceau și ascultau cum povestea nea Georgel, șoferul de taxi, câteva din ultimele lui întâmplări din viața de taximetrist de noapte. Plin de bun simț, ca de obicei, se opri la un moment dat pentru a lăsa și pe alții să vorbească. Nichita Stănescu profita de ocazie și recita niște versuri din „poetul nepereche” și ceva dintre ale lui. (...)

C.P., în clipa aceea, cu logica și reacțiile „ciupitului”, își aduce aminte de Ciucurencu și ridică un pahar în memoria lui „dom’ profesor”. Întreaga asistență, în picioare, după ce varsă un picuț pe podele, ciocnesc cu entuziasm. Mesenii ceilalți, cei de la mesele din jur, când s-a sculat întreaga noastră masă în picioare, sesizând comanda lui P., s-au sculat și ei și și-au depus pe podelele cârciumii stropul de vin. Apoi, ciocnesc și ei.

S-a trecut de mult la fripturi și la murături. Afara-i noapte. Discuția lăncezește, cu unele izbucniri, din când în când, pe la colțuri. Mă uit la ceas pe furiș, văd că-i ora opt, mă scol, ies din cârciumă și plec acasă, la nevastă. Măine mă scol iar la cinci și jumătate. (...)

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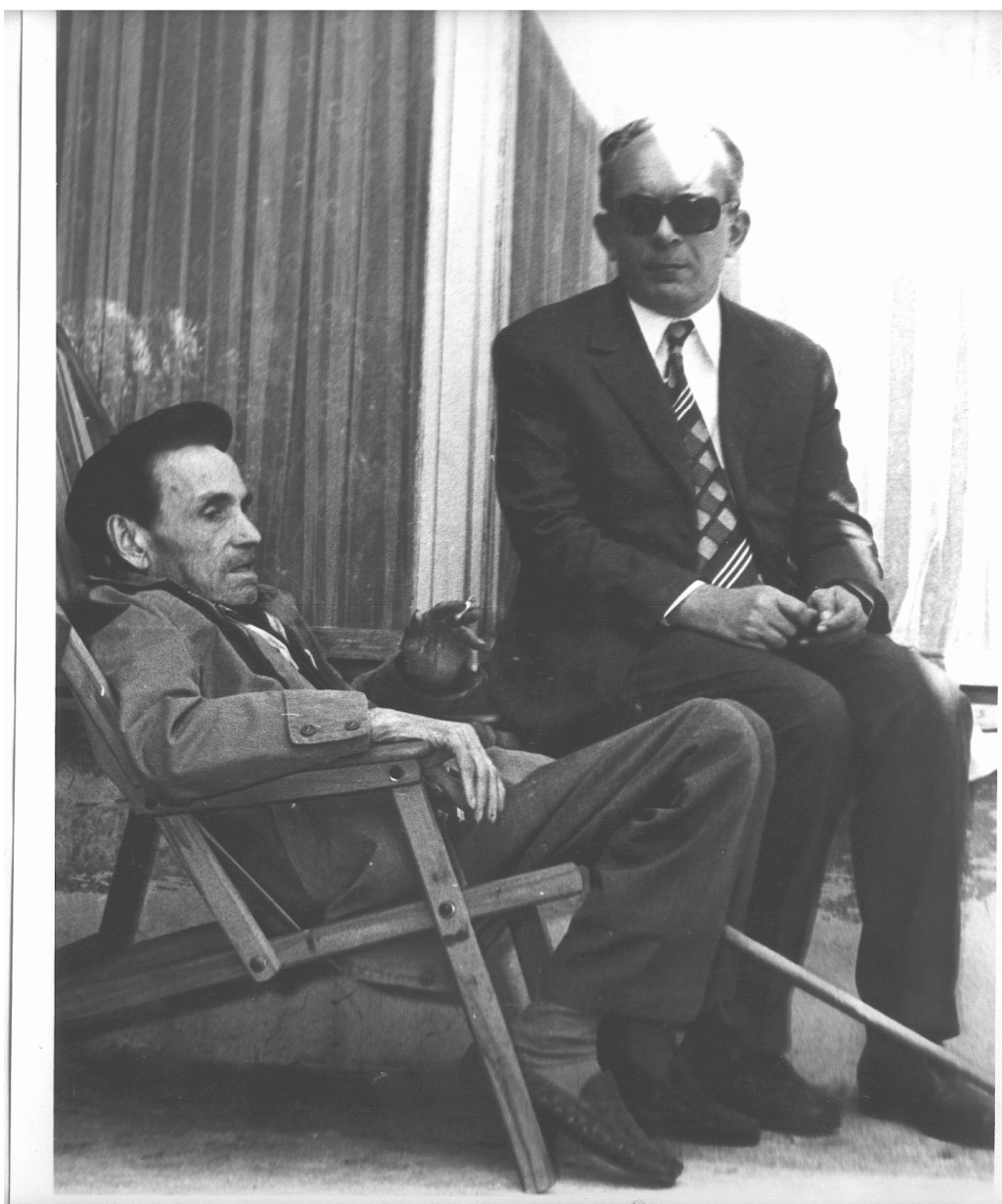
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and Dr. Ing. Mihail Mihalcu on the terrace of the painter's house, 1977.**



2. The Painter in his Studio (1973).



3. The hand of the Painter (1973).



**4. Alexandru Ciucurencu at a meeting of the Romanian Artists Union
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5. Alexandru Ciucurencu's Mortuary Mask



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**7. Paintress Ana Asvadurova (Ciucurencu's wife)
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12. Nuțiu Romul, *Incommodious Design*, donation of the artist

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMN – Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca

KVSL – Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde

SCIA – Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei, București