Doctoral Dissertation

MEMORY FROM THE PAST, DISPLAY FOR THE FUTURE

EARLY MODERN FUNERAL MONUMENTS FROM THE TRANSYLVANIAN PRINCIPALITY

By

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INTRODUCTION

Christian Barth, the bishop of the Lutheran Church of the Transylvanian Germans (Saxons), was fifty-eight years old when he died in 1652. As the inscription running on his funeral monument conveys, he was already prepared for this event, since he himself had his own stone memorial made three years before (Cat. No. 27).[1] It was set up in the interior of the fortified church in Biertan (Figure 1, Map 1). Since Biertan was the seat of the Saxon Lutheran bishops called superintendent, the memorial was at least the sixth bishop's monument in the church, and similarly to the ones already there, featured the life-size portrait of the deceased. Barth ordered it from the most fashionable stonecutter's workshop in Sibiu called Elias Nicolai, whose trademark was placed on the ledger in the form of a signature. The sculpted image was originally painted in colours, which contributed to its resemblance to the model, almost as if his dead figure was present among the visitors to the church and the grave.

The funeral monuments from the church were moved in the early twentieth century to one of the towers in the surrounding wall and installed in a vertical position (Figure 2, Figure 3). The bearded and robed figures of the sometime bishops stand around the visitor who enters the small room, reminding him or her of the time when Biertan was not a small remote settlement but a prosperous urban center of a strong Saxon community. In 1649, however, Cristian Barth probably wanted to create a memorial that was a reminder of himself as an individual. By ordering it himself, he could determine the image that would persist about him among the survivors and the future generations. The Latin inscription introduces him as a not very young person, and as an excellent bishop, a firm pillar, the guiding light of his Saxon homeland. Even his figure looks like a column as it is represented in relief, with the strictly geometrical, vertical folds of his robe.

In addition to his role as a leader of the community, his firm faith is emphasized. The text says that he was not only Christian in name but also in deed, and his portrait is

[1] All throughout the thesis, I will refer to the funeral monuments with their number in the Catalog. I will also provide the name of the place where it is located and the dating where I find it necessary and relevant, but in general, the readability of the text is the main principle I follow. I give as few details in the text from among those in the catalog as possible. I keep the reference in the text only if it is absolutely necessary to consult the catalog item for the understanding of the argument, otherwise it will be indicated in the footnote. The dating is marked with "d." when it is based on the date of death, while without it, it refers specifically to the known date of setting up the funeral monument.
Scholarly literature uses various terms for the object type that is in the focus of this research, partly to distinguish them from other related genres characteristic for certain time periods and geographical regions; see e.g. Phillip Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship: Medieval Monuments in Early Modern England* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2007), 3. In the early modern Transylvanian context, however, the terms "funeral monument", "tomb monument", and "sepulchral monument" can be applied as synonim without any ambiguity, though the first one has been the most widespread in previous scholarly literature.

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complemented with only two objects he holds: the Bible and a huge anchor bearing the inscription "The anchor of my salvation is the grace of the Father won through Christ."[2] In the specific context of the post-Reformation, multi-denominational Transylvania, this obviously refers to the Lutheran doctrine, but it has an additional layer of significance with regard to doctrinal correctness. Barth was accused of crypto-Calvinism when he was elected as superintendent, and he had to strive to restore his position in his own Lutheran Church.[3]

Barth was a real seventeenth-century self-made man: as the son of a tenant peasant, he made his career thanks to his good education abroad, first in Toruń (in German, Thorn), then in Rostock, and after that, he rose from the position of a school rector to that of the superintendent. He very successfully used his funeral monument to influence the memory of him that survives, even to this day, the image that survived about him even by now. Even if today's visitor to Biertan knows nothing about Barth, the visual and textual means clearly suggest the image of a strong and solid person unshakably anchored to his Lutheran faith.

This thesis is about funeral monuments created, similarly to the ledger of Christian Barth, in Transylvania, in the second half of the sixteenth and the seventeenth century: how people used them to preserve and evoke the memory of their dead in order to present them for the contemporaries and the future generations. Transylvania was a separate state that time, the Transylvanian Principality, which came into being as a result of the Ottoman Turkish conquest of Central Europe in the middle of the sixteenth century, by detaching the eastern part of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, Transylvania and some additional territories (Map 2). This political formation existed until the end of the seventeenth century, when, after the joint international forces drove out the Ottomans, it was included as a province into the Habsburg Empire. This one and a half century of Transylvanian history is called the principality period. Later, Transylvania was reunited with the Kingdom of Hungary within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy due to the compromise reached between the Hungarian elite and the ruling Habsburg dynasty in 1867. With the First World War, most of the territory of the former Transylvanian Principality was annexed to Romania, and since then, Transylvania and the region west to it have belonged there.[4]

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[2] *Anchora meae salutis gratia Patris per Christum acqvisita*.
[3] Johann Seivert, "Skizze der Superintendenten Augsburgischer Konfession, im Grosfürstenthum Siebenbürgen" *Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift* 2 (1791): 18-19; J. M. Salzer, *Der königl. freie Markt Birthälm in Siebenbürgen* (Vienna: Verlag von Carl Graefer, 1881), 402.
[4] The territory was attached to Romania practically in 1918 and legally in 1920, with the promulgation of the Trianon Treaty, and it has belonged there except for a period in the Second World War – between 1940 and the autumn of 1944 – when the northern half was re-allocated to Hungary by Nazi Germany and Italy. See Ignác Romsics, *Hungary in the Twentieth Century* (Budapest: Corvina, 1999), 117-125.

When entering major medieval churches in the towns that are the most popular visitors' destinations in present-day Transylvania within Romania—Sibiu, Brașov, Sighișoara, or Alba Iulia—one can immediately notice the significant number of stone memorials dating mostly from the time of the principality. Leaving behind the cities, funeral monuments commemorating former pastors are encountered in the rural fortified churches of the Saxons, such as the one in Biertan that houses the ledger of Bishop Christian Barth presented above. In other areas of Transylvania, stones erected for the former landowners are hidden in the more modest Catholic, Reformed, and Unitarian churches which mostly had medieval origins. Lapidaries in city museums, such as those in Cluj and Sibiu, house grave monuments collected in urban cemeteries and abandoned, demolished or reconstructed churches. These funeral monuments display a great diversity concerning their form, state of preservation, size, complexity, and the quality of stone carving. They include tomb chests with the portrait or the coat of arms of the deceased, ledger stones with figural or heraldic images now built into the wall of churches, and headstones from churchyards or communal cemeteries. Though they constitute a major group of material heritage from the principality period, they have never been surveyed, inventoried, and have never been analysed as a coherent group in any respect. The present work entails an inventory project, which serves as a basis for an analysis of the funeral monuments keeping their main function in the focus: commemorating the dead.

From sculpture to endangered heritage: an unappreciated genre

Some of these funeral monuments from the time of the Transylvanian Principality have already been addressed by scholarship, specifically art history in the Central European academic tradition which, as I will demonstrate in Chapter 1, mostly focused on identifying sculptors' hands and stylistic origins. Art historians have shown little interest in the function of funeral monuments and in the more modest pieces bearing no real traits of the great stylistic periods. At the same time, a significant number of the funeral monuments from the Transylvanian Principality cannot be interpreted in terms of art because of their quality; instead they belong to the sphere of visual or material culture.

Another approach has targeted the objects and burial sites as part of the heritage of certain Transylvanian communities, the resting place and historical monuments of their ancestors, as a reference point in their identity construction. The population of the region has been ethnically mixed from the earliest times as evidenced in written sources and archaeological record, the latter often fervently debated in ethnic terms. In the Middle Ages, the area was

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inhabited mostly by Hungarians, Romanians, and Saxons.[5] That time, and ever since then, several more diverse ethnic groups played part in the history of the area: Italians, Poles, Armenians, Roma, Jews, Serbians, Greeks, Tatars and more.[6] Consequently, Transylvania has been considered as part of their own homeland and heritage by a variety of modern nations, which determined and, in turn, was heated by the changing state affiliations of the area. This influenced the fate and treatment of the cultural heritage too, notably the built and material heritage, which, together with the language, is maybe the most conspicuous imprint of the role played by one or another nation on a land they claim in political or conceptual terms.

The history of certain ensembles of funeral monuments, which I will present in more detail in Chapter 2, demonstrates these attitudes very well. The pieces that commemorated the medieval and early modern elite in the Lutheran churches of Biertan and Sibiu were re-assembled in the nineteenth and early twentieth century as a series, as some kind of pantheon of Transylvanian Germans. The medieval cathedral in Alba Iulia was a favoured burial location of Transylvanian princes and aristocrats, and it has been treated as a pilgrimage site for Hungarians both from Romania and from Hungary (Figure 47). The public cemetery in Cluj founded in the late sixteenth century—today known as *Cimitirul Central* in Romanian and *Házsongárdi temető* in Hungarian—has equally been considered as part of their own heritage by Romanians, Hungarians, and Germans, adhering to the Orthodox, Catholic, Calvinist, Unitarian or Lutheran denominations. Besides being the peaceful resting place of their ancestors and prominent personalities, it has also been a virtual battlefield for the ownership of the town's past and present. The academic discussion of funeral monuments has also been largely influenced by issues related to modern national and religious identities. As I will demonstrate in Chapter 1, the source material and interpretation was roughly divided along the German, Hungarian, and Romanian lines of interest, neglecting the former complexity of social relationships which surrounded the creation of the objects.

There are, however, many funeral monuments that have not been involved in these discussions and, being situated outside these local centres, have remained basically unnoticed, both by the broader public and by scholarship. As noted above, the memorials from the period

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[5] László Makkai, "Transylvania in the Medieval Hungarian Kingdom (896-1526)" in *History of Transylvania. Volume 1. From the Beginnings to 1606*, ed. László Makkai and András Mócsy (Boulder, Colorado: Atlantic Research and Publications, Inc., 2001), 333-441; Ioan-Aurel Pop, ed. *The History of Transylvania. Vol. I (until 1541)* (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Cultural Institute, 2005), 199-225.

[6] See the online database created on the basis of the books published by the same author between 1998-2002: Árpád Varga E., "Erdély etnikai és felekezeti statisztikája (1850-1992)" (Ethnic and denominational statistics of Transylvania [1850-1992]), Erdélyi Magyar Adatbank, http://varga.adatbank.transindex.ro/?pg=6 (accessed March 12, 2017).

of the Transylvanian Principality have never been surveyed before, though, as this work will prove, they constitute a relatively large and coherent group of visual and material culture. However, the time left to carry out such a survey is limited. Stones housed in large urban churches seem to be safe as an organic part of the church furniture. As far as village churches are concerned, however, their original Hungarian or German community abandons more and more buildings year by year, and funeral monuments are exposed to decay and destruction. Even if the community is still present, grave markers have often been reused as building or carving material. Paradoxically, modern renovation campaigns might also endanger the tombstones: the ledger of the sometime pastor, Simon Hartmann in Moşna (d. 1639) was badly splattered with plaster and smashed by the scaffolding that was set up right on its top (Cat. No. 172; Figure 4). These processes influence the survival of funeral monuments and their effect will be discussed in Chapter 2 in more details.

With their loss, a valuable source group dating from the Early Modern Period will disappear, which is much appreciated elsewhere in Europe and analysed in a complex manner looking beyond the questions and methods of the type of art history that focuses only on individual artists and stylistic development. As it has been recognized by international scholarship studying funeral monuments from medieval and early modern Europe, tombs in their original context were designed to fulfill specific cultural and ideological expectations, which were not evidently related to creating high-art sculpture and manifesting stylistic preferences. Approaches towards early modern monuments developed by historians, archaeologists, and art historians for the recent few decades utilize models provided by anthropology, social history, and literary criticism, and interpret the memorials in relation to their social meaning, embedded within the social history of death as a larger context.[7] The main functions of these objects have been defined as preserving the presence of the dead among the living, offering models to follow, and evoking acts of memory.[8] These approaches have not been applied to the Transylvanian material, though this group of funeral monuments is clearly

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[7] For a summary of anthropological and sociological perspectives, see e.g. Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
[8] Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death. Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual c. 1500 - c. 1800* (London: Reaktion Books, 1991); Nigel Llewellyn, "'Plinie is a weyghtye witness': The Classical Reference in Post-Reformation Funeral Monuments" in *Albion's Classicism. The visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, ed. Lucy Gent, Studies in British Art 2 (New Haven - London: Yale University Press, 1995), 163-180; Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). For similar tendencies in continental research, see Carolin Behrmann, Arne Karsten, and Philipp Zitzlsperger, "The Roman Papal- and Cardinal Tombs of the Early Modern Age. Introductory Remarks on a Research Project" *Analecta Romana, Instituti Danici* 29 (2003): 101-117.

suitable for such interpretation. Its analysis would show the principality period and its society from a new and different angle. [9]

Funeral monuments as means of communication: concepts, approach, and aim

Stone funeral monuments—headstones in cemeteries, ledgers in the floors, and tomb structures built against the walls of churches—are all linked by their specific function: they have served to preserve and evoke the memory of the dead among the present and future generations of the living.[10] This is quite often stated clearly by the inscription of the Principality-period Transylvanian funeral monuments as well: *Hic lapis positus est in perennem memoriam magnificae dominae Barbarae Ostro[sit]h*; *Hoc monumentum erigebat in perpetuam memoria[m]*; *Memoriae posteritatis*; *Maradekimnak emlekezetire cinaltatam ez koporso kovet* ("I have had this gravestone made for the memory of my descendants"); *Ez kovet emlékezetre Szabo Anna készitette* ("Anna Szabó has had this stone made for [her husband's] memory"; *Memoria posteritatum*.[11]

As demonstrated through the example of Christian Barth, the memory preserved and evoked by the funeral monument is based on a specific image of the person, and built on some of his or her selected features. It determined how contemporaries remembered the dead as well as the image formed about them by the later generations. It is a constructed, social memory: the values of the given society determine which features are selected and which are those that do not receive any emphasis or completely left for oblivion.[12] As the historian Peter Sherlock formulated when discussing post-Reformation tomb structures in England, monuments told

[9] Pál Lővei saw similarly the coherence of medieval funeral monuments in Hungary: independent from the quality of the pieces, the whole material is held together by the ideology of the era behind their creation, the religious concepts about life and death (translation by the author). Pál Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum pro aeterna memoria: Bevezető fejezetek a középkori Magyarország síremlékeinek katalógusához" (Introductory chapters to a catalog of the funeral monuments from medieval Hungary) (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2009), 8.

[10] See Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 1-4; Stefanie Knöll, *Creating Academic Communities: Funeral Monuments to Professors at Oxford, Leiden and Tübingen 1580-1700* (Haren: Equilibris, 2003), 12; Renate Kohn, "Zwischen standesgemäßem Repräsentationsbedürfnis und Sorge um das Seelenheil. Die Entwicklung des frühneuzeitlichen Grabdenkmals" in *Macht und Memoria: Begräbniskultur europäischer Oberschichten in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Mark Hengerer (Cologne: Böhlau, 2005), 33-34.

[11] Borbála Ostrosith (Cat. No. 23), Zsuzsanna Kamuthy and her two daughters (Cat. No. 131); Johann Reusner (Cat. No. 216), and the same on the ledger of Michael Agnethler (Cat. No. 220); János Kun (Cat. No. 69); Márton Koncz (Cat. No. 301); Thomas Bordan (Cat. No. 291).

[12] See Maurice Halbwachs, *On collective memory* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992); translated from Maurice Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1925); Pierre Nora, "General Introduction" in *Rethinking France. Les Lieux de Mémoire, vol 1, The State*, ed. Pierre Nora (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), vii-xxii.

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posterity what should be known about the past and present, not merely preserving it, but with an intention to change it, involving censorship, even fabrication.[13]

All the features and elements of funeral monuments serve to create and present such images and were chosen accordingly. The inscription, in general, says something about the deceased: about his or her life and qualities. Sculpted, incised, or painted images as well as the entire form of the monument are also efficient means of conveying information. Patterns of shape immediately informed an observer from the same cultural context that it is a sepulchral monument, and sometimes it conveys some information about the subject as well. A millstone set up as the headstone of a miller in the cemetery of the village called Orășeni is a clear example for this, although it dates from a later period than the scope of this work. It is clearly recognizable as a grave marker due to its form and position, and it also informs about the profession of the deceased at first sight (Figure 5).

Funeral monuments in general display a more complex visual code to convey the message than this simple example.[14] Nineteenth- and twentieth-century wooden grave markers called *kopjafa* (lance tree) or *gombfa* (knob tree) set up by people from the eastern Transylvanian Székely ethnic group appeared in a nuanced system of geometrical forms that contained information about the sex, age, and marital status of the deceased, which were easily decoded by members of the narrower or broader community (Figure 6).[15] Heraldic motifs used from the Middle Ages constitute a similar system, a clear reference for the connoisseur to the origin and the status of the subject.[16]

These examples show that funeral monuments have served as means of communication, they have been used to send messages to everyone who will ever visit them. To make sure that they fulfill this function, it was necessary to apply a socially accepted system of signs that the targeted audience would have understood. Since this is basically a set of visual codes—including the visual image of verbal codes in the form of inscriptions—, the scholarship of

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[13] Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England*, 3. See also Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, 50; Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship*, 236.
[14] See Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, 363-364.
[15] The tradition of these grave markers can possibly be traced back to the seventeenth century. These types of wooden grave markers were used in other parts of Hungary as well, but they are most characteristic for the Székely land and the Kalotaszeg region near Cluj. See Iván Balassa, "A magyar temetők néprajzi kutatása" (The ethnographic research of Hungarian cemeteries), *Ethnographia* 84, no. 3 (1973): 232-233; Iván Balassa, *A magyar falvak temetői* (Cemeteries of Hungarian villages) (Budapest: Corvina, 1989), 58-68; Iván Balassa, *A székelyföldi Erdővidék temetői* (Cemeteries in Erdővidék region on the Székely land) (Debrecen: Ethnica, 1992), 13-15.
[16] Nigel Llewellyn, "Claims to Status Through Visual Codes: Heraldry on Post-Reformation English Funeral Monuments," in *Chivalry in the Renaissance*, ed. Sydney Anglo (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1990), 145-160; Kohn, "Zwischen standesgemäßem Repräsentationsbedürfnis und Sorge um das Seelenheil. Die Entwicklung des frühneuzeitlichen Grabdenkmals," 33-34.

funeral monuments found it useful to turn to the field of semiotics to describe how the monuments operate. This approach, drawing on the ideas of linguist Ferdinand Saussure, fits to the above-mentioned concept of social memory, because the operation of language as a system of signs based on the relation of the signifier (the bearer of meaning that is the acoustic or written form) and the signified (meaning), is also defined as a result of social conventions.[17]

This perception of the nature of language was a catalyst for all disciplines dealing with the interpretation of human acts and products, including the anthropological studies of death. Nigel Llewellyn, for example, drew up a framework for analyzing material culture related to death rituals from the post-Reformation England.[18] In this vein, he attributed a special function to funeral monuments that distinguishes them from all other genres of death-related material culture. Llewellyn, by analogy with Saussure's thoughts on language, interpreted the human body at death as a sign. In this sense, the signifier is the natural body (the human corpse), while the signified is the political or social body.[19] With the decay of the natural body, the monumental body—a third concept introduced by Llewellyn to explain the function of the tomb monument—takes over its function in signifying the social body.[20] Consequently, Llewellyn defined the main function of funeral monuments as keeping the social body "alive", substituting for the dead person within the social fabric, thus counteracting the rupture caused by death.[21] Other scholars who followed his line, emphasized different functional aspects, such as the role of the social body in the formation of communal identity,[22] the messages funeral monuments conveyed to the future, and their religious aspects,[23] or the context of death and bereavement.[24]

A whole set of elements (costume, heraldry, text, etc.) contribute to constituting the monumental body.[25] As Llewellyn pointed out, the body portrayed by the monument cannot be interpreted as simple likeness, but as an image built around the social body.[26] Even if the reading

[17] On Ferdinand Saussure and the social aspects of language, see e.g. Jonathan Culler, *Saussure* (London: Fontana, 1985 [1st ed. 1979]), especially 51-52; Gunther Kress, "From Saussure to Critical Sociolinguistics: The Turn Towards a Social View of Language," in *Discourse theory and practice : a reader*, ed. Margaret Wetherell (London: Thousand Oaks, 2001), 29-33.
[18] Llewellyn, *The Art of Death*.
[19] These two concepts had previously been elaborated based on early modern textual sources by Ernst Kantorowicz. See Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957).
[20] Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, 37.
[21] Llewellyn, *The Art of Death*, 46-49, 101-102; Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, e.g. 14, 37.
[22] Knöll, *Creating Academic Communities*, 12.
[23] Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England*, 3-4.
[24] Sarah Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration: An Archaeology of Mortality* (London: Blackwell, 1999), 17.
[25] Llewellyn, *The Art of Death*, 49-51. Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, 101; Knöll, *Creating Academic Communities*, 129-131.
[26] Llewellyn, *The Art of Death*, 49-53.

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of the images seems to be more plausible, such as in the case of figural representations, the choice of the pose, dress, hairstyle, and accessories of the effigy constitute a picture that does not mirror the "real" appearance but rather shows how the creators of the memorial wanted the contemporary and future audience to remember and visualize the dead.[27] Thus, analyzing the monumental body reveals the character of the social body, the identity, role, and place of the person in his own society. This determined the choices people made about every aspect of the funeral monument: for whom to set it up and where, what kind of material, form, inscriptions, and images to apply.

To be able to explain how exactly the social body determined the choices made about the funeral monuments, it is useful to turn to the linguistic analogy again, more precisely, to the field of socio-linguistics. Socio-linguistics is the branch of linguistic studies that seeks to answer the question how language comes to be as it is in the context of social relations. Basically, a similar question is posed here about funeral monuments: there is a certain set of stone memorials at disposal as sources, and we want to understand why they look the way they do. The analogy from linguistics might help to find the right questions to ask.

Saussure identified social conventions as the factor that determines the relation between the form (signifier) and the meaning (signified). When using the language, the speaker chooses from forms that are already there in the system. Representatives of socio-linguistics, however, observed that the same individuals use language differently in different social contexts and situations, which means that their choices are influenced by those. As an important consequence, the analysis of texts can uncover the choices that were made and the reasons why exactly those were made.[28] The same is suggested here by the approach whereby funeral monuments are seen as means of communication in the social process of commemoration as the manifestation of a system of visual signs: by going back to the social context, their analysis can uncover the choices that were made about them and the reasons why. It is understanding Christian Barth's social status and environment that suggests a clue why he chose to have himself depicted in a long robe, with a Bible and a huge anchor in his hand.

The way social semiotics sees the role of individual choices offers a useful model as well. Decisions about funeral monuments were evidently made by thinking, feeling and acting individuals. It was not a single person who made these choices, but a group of people contributed by designating the site, selecting a specific form, the images, and by composing the text of the inscriptions. Elaborating in more detail the linguistic analogy of Nigel Llewellyn,

[27] Ibid., 51-55.
[28] Kress, "From Saussure to Critical Sociolinguistics: The Turn Towards a Social View of Language," 33-35.

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Stephanie Knöll introduced a very useful term borrowed also from semiotics when analyzing late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century funeral monuments of professors from Oxford, Leiden, and Tübingen. She called all people involved in the creation of the memorial the "senders" of the monument, from the commissioner through the poet who wrote the verses to the sculptor and the painter who finished it.[29]

It is challenging to capture the role of individuals in a historical perspective. The difficulty is not specific for the research of funeral monuments; it emerges when examining any segment of the historical, not to mention prehistoric material culture. Sources attest to individual cases and acts, but available information on the historical or prehistoric individuals and the way their minds worked is insufficient for researchers to unfold the roles, ideas and motivations behind. Social linguists have also dealt with the role of the individual in the formation of the relationship between language and society, and they suggested various definitions, ranging from a passive user of the system to an active agent in shaping it. The latter position is represented by the branch called critical linguistics. According to this view, individuals produce forms, thus transform the signs so as to realize their best interests, and through these transformed signs, they shape the entire system, that is the language. Some individuals are more successful in this than the others, and the factor influencing this is defined as power – to put it simply, the more powerful are more successful in shaping the system. The field of power equals with the social domain; consequently, power relations, that is, the social relations of the individuals are to be studied to understand the formation process of the system.[30]

What makes the theory of critical linguistics especially useful in describing the process of visual communication in a historical context is the idea that forms chosen by the individual have their own histories: an accumulated set of meanings from their prior use by other individuals for other purposes in other environments. Consequently, through the individual choices, forms carry the history of the social.[31] Neither did funeral monuments work with a fixed system of signs, that is, the same forms standing for the same meanings. Individual solutions shaped the available repertoire of forms and meanings that could be brought into a new relationship by other individuals – senders – in a new context. In practice, this meant that solutions inspired by a certain commission were built into the repertoire of the stonecutters and the concepts about memorials of the prospective patrons and subjects. The explanation for adopting certain solutions and for the formation of funeral monument production in general

[29] Knöll, *Creating Academic Communities*, 227.
[30] Kress, "From Saussure to Critical Sociolinguistics: The Turn Towards a Social View of Language," 34-38.
[31] Ibid., 37.

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must be sought in the social context, power relations, and the changes of those, some aspects of which are listed by Llewellyn too.[32] Though we are dealing with individual choices of the senders influencing the outlook of funeral monuments, the reasonable ambition of the researcher is not to reveal individual feelings and intentions but a social pattern of making choices and social meanings. The sources for doing this, funeral monuments, are objects created by individuals whose acts, thoughts, and feelings were embedded in their social environment.[33]

It is by now a commonplace in the scholarship of material or visual culture in mortuary context – in anthropology, archaeology and history – that the remains should not be understood as a mere imprint of a past society, but rather as a reflection of the image the society had about itself and about the individuals as social persons. Material and visual culture has also influenced this image, and through this, shaped and manipulated the society itself.[34] People created selected, sometimes fictional narratives through the memorials to determine the reputation of the dead within the community, placing them in the tradition of the predecessors, and, at the same time, also contributing to the traditions.[35]

The aim of this work is to find out what kind of memory people from the Transylvanian Principality, the creators (or senders) of funeral monuments intended to preserve and evoke about their dead and themselves among their contemporaries and the posterity and why, in order to understand how material and visual culture is used by people to define, express, and influence their place and role in the world. The image they desired to communicate determined the specific choices they made about the funeral monuments; consequently, its analysis will help to interpret the stone memorials preserved from the principality, to understand better why they look the way they do. I aim to examine what funeral monuments, expressions of the monumental body reveal about people as members of their society, that is, the social body, and how the social body determined the choices made about the funeral monuments. I will look at how these choices relate to various traditions in the representation of the social body and how

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[32] Pointing out the necessity to project individual experience in the context of social expectations when interpreting early modern funeral monuments, Nigel Llewellyn as well suggested to consider such factors as social order, sense of degree, and church-state relations, all of which essentially involve the notion of power. Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, 36. The relation between the context and the artwork here is understood a dynamic process, in the sense as explained by Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," *The Art Bulletin* 73, no. 2 (1991): 176-180.

[33] See Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey, *Death, Memory and Material Culture* (Oxford - New York: Berg Publishers, 2001), 6-7.

[34] For an overview of the theoretical development in archaeology of the analysis of material from burial context, see Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration: An Archaeology of Mortality*, 9-22.

[35] See Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England*; Knöll, *Creating Academic Communities*; Oliver Meys, *Memoria und Bekenntnis: die Grabden ler evangelischer Landesherren im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation im Zeitalter der Konfessionalisierung* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2009).

the decision makers, the senders, changed these traditional elements by using them in a new context. Finally, I aim to examine how funeral monuments have fulfilled their function in time; how the changing audience with newer and newer social contexts has influenced the physical appearance of the memorials as well as the meanings and messages attributed to them.

The message carried by funeral monuments does not only tell about the individuals, but also about various aspects of their entire society. To look at a modern example, the Arlington National Cemetery in Washington DC houses graves of those soldiers who served the American nation in US military campaigns.[36] Their gravestones are entirely uniform in their material and shape, only the names and dates differ, and they are organized in a regular scheme based on military units. However, Cristian soldiers are marked with a little cross carved above their names, while Jewish soldiers with the Star of David. This cemetery, the gravestones, and their arrangement express that the American society associates a high value with the military service of the nation as well as with the idea of equality that is visualized by the uniformity of headstones, but also with individual freedom of religion as displayed by the iconography (Figure 7).

As the modern American example shows, the message of the memorials has two basic components: one concerns the place of the individual in the earthly society, and the other one their position concerning what is beyond, that is, their religious status. Though religion is a relevant factor in the social analysis of other segments of material or visual culture too, it plays a special role with relation to funeral monuments, rooted in their function. Thus, religion is a specific context in which I will analyze the funeral monuments. Ideas about commemoration depend on and reflect the concepts of a society about death and the relation between the body and soul, the dead and the living, that is, the social experience of death. Commemorative practices and related material culture aim to consolidate these relations disrupted by death, to help to release grief as well as to help the living accept their own fate.[37] These views and processes are also essentially embedded into the social realm, but they also involve individual psychological reactions and emotions.

The possibility of studying emotions in the past based on material culture has largely been debated in various disciplines—sociology, psychology, anthropology, history, and

[36] For the mission and vision of the cemetery, see their website: "Arlington National Cemetery. Honor, Remember, Explore," U.S Army, http://www.arlingtoncemetery.mil/About/Mission-Vision (accessed March 12, 2017).
[37] Richard Huntington and Peter Metcalf, *Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 79-107; Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, 28-31.

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recently also archaeology—, ultimately bringing to surface a very basic question: to what extent are emotions universal for all humankind?[38] This question is especially relevant in the case of funeral monuments, since this is an emotionally loaded genre, regardless whether the tombs are found in an ivory-laden graveyard or walled in the nave of a medieval church; they are surrounded by an atmosphere of decay. They recall long dead people and societies and of the transience of life. As Sarah Tarlow pointed out, graveyard studies differ from other types of fieldwork in their emotional effect, and she considered her own emotional response a significant aspect of her fieldwork.[39] The modern European visitor has a reaction for gravestones that is rooted in their own culture, even for gravestones of long dead, unknown people. Since we tend to project our emotions on others, also on past people, the issue has emerged as the source of a theoretical problem for material culture studies.[40]

The research into material culture does not give a clue about individual responses to individual deaths, since those differ from case to case even today and even in the same segment within the same society. Modern grave markers, for example the above-mentioned Arlington Cemetery, do not reflect the "real" feelings of the bereaved either, but the general and local social customs of commemoration. Anthropologists have studied how this works in various societies.[41] Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century funeral monuments certainly reflect some kind of response to death, but this cannot be equalled with emotions felt by the bereaved, the same way as public displays of emotions during the burial ritual were subject to social law.[42] For example, studies on funeral monuments for children—an especially touching group emotionally —have shown how the objects reflect the value of the child within the society, but also how they do not give clues about the parents' emotional attachment to their children.[43] Funeral monuments provide access to the socially accepted norms of responses to death and their display.

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[38] See Ute Frevert, *Emotions in History: Lost and Found* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2011); Damien Boquet and Piroska Nagy, "Historical Emotions, Historians' Emotions," *Les émotions au Moyen Âge, carnet d'EMMA* (2011), http://emma.hypotheses.org/1213 (accessed December 28, 2016). translated from Damien Boquet and Piroska Nagy, "Émotions historiques, émotions historiennes" *Écrire l'histoire* 2 (2008): 15-26. Most recently, Damien Boquet and Piroska Nagy, *Sensible Moyen Age: Une histoire des émotions dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Seuil, 2015); Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

[39] She carried out her fieldwork in the graveyards of Orkney, Scotland. Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration: An Archaeology of Mortality*, 20-22.

[40] Sarah Tarlow, "Emotion in Archaeology," *Current Anthropology* 41, no. 5 (2000): 713-746.

[41] Huntington and Metcalf, *Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual*.

[42] Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, 49-50, 389.

[43] See Jeannie Łabno, *Commemorating the Polish Renaissance Child. Funeral Monuments and their European Context* (London: Ashgate, 2011). This is a particularly important issue, since it has served as the basis of developing major ideas in the research of pre-modern societies. See Philippe Ariès, *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Plon, 1960).

Finally, an important practical as well as theoretical problem concerns the set of the objects we inherited as sources to analyze. Their present condition, state and form does not correspond to the corpus and the form of stone memorials that existed in the time of the principality. First, there was no moment in time in which each stone memorial would have been erected and still intact, in its original position. Many of those installed in the mid-sixteenth century had been transformed to some extent or demolished entirely by the time the latest ones were created. Their context certainly changed by adding further memorials, which transformed their meanings in the way demonstrated above through the analogy of language as a system of signs. If we compare the effect of one single monument in a church with an entire series, it is easy to understand the difference. Second, because many have been lost during the centuries since the years around 1700, the end of the time frame here, and those that survived were also subject to alterations. Some of them were re-used in a partly modified form, almost all of them were moved from their original location, or even if left there, the function of the space and the whole environment has changed. This was due to the changing social context around the memorials: their new audience attributed new meanings to them, and changed them accordingly, which influenced their interpretation. The significant consequence of these entwined processes for every scholarly work was pointed out by Phillip Lindley in his analysis of medieval tomb monuments in the context of their early modern and modern history.[44]

Consequently, we are not only dealing with the choices of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century people. Funeral monuments from the Transylvanian Principality in their present state were impacted by a series of later decisions too: some people choose to preserve or get rid of certain tombstones at a certain time, others moved or modified them. The decision made in 1884 by the Lutheran Presbyterium in Braşov is an excellent example for this: they chose ten from the preserved tombstones, mostly with a portrait image or coat of arms, to restore and build into the walls of the church to encourage the community in commemorating their ancestors.[45] Monuments have been involved in creating collective or social memories, and they have also been shaped by processes of memory creation and oblivion. They have been incorporated into new social narratives, and we inherited these meanings too as part of the objects as sources for the research.

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[44] Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship*, especially 2-3 and 238.
[45] Christoph Gusbeth, *Die Grabdenksteine in der Westhalle der evang. Stadtpfarrkirche in Kronstadt*. Sonderabdruck der wissenschaftlichen Beilage der Programms des evang. Gymnasiums A.B. zu Kronstadt und der damit verbundenen Lehranstalten am Schlusse des Schuljahres, no. 1885/6 (Kronstadt [Braşov], 1886): 4.

Structure

Chapter 1 will define more precisely the circle of objects that are in the focus of this research as well as the geographical and chronological frameworks in the context of the relevant scholarly traditions. Scholarly discussion has also shaped memorials as signs, means of communication, which influenced their physical history as well. I will present the historiography, the interpretation history of the memorials in this respect: to understand how it contributed to the meanings we attribute to them and how it was interrelated with their physical history. The last part of the chapter will contain a brief overview of the variety of approaches in the scholarship of funeral monuments from the Early Modern Period that serve as the foundation of this research in some respect.

Chapter 2 will discuss the physical history of Transylvanian funeral monuments, to understand their visual and material condition and spatial context. Spatial position will serve as the basis for the introduction. I will proceed according to the main types of their present sites: urban and village churches, churchyard cemeteries, communal cemeteries, and museums. The chapter will summarize the main characteristics of these site types, the number, position, and state of conservation of the memorials at each, and examine how visible and accessible they are in their spatial context. This is also the place where I will present some of my new findings about the identification, dating, and biography of specific memorials including several previously unpublished pieces. I will also look at the geographical and chronological distribution of funeral monuments as it appears today, examine how this is related to what is known about the original situation and the original number, and seek possible explanations for those patterns that seem meaningful.

Scholarship has used various categories to classify funeral monuments, which also constitutes a part of their biography and informs our present understanding of them, the lens through which we look at them. In the second part of Chapter 2, I will examine what these categories are and whether they are suitable or useful to present and analyze the funeral monuments that survived from the Transylvanian Principality. Finally, I will establish a system of typology that I find meaningful for the analysis, designed to present both the similarities and the differences in as many respects as possible. I will close the chapter with an overview of the funeral monuments along these lines, to get a general picture of the characteristic forms as well as of the range of diversity.

Chapter 3 and 4 will revisit the semiotic interpretation and deal with the two most influential groups of the senders: those who produced the memorial and those who

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commissioned them. Answers will be sought in the social context of the commission, since in accordance with the commemorative function of sepulchral monuments, the decisions were determined by the concepts in the given segment of the society about the appearance of a proper memorial. On one hand, the aim of these two chapters is to unfold how the senders – both on the tomb maker's and on the commissioners' side – influenced certain aspects of the funeral monuments by their choices and why, on the other hand, it will explain the variety of the objects: their location, visibility, size, material, form, images, architectural details, ornaments, and texts.

Chapter 3 will deal with those who produced the tomb monuments, who cut the stone. I will examine what can we know about these people and the organizational structure of production in Transylvania. I will map which workshops can be identified, where and when they operated, and where they distributed their products. I will examine what funeral monuments show about the education and models of their producers and the organization of the production. Finally, I will seek to define the decision-making role of tomb makers concerning various aspects of the funeral monuments.

This last question leads to the role of the commissioner side, since it was ultimately the commissioner who chose which tomb maker to hire. **Chapter 4** will focus on this group of the senders, including the patrons as well as the subjects, since there is often no way to distinguish the roles. Sometimes the future subjects themselves gave orders in this respect, but the executor of their last will could also contribute to the decisions. I will examine the social groups they came from, that is, the social layers that are represented among the surviving funeral monuments. I will first look at the patterns of patronage in each major social group: who ordered the memorials, for whom, and what the memorials communicate about the patron. I will examine the age and gender distribution, the situation of the subjects within their broader social group, and whether the ensemble of funeral monuments shows any related pattern. I will also address the role of status and profession in the choices about the funeral monuments and the way these were represented through the spatial, material, visual, and textual aspects.

Religious status was tightly interrelated with social position in the Transylvanian Principality. Since, however, as I argued above, religious views have a special role among the concepts that determine the function and outlook of funeral monuments, **Chapter 5** will focus specifically on this context. The period of the Transylvanian Principality was marked by important changes in this respect. This was the time when the ideas of the religious reform initiated by Martin Luther spread there, and the country, due to the coexistence of a diversity of Christian denominations, has been known as a land of religious tolerance that was

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exceptional in Europe that time.[46] This last chapter will briefly present the religious landscape, how Reformation changed the perception of funeral monuments, and what the position of various denominations was in this question. I will examine how these changes and variations influenced the actual practice in Transylvania as reflected by the funeral monuments and various written sources, and investigate whether commemoration and funeral monuments display any differences in various denominations.

Finally, in the **Conclusion** I will summarize the chapters to give a detailed overview on how funeral monuments were used to express and negotiate the position in this earthly life and the afterlife of people from various social, ethnic, professional, age, and gender groups in Transylvania, and suggest further possible directions for the research.

Two Appendices are attached to the text. The first one includes the list of those place names in two or three languages that were mentioned in the thesis from the former Transylvanian Principality and the Kingdom of Hungary under Habsburg rule. This points at an important phenomenon from the region and a related methodological problem that had to be tackled. These settlements now belong to Romania or Slovakia and are known by their respective Romanian or Slovakian names. However, they have had a multiethnic community of inhabitants since the Middle Ages, and various, Hungarian as well as German forms of the place names have equally been used. It was not the dominant ethnicity that determined the practice even in the medieval and Early Modern times. For example, in the border inscription on the ledger of the Lutheran Saxon priest, Paul Whonner in Cincu, the village where he served is not mentioned in the Saxon or German form as Groß-Schenk as one would expect, but as *Nagy Sentc*, a distorted version of the Hungarian form, Nagysink (Cat. No. 74). Similarly, on the ledger of Petrus Fronius and Jakob Jeckelius in the Saxon settlement today called Prejmer, the settlement is written as Prasmar, in the Hungarian form, and not as the German Tartlau. (Cat. No. 178). Since contemporary pattern of place name use did not follow any standards, I decided to use the present official Romanian forms in Transylvania and Slovakian forms in Slovakia—though I am aware that it is an anachronism when speaking about a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century situation—and provide a table with the corresponding Hungarian and German forms in the Appendix.

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[46] István Keul, *Early Modern Religious Communities in East-Central Europe: Ethnic Diversity, Denominational Plurality, and Corporative Politics in the Principality of Transylvania (1526-1691)*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 239. Keul refers to Ludwig Binder, *Grundlagen und Formen der Toleranz in Siebenbürgen bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Siebenbürgisches Archiv 11 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1976).

The second part of the Appendix is a **Catalog** of funeral monuments in Transylvania dated to between 1541 and 1700. It was built on the results of an extensive fieldwork carried out between 2011 and 2014, during which I visited about seventy sites at more than sixty settlements located all over Transylvania. These include ecclesiastical and museum collections in towns but also abandoned churches in remote villages, and some of the objects were not accessible even after repeatedly returning to the place. The Catalog includes the basic information on the items, their location, and on the subject, as well as the most important bibliographic references on each. It also offers a transcription of the texts on the memorials: more than three hundred inscriptions, composed both in prose and in verse, mostly in Latin, but also in Hungarian and German. Some monuments were partly covered by pavement or furniture or located so high that only a part of the data could be collected into the inventory. Every memorial is presented with a photograph too, the quality of which varies due to the conditions and the accessibility of the object. In some cases, where I could neither prepare a photograph nor collect from some other source, I used images from publications. The inventory will be evaluated in more details in terms of information validity in Chapter 2, but this Catalog containing 314 items is the most complete corpus of funeral monuments ever compiled from the Transylvanian Principality.

Sources, Methods, and Results

The most important source group of this research are the funeral monuments, which equally serve as material, visual, and written evidence. Their built environment and space in general constitutes an important source, also captured during the fieldwork. For a contextual interpretation, it was essential to use additional historical documents as well, which is not without problems in the case of the principality. In theory, the number of surviving written sources would be sufficient, but the majority has not been edited and published yet. As an example, last wills, an essential source type related to the funerary context, have been targeted by a recent archival project with the nobility in its focus, but only a selection has been published and analyzed.[47] Other types of documents are relevant too, since each monument had a specific

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[47] Kinga Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol.1. Hadviselő székelyek végrendeletei. Háromszék* (Transylvanian Testaments I. Last wills of the Székely in military service. The Háromszék region) (Târgu Mureș: Mentor Kiadó, 2003); Kinga Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 2. Erdélyi nemesek és főemberek végrendeletei* (Transylvanian Testaments, vol. 2. Last wills of Transylvanian noblemen and aristocrats) (Târgu Mureș: Mentor Kiadó, 2006); Kinga Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3. Erdélyi nemesek és főemberek végrendeletei 1600-1660* (Transylvanian testaments, vol. 3. Last wills of Transylvanian noblemen and aristocrats 1600-1660) (Târgu Mureș: Mentor Kiadó, 2008). See also Ildikó Horn, "Testamentele maghiare din Transilvania premodernă" (Hungarian last wills in pre-modern Transylvania), *Oameni şi moartea în societatea românească. Caiete de antropologie istorică* 3, no. 1-2 (2004).

micro-environment which could be unfolded by deep-digs into histories of various social groups; among these, the scholarship of the genealogy and history of noble family is at the most developed stage.[48]

To manage and analyze the data from fieldwork and literature, I created a relational database, which also serves as the basis of the Catalog (Figure 8). I used it to collect and organize the data and to carry out quantitative analysis with various foci as well as to identify clusters based on a range of variables and structures, layers, patterns in the material. It was also a basic tool for text mining for the analysis of the inscriptions. The location, material, size, form, images, architectural details, ornaments, and texts all contributed to carrying the message that was sent in the commemorative context. All these resulted from choices made by those people who were involved in the creation of the stone memorials, but as the diversity of the material suggests, not all variables were considered equally important for the message in the specific cases. Counting and grouping the objects along these variables helps to identify those elements that played a special role in carrying the message and examine how and why, searching for the answer in the social and religious environment of the senders.

This implies that historical and art historical contextualization was one of the basic elements in the methodology: I investigated the social, religious, cultural, material and spatial context of the specific memorials and of various groups. Contextualization was also essential when working with the biographies of objects: reconstructing their histories building on the idea that the transformation of objects and people is essentially tied to each other.[49] This was not possible in equal details for all cases, since the source situation displays a great diversity concerning the specific memorials, and an overarching archival research certainly goes beyond the purview of this thesis. In certain cases, however, I could rely on existing source publications and analyses; I will refer to these where relevant, and the catalogue also includes the references. In this respect, this work does not fit into the prevailing trend in the art history writing of the

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[48] Thanks to traditional genealogical studies from the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century (especially by Iván Nagy and László Kőváry) and modern, mostly prosopographic analyses, see e.g. András W. Kovács, *The History of the Wass de Czege Family* (Hamburg: Edmund Siemers Stiftung, 2005); Angelika T. Orgona, "A göncruszkai Kornisok. Két generáció túlélési stratégiái az erdélyi elitben (1546 k. –1648)" (The Kornis of Göncruszka family. The survival strategies of two generations within the Transylvanian elite, c. 1546 – 1648) PhD Thesis, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, 2007; András Péter Szabó, "Haller Gábor – egy 17. századi arisztokrata életpályája" (The career of Gábor Haller, a Transylvanian aristocrat in the seventeenth century) PhD Thesis (Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Budapest, 2008); Judit Balogh, "A vargyasi Daniel család karrierjének kezdetei a 16–17. század fordulóján" (The beginnings of the career of the Daniel of Vargyas family at the turn of the 16th century), *Történelmi Szemle*, no. 3 (2009): 333-353.

[49] See Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value" in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 3-63; Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process" ibid., 64-91; Chris Gosden and Marshall Yvonne, "The Cultural Biography of Objects" *World Archaeology* 31, no. 2 (1999): 169-178.

Transylvanian Principality that focuses on source studies for a more limited segment of material or visual sources.[50] However, as especially Chapter 2 will show, my research produced a considerable amount of new data on some specific objects and their context.

The situation is similar concerning the biographies of people involved in the creation of the funeral monuments as tomb makers, patrons, or subjects. A full biographical and prosopographic research would entail about 500 individuals from various segments of the society of the Transylvanian Principality, covered by documents scattered in archives of various families and administrative units, housed both in Hungary and Romania. Whereas comprehensive examination on the scale exceeds the scope of this thesis, I conducted a basic research for each subject and patron based on published sources, complemented with an in-depth analysis of several case studies including archival research. The combination of already published data with those provided by the funeral monuments produced new information that complements or replaces certain parts of the genealogy of various families or the biography of individuals.

Heraldry is of the most frequent element in the iconography of funeral monuments. Heraldic representations were included into the analysis, but I built on the previous identifications in most cases. Another large and distinct field in memorial studies is the epigraphic analysis of the texts written on the funeral monuments, many of which display poetry. A comprehensive analysis of the inscriptions from a grammatical, epigraphic, and literary point of view would extend the frame of this work and requires a separate study; here I examined the texts from the point of view of my own research questions.

The comparison of objects and their groups involved other ensembles as well, including some outside Transylvania. These ensembles were selected on the basis of the specific question I raised. Concerning the Reformation, the German territories constitute the most plausible reference as well as other areas of the Reformation that were as geographically peripheral as Transylvania, such as Sweden. For questions connected to the social function of funeral monuments, I turned to England, because the methodology developed there is well-applicable to the Transylvanian context as well. When dealing with production structures, the most relevant geographical area is the Kingdom of Hungary under Habsburg rule, but Poland and Walachia are also pertinent due to the political and cultural connections that are manifest in the movement of artists, craftsmen, and objects as well.

[50] This school is centered in Cluj, and is marked by the name of András Kovács, who, as a professor of the Department of Art History at the Babeş-Bolyai University, educated a generation of scholars. Members of this generation became experts in certain segments of Transylvanian art.

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In this latter respect, research can be informed by written documents related to the commission and the production (including signatures on the object), and on the stylistic analysis of the products. I will apply the method of stylistic analysis as well, building on the concept of style that covers all those characteristics of the object that evolved as the result of human choices.[51] These choices could be made by any person involved at any stage into the creation of the tomb monument. The archaeological concept of style allows us to include also those stone memorials that do not belong to the sphere of art due to their low quality and do not display any element that could be interpreted in terms of art historical styles. Simple forms and solutions also resulted from human choices. The style of tomb makers in this sense does not only include sculptural and architectural forms or ornaments, but also texts: certain textual panels are likely to have been the part of their toolkit. Thus, modest plaques as those from the city wall of Cluj can also be meaningfully integrated into the discussion (Cat. No. 81-83, 121-126).

Some of the above-mentioned methods, such as quantitative methods and text mining, are applied for the entire ensemble of funeral monuments. I also use qualitative methods to answer the "why" and "how" questions, to investigate decision making processes. I work with selected case studies to understand social functions and the various layers of meanings and their transformations. These in-depth analyses are performed in various directions: targeting the objects themselves, the subjects and the patrons, the craftsmen, as well as groups of these.

The primary results concern the role of funeral monuments in commemoration in the society of the Transylvanian Principality, as well as the creation and history of specific objects and the people involved. The outcomes and conclusions, however, relate to other areas that overreach material culture studies or art history, and contribute to long-standing debates on the characteristics, functions, and transformations of churches and cemeteries. In addition, they also add to our present understanding, knowledge of the social history of the principality, the prestige representation of various social groups, and issues connected to ethnicities, forms of identities, language use, on religious life and denominations, for example, how theological views influenced the everyday practice. The findings are also pertinent for the study of the

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[51] This is a concept of style applied in archaeology, see Margaret W. Conkey and Christine Hastorf, eds., *The Uses of Style in Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); especially James R. Sackett, "Style and Ethnicity in Archaeology: The Case for Isochretism," in *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*, ed. Margaret W. Conkey and Christine Hastorf (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 32-43. In art history, for a similarly broad understanding of style, see, for example, Ernst Gombrich, "Style (1968)," in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Donald Preziosi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 129-140.

artistic and craft relations, influences, and the structures of the market, and finally, for the history of emotions and mentalities.

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CHAPTER 1. FUNERAL MONUMENTS IN THE FOCUS OF RESEARCH

1.1. Transylvanian stone funeral monuments: a definition

Sepulchral monuments, funeral monuments, or tomb monuments cover all those objects that were created and set up to commemorate the death of one or more individuals, either at the place of the burial or somewhere else. Consequently, I also include the pieces fixed on the walls that are sometimes called stone epitaphs in the literature.[52] However, I limited my scope to those memorials from the Transylvanian Principality that were made of stone; only these are presented in the catalog that serves as the basis of this analysis.

Memorials made of metal were quite rare in Transylvania in the period; only two bronze ledgers have survived.[53] Since not every aspect of the analysis is relevant to these the same way as to the stone memorials, I will refer to the bronze ledgers where it is relevant, but they do not form a part of the basic dataset I am working with. The same applies to those wall memorials—also called epitaphs in the literature – that have a wooden structure, even if their decoration is not only made of wood and painted canvas, but sometimes involves alabaster, a relatively soft stone. On the other hand, I included the only piece whose entire structure was made of alabaster (Cat. No. 269). Though the public and scholarly discussion has supposed the existence of wooden grave markers in the Transylvanian cemeteries in this period, they did not survive, and even the related data are sparse and ambiguous.[54]

This research focuses only on those stone memorials that were created between 1540s and 1700, set up originally in the territory of the Transylvanian Principality, and still exist, so which can still be studied in their material form. Several funeral monuments were mentioned by contemporary or later texts but have disappeared by now; I did not include these into the database and the calculations. Still, they are also important sources, and I regularly refer to such pieces in the analysis. Neither are those funeral monuments included into the source base that were produced and installed abroad for subjects of Transylvanian origin or somehow related to

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[52] In Chapter 2, I will discuss this issue in detail. See also Dóra Mérai, "Stones in Floors and Walls: Commemorating the Dead in the Transylvanian Principality," in *Places of Memory: Cemeteries and Funerary Practices throughout the Time*, ed. Daniel Dumitran and Marius Rotar. Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica 19/II. (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2015), 151-173.

[53] Both in Sibiu, those of Peter Haller of Hallerstein (d. 1569) and Michael Lutsch (d. 1632). See Ioan Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit* (Hermannstadt [Sibiu]: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002), 61-63, Cat. No. 57, fig. 28 and 145-147, Cat. No. 155, fig. 170.

[54] E.g. Farkas Deák saw a few sixteenth-century wooden grave markers in the Calvinist cemetery in Târgu Mureș in the 1840s. Farkas Deák, "Magyar feliratú sírkövek a XVI. századból" (Funeral monuments from the sixteenth century with Hungarian inscriptions), *Archaeologiai Értesítő* (1879): 359.

Transylvania, such as the red marble memorial of King Stephan Báthory created by the Italian Santi Gucci and installed in the Wawel cathedral in Cracow.[55]

Stone cutters working in Transylvania created tomb monuments for commissions coming from abroad; for example, the memorials for some members of the court of the voivode of Walachia were made by a master operating otherwise in Sibiu and set up in Arnota and Tîrgovişte (Figure 123 to Figure 129).[56] These are not included into the database either, since they belong to a spatial and social context different from those in the Transylvanian Principality. Nevertheless, they carry important information about the production structures of monuments, so they will appear in the discussion in the relevant chapters. In general, since this work focuses on tomb monuments more as functional objects and less as sculptural or carved stone works, it is the "Transylvanianness" of the burial context and not that of the producer that determines whether a certain work belongs to the scope of the research.

I could identify 314 stone funeral monuments that correspond to the above criteria located now in fifty-nine settlements in and outside Transylvania. This number is sufficient to analyze various patterns including geographic and chronological distributions, even if a number of related problems emerge in both case. The issue of relating this number to the original number of funeral monuments will turn up later too at several points of the analysis.

1.2. The Transylvanian Principality as the chronological and geographical framework for the research

The one-and-a-half-century existence of a separate Transylvanian state was the consequence of the Ottoman Turkish advance that reached the neighboring areas already in the fourteenth century. In 1526, Sultan Suleiman launched a new campaign, that time entering the Kingdom of Hungary, and clashed with the Hungarian forces in the battle of Mohács. The King of

[55] Helena Kozakiewiczowa and Stefan Kozakiewicz, *The Renaissance in Poland* (Warsaw: Arkady Publishers, 1976), figs 180-183. Funeral monuments were also erected for Transylvanian land-owning noblemen or even princes (such as Sigismund Rákóczi's tomb chest in Szerencs) on their estates located in the Habsburg Hungary. It appears, however, that these were not only installed outside Transylvania but also produced in the workshops in Upper Hungary. See Árpád Mikó, "Késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékek a Magyar Királyság területén (1540-1690)" (Late Renaissance and Early Baroque funeral monuments in the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary, 1540-1690), in *Idővel paloták... Magyar udvari kultúra a 16-17. században* (Palaces in time... Hungarian court culture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), ed. Nóra G. Etényi and Ildikó Horn (Budapest: Balassi, 2005), 645-649.

[56] See e.g. Aurelian Sacerdoteanu and Stelian Metzulescu, "Intîia piatră de mormînt a lui Matei Basarab" (On the tombstone of Matei Basarab), *Studii şi cercetări de istoria artei* 2 (1955): 342-351; Pavel Chiaia, "Date noi cu privire la pietrele de mormînt ale lui Matei Basarab şi ale familiei sale" (New data on the tombs of Matei Basarab and his family members), *Studii şi cercetări de istoria artei. Seria arte plastice* 11, no. 1 (1964): 109-121; Pavel Chiaia, "Elias Nicolai als Bildhauer der rumänischen Wojwoden," *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde* 8 (1965): 62-65; Nicolae Constantinescu, Cristian Moisescu, and Dardu Nicolăescu-Plopşor, "Considérations sur les tombes princières de Tîrgovişte," *Dacia* 11 (1967): 302-319.

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Hungary, Louis II (1516-26) died in the battlefield. In the following years, two candidates, Ferdinand of Habsburg and the Voivode of Transylvania, János Szapolyai, were engaged in a seemingly endless military conflict for the throne, both crowned as the king of Hungary and the latter supported by the Ottoman Porte. The Hungarian rule of the Habsburgs, his major European enemies, was against the Sultan's interests, and he put an end to the undetermined situation in 1541 by taking over Buda, the royal seat, together with the central part of the Kingdom.

With the Ottoman occupation of Buda, the double kingship in the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary was solidified: the northern and western area remained in the hand of Ferdinand of Habsburg, and Suleiman moved János Szapolyai—who originally asked him in to the country seeking for his help—to rule the territory of the Transylvanian Voivodeship. As an outcome of a series of negotiations and treaties signed in the following three decades with the Habsburgs and the Ottomans, Transylvania emerged as a separate state ruled by a prince. It was semi-independent from the Porte: paid an annual tribute to the Sultan, who also kept his eyes on their foreign policy, and whose consent was necessary for the inauguration of the Prince otherwise elected by the Diet.[57]

This new political formation had to establish new communication lines also in the field of trade and culture, since it was bordered on three sides by the Ottoman Empire and its vassal states, Moldova and Walachia. Concerning the connections with the latter two, Transylvania had traditionally been the active part, whose craftsmen worked for commissions from the Romanian voivodeships. New possible routes opened towards the Kingdom of Hungary under Habsburg rule, and, through that, towards the rest of the Habsburg territories, as well as to Poland, which strengthened its political connections with the Transylvanian Principality.[58]

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[57] Gábor Barta, "The First Period of the Principality of Transylvania (1526-1606)" in *History of Transylvania. Volume 1. From the Beginnings to 1606*, ed. László Makkai and András Mócsy (Boulder, Colorado: Atlantic Research and Publications, Inc., 2001), 593-770; Teréz Oborni, "From Province to Principality: Continuity and Change in Transylvania in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century," in *Fight Against the Turk in Central-Europe in the First Half of the 16th Century*, ed. István Zombori (Budapest: Metem, 2004), 165-180; Teréz Oborni, "Between Vienna and Constantinople: Notes on the Legal Status of the Principality of Transylvania," in *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, eds Gábor Kármán, and Lovro Kunčević (Leiden: Brill, 2013) 67–89; Teréz Oborni, "State and Governance in the Principality of Transylvania," *Hungarian Studies* 27 (2013): 311-322.

[58] The wife of János Szapolyai, Queen Isabelle was the daughter of the Polish king, Sigismund I from the Jagiellonian dynasty, and one of the later princes of Transylvania, Stephen Báthory was elected as the Polish king too. The attention of Transylvanian rulers was often turned towards Poland even later with various ambitions. Árpád Mikó, "Báthory István király és a reneszánsz művészet Erdélyben" (King István Báthory and the Renaissance art in Transylvania), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 37 (1988): 109; Wojciech Kozłowski, "Dynastic Relations between Hungary and Poland 1240-1600," in *On Common Path. Budapest and Kraków in the Middle Ages*, ed. Judit Benda, et al. (Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2016), 104-105.

To understand the consequences of this political shift in the field of stone carving and more specifically, funeral monument production, first it is necessary to turn briefly towards the Middle Ages. A corpus and analysis of funeral monuments from medieval Hungary was prepared and recently published by Pál Lővei.[59] In terms of geography, he covered the entire Carpathian Basin including Transylvania. As far as the chronological framework is concerned, Lővei closed his analysis with 1541/43, the above mentioned turning point in the history of Hungary, when the political and territorial entity of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary ceased to exist. This date marked by a political change had been established as a chronological borderline in Hungarian art history writing as the beginning of late Renaissance, in spite of the fact that it did not mark any shift in Hungary between any great stylistic periods of European art.[60] The Renaissance style was adopted in the court of King Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490) from the 1470s, and it reached a broader area in geographical and social terms during the following decades. Nevertheless, it coexisted with the Late Gothic traditions all throughout this period.[61] As Pál Lővei argued, however, it is still not an arbitrary phenomenon that art historians stick to the chronological division at the mid-sixteenth century, since it marked relevant changes even if these had a different character.

With the Ottoman conquest, the royal seat, the main artistic center of the country ceased to belong to the European cultural sphere; it was turned into an Ottoman Turkish garrison. Artists and craftsmen operating there and in the other centers of the middle zone of the country had to move, and the structures of patronage and production changed irreversibly. Pál Lővei demonstrated that the elimination of Buda and the central part of the country brought real changes in the field of production and distribution of stone carvings and specifically funeral monuments. Mines in the Gerecse Mountains provided an important raw material in the Middle Ages, distributed both in an unworked form and as ready-made stone carvings, and not just in the Carpathian Basin but all over Central Europe. Mines of other, regionally important stone

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[59] Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum."
[60] See, for example, Jolán Balogh, *Az erdélyi renaissance (1460-1541)* (Transylvanian Renaissance, 1460-1541) (Kolozsvár [Cluj]: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1943); Nóra Aradi, ed. *A művészet története Magyarországon a honfoglalástól napjainkig* (History of art in Hungary from the Conquest Period to the present) (Budapest: Gondolat, 1980); András Kovács, *Késő reneszánsz építészet Erdélyben 1541–1720* (Late Renaissance architecture in Transylvania, 1541-1700) (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2003); Árpád Mikó, *A reneszánsz Magyarországon* (Renaissance in Hungary) (Budapest: Corvina, 2009).
[61] For the most recent discussion, see e.g. Péter Farbaky et al., eds., *Matthias Corvinus, the King: Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court, 1458-1490: Exhibition Catalogue, Budapest History Museum, 19 March 2008 - 30 June 2008* (Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2008); Péter Farbaky and Louis Alexander Waldman, eds., *Italy & Hungary: Humanism and Art in the Early Renaissance* (Firenze: Villa I Tatti, 2011). For the Late Gothic style in the period, see Szilárd Papp, *A királyi udvar építkezései Magyarországon 1480–1515* (Constructions of the royal court in Hungary 1480-1515) (Budapest: Balassi, 2005).

types were also located in this area. The most important late medieval stonecutters' workshops were situated in Buda and Esztergom, whose high-quality red marble ledgers were transported to Transylvania as well without any problem, primarily using the established water routes.[62] All these resources and production centers were cut off by the Ottoman conquest, and a new political, cultural and commercial network had to be established.

Pál Lővei illustrated the first, transitional period with the funeral monument of János Hunyadi, father of King Matthias Corvinus, and the main hero in the mid-fifteen-century war against the Ottomans (Figure 49,Figure 50). The creation of the stone memorial was initiated by King János Szapolyai in 1533, and it can be interpreted as a political manifesto, since he was accused with a pro-Ottoman attitude. However, the quality of the memorial is not as high as one would expect in the case of a royal commission. Though it is a figural tomb chest, the type that used to express the prestige of medieval aristocracy, it is a rather poor-quality sculpture—or rather stone carving—made of a rather poor material.[63]

The most recent object discussed by Lővei is the ledger stone of Johannes Statileo in Alba Iulia (d. 1542, Cat. No. 16). I am including it too into my catalog and analysis, though I agree with Lővei that it still corresponds to the medieval tradition of prelates' ledgers, and in this respect, it belongs to the previous period. The reason to include it is not only to stick to 1541 as a chronological borderline, but also to demonstrate that the transition was gradual in many respects: some late medieval traditions were preserved even in the principality period.[64]

I need to explain my choice of end date too. In the 1680s, allied international forces turned against the Ottoman Empire and in the following decade, they expelled the Sultan's armies from the former, medieval territory of the Kingdom of Hungary. The principality ceased to exist as a state, but it was not reattached to the Kingdom either. In 1687, imperial forces took hold of the territory, and, based on the *Diploma Leopoldinum* issued in 1691, it was incorporated as a distinct province into the Habsburg Empire. This second political turning point brought similarly significant changes, that were of similar character: the Transylvanian

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[62] A series of such ledgers is found in Sibiu: Georg Hecht (d. 1496; Figure 9), Nicholas Proll (d. 1499; Figure 10) and Johannes Lulay (d. 1521; Cat. No. 260) Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 23. Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 21-22, Cat. No. 18; 26-27, Cat. No. 21; 38-39, Cat. No. 30.
[63] Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 437. Ágnes Ritoók-Szalay, "Hunyadi János (+1456) gyulafehérvári síremlékének domborművei" (Relief plates on the funeral monument of János Hunyadi [d. 1456] in Alba Iulia), in *Történelem – Kép. Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából. Kiállítási katalógus, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria 2000* (History - Image. Remarks on the relationship between past and art. Exhibition catalog. Hungarian National Gallery), ed. Katalin Sinkó and Árpád Mikó (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2000), 297-299.
[64] Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum,"23.

elite was now oriented towards the Habsburg court.[65] An often-quoted example to demonstrate the cultural transformation that resulted from the political turn is the work by Baron Péter Apor, *Metamorphosis Transilvaniae*, which he wrote in 1736 to present the vanishing cultural customs of the previous period in which he grew up. He disapproved of the new and largely different trends emerging in every field, from the dining habits and garments to the wedding and funeral rites.[66]

Baroque style appeared even later, from the 1730s, as the constructions of the Transylvanian elite that were still dominantly carried out according to the Late Renaissance traditions, but the transformation of certain elements in various genres of art can be observed some earlier.[67] Baroque funeral monuments were erected in Transylvania from the late 1710s.[68] So, as this discussion shows, the upper temporal borderline of the discussion was not as easy to define as the beginning, but I chose the year 1700, since it is close to the political changes and in this case, the turn of the century can symbolically mark the beginning of a new era. Accordingly, I will discuss all stone memorials that were created between 1541 and 1700.[69]

The territory of the Transylvanian Principality covered an area larger than that of the medieval Transylvanian Voivodeship, supplemented with some of the eastern counties of Hungary: Máramaros, Bihar, Zaránd, Közép- (Middle) Szolnok and Kraszna, then later Arad, Temes and Szörény (Map 2).[70] The eastern counties appeared in the title of John Sigismund, the son of János Szapolyai, who was the first ruler called Prince, that of Transylvania and the "parts of the Kingdom of Hungary" (*Princeps Transylvaniae et Partium Regni Hungariae*). Based on this, the area west of medieval Transylvania has been called Partium since that time. The western border of the principality, that of the Partium, was not entirely fixed, since the

[65] Ágnes R. Várkonyi, "The Last Decades of the Independent Principality (1660-1711)" in *History of Transylvania. Volume 2. From 1606 to 1830*, ed. László Makkai and Zoltán Szász, Social Science Monographs (Boulder, Colorado: Atlantic Research and Publications, Inc., 2002), 233-513.
[66] Péter Apor, *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae azaz Erdélynek változása: 1736* (Metamorphosis Transylvaniae, that is, the transformation of Transylvania: 1736), ed. Gyula Tóth (Budapest: Magyar Helikon, Szépirodalmi Kiadó, 1972).
[67] Margit B. Nagy, "A kolozsvári barokk mesterkör" (Baroque masters in Cluj), in *Reneszánsz és barokk Erdélyben. Művészettörténeti tanulmányok* (Renaissance and Baroque in Transylvania. Art historical studies) (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1970), 227-252; Kovács, *Késő reneszánsz építészet* 18, 166. See also Péter Farbaky, "A Tündérkert cserepei" (Sherds from the Fairy Garden), review of Kovács András: Késő reneszánsz építészet Erdélyben 1541–1720. Budapest – Kolozsvár: Teleki László Alapítvány – Polis Kiadó, 2003., *BUKSZ - Budapesti Könyv Szemle* 17, no. 2 (2005): 141-145.
[68] Nicolae Sabău, *Sculptura barocă în România secolele XVII–XVIII* (Bucharest: Meridiana, 1992), 65-80.
[69] This approximately one and a half century is understood generally as the Early Modern Period of Hungarian history in historiography.
[70] In the entire thesis, I will use the Hungarian names of medieval and early modern territorial units such as counties and seats, since, in contrast with the settlements, they do not always have a present-day equivalent. Even if there are some modern Romanian counties that bear the Romanian version of the name of a medieval or early modern county, they do not correspond to the latter concerning their territories.

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affiliation of the counties west of Transylvania shifted between the Habsburg monarch and the Prince. The fights on the common frontier with the Ottomans resulted in losses and regains of important forts and extensive areas. In 1622, Prince Gábor Bethlen, then in 1645, Prince György Rákóczi I repeatedly took over from the Habsburg ruler seven Upper Hungarian counties neighboring the territory of the principality (Abaúj, Bereg, Borsod, Szabolcs, Szatmár, Ugocsa, and Zemplén). [71]

These territorial changes complicate the situation when defining the exact geographical framework of the research of sixteenth and seventeenth century funeral monuments. I chose not to include the Upper Hungarian counties, because they belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary under Habsburg rule most of the time during the period. The changes in the extension of the Partium are more relevant, but in practice, they do not have any influence on the number of the surviving funeral monuments in the inventory, so it is not necessary to draw a strict borderline with respect to this research.[72]

The territory of Transylvania in the narrow sense as inherited from the medieval voivodeship consisted of seven counties (Belső-Szolnok, Doboka, Hunyad, Fehér, Kolozs, Küküllő, Torda), and the lands of two privileged peoples, the Saxon and the Székely (also called Szekler in the English-language literature). Germans—called Saxons in the region but originally coming from a much broader area of the German-speaking parts of Europe—were settled down in certain parts of Transylvania by the king of Hungary during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with specific communal privileges.[73] Their towns became important economic centers during the Middle Ages. They were among the three estates—called nations—represented in the Diet, alongside the land-owning nobility of Transylvania and the Partium as well as the above-mentioned Székely, one more group that emerged during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with communal privileges. The exact origins of this Hungarian-speaking people are still a matter of debate; but they were clearly settled by the king to Transylvania in the twelfth century, with the task to defend the eastern borders of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.[74]

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[71] See Imre Lukinich, *Erdély területi változásai a török hódoltság korában* (Changes in the territory of Transylvania in the period of the Ottoman Turkish conquest) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1918).
[72] Árpád Mikó examined briefly the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century funeral monuments located in the northeastern area of Hungary and in the Partium, discussing whether this can be considered as a separate artistic region. Mikó, "Késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékek," 645-648.
[73] Konrad Gündisch, *Siebenbürgen und die Siebenbürger Sachsen*, Studienbuchreihe der Stiftung Ostdeutscher Kulturrat 8 (Munich: Langen Müller, 1998), 13-72; Béla Köpeczi, ed. *History of Transylvania*, 3 vols. (Boulder: Social Science Monographs, 2002), vol. 1, 420-428.
[74] As the most recent work on the Székely, see Elek Benkő, *A középkori Székelyföld* (The Medieval Székely Land), 2 vols. (Budapest: Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, Régészeti Intézet, 2012), especially 11-72 on their origins and appearance in Transylvania.

The early modern Transylvanian society displayed a broad ethnic diversity even besides the Saxon, the Hungarian and the Székely, including, for example, Romanians, Jews, Serbs, Greeks, and Roma people.[75] The outlines of the nations, however, only roughly corresponded to ethnic borderlines, they were rather marked by the rights and privileges they possessed. The three privileged estates or nations—the nobles, the Saxon, and the Székely—joined into a union motivated by their actual common interests first in 1437, and they renewed this alliance later several times. During the time of the principality, it was not infrequent that the privileged nations as well had to struggle for their collective rights, since the various princes used the support of various groups to balance their own power between the Ottoman and the Habsburg rulers.

Religion played an important role in the self-identification of the social and ethnic groups within the Transylvanian society. Though the population was not homogenous in terms of religion even in the Middle Ages due to the presence of both the western and the orthodox Christianity (the latter among the Romanian), the Reformation turned Transylvania into a real multidenominational state. The influences of the reform initiated by Martin Luther first reached the royal court in the Kingdom of Hungary, already before the mid-sixteenth century, as well as the communities of the German townspeople in Western Hungary and Transylvania. Due to the intense connections of the Transylvanian Saxon merchants with the German areas of the Holy Roman Empire, Lutheran teaching spread quickly in the Saxon towns. They accepted the Lutheran service and Church order in the 1540s, and the decision of the Saxon general assembly expanded it to the entire Saxon territory. The population of the town of Cluj embraced the Lutheran Reformation as well, and in 1550, the Diet settled the legal status of the Lutherans with a decree that granted to the estates a freedom of choice between the Lutheran and Catholic religion.[76]

Meanwhile, the ideas of the Swiss reform also reached Transylvania, and a Hungarian Calvinist Church was established. In 1564, the Diet had to accept the existence of the two, Lutheran and Calvinist or Swiss religions in Transylvania with equal rights.[77] By that time,

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[75] Krista Zach, "Nation und Konfession im Reformationszeitalter," in *Luther und Siebenbürgen. Ausstrahlungen von Reformation und Humanismus nach Südosteuropa*, ed. Georg Weber and Renate Weber (Cologne: Böhlau, 1985), 156-211; see also for the following section Köpeczi, *History of Transylvania*, vol. 1, 429-434, 488-503, 664-708.

[76] For a comprehensive history of the religious reform in Transylvania, see Erich Roth, *Die Reformation in Siebenbürgen. Von Honterus zur Augustana*, Siebenbürgisches Archiv 4 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1964); Keul, *Early Modern Religious Communities*.

[77] The latter was not exclusively based on Calvin's doctrines. Later their church was called Reformed. See Graeme Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier, 1600-1660: International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 1-12.

even more radical, Antitrinitatian doctrines appeared within the borders, enjoying the support of the ruler, John Sigismund as well. In 1567, the Hungarian superintendence adopted an Antitrinitarian creed, followed by a part of the nobility and several towns, most significantly Cluj.[78] The subsequent decisions of the Diet complied with the actual religious landscape: in 1568 they adopted a decree, which granted the pastors the freedom of preaching according to their views, and the congregations got the right to reject any preacher. This meant basically the free practice of the four approved—Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist and Antitrinitarian—religions. In addition, the Eastern Orthodox religion of the Romanian population was also tolerated.[79]

From that time on, these principles remained valid all during the existence of the principality, though the actual, first Catholic, later Protestant princes tried to intervene according to their own religious preferences.[80] This religious policy, which was largely liberal in the contemporary European context, was explained by scholarship with two main factors: the "tolerance" inherited from the Middle Ages based on the experience of the coexisting Western and Eastern churches, and Transylvania's internal political system characterized by the equal rights and balanced power of the estates against the Prince.[81] The inclusion of Transylvania into the Habsburg lands at the end of the seventeenth century brought changes in this respect too, with the re-catholicizing efforts of the court.

Religion, like language and culture, was an important means of maintaining and strengthening the cohesion of social groups in the principality. Social and economic privileges and ethnicity, ethnicity and language, language and religion were all interrelated, since, for example, the Protestant denominations supported the use of vernaculars, while the traditional churches inherited their own liturgical languages (Latin and Old Church Slavonic) from the Middle Ages.[82] However, these groups were by no means homogenous entities. One can speak

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[78] Carmen Florea, "Shaping Transylvanian anti-Trinitarian identity in an urban context," in *Confessional Identity in East-Central Europe*, ed. Maria Crăciun, Ovidiu Ghitta, and Graeme Murdock (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 64-80.
[79] Keul, *Early Modern Religious Communities*, 245-246.
[80] About the Catholic preference, see Walter Daugsch, "Gegenreformation und protestantische Konfessionsbildung in Siebenbürgen zur Zeit Stephan Báthorys (1571-1584)," in *Luther und Siebenbürgen. Ausstrahlungen von Reformation und Humanismus nach Südosteuropa*, ed. Georg Weber and Renate Weber, Siebenbürgisches Archiv. Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, 2nd series 19 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1985), 215-228.
[81] Maria Crăciun, Ovidiu Ghitta, and Graeme Murdock, "Religious reform, printed books and confessional identity," in *Confessional Identity in East-Central Europe*, ed. Maria Crăciun, Ovidiu Ghitta, and Graeme Murdock (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 1-30; Krista Zach, "Politische Motive und Ursachen der Konfessionalisierung in Siebenbürgen," in *Konfessionelle Pluralität, Stände und Nation: ausgewählte Abhandlungen zur südosteuropäischen Religions- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, ed. Joachim Bahlcke and Konrad Gündisch (Munich: Lit Verlag, 2005), 57-70.
[82] Keul, *Early Modern Religious Communities*, 258-260.

of majorities or tendencies in affiliations, and different environments characterized by a dominance of certain trends. In daily life, denominations coexisted in a tight proximity. People could change their preferences during their lifetimes even more than once, and transitional forms of belief can be detected as well. The overall image was rather blurry due to a range of—ethnic, social, denominational, and family—ties of individuals and of smaller or larger groups, communities.

The multi-ethnic, multi-national, multi-religious character of the area and its association with different states in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries influenced the fate of the material heritage including funeral monuments, as well as their scholarly and popular discussion. Though the relation between the sometime ethnic groups and the three nations constituting the diet of the principality was complex, and did not correspond to the modern concepts of nations and ethnicities, the research of the monuments has largely been determined by the endeavors of nineteenth- and twentieth-century nations to trace back their roots to certain privileged medieval and early modern strata—into a "Golden Age" of Transylvania—when formulating their own self-identities and territorial claims. In the second part of the chapter, I will provide an overview of these research trends and how they influenced the meanings attributed to the funeral monuments.

1.3. Funeral monuments from the time of the principality in the scholarly discourse

Scholarship has never made any survey or inventory of all funeral monuments created in the Transylvanian Principality, only of certain smaller groups, or presented single pieces. The lack of interest is partly due to the objective difficulties in getting physical access to various segments of the material simply because of their remote location. More important must have been, however, the orientation and interests that channeled the discourse. To understand the present state of art, it is necessary to look at the early developments in the field, since some of the phenomena characterizing the recent scholarly landscape are rooted there. In addition, various stages in the historiography of funeral monuments must be interpreted within the contemporary trends in art history writing, the discipline to which it has traditionally belonged in the broader Central European region.

Collecting the remains from the past

The generations following immediately the time of the principality were more interested in the commemorative texts and epitaph verses inscribed on the monuments than in the actual objects. Epitaphs on the stones were closely associated with a popular literary genre, some collections

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of which were published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries also including texts on actual sepulchral monuments.[83] In the major ecclesiastic centers—Sibiu, Alba Iulia, Braşov—complete inventories of graves and monuments were created in the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, which provide an important source about the original position of the stones and also on several objects that have disappeared since then.[84]

The modern idea that respect and care by a civilized nation for its own monuments is a precondition of its progress appeared in the writings of noblemen during the first half of the nineteenth century, and this new national cultural reform movement was also a manifestation of the struggle for political changes initiated by the Hungarian Estates within the Habsburg Empire.[85] An emblematic manifestation of this was a call published by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1847 to all members of the nation for compiling an inventory of the antiquities in the country, up to the early eighteenth century, which should be saved for the future generations. The call specified the "stone coffins or ledgers with relief work, even if a little piece, or only with old inscriptions; carved blazons."[86] Parallel with this national urge, a centralized inventorying and systematic documentation of monuments was begun in all the

[83] Péter Apor, *Hungarus tymbaules* (Nagyenyed [Aiud], 1764); For earlier examples, see Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, xxxix. On the literary genre in Hungary, see Dóra Szentirmai, *A XVII. századi magyar nyelvű halotti költészet teljeskörű, sokszempontú gépi nyilvántartása* (A complete and multivariable digital database of the seventeenth-century Hungarian funerary poetry), (Budapest: Gépeskönyv, 2011), http://magyar-irodalom.elte.hu/gepesk/halal/ (accessed March 13, 2017).

[84] Grave visitation in Hermannstadt (Sibiu) in 1692, published by Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 330-340; a collection of insciptions in the Alba Iulia Cathedral including those on funeral monuments by Antonius Szeredai, *Collectio continens Tabulas vetustorum ac recentiorum monumentorum quae in Templo Alba – olim Juliensi nunc Caroliensi in Transilvania sunt, fueruntque locata* (Albae Carolinae [Alba Iulia]: Typ. Episc., 1791); a collection of grave inscriptions by Johannes Georgius Vett, (Alba Iulia: University Library Cluj, Manuscript Collection, Ms. 997. 1696, 28-29 September). For Braşov: Martinus Closius, *Beschreibung der Gräber in der Großen Pfarr-Kirche in Kronstadt und außer derselben an der Grundmauer und vor der Kirchen-Türen* (Kronstadt [Braşov], 1746). On Cluj: Pál Páter et al., *Kolozsvár leírása 1734-ből (Descriptio civitatis Claudiopolis ab origine repetita inscriptionibus...)* (Description of Cluj from 1743), trans. Albert Márkos, Erdélyi ritkaságok 18 (Kolozsvár [Cluj]: Minerva Rt., 1944). On further eighteenth- and nineteenth-century epigraphic collections from Cluj, see Terézia Kerny, "A kolozsvári múzeum középkori kőtára. Kutatástörténeti áttekintés" (The medieval lapidary of the Museum of History in Cluj. A historiographic overview), *Erdélyi Múzeum*, no. 3-4 (2002): 70.

[85] Ernő Marosi, "A magyar művészettörténeti gondolkodás korszakai" (Phases in art historical thinking in Hungary), in *A magyar művészettörténet-írás programjai. Válogatás két évszázad írásaiból* (Programs of the Hungarian art history writing. A selection of writings from two centuries), ed. Ernő Marosi (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1999), 327-333; Árpád Tímár, "Vorstufen der Kunstgeschichtschreibung," in *Die Ungarische Kunstgeschichte und die Wiener Schule, 1846-1930: Ausstellung, Collegium Hungaricum, Wien, September 1983*, ed. Ernő Marosi (Budapest: Statistischer Verlag, 1983), 7-9. See also Zoltán Fónagy, "The Era of the National Awakening," in *A Concise History of Hungary*, ed. István György Tóth (Budapest: Corvina - Osiris, 2005), 331-337; Tamás Dobszay, "The Reform Era," in *A Concise History of Hungary*, ed. István György Tóth (Budapest: Corvina - Osiris, 2005), 356-361; Zoltán Fónagy, "Hungarian National Culture," ibid., 370-374.

[86] „kőkoporsók vagy sírfedelek emelt munkával, ha még oly kevéssel, vagy csak régi felirattal; faragott czímerképek..." Translation from Hungarian by Dóra Mérai. Ferenc Toldy, "Felszólítás minden, a' nemzeti becsületet szívén viselő magyarhoz, a hazai műemlékek ügyében," (A call towards all Hungarians caring for the honour of the nation, in the favour of the monuments of the homeland), *Magyar Akadémiai Értesítő* 7, no. 2 (1847): v-xi.

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provinces of the Habsburg Empire including Hungary, reflecting an imperial, international perspective, but involving local experts as well.[87]

The 1847 call too found immediate answer: educated members of the nation started submitting and publishing their observations, many on funeral monuments, and reflecting a rising interest in heraldry. The publications mostly focused on Upper Hungary, but a number of them covered Transylvanian topics, e.g. the *Königsboden*, area of the Transylvanian Saxons and Braşov,[88] or the late sixteenth-century memorial plaques built into the Cluj city wall, which bear the earliest Hungarian inscriptions in Transylvania.[89] The most extensive work was done by a Transylvanian aristocrat, Balázs Orbán, who surveyed the entire Székely area and published his findings in six volumes between 1868 and 1873.[90] This, and a number of journal articles are excellent sources about still existing and since then lost funeral monuments and their contemporary contexts, together with similar works published by the Transylvanian Saxon intelligentsia in their own journals.[91]

The emergence of national scholarships

In the nineteenth century, parallel with the rise of the national identity of Hungarians, similar processes were going on among the ethnic minorities within Hungary, expressing their claim

[87] The organization called the Central-Commission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Bau-Denkmäler was founded by Emperor Franz Jozeph in 1850, and operated in Hungary until 1861, while in Austria, it was re-organized as the Federal Monuments Office after the First World War. On their activity, see Ernő Marosi, "Die Anfänge der Denkmalpflege und die Tätigkeit der k. u. k. Zentralkommission in Ungarn" in *Die Ungarische Kunstgeschichte und die Wiener Schule, 1846-1930: Ausstellung, Collegium Hungaricum, Wien, September 1983*, ed. Ernő Marosi (Budapest: Statistischer Verlag, 1983), 13-18; E. Szentesi, "Die Anfänge der institutionellen Denkmalpflege in Ungarn (Die 1850-1860er Jahre)" in *The Nineteenth-Century Process of „Musealization" in Hungary and Europe*, ed. Ernő Marosi and Gábor Klaniczay, Collegium Budapest Workshop Series 17 (Budapest: Collegium Budapest Institute for Advanced Study, 2006), 235-248.

[88] Imre Henszlmann, "Úti jegyzetek a Királyföldről" (Travelogue from the Royal Lands), *Archaeologiai Értesítő* (1879): 293-303, 333-344.

[89] István Nagyajtai Kovács, "Vándorlások Kolozsvár' várfalai körül 1840-ben májusban" (Wandering along the city walls of Cluj in May 1840), *Nemzeti Társalkodó*, no. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 (1840): 1–46, 49–55, 57–62, 65–72, 73–76; Deák, "Magyar feliratú sírkövek a XVI. századból."

[90] Balázs Orbán, *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból* (Description of the Székely Land from a historical, archaeological, natural geographical, and ethnographic point of view), (Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868). I used the online edition by the Hungarian Electronic Library (Magyar Elektronikus Könyvtár) of the National Széchényi Library prepared by the Arcanum Adatbázis Ltd. In 2003: http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/ (accessed 30.07.2014).

[91] Friedrich Müller, "Die Schäßburger Bergkirche, ein kunstgeschichtlicher Versuch [1 Grundriß und 15 Urkunden von 1438 bis 1590]," *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* New Series 1 (1855): 305-362; Friedrich Müller, "Archäologische Skizzen aus Schäßburg. (Theilweise vorgetragen in der Generalversammlung des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde zu Schäßburg am 22. August 1856)," *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 2 (1857): 381-430; Friedrich Müller, "Die evangelische Kirche in Birthälm," *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 2 (1857): 199-217 ; Gusbeth, *Die Grabdenksteine in der Westhalle der evang. Stadtpfarrkirche in Kronstadt*.

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for political emancipation through culture.[92] Local historians of the Transylvanian Saxons established their own history as that of an ethnic, linguistic and cultural community. A Trasylvanian Saxon historical association (*Verein für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*) was founded in 1842, and they issued their own periodicals that featured many papers on monuments from the Saxon lands, including stone memorials in the Saxon Lutheran churches.[93] Parallel with this, in the 1840s, the idea of establishing a Transylvanian museum emerged, based on the donations of the Hungarian speaking nobility and following the model of the Hungarian National Museum founded in Pest in 1802. The Transylvanian Museum Association (*Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület*) came into being in 1859, and they started to develop a collection in Cluj. They acquired the first funeral monuments from the time of the principality in the late nineteenth—early twentieth century, primarily due to the efforts of the that time director, Béla Pósta.[94] This period of national awakening characterized by a use of culture as reference in national conflicts of interests has had a long-term influence on the organization of scholarship, up to the present. [95]

Another important nineteenth-century development, which has been influential to-date, determined how funeral monuments have been positioned in scholarship: in the history of art and as pieces of sculpture. The claim to introduce historical perspective in evaluating artworks in Hungary arose after the mid-nineteenth century, inspired by handbooks of German scholarship, by Franz Theodor Kugler and Karl Schnaase.[96] A synthesis of the historical

[92] Tamás Dobszay, "The National Revival of Non-Hungarian Nations," in *A Concise History of Hungary*, ed. István György Tóth (Budapest: Corvina - Osiris, 2005), 365-370; Zoltán Fónagy, "The Nationality Problem" ibid., 440-442; Romsics, *Hungary in the Twentieth Century* 36-37.

[93] *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 54 volumes between 1843 and 1944, *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* between 1878 and 1930, *Siebenbürgische Vierteljahrsschrift* 1931-41; in Heidelberg, from 1962 the journal of the *Arbeitskreis für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*; the *Siebenbürgisches Archiv,* from 1971 instead of the former *Korrespondenzblatt* the *Korrespondenzblatt des Arbeitskreises für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde,* from 1978 the *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde.*

[94] Melinda Mihály, "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei" (Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History) PhD thesis (Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca, 2013), 20-40. On the history of the lapidary, see Kerny, "A kolozsvári múzeum középkori kőtára"; Zoltán Vincze, "Az Érem- és Régiségtár" (The numismatic collection and the collection of antiquities), in *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület gyűjteményei* (The Collections of the Transylvanian Museum Association), ed. Gábor Sipos (Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2009), 69-136.

[95] Zsigmond Jakó, "Másfél évszázad az erdélyi honismeret szolgálatában" (One and a half centuries in the service of Transylvanian local history), *Erdélyi Múzeum* 54, no. 1-4 (1992): 150-155. In 1861, the Asociaţia Transilvană pentru Literatura Română şi Cultura Poporului Român (ASTRA) was founded as a cultural association of the third large group in Transylvania, the Romanians.

[96] Franz Kugler, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: J. Kreuzer, 1842); Karl Schnaase, *Geschichte der bildenden Künste*, 7 vols. (Düsseldorf: Julius Buddeus, 1843-64). Ipolyi referred to Kugler and Schnaase among his intellectual sources in Arnold Ipolyi, "Magyar műemlékek" (Hungarian monuments), *Archaeologiai Közlemények* 1 (1859): 5-6.

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development of sculpture in Hungary was first presented by Arnold Ipolyi in 1863.[97] As a consequence of adopting European developmental categories, Ipolyi and his contemporaries felt the need to define the relation of stages in the stylistic development in Hungary to processes in European art. The character of this relation became a touchstone in Hungarian art historical scholarship. For Ipolyi, European analogies did not mean influences, but examples of the same stages of stylistic development as those in a national Hungarian art, and even if certain trends were imported by foreign masters, they were internalized and incorporated.

Ipolyi distinguished three main groups of sculpture in Hungary: medieval architectural sculpture, wooden sculpture, and "monumental sculpture" displaying historical events and personalities. Most of the objects he treated in this latter category were funeral monuments including sixteenth- and seventeenth-century gravestones which he considered as historical sources, for example on costume history, heraldry, and archontology. He mentioned a few examples from Transylvania too, though his knowledge was rather fragmentary concerning this area.

Funeral monuments appeared as historical monuments in the framework of the most powerful manifestation of the nineteenth-century concepts of national history as well: at the 1896 exhibition celebrating the millennium of the Hungarian Conquest of the Carpathian Basin and the achievements of the Hungarians in the thousand years since then.[98] The architecture elevated in historical styles to house the exhibition presented many plaster moldings of funeral monuments.[99] The millenary selection of sculpture was done by Péter Gerecze, an art historian

[97] The paper was part of a series delivered on architecture, sculpture, and painting in Hungary, with an intention to repeat the 1847 call. See Arnold Ipolyi, "A középkori szobrászat emékei Magyarországon" (Medieval monumental architecture in Hungary), *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Évkönyvei* 10, no. 8 (1862): 1-30; Arnold Ipolyi, "A középkori szobrászat emékei Magyarországon" (Medieval sculptural monuments in Hungary), *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Évkönyvei* 10, no. 13 (1863): 1-80; Arnold Ipolyi, "A középkori magyar festészet emlékeiből" (Medieval Hungarian painting), *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Évkönyvei* 11, no. 3 (1864): 1-19. Re-published most recently in Arnold Ipolyi, *Tanulmányok a középkori magyar művészetről* (Studies on medieval Hungarian art) (Budapest: Holnap Kiadó, 1997), 19-50, 59-134, 161-186.

[98] Mária Szobor-Bernáth and Ernő Marosi, "Das Milleniumfest von 1896 und die Kunstgeschichte" in *Die Ungarische Kunstgeschichte und die Wiener Schule, 1846-1930: Ausstellung, Collegium Hungaricum, Wien, September 1983*, ed. Ernő Marosi (Budapest: Statistischer Verlag, 1983), 63-66; Béla Czobor and Imre Szalay, eds., *Magyarország történeti emlékei az 1896. évi ezredéves országos kiállításon* (Historical monuments of Hungary at the millennial exhibition in 1896), 2 vols. (Budapest - Vienna: Gerlach Márton és Társa, 1897-1901); Sándor Matlekovits, ed. *Az 1896. évi ezredéves kiállítás eredménye. Történelmi kiállítás. Néprajz* (Results of the millennial exhibition in 1896. Historical exhibition. Ethnography) (Budapest: Pesti Könyvnyomda-Részvény-Társaság, 1898). On the section on sculpture, see Péter Gerecze, "Szobrászati emlékek Magyarországon" (Sculptural monuments in Hungary), in *Az 1896. évi ezredéves kiállítás eredménye. Történelmi kiállítás. Néprajz* (Results of the millennial exhibition in 1896. Historical exhibition. Ethnography), ed. Sándor Matlekovits (Budapest: Pesti Könyvnyomda Részvénytársaság, 1898), 413-496.

[99] The collection of seventeenth-century Saxon memorials is today displayed in the central hall of the Academy of Fine Arts in Budapest (Figure 11). A selection was sent to the Paris Expo in 1900. See Elek Korongi Lippich, ed. *Catalogue illustré exposition des beaux-arts á l'exposition universelle de 1900 á Paris. Hongrie* (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor Császári és Királyi Udvari Könyvnyomdája, 1900).

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who also wrote the corresponding chapters of the exhibition catalogue.[100] This was the last synthesis ever written on a complete history of sculpture in Hungary; the framework of interpretation clearly changed afterwards. Less coherence was seen within the sculptural arts than between the main genres and their physical and functional context, such as architectural sculpture and architecture, wooden sculpture mainly from altarpieces and panel painting. Tomb monuments were, however, an exception treated even later as a self-referential genre.

"Rigorous" methods and national politics

About two hundred plaster moldings were donated to the Hungarian National Museum after the exhibition, where a new, separate Sculpture Collection was founded, with the art historian László Éber as its curator. Éber, compared to his predecessors, had good foundations of modern European art historical methodology.[101] He belonged to those scholars who constituted a new generation in Hungarian scholarship labelled "rigorous" or "normal" art history, as a reference to their systematic scholarly methodology and European perspectives.[102] Their newly introduced method of stylistic criticism was based on the collection and classification of the artworks, close observation, and precise description, aided by plaster moldings and photography, both considered an absolutely objective form of documentation.[103]

László Éber explicitly rejected the nationalistic ideas of inherent, specifically Hungarian styles. Based on his position formulated in a study treating sculptural monuments in

[100] Péter Gerecze, *Szobrászati emlékek Magyarországon különös tekintettel az ezredéves történelmi kiállítás szobrászati részére* (Sculptural monuments in Hungary, with special respect to the sculptural part of the millennial historical exhibition) (Budapest: Pesti Könyv Ny., 1898). On Gerecze, see Zsuzsanna Ildikó Bakó, *Gerecze Péter fényképhagyatéka* (The photo legacy of Péter Gerecze) (Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1993). Gerecze, originally a schoolteacher, studied art history in Leipzig, published extensively on monuments, and later in his career, also carried out excavations at various medieval sites.

[101] Due to his studies in Leipzig at August Schmarsow. László Éber, "Hazai szobrászatunk emlékei" (The monuments of Hungarian sculpture), in *A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum multja és jelene alapításának századik évfordulója alkalmából* (The past and future of the Hungarian National Museum on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of its foundation), ed. Imre Szalay and et al. (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor Császári és Királyi Udvari Könyvnyomdája, 1902), 143-147; *Catalogue de l'exposition historique installée dans le Pavillon de la Hongrie: Exposition Universelle de Paris en 1900*. (Paris: Libr. Centrale des Beaux-Arts, 1902). On László Éber (1871-1935), see József Szabó, "László Éber (Budapest 1871-1935 Budapest)," in *Die Ungarische Kunstgeschichte und die Wiener Schule, 1846-1930: Ausstellung, Collegium Hungaricum, Wien, September 1983*, ed. Ernő Marosi (Budapest: Statistischer Verlag, 1983), 69-70; Ernő Marosi, "Éber László (1871-1935), a normális művészettörténész" (László Éber, a normal art historian), in *"Emberek és nem frakkok." A magyar művészettörténet-írás nagy alakjai. Tudománytörténeti esszégyűjtemény* ("People and not tail coats." Great personalities in the Hungarian art history writing. An essay collection in historiography), ed. Csilla Markója and István Bardoly (Budapest: Meridián 2000 Bt., 2002), 143-160.

[102] Marosi, "A magyar művészettörténeti gondolkodás korszakai," 342-343.

[103] Éber, "Hazai szobrászatunk emlékei." This is attested by Éber's publication of photos of both the original and the molding of the funeral monument of Georg Schomberg in his monograph: László Éber, "Schomberg György síremléke" (The funeral monument of György Schomberg), in *Magyarország Műemlékei* (Monuments of Hungary), ed. Gyula Forster (Budapest: A Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1913), 193-220.

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Transylvania, an especially sensitive region in this respect due to its multinational character, there was no independent history, development and national characteristics of Hungarian art. He believed that scholarly research can reveal the immediate or mediated foreign sources of every artwork unless it was not distorted too much by its provincial qualities.[104]

Éber expressed most of his views in his critique of a book on German Sculpture in Transylvania, written by Victor Roth, a local Saxon teacher and parish priest.[105] Roth adapted to the history of art the historical concept of the Lutheran Bishop Georg Daniel Teutsch.[106] Teutsch established a highly influential historical narrative of the Saxon, who, in the twelfth century, found their home in the eastern frontiers of Europe, but had preserved their German roots ever since then.[107] The birth of this narrative was rooted in the new situation in which the Saxon found themselves after 1867: with the new dualistic Austro-Hungarian state structure, they became a minority in their relation to the Hungarians. Consequently, they developed a national history that was independent from the context of the state and represented a pan-German perspective. As Zsigmond Jakó, a prominent Transylvanian historian pointed out, "today we would be much more forward in a professional analysis of problems related to the past if after 1867 the relations and efforts of the scholarly life of the three nations (viz. Hungarian, German and Romanian) had not been determined by the national conflicts deforming everything, but by strictly professional interests."[108] This general statement is true for the analysis of funeral monuments as well: the heritage of the three nations have been mostly treated and explained separately ever since then.

Roth had a double purpose: to present their own monuments to the Transylvanian Saxons and to demonstrate the spread of German art outside the borders of the German state in order to awake a broader scholarly interest.[109] He was the first to present a large number of

[104] László Éber, "Erdélyi szobrászati emlékek" (Sculptural monuments in Transylvania), *Művészet* 8 (1909): 171.
[105] Ibid. written as a critique for Victor Roth, *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen* (Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906). On Victor Roth (1874-1936), see Robert Born, "Victor Roth und Hermann Phleps. Zwei Positionen der deutschsprachigen Kunsthistoriographie zu Siebenbürgen in der Zwischenkriegzeit," in *Die Kunsthistoriographien in Ostmitteleuropa und der nationale Diskurs*, ed. Robert Born, Alena Janatková, and Adam S. Labuda, Humboldt-Schriften zur Kunst- und Bildgeschichte (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2004), 355-380.
[106] Georg Daniel Teutsch (1817-1893). Victor Roth, *Geschichte der deutschen Baukunst in Siebenbürgen* (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1905); Roth, *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik*; Victor Roth, *Geschichte des deutschen Kunstgewerbes in Siebenbürgen* (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1908); Victor Roth, *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Siebenbürgens* (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1914); Victor Roth, *Die deutsche Kunst in Siebenbürgen* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1934).
[107] Georg Daniel Teutsch and Friedrich Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen*, 3 vols. (Hermannstadt [Sibiu]: Krafft, 1889).
[108] „Ma már jóval előbbre tartanánk a múlt kérdéseinek szakszerű feltárásában, ha 1867 után a három nép tudományosságának kapcsolatait és erőfeszítéseit nem a mindenre deformáló hatású nemzetiségi ellentétek, hanem szigorúan a szakmai érdekek határozhatták volna meg." (translation by Dóra Mérai). Jakó, "Másfél évszázad az erdélyi honismeret szolgálatában," 150.
[109] Roth, *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik*, xiii.

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artworks from the Saxon areas, a developmental scheme, and a typological overview. He based his discussion on publications by nineteenth century local historians as well as on his own field studies. His collection of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century funeral monuments in the Saxon lands in his book on the history of German sculpture in Transylvania is still the most frequently quoted work in the field.[110]

In the context of striving for independence from Hungary and the Hungarians, Roth attributed Transylvanian Saxon art exclusively to contact with Germany.[111] He concluded that there existed no such phenomenon as Transylvanian Saxon sculpture, but only German sculpture in Transylvania, independent from any developments in Hungary, even if the local origins of a sculptor could be proved, since the original models were from the core German lands.[112] He supported his argumentation by pointing at the phenomenon that when the Transylvanian Saxons were cut off by the Ottoman conquest, sculpture took up a provincial character, and produced almost exclusively funeral monuments for private commissioners.[113] He claimed to identify the mentality of the Saxon in these: the imprint of bourgeois atmosphere, self-consciousness, but also vanity, mediocre ambitions, and a lack of originality and grace. Roth warned the reader not to overestimate the artistic value of the memorials; at the same time, he interpreted them as artistic reflections of the historical circumstances from which they emerged. Thus, funeral monuments were presented by him also as sources for the intellectual historical trend of the period (*Geistesgeschichte*).[114]

As opposed to Roth, in the understanding of Éber—also influenced by the current of *Geistesgeschichte*—"German" as an attribute did not cover a nationally specific style or the ethnicity of the master, but the stylistic origins of the work, a category in stylistic history. He saw Transylvanian sculpture as an example of a specific East-European art, the encounter of the two main, northern and Italian currents, often resulting in a provincial character, for example, in the case of the tomb chests of Queen Isabelle and King John Sigismund, Zsófia Patócsi, and György Sükösd (Cat. No. 5, 6, 64, and 107).[115]

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[110] Ibid., 80-141.
[111] He used Wilhelm von Bode's work on the development of sculpture in Germany as a reference concerning each phase of stylistic development. Wilhelm von Bode, *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik* (Berlin: G. Grote, 1887).
[112] Roth, *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik*, 87-88.
[113] Ibid., 82-84.
[114] Roth, *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Siebenbürgens*, 137.
[115] Éber, "Erdélyi szobrászati emlékek," 176-177.

Though studies by Roth were published also in the most important Hungarian journals,[116] his concept of the exclusively imported German character of art was sharply rejected by the Hungarian side.[117] The reason in this case was, however, not a disbelief—like that of Éber—in a nation-based explanation of any stylistic phenomenon, but an emphasis on the cultural and artistic integrity of the medieval Hungarian state. In these views, medieval sculpture in all regions reflected the artistic trends radiating from the royal and ecclesiastic centers, regardless of the ethnicity of the population.

Between the two World Wars

This latter type of reasoning became dominant after the First World War, when new nation states emerged in the region resulting from the territorial reorganization in the Paris peace talks known as the Trianon Treaty. Hungary lost two thirds of the territory and one third of the population of its thousand-year-old kingdom, including Transylvania.[118] For the following quarter of century, the main concern remained the issue of revision. The task set for Hungarian scholarship was to collect objective arguments that supported this claim, to prove the geographical, economic, historical and cultural integrity of the Carpathian Basin, even the dominance and the superiority of the Hungarians in this respect. The theoretical basis was still provided by the intellectual current of *Geistesgeschichte*, which largely influenced the official cultural policy of the state as well.[119] Consequently, art history mostly focused on proving arguments about the integrity and "Hungarianness" of art in the entire former territory of the country, and this intention determined the scholarship dealing with Transylvania.[120]

Hungarian art historians between the two World Wars claimed to prove that art in Transylvania developed together with that in Hungary in every respect due to the political and

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[116] Concerning this topic, see e.g. Victor Roth, "Barbara Theillesius sírköve" (Funeral monument of Barbara Theilesius), *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 44 (1910): 97-101.
[117] It was formulated explicitly, for example, in an editor's note by Elemér Varju to Victor Roth, "Gótízlésű fabútorok az erdélyi szász templomokban" (Gothic-taste wooden furniture in Saxon churches in Transylvania), *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 35 (1915): 244-260.
[118] Ignác Romsics, "The Peace of Trianon" in *A Concise History of Hungary*, ed. István György Tóth (Budapest: Corvina - Osiris, 2005), 497-500.
[119] See e.g. the most important overview of the Hungarian history written in the period: Bálint Hóman and Gyula Szekfű, eds., *Magyar történet* (Hungarian history), 5 vols. (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1928).
[120] This was the explicit purpose of creating a volume on Transylvania with the contribution of several scholars. József Deér, ed. *Erdély* (Transylvania) (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1940). Such intentions were also formulated e.g. in Kornél Divald, *Old Hungarian Art* (London: Oxford University Press, 1931); Tibor Gerevich, *Magyarország románkori műemlékei* (Romanesque art in Hungary) (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Nyomda, 1938); Antal Kampis, *Középkori faszobrászat Magyarországon* (Medieval wooden sculpture in Hungary), A magyarságtudomány könyvei 3 (Budapest: Officina, 1940).

church structure, until the Ottoman occupation.[121] They debated with the new Transylvanian Romanian research aiming to include Transylvania into a Romanian historical narrative, and to produce arguments for the new territorial order. The main figure in this circle was Coriolan Petranu, who, in his scholarly as well as numerous explicitly polemical writings, argued that old Hungarian art was provincial in Transylvania, and followed the western styles with delay.[122] Petranu acknowledged that Saxon art transmitted the western European trends to Transylvania, but for Hungarians, he only gave the role of receivers: from the Saxons in high art, and from Romanians in folk art.[123] Hungarian scholars disagreed with him concerning the role of the Saxons too, as well as with Victor Roth, who attributed a considerable segment of medieval art in Transylvania to a German influence.[124] All three sides called each other to account for an objectivity free from nationalistic bias.

This was the period too, however, when the knowledge on the art historical heritage now situated outside the Hungarian borders was multiplied through extensive field and source studies, and Transylvanian art history came into the foreground of Hungarian research.[125] The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were introduced into the history of the Hungarian Renaissance by Jolán Balogh, a largely influential scholar who elaborated the latter concept and—we can say—discovered Transylvania in this respect. She set off on a number of journeys to Transylvania in the 1930s to carry out fieldwork and to consult the Transylvanian experts of the archival and material sources from the period, such as Lajos Kelemen and János Herepei.[126] Based on her observations, she formulated a narrative of the adoption and development of the Renaissance in Hungary, which started with the importation of the Italian Renaissance into the

[121] József Biró, *Magyar művészet és erdélyi művészet* (Hungarian art and Transylvanian art), Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek 80 (Cluj: Minerva, 1935), 6.
[122] A collection of Petranu's most important writings was published in 1944: Coriolan Petranu, *Ars Transsilvaniae* (Sibiu: Krafft şi Drotleff, 1944). See also Coriolan Petranu, *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Siebenbürger Rumänen im Lichte der bisherigen Forschung* (Cluj: Tipografia Cartea Românească, 1927); Coriolan Petranu, "Discuţii asupra sintezei artei Ardelene (Răspuns dlui T. Gerevich)," *Grând Românesc* 2 (1935): 113-120; Coriolan Petranu, *L'art roumain de Transylvanie* (Bucharest: Impr. Naţională, 1938). For an evaluation of Petranu's activity, see Vlad Ţoca, *Art Historical Discourse in Romania. 1919-1947* (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2011), 40-75. For the Hungarian side, see Biró, *Magyar művészet és erdélyi művészet*; Balogh, *Az erdélyi renaissance*, 39-42.
[123] See Ţoca, *Art Historical Discourse in Romania. 1919-1947*, 60-61.
[124] Roth, *Die deutsche Kunst in Siebenbürgen*.
[125] In addition to the research on Renaissance, see e.g. the publications by Géza Entz on medieval topics and by József Biró on the Baroque period. Ernő Marosi, "Entz Géza és az erdélyi gótika" (Géza Entz and the Gothic in Transylvania), in *Entz Géza: Erdély építészete a 14–16. században* (Géza Entz: Architecture in Transylvania in the 14th-16th centuries) (Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 1996), 7-17. For the earlier period, see Géza Entz, *Erdély építészete a 11–13. században* (Architecture in Transylvania from the eleventh to the thirteenth century) (Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 1994).
[126] Balogh, *Az erdélyi renaissance*, 7.

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royal court by King Matthias Corvinus.[127] The new style spread its roots into the Hungarian soil, first among patrons from the highest ranks working with Italian Renaissance artists, but soon also Hungarian masters started to create Renaissance works, and also for commissions coming from the lower strata of the elite; finally, the new style reached the level of folk art. Renaissance spread from the court to the towns and villages, and from the center of the country to the furthermost areas, such as the eastern, Székely regions of Transylvania.[128]

Balogh distinguished the decades after the Ottoman occupation of the central zone of Hungary as a new phase of the Renaissance, when Transylvania became the depository of real Hungarian art. She saw Transylvanian Renaissance as "the most Hungarian" version of the style born in the hands of local, Hungarian stonecutters inspired by Italian masters, and characterized by clear, harmonious, undisturbed forms. She considered the differences from European art not as backwardness but as local stylistic variations, and her narrative was adopted by contemporary scholarship.[129] According to her views, the key to the success story of the Transylvanian Renaissance was that the imported Italian works and forms fitted perfectly to the mentality of the receiving Hungarian side, to their "will-to-form".[130]

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[127] It was first published in two related studies and in a small book on the monuments of Cluj: Jolán Balogh, "A renaissance építészet Magyarországon. Stílustörténeti vázlat" (Renaissance architecture in Hungary. A stylistic historical overview), *Magyar Művészet* 9 (1933): 12-26, 328-350; Jolán Balogh, "A reneszánsz építészet és szobrászat Erdélyben. Stílustörténeti vázlat" (Renaissance architecture and sculpture in Transylvania. A stylistic-historical overview), *Magyar Művészet* 10 (1934): 129-158; Jolán Balogh, *Kolozsvár műemlékei* (Monuments in Cluj) (Kolozsvár [Cluj]: A Kolozsvári Református Kollégium Öregdiákjainak Egyesülete, 1935). The second paper was an outline of the books she planned, the first volume of which was published in 1943. Balogh, *Az erdélyi renaissance*.

[128] For Balogh's theses, see Árpád Mikó, "Balogh Jolán (1900–1988)" in *„Emberek és nem frakkok" A magyar művészettörténet-írás nagy alakjai. Tudománytörténeti esszégyűjtemény* ("People and not tail coats." Great personalities in the Hungarian art history writing. An essay collection in historiography), ed. Csilla Markója and István Bardoly, Enigma könyvek (Budapest: Meridián 2000 Bt, 2006), 421-439. Árpád Mikó, "Reneszánsz, magyar reneszánsz, magyarországi reneszánsz. Részletek egy stíluskorszak kutatásának történetéből" (Renaissance, Hungarian Renaissance, Renaissance Hungary. Episodes from the research history of a stylistic period), in *Mátyás király öröksége. Késő reneszánsz művészet Magyarországon (16-17. század). Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában 2008. március 28- 2008. július 27.* (The legacy of King Matthias Corvinus. Late Renaisance art in Hungary (16th-17th century). Exhibition in the Hungarian National Gallery 28 March - 27 July 2008), ed. Árpád Mikó and Mária Verő (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2008), 127-129. On Jolán Balogh, see Gyöngyi Török, "In memoriam Iolanthae Balogh," *Acta Historiae Artium* 34 (1989): 3-16; János Végh, "Balogh Jolán 1900–1988," *Ars Hungarica* 18 (1990): 169–173; Éva Szmodisné Eszláry, "Záró gondolatok" (Closing remarks), in *Jolán Balogh, A régi magyar és európai művészet kincsei. Művészettörténeti tanulmányok* (Treasures of the old Hungarian and European art. Studies in art history Jolán Balogh), ed. Éva Szmodisné Eszláry (Budapest: Püski, 2000), 190-191.

[129] By Tibor Gerevich, József Biró, Antal Hekler; for a summary, see Mikó, "Reneszánsz, magyar reneszánsz, magyarországi reneszánsz. Részletek egy stíluskorszak kutatásának történetéből," 125-126. Only István Genthon debated these views, according to whom Transylvanian Renaissance was born with difficulties and late, and the stylistic development soon stopped; it was just a vegetation using the comfortable Renaissance forms. See István Genthon, "Erdély művészete" (Art in Transylvania), in *A történeti Erdély*, ed. Miklós Asztalos, A Jancsó Benedek Társaság kiadványai 37 (Budapest: Hungária Nyomda R.T., 1936).

[130] Balogh, *Az erdélyi renaissance*, Introduction and Conclusion; Jolán Balogh, "A későrenaissance és korabarokk művészet" (Late Renaissance and early Baroque art), in *Magyar művelődéstörténet 3* (Hungarian cultural history), ed. Sándor Domanovszky (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1940), 516. The book is an

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Balogh determined two main centers of stone carving from the 1530-40s: the princely court and Cluj, which were related and often co-operated.[131] She collected extensive archival and field data on the activity of the Cluj craftsmen all over Transylvania.[132] She positioned funeral monuments as the main products of sculpture in the period, and they remained mostly in this category ever since then.[133] She was mostly interested in those pieces that were produced by the Cluj stonecutters: simple heraldic ledgers and headstones for burghers, priests, and nobles,[134] as well as tomb chests with the coat of arms or the portrait of the deceased which were similarly modest concerning their ornaments and the quality of craftsmanship.[135] Still, so as to fit these works by "Hungarian" masters to her developmental narrative, Balogh interpreted these qualities in stylistic terms: as clear and well-organized structures and realistic representation grown out from the Italian Renaissance, and simplicity as a direct, honest, noble attitude. In her view, the nobility kept employing the local masters from Cluj even in the seventeenth century because they preferred these qualities.[136]

Her catalog of the carved stone works by stonecutters in Cluj covered unfortunately only the sixteenth century; the data for the seventeenth century, if collected, were probably lost in the turmoil of the Second World War. She summarized her results and views on this later period only in the chapters she wrote on the Renaissance for the series on the history of art in Hungary, which was issued already during the Socialist times.[137] The agenda of these volumes was of course already far from the revisionist motivations of the preceding period, but the ideas of Jolán Balog long prevailed and influenced the research, and her data collection serves as a basis for every investigation into this direction even today. This lead to a negative result too: where

important historical summary from the period as well as a methodological model due to the co-operation of history, art history, and archaeology.

[131] Balogh, "A reneszánsz építészet és szobrászat Erdélyben."

[132] The work was finally published in the 1970s in a series of articles in the volumes of the journal *Ars Hungarica* between 1974 and 1980. The papers were re-published later in a book: Jolán Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* (Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century) (Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985).

[133] See the corresponding chapters of the art historical handbooks and overviews, e.g. Aradi, *A művészet története Magyarországon*, 244-245; Árpád Mikó and Mária Verő, eds., *Mátyás király öröksége. Késő reneszánsz művészet Magyarországon (16-17. század). Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában 2008. március 28- 2008. július 27.* (The legacy of King Matthias Corvinus. Late Renaisance art in Hungary, sixteenth and seventeenth century. Exhibition in the Hungarian National Gallery 28 March - 27 July 2008), 2 vols. (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2008), 291; Mikó, *A reneszánsz Magyarországon*, 156-157.

[134] See Cat. No. 78-103.

[135] See e.g. Cat. No. 77, 107, 137, 174, and 175.

[136] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 223.

[137] Jolán Balogh, "A Korarenaissance. Késő renaissance" (Early Renaissance. Late Renaissance), in *A magyarországi művészet története* (The history of art in Hungary), ed. Dezső Dercsényi and Anna Zádor (Budapest: Corvina, 1970 [1955, 1966]), 249-326. As Lajos Fülep formulated in the Introduction of the book, this was not the history of Hungarian art any more, since the territory of Hungary was inhabited by a number of minorities too who produced art as well.

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her source studies were missing, for example concerning the seventeenth-century funeral monuments, her sketchy observations supporting her developmental scheme were repeated over and over again even when the scheme had already lost its relevance. Cluj was her main focus, though she revealed new archival evidence also on the funeral monuments of the princes imported from Poland to Alba Iulia, but she did not show any specific interest in these, since these fell outside her agenda. Later, as late as in the 1980s, she published her results on the fortification of Oradea as well.[138] The research group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences soon published a new overview on these remains, including the sparse available information on funeral monuments originally in the cathedral, as well as the tomb chest of Ferenc Rhédei transported to Oradea from Sâniob (Cat. No. 173).[139]

No wonder that art historical literature in the following decades, still interested in the manifestation of the large stylistic periods, did not have too much to say about the simple stone memorials from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some were treated in cemetery studies by the historian János Herepei, whose research carried out between the two world wars was published only from the 1980s. These in-depth analyses of grave markers in and around Cluj, most of which have been lost by now, are extremely valuable secondary sources on social history, also due to the archival information Herepei collected about the subject of each and every tombstone.[140] Cemetery studies in general have, however, belonged to the field of ethnography in Hungary, though it has not been a very popular genre even there, neither in Hungary nor in Transylvania. Sources concerning gravestones and burial traditions in cemeteries dating from before the eighteenth century are almost exclusively documentary and literary, since the grave markers themselves have mostly disappeared.[141]

[138] Jolán Balogh, *Varadinum. Várad vára* (The fort of Várad / Oradea), 2 vols., Művészettörténeti füzetek 13/1-2 (Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1982).
[139] See Pál Lővei, "Sírkövek, sírkőtöredékek" (Funeral monuments and fragments), in *Váradi kőtöredékek* (Stone fragments in Oradea), ed. Terézia Kerny (Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1989), 169-174; Árpád Mikó, "Megjegyzések a 17-18. századi váradi sírművészethez" (Remarks on the funerary art in Oradea in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), ibid., 175-176; Árpád Mikó, "A szentjobbi monostor és vár történetéhez; Katalógus" (On the history of the monastery and castle in Sâniob; Catalog), ibid, 251-258; 259-263.
[140] János Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* (Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988); János Herepei, *A kalotaszegi templomok, cintermek és temetők régi sírkövei* (Old gravestones in the churches, churchyards and graveyards in the Kalotaszeg region) (Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Művelődés, 2001). A book was published earlier by János Herepei, *Bocskai Gábor egeresi síremléke és mestere* (The funeral monument of Gábor Bocskai in Aghireș and its master) (Kolozsvár [Cluj]: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1947).
[141] Balassa, *A magyar falvak temetői*; Balassa, *A székelyföldi Erdővidék temetői* ; László Péterfy, "Kőből készült sírjelek a Kis-Küküllő és a Nyárád mentén" (Stone grave markers along the Târnava Mică and Niraj rivers), *Ars Hungarica* (1983): 77-80; László Péterfy, *Marosszék régi sírkövei* (Old funeral monuments in Marosszék / Scaunul Mureșului) (Marosvásárhely: Mentor Kiadó, 2005).

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Separate ways

Art historical handbooks and overviews, large-scale enterprises of the Socialist period both in Hungary and in Romania, were another type of publications where funeral monuments appeared. They presented the memorials as the most important genre of late Renaissance sculpture, but mentioning only those of the princes and the nobility, mostly the largest, relatively complex pieces, and only briefly. This is not surprising if one considers how problematic it is to analyze even these as sculpture due to their poor quality. The authors generally emphasized a conservative attitude characterized by the popularity of traditional forms, such as the tomb chest and heraldic ledger.

The idea coming from Jolán Balogh and the art history writing of the previous period, of contrasting Hungarian forms rooted in the Italian Renaissance and the Saxon forms and style directly related to Germany, was also repeated again and again.[142] This was the main motif in the relevant chapter of the volumes by Mária Aggházy, where some of the seventeenth-century memorials were adopted also into the circle of Baroque sculpture.[143] A different perspective was offered earlier by Klára Garas in her brief discussion of seventeenth-century funeral monuments in a chapter on Baroque art, but this remained without an echo. In contrast with Jolán Balogh, Garas defined the origins of seventeenth-century Late Renaissance in Transylvania as a mixture of Renaissance elements coming from northern Italy and of local influences represented by motifs of German origins imported by the Saxon.[144]

A certain set of funeral monuments remained the focus of interest and the target of deeper analyses: those set up in the cathedral of Alba Iulia, the seat of the Transylvanian prince and his court church also during Protestant times. The volume by Géza Entz on the cathedral of Alba Iulia was prepared based on the principles of monument topographies, thus, he discussed every element of the interior based on a thorough documental research. He collected all the available information about each funeral monument that ever existed in the building.[145]

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[142] E.g. the chapter on Renaissance signed by Rózsa Feuer-Tóth in Aradi, *A művészet története Magyarországon*, 148-208. and the volumes listed in the following footnotes.
[143] Mária Aggházy, *A barokk szobrászat Magyarországon* (Baroque sculpture in Hungary), 3 vols. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1959).
[144] Klára Garas, "A barokk kor művészete" in Lajos Fülep, Dezső Dercsényi, and Anna Zádor, eds., *A magyarországi művészet története* (History of Art in Hungary), 2 vols. (Budapest: Corvina, 1970 [1955, 1966]), 267. In the same volume, however, the preceding Renaissance chapter was written by Jolán Balogh, so the same objects were presented in two different narratives.
[145] Géza Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház* (The Cathedral in Alba Iulia) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1958). Jolán Balogh as well published sources on sixteenth-century funeral monuments in the cathedral in the framework of the discussion of the activity of Cluj workshops, see Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 270, 299-302, 306.

This set of data complemented with the archival findings of Mihály Détshy and Árpád Mikó[146] could serve as the basis of attempts to reconstruct the series of the funeral monuments of the princes, their commemoration strategies and the way rulers applied stone memorials in their representation of prestige and power, though the answer is still lacking for several basic questions concerning the objects themselves.[147]

Meanwhile, starting from the 1950s, Transylvanian art was included in the large-scale Romanian narratives of art history, first by Virgil Vătăşianu.[148] His aim was to write a synthesis on the development of art in feudal Romania presenting it with the tools of the Marxist approach of historical materialism, with the explicit intention to eliminate the nationalistic-chauvinistic views of the Hungarian and German literature. Funeral monuments appeared within the chapter on sculpture but separated concerning the three territories of modern Romania (Moldavia, Walachia and Transylvania). In another series issued between 1968 and 1971, the history of the fine arts in Romania, the chapter on seventeenth century sculpture consists exclusively of funeral monuments and epitaphs, and except for one example, exclusively of the Saxon ones.[149] This work summarized the results of previous German and a limited amount of Hungarian scholarly literature, with very few original observations. Nicolae Sabău, expert on the Baroque art in Cluj, included funeral monuments from the second half of the seventeenth century into the presentation of Baroque sculpture.[150] He as well mostly built on German and Romanian sources, utilizing the results of Hungarian scholarship (primarily of Jolán Balogh and Mária Aggházy) to a much more limited extent, but briefly mentioning some memorials of the nobility

[146] Mihály Détshy, "A gyulafehérvári Rákóczi-síremlékek" (The Rákóczi funeral monuments in Alba Iulia), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 15 (1966): 26-30; Árpád Mikó, "Báthory István király és a reneszánsz művészet Erdélyben" (King István Báthory and the Renaissance art in Transylvania), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 37 (1988).
[147] Mikó, "Báthory István király."; Árpád Mikó, "Csatajelenet János Zsigmond erdélyi fejedelem (+1571) gyulafehérvári síremlékéről" (Battle scene from the funeral monument of John Sigismund [d.1571] in Alba Iulia), in *Történelem – Kép. Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából. Kiállítási katalógus, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria 2000* (History - Image. Remarks on the relationship between past and art. Exhibition catalog. Hungarian National Gallery), ed. Katalin Sinkó and Árpád Mikó (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2000), 299; Árpád Mikó, "Gótika és barokk között. A reneszánsz művészet problémái a kora újkori Magyarországon" (Between Gothic and Baroque. Problems of the Renaissance art in the early modern Hungary), in *Mátyás király öröksége. Késő reneszánsz művészet Magyarországon (16-17. század). Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában 2008. március 28- 2008. július 27* (The legacy of King Matthias Corvinus. Late Renaissance art in Hungary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Exhibition in the Hungarian National Gallery. 28 March - 27 July 2008), ed. Árpád Mikó and Mária Verő (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2008), 22-35; Péter Szabó, "Térszimbolika a gyulafehérvári főtemplomban. Rekonstrukciós kísérlet a fejedelmi sírok eredeti helyének meghatározásához" (Spatial symbolism in the Alba Iulia cathedral. An attempt to reconstruct the original site of the princely tombs), *Ars Hungarica* 34, no. 1-2 (2006): 19-28.
[148] Virgil Vătăşianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Ţările Române* (History of feudal art in the Romanian lands) (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, 1959).
[149] Virgil Vătăşianu, ed. *Istoria artelor plastice în România* (The history of fine arts in Romania), 2 vols. (Bucharest: Meridiane, 1970).
[150] Nicolae Sabău, *Sculptura barocă în România în secolele al XVII-lea şi al XVIII-lea* (Baroque sculpture in Romania in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) (Bucharest: Meridiana, 1992).

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and from Cluj. He suggested that Saxon funeral monuments should be analyzed in the context of burial—according to the anthropological perspective of the volume he contributed to with his paper—, still, his presentation is largely art historical, focusing on typology and iconography.[151] In this work, Sabău could already build on the results of Ioan Albu, a professor in history at the University of Sibiu specialized in epigraphy and paleography, whose publications meant an important shift in the research of funeral monuments of the Saxons.

Albu's book presenting all inscriptions from Sibiu from the Middle Ages to 1711 follows the methods and system of the German *Deutsche Inschriften* series.[152] By this, the material was connected to the largest and most important source edition project in the region—including tomb inscriptions—established as early as the 1930s. One of the most important inscription-bearing media in this period was funeral monuments also in Transylvania, and the series housed in the Lutheran church of Sibiu is the largest ensemble that survived. Albu collected information from written sources also about those pieces that were lost during the centuries. He carried out a contextual research for each inscription bearing item covering the original location, the subjects, and patrons of the funeral monuments too. In the introduction to the catalogue, as well as in a number of papers, he gave an overview of the development of the genre among the Saxons considering various historical and art historical aspects.[153] Based on the available written sources, he attempted to reconstruct the order of burial and the spatial arrangement of the funeral monuments in the Sibiu church, which led to a discussion of questions related to prestige representation and other social aspects of burial in the Transylvanian Saxon environment.[154] His most recent studies analyze figural ledgers from Saxon settlements other than Sibiu.[155]

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[151] Nicolae Sabău, "Monumentul funerar transilvan între Renaşterea târzie şi neoclasicism" (Transylvanian funeral monuments from the late Renaissance to Neoclassicism), *Oameni şi moartea în societatea românească. Caiete de antropologie istorică* 3, no. 5-6 (2004): 25-73.

[152] Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*.

[153] Ioan Albu, "Contribuţii la dezvoltarea sculpturii funerare sibiene (secolele XV-XVIII)" (Remarks on the development of funerary sculpture in Sibiu, fifteenth to eighteenth centuries), *Studii şi Cercetări de Istoria Artei, seria Artă plastică* 37 (1990): 9-22; Ioan Albu, "Stilistica ornamentală a pietrelor funerare sibiene (secolele XV-XVIII)" (The ornamental style of funeral monuments in Sibiu, fifteenth to eightteenth centuries), *Marisia. Studii şi materiale* 25 (1995): 289-326; Ioan Albu, "Iconografia monumentului funerar la saşi. Tipologie, concepte şi teme iconografice" (The iconography of the funeral monuments of the Saxon. Typology, iconographical concepts and themes), *Studia Universitatis Babeş- Bolyai. Historia* 41, no. 3 (1996): 41-62; Ioan Albu, "Weapons and Trophies of the 'Vanitas Vanitatum' Theme in the Transylvanian Mannerist and Proto-Baroque Funerary Art," *Brukenthal. Acta Musei* 6, no. 2 (2011): 259-280.

[154] Ioan Albu, "Eine „Gräbervisitation" in Hermannstadt (1692) / Un „conspectus sepulchrorum" din 1692 la Sibiu," *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde* 41, no. 1-2 (1998): 146-166; Ioan Albu, "Taxe de înmormântare în Sibiul secolelor XVI-XVII" (Funeral fees in Sibiu in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), *Brukenthal. Acta Musei* 4, no. 1 (2009): 257-270.

[155] Ioan Albu, "VIXI DUM VOLUI. An Unknown Work of the Sculptor Elias Nicolai - The Funerary Plate of Pastor Thomas Bordannus (+1633)," *Brukenthal. Acta Musei* 7, no. 2 (2012): 255-266; Ioan Albu, "The Iconography of Petrus Martyr Vermilius and Crypto-Calvinist Influences in the Funeral Eulogy of Johannes

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Saxon funeral monuments were treated during the time between the activity of Roth and Albu as well, by the Transylvanian German historical scholarship. The Saxon historical association, the *Verein für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* was dissolved after the Second World War, but re-established in Germany in 1962.[156] Saxon heritage—though not too many funeral monuments—have been presented in the publication series of the old-new association as well as in those issued by the Romanian Academy of Sciences in Bucharest. The most often quoted works are marked by the name of Gustav Gündisch, one of the most influential historians of the Saxons.[157] The focus of the studies reflect that the scholarly interest was attracted by those tomb makers whose names were preserved by their works: Elias Nicolai and Sigismund Möss.[158] The thick volumes by Hermann Fabini on the Saxon fortified churches brought into focus stone memorials as part of the church furniture, including previously unpublished examples.[159]

Regional approaches

It is not only Transylvanian art and not just funeral monuments that have been discussed almost exclusively in the context of national and local histories in the broader geographic area. The same situation characterized the heritage of the neighboring countries too in the region of Europe called variously Central Europe, East-Central Europe or Central-Eastern Europe. The first art historian who attempted to overcome these boundaries was Jan Białostocki from Poland. His book, *The Art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe* was the result of a lecture series he delivered in the United States in 1972-73.[160] In this case, the term "Eastern Europe" covered the territory of Poland, Hungary together with Transylvania, and that-time Czechoslovakia. The chapters of the book—"The Castle," "The Chapel," "The Tomb," and

Hutter (1638)," *Brukenthal. Acta Musei* 8, no. 2 (2013): 203-214; Ioan Albu, "Die Epigraphik und Ikonographie der Grabplatte des Heltauer Pfarrers Johannes Hutter (+1638)," *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde*, no. 56 (2013): 60-72.

[156] As the *Arbeitskreis für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*. See their web-site at "Siebenbürgen-Institut online," Arbeitskreis für siebenbürgische Landeskunde e.V. Heidelberg, http://siebenbuergen-institut.de/wissenschaftliche-gesellschaften/arbeitskreis-fuer-siebenbuergische-landeskunde/ (accessed March 12, 2017).

[157] Gustav Gündisch, "Die Grabsteine in der Ferula der ev. Stadtpfarrkirche in Hermannstadt," *Mitteilungen aus dem Baron Bruckentalischen Museum* 12 (1947): 10-33; Gustav Gündisch and Theobald Streitfeld, "Mühlbacher Miszellen," *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde* 13, no. 1 (1970): 73-85; Gustav Gündisch, "Der Hermannstädter Bildhauer und Steinmetz Elias Nicolai," in *Studien zur siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Gustav Gündisch, et al. (Cologne: Böhlau, 1976), 256-292.

[158] Besides Gündisch, see Anna Maria Haldner, "Zwei unnbekannte Arbeiten des Bildhauers Elias Nicolai in Hermannstadt," *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde* 13 (1970): 61-64; Harald Krasser, "Sigismund Möss, Bildhauer und Schnitzler zu Hermannstadt," in *Studien zur Siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte* ed. Gustav Gündisch, et al. (Cologne: Böhlau, 1976), 256-289. On these stonecutters, see *Chapter 3* of this thesis.

[159] Hermann Fabini, *Atlas der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kirchenburgen und Dorfkirchen* (Heidelberg: AKSL, 1999).

[160] Jan Białostocki, *The Art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe: Hungary, Bohemia, Poland* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1976).

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"The Town"—present architecture, architectural decoration, and sculpture, organized along certain social and ideological functions fulfilled by Renaissance art. The chapter on tombs, however, following a brief analysis of the stone memorials for late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century humanists from Hungary, focuses on the Czech, Moravian and primarily the Polish areas. Numerous complex memorial structures were erected in Poland in the second half of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, and locally specific types and forms emerged. Though Białostocki did not include Transylvanian tombs in his discussion at all (as a matter of fact, neither where there any from Habsburg Hungary), it is important to mention this volume here because he gave an overview of the broader context of the works kept together by the sometime social and artistic networks. Another significant outcome of Białostocki's work is that he detached the discussion of Central European Renaissance from the axis of the Italian Renaissance. He introduced Central Europe (called Eastern Europe by him) as a separate region into the geography of fifteenth- to seventeenth-century art and distinguished local versions of the Renaissance he called "vernacular" to be interpreted in their own terms.

A similarly broad perspective was introduced into the art historical research of the Transylvanian Principality by András Kovács, professor of the Babeș-Bolyai University in Cluj. The to-date four and a half decades of his scholarly activity created a new framework for the interpretation of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century art in Transylvania through case studies, and later also summaries presented in an abundant number of publications—especially since 1990—mostly in Hungarian but also in Romanian. His approach is characterized by extensive source studies including fieldwork and archival research, continuing the job begun by Jolán Balogh in this respect. His main focus of interest has been architecture, but his papers and books contain important observations and conclusions on works in other genres too including funeral monuments.[161] His analyses shed new light on the system of patronage and production, the social significance and intellectual content of a broad range of architectural and artistic works from the time of the principality, with special relevance to constructions initiated by the princes.[162] He has revealed the complexity of stylistic sources, breaking out of Jolán Balogh's

[161] E.g. in András Kovács, "A szászmátéi református templom 16. századi síremlékéről" (The sixteenth-century funeral monument of the Lutheran church in Matei), *Művelődés* 42, no. 1 (1993): 44; András Kovács, "Apafi György almakereki sírkápolnájáról" (The burial chapel of György Apafi in Malîncrav), *Református Szemle* 96 (2003): 625-634; Kovács, *Késő reneszánsz építészet*; András Kovács, "Képfaragók és dekorátorok a 17. századi Erdélyben" (Image carvers and decorators in seventeenth-century Transylvania), *Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából* 3rd series 1, 11 (2006): 163-178.

[162] See e.g. András Kovács, "'Simulált is szegény fejedelem az religio dolgában...' Bethlen Gábor fejedelem gyulafehérvári szószék- és orgonarendeléséről" ("Poor prince played a part in the issue of religion." On the organ and pulpit ordered by Prince Gábor Bethlen for Alba Iulia), in *La civiltà ungherese e il cristianesimo. Atti del IVo Congresso Internazionale di Studi Ungheresi. Roma–Napoli, 9–14 settembre 1996*, ed. József Jankovics, et al. (Budapest - Szeged: Nemzetközi Magyar Filológiai Társaság - Scriptum Rt., 1998), 689-697; András

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construction of an indigenous "Transylvanian Renaissance." He emphasized the significance of a decorative style characteristic for the German Renaissance, and he pointed out the impact of a set of various styles and forms related to the works of Italian masters and wide-spread in Central Europe. All this could reach Transylvania from more adjacent sources than Italy, for example through the north Italian military architects working all over the area, who were able to transmit forms characteristic for the Czech, Moravian, German and Polish Renaissance as well. As András Kovács pointed out, historically caused practical difficulties—resulting in the isolation of Transylvania in many respects—lead to an unusually significant role for the graphic pattern pages and the decoration on applied art works in transmitting forms.[163] His students employed in different Transylvanian institutions of education and cultural heritage preservation continue his source centered method.[164]

The close cooperation between professions working with tangible cultural heritage—art historians, archaeologists, architects, conservators—is a specific local characteristic of the present state of art in Transylvania both in the practical fieldwork and in the organization of scholarly life. The architect and art historian Tamás Emődi works at the intersection of all these areas. He started to analyze tomb monuments connected to his complex architectural research of churches that house such objects in the Partium region, and he broadened his scope to a comprehensive regional study set into the Central European context of certain formal types.[165]

Research of funeral monuments in Hungary

As argued above, the principality's main communication routes towards the west led through the other successor state of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary that was ruled by the Habsburgs. Because of this, as well as the above-mentioned, explicitly or implicitly but politically

Kovács, "I. Rákóczi György fejedelem erdélyi építkezéseiről" (On the Transylvanian constructions of Prince György Rákóczi I), in *Erdély és Patak fejedelemasszonya. Lorántffy Zsuzsanna* (Zsuzsanna Lorántffy Princess of Transylvania and Patak), ed. Edit Tamás (Sárospatak: Rákóczi Múzeum, 2000), vol. 2, 63-96.

[163] Kovács, *Késő reneszánsz építészet* 12.

[164] From the point of view of funeral monuments Melinda Mihály (Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj) has to be mentioned here, for the kind assistance of whom I have to express my special gratitude. I also thank Attila Weisz and Zsolt Kovács for sharing some of their broad knowledge with me about local monuments.

[165] Tamás Emődi, "A Telegdi család és a reneszánsz művészet néhány emléke a 16. századi Bihar és Bereg vármegyékben" (The Telegdy family and some Renaissance monuments in Bereg and Bihar County in the sixteenth century), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 47, no. 3-4 (1998): 177-198; Tamás Emődi, "Monumente funerare figurative renascentiste din Transilvania" (Renaissance figural funeral monuments in Transylvania), in *Artă românească, artă europeană. Centenar Virgil Vătăşianu* (Romanian art - European art. The centenary of Virgil Vătăşianu), ed. M. Porumb and A. Chiriac (Oradea: Editura Muzeului Ţării Crişurilor Oradea, 2002), 135-144; Tamás Emődi, "Perecsen, református templom" (Pericei, Reformed church), in *A középkori és koraújkori Kraszna és Közép-Szolnok vármegyék műemléki topográfiája* (Monument topography of Kraszna and Közép Szolnok counties) (in press).

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motivated trends in scholarship, the research of Transylvanian funeral monuments has also related to that of memorials preserved in the territory of modern Hungary.

A systematic overview and analysis of memorials set up in the early modern Kingdom of Hungary under the rule of the Habsburgs started from the 2000s, carried out by Árpád Mikó, Suzana Ludikova, and Géza Pálffy, who started to survey one by one the most important churches in Western and Upper Hungary (now Slovakia) with regard to their funeral monuments.[166] Each of their papers contains a catalogue of sepulchral objects complemented with a complex analysis of the developments in the genre, involving social, political, cultural and intellectual aspects. This is a truly interdisciplinary work of a cross-border team from Slovakia and Hungary. The historian Pálffy connects to the approaches in German scholarship towards memorials as means of representation of power and prestige, to which I will return below.[167] Géza Galavics also treated funeral monuments set up in the Kingdom of Hungary of the Habsburgs in the context of prestige representation as well as artistic patronage.[168]

Though Pál Lővei prepared his monumental work, a corpus of funeral monuments, from medieval and not early modern Hungary, it has to be mentioned here because of the slightly different branch of the German *memoria* research traditions he introduced into Hungarian scholarship, based mostly on the concepts of Otto Gerhard Oexle.[169] Lővei, similarly to this work, also focused on the specific function funeral monuments fulfilled in the liturgical

[166] Árpád Mikó and Géza Pálffy, "A győri székesegyház reneszánsz és barokk sírkövei (16-17. század)" (Renaissance and Baroque gravestones in the cathedral of Győr, sixteenth-seventeenth century), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 48 (1999): 137-156; Árpád Mikó and Géza Pálffy, "A pozsonyi Szent Márton-templom késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékei (16-17. század)" (Late Renaissance and Early Baroque funeral monuments in the Saint Martin cathedral in Bratislava, sixteenth-seventeenth century), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 51 (2002): 107-172; Árpád Mikó and Géza Pálffy, "A pozsonyi ferences templom késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékei (16-17. sz.)" (Late Renaissance and Early Baroque funeral monuments in the Franciscan church in Bratislava, sixteenth-seventeenth century), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 55 (2005): 319-348; Mikó, "Késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékek," 625-660; Zuzana Ludiková, Árpád Mikó, and Géza Pálffy, "A lőcsei Szent Jakab-templom reneszánsz és barokk síremlékei, epitáfiumai és halotti címerei (1530-1700)" (Renaissance and Baroque funeral monuments, epitaphs and mortuary shields in the Saint James church in Levoča, 1530-1700), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 55, no. 2 (2006): 327-410; Zuzana Ludiková, Árpád Mikó, and Géza Pálffy, "A szepeshelyi Szent Márton-templom, egy felső-magyarországi katolikus központ késő reneszánsz és barokk síremlékei és halotti címerei (16-17. század)" (Late Renaissance and Baroque funeral monuments and funerary shields in the Saint Martin church in Spišská Kapitula, a Catholic center in Upper Hungary, sixteenth-seventeenth century), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 56 (2007): 314-344; Zuzana Ludiková and Árpád Mikó, "A turócszentmártoni Szent Márton-templom késő reneszánsz és barokk funerális emlékei (16-17. század)" (The Late Renaissance and Baroque funerary monuments in the Saint Martin church in Martin, sixteenth-seventeenth century), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 57, no. 2 (2008): 353-376.

[167] Géza Pálffy, "Die adelige Funeralkultur und Typen von Grabdenkmälern im Königreich Ungarn im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert" in *Macht und Memoria: Begräbniskultur europäischer Oberschichten in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Mark Hengerer (Cologne - Weimar: Böhlau, 2005), 483-513.

[168] Géza Galavics, *Köss nk kardot az pogány ellen: török háborúk és képzőművészet* (Let's belt on our swords agains the pagans: Ottoman wars and the fine arts) (Budapest: Képzőművészeti Kiadó, 1986).

[169] Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum." The ambitious inventorying work continued the post-Second World War traditions and the initiative of Dénes Radocsay: Pál Lővei (together with Lívia Varga) started to collect the material in 1979. See ibid., 24-37.

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memory. He involved also the spatial and social context in the analysis, distancing himself from the approaches treating carved stone memorials only as art or as sculpture.[170] The crucial difference between the approach of Lővei's analysis and my own is found in the difference between the pre- and post-Reformation function of funeral monuments and between the character of pre- and post-Reformation concepts of commemoration in general, which will be discussed in details in Chapter 5.

Pál Lővei's results based on the entire set of available material from medieval Hungary are significant not just in art history but also in economic and social history. Elsewhere he dealt with funeral monuments as sources in economic history, archontology, heraldry, and genealogy.[171] His numerous papers discuss the medieval use of materials—not only of funeral monuments—and their economy and symbolism.[172] Besides Lővei, Zoltán Várady has published extensively on medieval and Renaissance epigraphy also on funeral monuments.[173]

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[170] Ibid., 7-8.

[171] See, for example, Pál Lővei, "Néhány címeres emlék a 14-15. századból" (A few heraldic relics from the fourteenth and fifteenth century), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 40 (1991): 49-67; Pál Lővei, "Újabb ismeretek a Sárkányrend emlékeiről" (New data on the relics of the Order of the Dragon), in *Erősségénél fogva várépítésre való: Tanulmányok a 70 éves Németh Péter tiszteletére* (It serves well to construct fortifications due to its strength: Studies in honor of the seventy-year-old Péter Németh), ed. Juan Cabello and Norbert C. Tóth (Nyíregyháza: Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 2011), 259-265; Pál Lővei and Boglárka Weisz, "A gazdaság és pénzügyigazgatás szereplőinek szórványos síremlékei a középkori Magyarországon" (Sparse funeral monuments of the actors in economy and monetary management in the medieval Hungary), in *Pénz, posztó, piac: Gazdaságtörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* (Money, Cloth, Market. Studies in economic history of the Hungarian Middle Ages), ed. Boglárka Weisz (Budapest: MTA BTK Történettudományi Intézet, 2016), 217-266.

[172] Pál Lővei, "A tömött vörös mészkő – 'vörös márvány' a középkori magyarországi művészetben" (Hard red limestone – 'red marble' in the art of medieval Hungary), *Ars Hungarica* 20, no. 2 (1992): 3-28; Pál Lővei, "'Virtus, es, marmor, scripta:' Red Marble and Bronze Letters," *Acta Historiae Artium* 42 (2001): 39-55; Pál Lővei, "Salzburg und Gran versus Krakau, Gnesen und Wilna: Die Lieferung des Rotmarmors im Fernhandel Mitteleuropas," in *Die Jagiellonen. Kunst und Kultur einer europäischen Dynastie an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, ed. Dietmar Popp and Robert Suckale, Wissenschaftliche Beibände zum Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums 21 (Nuremberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 2002), 411-421; Pál Lővei et al., "Vörös és fehér díszítőkövek, kristályos és metamorf mészkövek, márványok (Műemléki kutatások természettudományos diagnosztikai háttérrel 1.)" (Red and white decorative stones, crystalline and metamorphic limestones, marbles. Research of historical monuments with natural scientific background, part 1), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 56, no. 1 (2007): 75-82; Pál Lővei, "Routes and Meaning: The Use of Red Marble in Medieval Central Europe," in *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence: The Proceedings of the 32nd International Congress in the History of Art (Comité International d'Histoire de l'Art, CIHA) The University of Melbourne, 13-18 January 2008*, ed. Jaynie Anderson (Victoria: Miegunyah Press, 2009), 477-481; Pál Lővei, "Renaissance in Red and White. The use of coloured stone in Hungary at the turn of the 16th century," in *Bonum ut Pulchrum: Essays in Art History in Honor of Ernő Marosi on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Livia Varga, et al. (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó; MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Intézet, 2010), 433-442; Pál Lővei, "Uralkodói kőanyagok. A király és az elit díszítőkő-használata a középkori Magyarországon" (Stone for Rulers. The use of decorative stone by kings and magnates in medieval Hungary), in *In medio regni Hungariae. Régészeti, művészettörténeti és történeti kutatások "az ország közepén"* (Archaeological art historical and historical researches 'in the Middle of the Kingdom'), ed. Elek Benkő and Krisztina Orosz (Budapest: MTA BTK Régészeti Intézet, 2015), 79-109.

[173] In English, see Zoltán Várady, "Summary of the Epigraphic Examinations Performed on Stonecarved Inscriptions Made in the Medieval Transdanubia," *Specimina nova. Pars prima, Sectio mediaevalis* 3 (2005): 7-22; Zoltán Várady, "A Short Overview of Stone-Inscriptions using the Humanistic Capitalis Typeface," *Specimina nova. Pars prima, Sectio mediaevalis* 5 (2009): 59-72; Zoltán Várady, "A Subtype of Renaissance

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Research into early modern funeral monuments in Europe

Trends in international research were inspired by the anthropology of mortuary rituals. The sociologist Émile Durkheim and his circle of anthropologists, primarily Robert Hertz and Arnold van Gennep had a significant impact on the Anglo-Saxon archaeology of death and ritual mostly from the 1960s.[174] These theories still form the foundations of the European historical and art historical research of the Post-Reformation funeral rituals and monuments.[175] In the United Kingdom, the dividing line between the social history, art history, and archaeology of commemoration is not that sharp, and these disciplines all have something to tell about the same set of sources, on a similar theoretical basis.

An important segment of the field, the archaeology of royal burials has focused on the role of tombs and rituals in the political discourse, and on how they were applied to express and manipulate power relations.[176] The significance of Ernst Kantorowicz's work was already mentioned in the Introduction. It contributed largely to the interpretation of both late medieval and early modern memorials.[177] Philippe Ariés and other scholars influenced by the *Annales*

Capitalis Stone Inscriptions," in *"Köztes-Európa" vonzásában. Ünnepi tanulmányok Font Márta tiszteletére*, ed. Dániel Bagi, Tamás Fedeles, and Gergely Kiss (Pécs: Kronosz Kiadó, 2012), 497-516.

[174] This is when their works were published in English translation. Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960); originally published as Arnold van Gennep, *Les rites de passage* (Paris: Emile Nourry, 1909); Robert Hertz, *Death and the Right Hand*, trans. R. Needham and C. Needham (Glencoe, ILL: Cohen & West, 1960); originally published as Robert Hertz, "Contribution a une étude sur la représentation collective de la mort," *L'Année sociologique* 10 (1905-1906): 48-137. For an evaluation, see Huntington and Metcalf, *Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual*.

[175] See e.g. Llewellyn, *The Art of Death*; Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*; Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England*; Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration: An Archaeology of Mortality*; Knöll, *Creating Academic Communities*; Paul Cockerham, *Continuity and Change: Memorialisation and the Cornish Funeral Monument Industry 1497-1660* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006); Łabno, *Commemorating the Polish Renaissance Child*. For such influence in the historical research of death, see e.g. Paul Binski, *Medieval Death. Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996); Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*; Craig M. Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead. Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450-1700* (New York: Palgrave, 2000).

[176] See, for example, John Steane, *The Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy* (London: Batsford, 1993); Thomas Meier, *Die Archäologie des mittelalterlichen Königsgrabes im christlichen Europa*, Mittelalter-Forschungen 8 (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2002).

[177] Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*. See also Urszula Borkowska, "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Polish Kings from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36 (1985): 513-534; František Šmahel, "Spectaculum et pompa funebris: Das Leichenzeremoniell bei der Bestattung Kaiser Karls IV," in *Zur politischen Präsentation und Allegorie 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*, Otto-von-Freising-Vorlesungen der Katolischen Universität Eichstätt 9 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994), 1-38; Tanja Michalsky, "'Quis non admireretur eius sapientiam...?' Strategien dynastischer Memoria am Grab König Roberts von Anjou," in *Grabmäler: Tendenzen der Forschung an Beispielen aus Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Wilhelm Maier, Wolfgang Schmid, and Michael Viktor Schwarz (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2000), 51-73; Sergio Bertelli, *The King's Body. Sacred Ritual of Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, trans. R. Burr Litchfield (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), especially 214-230. For Hungary, see Péter Szabó, "A fegyverzet szerepe a főúri gyászszertartáson" (The role of armour in the funerary ritual of the aristocracy), *Ars Hungarica* 15 (1986): 324-331; Péter Szabó, "Uralkodói temetéseink kérdéséhez" (On the problem of the rulers' funerals in Hungary), in *Magyar reneszánsz udvari kultúra*, ed. Ágnes R. Várkonyi

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school connected the social function of commemoration with the eschatological aspect, and attributed the changes in customs to the historical transformation of the attitude towards death.[178]

When focusing on the age of Reformation—the time frame of this research—, scholarship has identified major changes in the attitudes towards death and the related cultural phenomena. The so-called archaeology of Reformation analyzes how the consequences of religious change can be captured through material culture.[179] Tomb monument and cemetery studies constitute a significant part of this field.[180] Parallel with these trends, German scholarship discovered the social historical significance of funeral monuments following the lines set by Otto Gerhard Oexle.[181] Influenced by the historical and archaeological research of residences, scholars have analyzed the spatial and visual aspects of funeral monuments and their role in negotiating power relations by preserving and shaping the memory of the dead, on various sets of funeral monuments from the medieval and early modern times.[182]

(Budapest: Gondolat, 1987), 115-123; Péter Szabó, *A végtisztesség* (The final honor) (Budapest: Magvető, 1989).

[178] Philippe Ariés, *Western Attitudes toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, trans. Patricia M. Ranum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974); Michel Vovelle, *Mourir autrefois: attitudes collectives devant la mort aux XVIIe et XVIIIe s s* (Paris: Gallimard, 1974); Michel Vovelle, *La mort et l'Occident: de 1300 nos jours* (Paris: Gallimard, 1983); Michel Vovelle, "L'histoire des hommes au miroir de la mort," in *Death in the Middle Ages*, ed. Herman Braet and Werner Verbeke (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1983), 1-18; Pierre Chaunu, *La Mort à Paris* (Paris: Fayard, 1978); David D'Avray, *Death and the Prince: Memorial Preaching before 1350* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Binski, *Medieval Death*; Michel Lauwers, *Naissance du cimetière. Lieux sacrés et terre des morts dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Aubier, 2005); see also Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1964). Panofsky's work was a precedent of the *Annales* and the history of mentalities approach.

[179] See, for example, Roberta Gilchrist and David Gaimster, eds., *The Archaeology of the Reformation 1480-1580* (Leeds: Maney, 2003); Carola Jäggi and Jörn Staecker, eds., *Arch ologie der Reformation: Studien zu den Auswirkungen des Konfessionswechsels auf die materielle Kultur*, Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 104, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007). I will return to this field of research in *Chapter 5* with more details.

[180] See, for example, Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship*; Sarah Tarlow, *Ritual, Belief and the Dead in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

[181] Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Die Gegenwart der Toten," in *Death in the Middle Ages*, ed. Herman Braet and Werner Verbeke (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1983 [1982]), 19-77; Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Memoria und Memorialbild," in *Memoria: der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, ed. Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch (Munich: W. Fink, 1984), 384-440.

[182] Starting from Karl Schmid, "Die Sorge der Salier um ihre Memoria," ibid., 666-726; Karl Schmid, "'Andacht und Stift' Zur Grabmalplanung Kaiser Maximilians I.," in *Memoria: der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, ed. Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch (Munich: W. Fink, 1984), 750-771; and with a boom in the 2000s, see Kilian Heck, *Genealogie als Monument und Argument: der Beitrag dynastischer Wappen zur politischen Raumbildung der Neuzeit* (Munich: Dt. Kunstverlag, 2002); Cornell Babendererde, *Sterben, Tod, Begräbnis und liturgisches Gedächtnis bei weltlichen Reichsfürsten des Spätmittelalters* (Ostfildern: Thornbecke, 2006); Meys, *Memoria und Bekenntnis: die Grabden ler evangelischer Landesherren im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation im Zeitalter der Konfessionalisierung*. For the place of funeral sites in the so-called *Residenzforschung*, see Cornell Babendererde, "Totengedenken, Begräbnis und Begängnis," in *Höfe und Residenzen in spätmittelalterlichen Reich. Bilder und Begriffe*, ed. Werner Paravicini, Jan Hirschbiegel, and Jörg Wettlaufer15 (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag), 495-499. The project called "Requiem" examined papal and bishopric funeral monuments in Rome, see "Requiem. Die römischen Papst- und Kardinalsgrabmäler der frühen Neuzeit," Humboldt-Universität

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The size of the analyzed sample has evolved as a specific research problem in the field of medieval and early modern memorial studies, since funeral monuments is a source type that, in general, survived in a relatively large number in each modern country, ranging from hundreds to thousands, but scattered in a large area, often at places which are not easy to approach. This is the reason why the above-mentioned Hungarian enterprises, the work by Pál Lővei and the systematic publications from Western Hungary and Slovakia are especially significant. Research in the United Kingdom as well as in Germany has targeted the transformations connected to historical changes on a relatively broad set of material, which is not without difficulties, since the number of surviving objects is enormous as compared to Transylvania and Hungary—this is the context in which those theoretical developments took place that were presented in the Introduction.[183] These theories have also been utilized in the archaeological analysis of historical graveyards focusing on distinct regions, and on memorials that obviously do not belong to the sphere of art but to visual or material culture.[184] In the Netherlands, various groups of medieval funeral monuments were inventoried (up to 1580), entered into a database, and published in the framework of the *Medieval Memoria Online* project.[185] Epigraphic collections must also be mentioned among those works that deal with a large set of sources, the most significant of which is the *Deutsche Inschriften* series, a corpus of inscriptions from the period between 800 and 1650.[186] Though the enterprise—started about seventy years ago with

zu Berlin, Philosophische Fakultät III, Institut für Kunst- und Bildgeschichte, http://requiem-projekt.de/ (accessed March 14, 2017).

[183] Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*; Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England*. See also the issues of the Journal of the Church Monuments Society starting from 1985.

[184] See Harold Mytum, "Language as Symbol in Churchyard Monuments: The Use of Welsh in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Pembrokeshire," *World Archaeology* 26, no. 2, Communication and Language (1994): 252-267; Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration: An Archaeology of Mortality*. based on an inventory of memorials in Orkney; Cockerham, *Continuity and Change: Memorialisation and the Cornish Funeral Monument Industry 1497-1660*. Another important source for graveyard studies is the work by James Deetz and Edwin Dethlefsen on the historical graveyards of the United States, see James Deetz and Edwin Dethlefsen, "Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees: Experimental Archaeology in Colonial Cemeteries," *American Antiquity* 31, no. 4 (1966): 502-510; James Deetz and Edwin Dethlefsen, "Some Social Aspects of New England Colonial Mortuary Art" *Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology* 25. Approaches to the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices (1971): 30-38. In Hungary, with the exception of archaeology dealing with excavated medieval cemeteries, graveyard studies have belonged exclusively to the field of ethnography, see Balassa, "A magyar temetők néprajzi kutatása," 225-242; Balassa, *A magyar falvak temetői*.

[185] "Medieval Memoria Online. Commemoration of the Dead in the Netherlands until 1580," The Humanities Faculty of Utrecht University, the Humanities Faculty of VU University Amsterdam, and the Humanities Faculty of the University of Groningen, http://memo.hum.uu.nl/index.html (accessed March 14, 2017).

[186] "Deutsche Inschriften Online. Die Inschriften des deutschen Sprachraumes in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit," Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Akademie der Wissenschaften des Landes Baden-Württemberg, Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Künste, Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Deutsches Historisches Institut in Rom, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Institut für Geschichtliche Landeskunde an der Universität Mainz e.V., http://www.inschriften.net/projekt.html (accessed March 14, 2017).

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printed volumes and recently moved to an online surface—has covered significant segments of the German-speaking areas of Europe, funeral monuments are not in its specific focus, but included only as epigraphic sources.[187]

Conclusions

Stone funeral monuments set up in the Transylvanian Principality have not raised scholarly interest as a group up to now, though this is a relevant territorial and political unit in the second half of the sixteenth and seventeenth century to analyze the systems of production and use of carved stone memorials. After 1541, the military and political events in the region connected to the Ottoman Conquest lead to the formation of the principality as a distinct state, and the area lost its traditional western sources of raw materials and ready-made carved stone products in the central zone of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary now in the hands of the Sultan. Transylvania had to re-define its political, economic, and cultural connections, find new ones or strengthen some others. When the Ottoman forces were drawn out from the region with the united effort of European states, the principality, incorporated into the Empire of the Habsburgs, ceased to exist as a separate state. This political change was accompanied by transformations that were similar to those that took place one and a half century before, in the field of communication, economy, culture, social life, and even religion. Though the territory of the Transylvanian state was not entirely fixed on its western borders all during the period, this does not appear as a problem concerning the evaluation of the preserved set of funeral monuments.

Though stone sepulchral monuments from the principality have been discussed by the previous scholarly literature, it has covered only certain pieces or segments of the material. The selection of these samples and the approach was determined by socio-political conditions that stemmed in the medieval and early modern history of the region. The territory of Transylvania has been inhabited by various ethnic communities since the Middle Ages, and, at the time of the formation of modern nations in the nineteenth century, they wrote their own histories and art histories to support their claim for their distinct status and political rights. With respect to funeral monuments, this resulted in a separate Saxon and Hungarian framework of discussion of their own heritage, which only exceptionally met even to-date.

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[187] Renate Kohn analyzed the funeral monuments included into these volumes complemented with her own collection from Austria and South Germany from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. Kohn, "Zwischen standesgemäßem Repräsentationsbedürfnis und Sorge um das Seelenheil. Die Entwicklung des frühneuzeitlichen Grabdenkmals," 19-46. Concerning the Early Modern Period, however, she had to face problems, since the volumes do not contain any material after the mid-seventeenth century and the early modern monuments are unevenly represented among the illustrations. See ibid., 32, footnote 32.

This conflict between the various national narratives became especially sharp after World War I, when the state affiliation of Transylvania changed and it was incorporated into Romania. Romanian scholarship of medieval and early modern art history focused on reasoning to justify the new geo-political situation, while the Hungarian side collected data and arguments to prove the integrity of the former territory of Hungary also in cultural terms. In the meanwhile, Saxon researchers continued to treat Saxon art as a distinct unit with direct connections to the German-speaking territories of Europe. These frameworks and agendas have influenced the scholarship of funeral monuments up to now, even due to the different, German, Romanian, and Hungarian language of the publications and conferences, and they have resulted in an artificially segmented image of every aspect of the medieval and early modern Transylvanian world.

As far as the scholarly approaches are concerned, stone memorials have been mostly treated as pieces of sculpture, and scholars have primarily focused on identifying sculptors' hands and stylistic origins. Both German and Hungarian research before the 1990s was interested in the known names, signatures, stonecutters' signs, seeking to identify artists' oeuvres by operating with Morellian terms, searching for characteristic elements as traces of a personal style or toolkit often combined with psychologizing attempts.[188] However, most of the preserved objects are not amenable for such comparisons due to their poor artistic quality, and, as it will appear in *Chapter 3*, the production structure of tombstones and carved stone objects in general contradicts these interpretative efforts. More recent studies, parallel with the trends in research in Hungary, focused on the role of funeral monuments and artistic patronage in power negotiations and prestige representation, but these concerned mostly the rulers' memorials. The Cluj school of art history around András Kovács has revealed data concerning the operation of the stonecutters' workshops as well as the social structures behind the commissions. They have also refined the rigid picture of the exclusively Italian stylistic origins of the Hungarian Renaissance and the German orientation of the Saxons by setting the art of the Transylvanian Principality into the context of broader Central European stylistic trends. However, only a small number of funeral monuments were involved into these works, and they were primarily treated as stone carvings, the products of sculptors and stonecutters, without any

[188] The art historian Giovanni Morelli's method was based on the observation of seemingly insignificant details that were not consciously controlled by the artists in the creative process. For Morelli's method and its epistemological implications, see Edgar Wind, *Art and Anarchy. Third Edition. With an Intrduction by John Bayley* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1985), 32-46; Carlo Ginzburg, "Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes: Clues and Scientific Method," *History Workshop* 9 (1980): 5-36.

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attention to their specific function within a commemorative context.[189] Epigraphic research has discovered tomb monuments,[190] but other relevant aspects were almost entirely neglected, such as the resources of raw materials. Transylvanian funeral monuments have never been utilized as sources, for example, in heraldry, genealogy, and literary history, and a considerable part of the sources has entirely remained outside the research interest.

As memorials were used as references in national arguments, they were enriched with new and new layers of meanings in new communication situations, all inherited by today's researchers as inherent part of their sources. Changes in the interpretation framework were also in close connection with the physical history of the objects: those pieces that were highlighted by scholarship for some reason, have been preserved more carefully, while those that were neglected more easily disappear from the eyes and end up as building material. The next chapter will deal with the physical history of the funeral monuments by presenting their major groups and sites and thus will also provide an overall image of the source material.

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[189] Even the funerary context as such was hardly acknowledged, only the research by Ioan Albu represents an exception in this respect. Pál Lővei reached a similar conclusion concerning the historiography of medieval funeral monuments in Hungary. Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 477.

[190] Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*; Albu, "Die Epigraphik und Ikonographie der Grabplatte des Heltauer Pfarrers Johannes Hutter (+1638)"; Doina Filimon Doroftei, *Lexicul inscripţiilor în limba latina din bisericile săsesti* (A lexicon of Latin inscriptions in the Saxon churches) (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2007); Doina Paula Doroftei, *Inscripţii în limba latină din bisericile României, din perioada 1290-1850, cu privire specială asupra bisericilor maghiare din Transilvania* (Latin inscriptions in churches in Romania in the period between 1290-1850, with special focus on the Hungarian churches in Transylvania) (Bucharest: Editura Muzeului Naţional al Literaturii Române, 2013).

CHAPTER 2. FUNERAL MONUMENTS FROM THE TRANSYLVANIAN PRINCIPALITY

The set of the objects we inherited as sources for an analysis and their present conditions, state of conservation, and form is not the same as the set and the form of stone memorials that existed in the time of the principality. First, there was no moment in time by which each stone memorial would have been set up and stood still intact, in its original position. Many of those installed in the mid-sixteenth century had already been transformed in some extent or demolished entirely by the time the latest ones were created. Their context surely changed by adding further memorials, which, as the example of Christian Barth's memorial showed in the introduction, modified the meaning of the individual objects as well: the effect of one single monument in a church clearly differs from that of an entire series. Second, because many monuments have been lost since the years around 1700, the end of the principality, and those that survived were also subject to alterations. Some of them were re-used in a partly modified form, almost all of them were moved from their original location, or even if left there, the function of the space and the whole environment has changed. This was due to the changing social context around the memorials: their new audience attributed meanings to them that were different from those originally intended, and changed or re-arranged them accordingly. These physical changes, however, also impacted on the interpretation of the objects.

The tomb chest of György Apafi and his family serves as a good example for this process. It was set up in a small burial chapel in Mălâncrav, and it was put into foreground by journal articles published by some nineteenth-century travelers (Cat. No. 66).[191] As a result, it was soon perceived as an important historical monument, and in 1902, it was transferred to the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest.[192] Due to this move from its original context, it lost most of its original commemorative meanings and the object became a curiosity in the museum. It was also endowed with new interpretations: in the paper published the same year, the rather

[191] Anonym, "Jegyzések A Nemes Felső Fejér Vármegyei Almakeréki Néhai 1633-ban megholt Apafi György kő Kápolnájáról és Monimentumáról" (Notes on the stone chapel and monument of György Apafi from Almakerék in Felső Fejér County who died in 1633), *Nemzeti Társalkodó*, no. 2/7-8 (1832): 106-112, 121-139; Ferenc Neuhauser, "Apafi Györgynek Almakereken lévő halotti emlék-állványja" (The mortuary monument of György Apafi in Mălâncrav), *Csarnok. Literariai Politikai 's Közhasznu Ismèreteket Terjesztő Lapok* 1, no. 2 (1840): 90-91, 94-95; Charles Boner, *Transylvania; its Products and its People* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1865), 357-359; Gábor Téglás, "Az Apafy-síremlék Almakeréken" (The Apafy funeral monument in Mălâncrav), *Reform* (1874): 312.

[192] See Dóra Mérai, "Apafi György szarkofágja és sírkápolnája" (The tomb chest and funeral chapel of György Apafi) (MA Thesis, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2004); Dóra Mérai, "Apafi György síremléke" (The funeral monument of György Apafi), *Credo* 11, no. 1-2 (2005): 3-26.

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provincial stone carving was evaluated as one of the best pieces of sculpture from its time.[193] This perception has prevailed in the literature ever since then, though, as it will turn out from *Chapter 3*, it is far from our present interpretation. Its importance is also underlined by the fact that the monument is placed now in a prominent position of the permanent historical exhibition of the museum. As far as the original site, the chapel is concerned, its symbolic meanings were still felt in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by the local Romanian community in Mălâncrav, who repeatedly attacked and finally destroyed the burial site of the sometime Hungarian landowner.[194]

Consequently, it is not enough to seek to identify the choices of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century people, since the way we see and read funeral monuments from the principality has also been impacted by decisions that took place in the more recent centuries: about which memorials were kept and which were re-used or destroyed, which were moved or modified, where and how. This chapter will trace what can be revealed about the processes that contributed to the formation of the present state of funeral monuments as sources for research, and parallel with this, provide an overall picture of the surviving ensemble. I chose the main types of sites where stone memorials have been preserved as the main line of the presentation: museums, urban churches, village churches, churchyard cemeteries, extramural graveyards in towns, and around noble residences. Spatial context is a plausible aspect to create clusters when surveying the material, since often more than one piece was preserved at one site, and these have mostly been handled together, the major changes concerned in various ways each piece in the local ensemble. In addition, as it will be confirmed in the following chapters, the character of the site was originally a very significant factor influencing the choices made about the funeral monuments.

The aim of the survey is to understand how later—eighteenth- to twenty-first-century—processes contributed to the formation of what we inherited as the set of funeral monuments from the Transylvanian Principality, to the way we see these memorials now, and to the meanings we attribute to them. I will present what I could reveal about when why and whomade the selection that resulted in the surviving memorials, changed their physical context, and how these events connect to their interpretation history presented in the previous chapter. At the same time, the presentation of the historiography will also continue here, since I will briefly

[193] László Éber, "Apaffi György síremléke" (The funeral monument of György Apaffi), *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 22 (1902): 97-113. See also Mérai, "Apafi György síremléke."
[194] Memories of Michael Wolff (1906-2000), former resident of Mălâncrav. Manuscript. I am grateful to Helga Weber for providing me with the text of her grandfather's memoirs.

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examine to what extent the distinct ensembles at various sites were covered by research and how this has influenced their perception and understanding. Several funeral monuments included in this work count as an entirely new discovery in terms of research, in other cases I could identify the previously unknown subject, dating, or provenance of a memorial. These new results will also be presented here, since they are essential pieces of information for the analysis that follows.

The second part of the chapter will offer an overview of the funeral monuments from a different perspective: concerning their number, geographical distribution, dating and chronology, types, forms, and materials, all evaluated against the background of what was concluded about the role of spatial context in the first half of the chapter. I will also deal with the question how representative the surviving ensemble is for the original situation, keeping in mind the challenges presented above of reconstructing any hypothetical "original" situation at all.

2.1. The spatial context and history of the sources

It is very rare that a stone memorial can today be found in its exact original location, probably in five to ten cases in the entire material. The secondary character of the position is most often obvious at first sight: many funeral monuments have been moved only within the same site or building, but many have been taken even to a different settlement, most often to a museum collection. The physical biography of several objects can be traced back for a while with the help of written accounts, while in other cases, nothing is known about where they were before, in what position, and when, why, by whom they were moved. This is a reason why I chose the present location of the memorials as the main axis of their presentation and not their original site. At the same time, where it is supported by independent sources, the biographies of the objects display certain trends connected to the site types, and this allows one to draw some conclusions on the previous position of the rest of the memorials as well.

2.1.1. Tomb monuments in museums

The items that got the furthest from their original siting are those exhibited in the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest and in the National Museum of Romanian History in Bucharest,[195] and forty-seven pieces are housed by museums located in Transylvania. The National History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj possesses the largest collection, thirty-nine

[195] Cat. No. 66; Cat. No. 64 and 65.

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monuments from churches and cemeteries in and around Cluj and all over Transylvania.[196] The broad geographical scope and the significant collection is due to the activity of the Transylvanian Museum Association founded in the mid-nineteenth century, which started to gather old stone carvings from all over Transylvania. The first sixteenth- and seventeenth-century tombs got among their collection in the early twentieth century.[197] The lapidary of the Brukenthal Museum in Sibiu houses carved stone monuments from and around the city, including three tombstones and fragments, and I found two stones in the Muzeul Județean Bistrița-Năsăud in Bistrița and two in the Szekler National Museum in Sfântu Gheorghe.[198] The low numbers suggest that, in contrast with the museum in Cluj, funeral monuments were taken randomly into these museums for some unknown reasons specific for the actual case and not in the framework of systematic collecting activity.

2.1.2. Stone memorials in churches

2.1.2.1. Lutheran churches in the Saxon area

I found most of the funeral monuments in church buildings, at fifty-three sites, and the majority of these are Lutheran churches in the Saxon lands (Map 3). The 161 funeral monuments that survived in twenty-two Saxon Lutheran churches constitute more than fifty percent of the entire material. The largest series survived in three urban centers: Sibiu, Braşov, and Sighişoara. A few churches house a smaller ensemble, five to ten pieces, while most of the settlements preserved a single, two, or maximum three stone memorials. All the buildings are of medieval origins, and have belonged to the Lutheran congregations since the sixteenth century.

Sibiu

The largest group of funeral monuments all over Transylvania was preserved in the Lutheran parish church in Sibiu. The parish church in Sibiu was built by the Saxon colonists in the second half of the twelfth century, and it was replaced by a new, Gothic construction from the fourteenth century to the early sixteenth century. A huge chapel called *Ferula* (ferrule) built

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[196] Cat. No. 77-115

[197] Mihály, "Monumente," 38-46. The carved stones are now situated in the museum building, in the basement storage rooms, and in a lapidary on the ground floor, both closed from the public for several years due to the difficulties of the institution. I thank to Melinda Mihály and Carmen Ciongradi, the director of the museum, for permitting me to work with the material. For a full catalog of the sixteenth to nineteenth century items of the lapidary, see Mihály's docoral dissertation above.

[198] Cat. No. 207-209; Cat. No. 39-40 from the local and a nearby Lutheran church; Cat. No. 204-205 were originally southwest from Sfântu Gheorghe, in two settlements in Braşov County.

around the Romanesque western tower was added in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.[199] The funeral monuments were originally located in the pavement and some in the wall all over the church, in the choir, in the nave, as well as in the *Ferula* (Figure 12, Figure 13). They were removed during a renovation campaign in 1853–1855, and a selection of sixty-six pieces was built into the walls of the *Ferula*, fifty-nine of which—plus two bronze ledgers—were produced or modified in the time of the Transylvanian Principality.[200] However, they utilized many of the slabs to pave the new floor in the church. Still, late seventeenth- to nineteenth-century sources preserved some information about the entire ensemble, and based on these, Ioan Albu could reconstruct the original layout of graves and memorials.[201] He identified forty-six additional stone funeral monuments from the grave inventories, which means that this is the minimum number of those that have been lost from the original ensemble.

Braşov

It requires more space to introduce the set of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century memorials that survived in Braşov, partly due to the history of the Lutheran church, and partly because of the entire lack of research. The forty-nine tomb monuments are found today in the walls in the ground floor of the two western towers of the so- called Black Church (Figure 14, Figure 15). The name refers to the damage of the great fire in 1689 that destroyed the town and the church, together with most of the medieval and early modern tombstones.[202] A few were saved though, and townspeople also continued to set up stone memorials in the church interior. In 1865, a new altarpiece was installed into the choir and on this occasion, several monuments were removed.

[199] Daniela Marcu Istrate, *Sacru şi profan într-un oraş european (1150-2007). Piaţa Huet, o punte peste timp / Sacred and Profane in an European City. Huet Square - A Bridge Beyond Time* (Braşov: Editura Hieronymus, 2007), 55.

[200] Cat. No. 209-267. The memorials were set up in the *Ferula* in 1853-1855, but most of them from 1869 to 1877. See Frank-Thomas Ziegler, "Protestantischer 'Bildersturm' am Beispiel Hermannstadts," in *Glaubensgeschichte. Siebenbürgische Beiträge zum 500. Reformationsjubiläum*, ed. Hans Klein and Hermann Pitters (Hermannstadt [Sibiu]: Editura Honterus, 2017), 217.

[201] The grave visitation from 1692 was published by Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 330-340. See also Albu, "Eine „Gräbervisitation" in Hermannstadt," 146-166. His other source was Samuel Möckesch, *Die evangelische Pfarrkirche der Augsb. Conf. Verwandten zu Hermannstadt* (Hermannstadt [Sibiu]: Hochmeister'schen und Thierry'schen Buchhandlung, 1839).

[202] Ágnes Bálint, "A Fekete templom 1689-es tűzvész utáni helyreállításának történeti vázlata" (A historical overview of the reconstruction of the Black Church after the fire in 1689), in *In honorem Gernot Nussbächer*, ed. Daniel Nazare, Ruxandra Nazare, and Bogdan Florin Popovici (Braşov: Foton, 2004), 425-430; Ágnes Bálint, "Adalékok a Fekete-templom 1689-es tűzvész utáni újjáépítésének történetéhez. Egyházgondnoki számadáskönyv 1693-ból" (Data on the reconstruction of the Black Church after the fire in 1689. A church account book from 1693), *Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából. New series* 1 (11) (2006): 179–204; Ágnes Ziegler Bálint, "A brassói evangélikus főtemplom (Fekete templom) 18. századi újjáépítése. Felekezeti, politikai, rendi csoportidentitás kifejeződése egy újjászülető épületben" (The eighteenth-century reconstruction of the Lutheran church [Black Church] in Braşov. Denominational, political, and estate group identity expressed by the rebirth of a building) PhD Thesis (Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Humanities, Budapest, 2012).

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These were partly taken to the sacristy, partly to the halls under the towers, and an inventory of thirty-eight stones was compiled by Wilhelm Kamner.[203] In 1884, the Presbyterium decided that the best pieces should be selected, restored, and built into the walls in the western hall of the church to encourage the commemoration of their forefathers by the community. Ten tombstones were chosen, mostly with a portrait image or coat of arms, and they were also published in a local journal.[204] The memorial of Georg Chrestel (d. 1672; Cat. No. 62) was taken to their family vault in the Lutheran cemetery by the descendants, and it is still there in a truncated form and a critical state of conservation.[205] In 1925, a new reconstruction campaign was started in the church, and they found several graves and vaults under the floor. On this occasion, Julius Gross collected all the eighteenth-century sources on the burials including a grave visitation from 1746, and published the tomb inscriptions collected by Kamner.[206] There is, however, only a partial overlap between the stones inventoried by Kamner, those displayed in 1884, and those found in the church today.[207] Thirty-four ledgers in the latter group were probably found in 1937, when they constructed the floor heating system, and these have never been presented in any publication.[208]

Most of the gravestones now in the ground floor of the two western towers date from the eighteenth century, from the period after the great fire,[209] and many are fragmentary,

[203] An unpublished manuscript by Wilhelm Kamner quoted by Julius Gross, "Die Gräber in der Kronstadter Stadtpfarrkirche," *Jahrbuch des Burzenländer Sächsischen Museums* 1 (1925): 132-154.
[204] Gusbeth, *Die Grabdenksteine in der Westhalle der evang. Stadtpfarrkirche in Kronstadt*, 4. Gusbeth mentions an original number of fifty when discussing the tomb monuments that were relocated, though Kamner's inventory—at least its edition by Julius Gross—contains only thirty-eight. One more eighteenth-century figural monument, that of Martinus Closius (d.1752) was found some later, around 1915, during the construction works on the rector's house where it served as a doorstep with the figural side down (Figure 16). See Gross, "Die Gräber in der Kronstadter Stadtpfarrkirche."
[205] This happened between 1866 and 1927, probably right after the reconstruction of the choir when it had to be removed. It was still mentioned in the church by Balázs Orbán, but already in the cemetery by Gross, see Orbán, *Székelyföld* http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/346.html (accessed 15 October 2017); Gross, "Die Gräber in der Kronstadter Stadtpfarrkirche," 149. It was a result of my research that the local parish listed the conservation of the stone among their plans for the near future.
[206] In the Braşov Parish Archives, with the title "Beschreibung der Gräber in der Grossen Pfarr-Kirche in Kronstadt und ausser derselben an der Grundmauer und vor den Kirchen-Türen", see Gross, "Die Gräber in der Kronstadter Stadtpfarrkirche," 149-154. In the same volume, József Sebestyén analyzed the heraldic images in the church including those on the tomb monuments. Josef Sebestyén v. Keöpecz, "Die Wappendenkmäler der Ev. Stadtpfarrkirche A. B. in Kronstadt" ibid.: 156-166. Gross' presentation was repeated by Ernst Kühlbrandt, *Die evangelische Stadtpfarrkirche A.B. in Kronstadt* (Kronstadt [Braşov]: Kirchengemeinde - Druck Honterus, 1927).
[207] According to the information published by Gernot Nussbächer, there are more gravestones stored in the Weawers' Bastion ("Weberbastei"), but I did not have the chance yet to visit those. See Gernot Nussbächer, *Führer durch die Scwarze Kirche in Kronstadt* (Kronstadt [Braşov]: Aldus, 2004). Grusbeth already could not find the pieces described by Kamner (though based on the present display, four of them have turned up since that time). See Gusbeth, *Die Grabdenksteine in der Westhalle der evang. Stadtpfarrkirche in Kronstadt*, 7.
[208] Nussbächer, *Führer durch die Scwarze Kirche in Kronstadt*, 17.
[209] On the chronology of the reconstruction, see Bálint, "A Fekete templom 1689-es tűzvész utáni helyreállításának történeti vázlata," 425-430.

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especially those in the southern tower.[210] A series of figural ledgers were created in the eighteenth century for seventeenth-century subjects, mostly town pastors and town judges, such Simon Albelius (d. 1654) together with his grandson, Markus Fronius (d. 1713) (Figure 17),[211] Michael Hermann (d. 1660) with Bartholomäus Seuler (d. 1715) (Figure 18), and three members of the Drauth family (d. 1627, 1659, 1693) (Figure 19).[212] Either the graves of these prominent personalities of the community were not marked with a stone memorial in the seventeenth century—which is not very probable –, or their original tombstones were destroyed by the great fire in 1689. In either case, the series shows that in the eighteenth century, for some reason it was considered as important to commemorate them in this form, and their figural monuments must have played a specific role in the prestige-representation and identity within the community. This coincides with the research results of Ágnes Bálint Ziegler, according to whom the "historicizing" medieval forms on the newly built parts of the church and the structures of re-furnishing during the reconstructions after the fire can be interpreted as an expression of the values of the urban community and some kind of an "urban confession" of identity.[213]

I did not include those, at least ten eighteenth-century memorials into the database that were set up for principality-period subjects—though these also will surface during the analysis –, but I included those that were originally set up in the seventeenth century and continued with further names in the eighteenth. Mostly by a close observation of the script types, I could date a total of twenty-two sepulchral monuments in Braşov to the period of the principality.

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[210] Western tower: Cat. No. 41-48; southern tower: Cat. No. 49-60.
[211] The memorial was dated to the seventeenth century by Victor Roth, and among others, Nicolae Sabău accepted the dating of Roth. See Roth, *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik*, 122-125; Sabău, *Sculptura barocă în România în secolele al XVII-lea şi al XVIII-lea*, 71. On their common grave in front of the altar, see Gross, "Die Gräber in der Kronstadter Stadtpfarrkirche," 136. Gernot Nussbächer, however, raised that the entire work was created in the eighteenth century and the grandfather was commemorated together with Fronius that time. Gernot Nussbächer, "Ein Leben für die Schule. Magister Markus Fronius, ein Förderer neuer Unterrichtsmethoden am Honterus-Gymnasium," *Karpatenrundschau* 21 (32), no. 15 April (1988): 6. Quoted by Daniel Zikeli, *"Ach schläfst du Siebenbürgen noch"? Der siebenbürgisch-sächsische Pfarrer Markus Fronius (1659-1713). Studien zu Leben und Werk* (Bucharest: Blueprint International, 2007), 123-124.
[212] It was also dated to the seventeenth century by Roth and his dating was accepted, for example, by Sabău. Roth, *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik*, 121-122; Sabău, *Sculptura barocă în România în secolele al XVII-lea şi al XVIII-lea*, 71. However, based on the formal similarity with the memorial of the judge Andreas Rether, who died in 1707, the Drauth monument too should rather be dated to the early eighteenth century; it was, in fact, probably produced in the same workshop as the ledger of Rether (Figure 20). This was also suggested by Ágnes Bálint in her PhD dissertation, see Ziegler Bálint, "A brassói evangélikus főtemplom," 190-191.
[213] Ziegler Bálint, "A brassói evangélikus főtemplom."

Sighișoara

In Sighișoara, twenty-one tombstones are displayed in the western part of the so-called Mountain Church, set against the walls, nineteen of which date from the principality period, and the remaining two from the Middle Ages (Figure 21, Figure 22, Figure 23).[214] During the renovation of the church in 1776, all the monuments, that time partly standing along the walls of the aisles, partly inserted into the floor, were removed, and either taken to the western ending of the church and placed against the wall, or used as paving material in the interior or in the neighboring high school building. The ones that were visible and accessible, were first published in 1855.[215] The tombstones hidden in the floor were re-discovered during the 1934 renovation of the church, and displayed at the wall in the western porch.[216] The entire ensemble was last presented in a local journal by Rudolf Melzer in 1980.[217] Today the church serves as a touristic site open for visitors, operated by the Lutheran parish, where several pieces of church furniture were collected from the abandoned Lutheran churches in the region.

Saxon urban churches with five to ten stone memorials

In Hărman, near Braşov, eight stone memorials are presented now in a small medieval space on the southern side of the choir that opens with arcades towards the churchyard (Figure 24, Figure 25). Six ledgers date from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the rest from the eighteenth. Even less, three ledgers and a fragment are on display in the fortified church of the nearby Prejmer.[218]

Eight gravestones are displayed also in Mediaş in the wall of the choir (Figure 26, Figure 27).[219] They were moved there from the sacristy where they had previously been stored, at least one was seen there in 1908 and the rest during the renovation campaign in 1971-1972.[220] In Biertan, nine tombstones are displayed in the wall of the north-eastern tower called "Mausoleum" in the fortification that surrounds the medieval church, where they were set up

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[214] Cat. No. 272-290
[215] Müller, "Die Schäßburger Bergkirche," 305-362; Müller, "Archäologische Skizzen," 199-217 The eighteenth-century events at the sites discussed here were usually recorded in nineteenth-century publications without specifying their sources.
[216] Roland Melzer, "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg" *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 91-92.
[217] Ibid., 91-114.
[218] Cat. No. 155-160; Cat. No. 177-179
[219] Cat. No. 164-171
[220] Roth, *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik*, 85; Roth, "Barbara Theillesius sírköve," 97-101; Alexandru Avram, *Topografia monumentelor din Transilvania. Municipiul Mediaş* (Topography of monuments in Transylvania. Municipality of Mediaş) (Sibiu: Muzeul Naţional Brukenthal, 2006), 21-25, 33-37.

in 1913 (Figure 1, Figure 2, Figure 3).[221] Biertan was the seat of the Lutheran bishopric between 1572 and 1867, so all the ledgers commemorated priests, including seven bishops. In the mid-nineteenth century, these seven memorials were housed in the sacristy where they were moved from the choir, but even there they had been put face down, already in a secondary position.[222] The eighth ledger was in the nave, in front of the northern entrance, which explains why its surface is so badly damaged.[223]

In Sebeș, six tombstones, including some fragments, are presented in the medieval fortified church, in the western part of the nave, three of which falls into the chronological scope of this research (Figure 28).[224] The choir was restored between 1789 and 1798, and they found several tombstones during the renovation of the altarpiece. The large pieces were used in the pavement of the baldachin and the choir, the smaller ones cut and applied as cornices in the church.[225] The six ledgers on display now were discovered during the renovation of the church in 1961-64.[226]

Further to the north, in Bistrița, several ledgers are set into the church floor– this is the only church in Transylvania that corresponds to the view of the Western European church interiors in this respect (Figure 29, Figure 30). Some memorials have been elevated and exhibited here as well, in the choir of the church or in the small museum that was created on the ground floor of the tower in 1926.[227] I could identify only seven of all these as dating from the period of the Transylvanian Principality, and one additional piece that was taken to the local county museum.[228] The surface of most of the slabs in the floor is so badly worn that they cannot be dated or interpreted anymore (Figure 31, Figure 32). Funeral monuments from Bistriţa haven't been published yet in a comprehensive manner, only various pieces mentioned in picture books, topographies and local historical treatises.

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[221] Thomas Nägler, *Marktort und Bischofssitz Birthälm in Siebenbürgen* (Munich: Verlag der Siebenbürgisch-Sächsichen Stiftung, 2004), 461.Cat. No. 24-31.
[222] Müller, "Die evangelische Kirche in Birthälm," 208, 213. He mentions one more tombstone with a heraldic image and a Latin text, in front of the southern entrance, that is lost by now.
[223] Ibid., 208; Salzer, *Der königl. freie Markt Birthälm*, 388.
[224] Cat. No. 200-202
[225] Church accounts from 1796 and 1797 inform about all these, see Albert Amlacher, "Die Vernichtung der Grabdenkmäler der ev. Pfarrkirche in Mühlbach," *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 27 (1904): 91-93; Albert Klein, "Baugeschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Mühlbach," in *Studien zur Siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Gustav Gündisch, et al. (Cologne: Böhlau, 1976), 53.
[226] Gustav Gündisch et al., eds., *Studien zur Siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte*, Siebenbürgisches Archiv. Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, Dritte Folge 13, (Cologne: Böhlau, 1976), Vorwort, 8.
[227] Otto Dahinten, *Geschichte der Stadt Bistritz in Siebenbürgen*, ed. Paul Philippi, Studia Transylvanica 14 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1988), 256.
[228] Cat. No. 32-39

Saxon churches with one to three funeral monuments

The three gravestones preserved in Saschiz were also relocated in the eighteenth century, similarly to those in Sighișoara and in Sebeș. By the early twentieth century, the ledgers were already back in the choir, and now one can be found walled into the southern wall and two leant against the back side of the altarpiece (Figure 33, Figure 34).[229] The two figural ledgers in Slimnic were also removed roughly in the same period from their original place, when a new altarpiece was installed in 1773. The ledgers were later built into the wall of the choir, though in the early twentieth century, they were still stored in the sacristy (Figure 35).[230] In Cristian, the church was rebuilt entirely in 1841, and a figural ledger was walled into the eastern wall together with a medieval keystone, as *spolia* from the old church (Figure 36).[231] A single portrait ledger was built into the southern wall of the choir in the fortified church in Cincu (Figure 37), and another one in Șeica Mică (Figure 38).[232]

Funeral monuments are still stored in the sacristy of churches, each commemorating former local priests. In Richiș and Brateiu, two, and a single funeral monument is housed there respectively (Figure 39).[233] The worn surface of the one in Brateiu and one of the ledgers in Richis suggests, however, that they had also been in the floor of the church. A figural ledger was built into the western wall of the sacristy in Cisnădie (Figure 40). In Moșna, the ledger of a local pastor is also in the sacristy, but in this case set in the floor (Figure 4, Figure 41).[234] It is not clear though whether this was its original place or it is also in a secondary position.

Three figural slabs were leant against the wall in the open porch of the Lutheran church in Gârbova.[235] The church in the center of the village was built in the sixteenth century, but now bears traces of a Baroque renovation. Two of the tombstones were taken there from the Romanesque, so-called Mountain Church, the ruins of which are still visible on the hill on the eastern side of the settlement. This building was burnt down in the 1870s and the gravestones were moved to the village.[236] The third stone originates from a nearby village, Dobârca, where

[229] Cat. No. 197-199. See Roth, *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik*, 85.
[230] Cat. No. 291-292. See ibid.
[231] Cat. No. 133. On the church, see Fabini, *Atlas der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kirchenburgen und Dorfkirchen*, 526-529.
[232] Cat. No. 74 and 203.
[233] Cat. No. 180-180 and Cat. No. 63
[234] Cat. No.76 and 172
[235] Cat. No. 148-150
[236] Gyula Halaváts, "Úti jegyzetek Kelnek, Vingárd, Szászorbó környékéről" (Travelogue from the area of Câlnic, Vingard, and Gârbova), *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 27 (1907): 215. The Romanesque church on the edge of the village was used only for burial still in the mid-nineteenth century, since the cemetery was located nearby. See László Kővári, *Erdély építészeti emlékei* (Architectural monuments in Transylvania) (Kolozsvár [Cluj]: Stein J., 1866), 275.

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it was situated in the northern wall of the choir, next to the sacristy door, up to the most recent years. It was found in the floor of the choir, in front of the altar, under the floor level, and elevated and displayed during the renovation of the church in 1867.[237] The church is completely abandoned now, with the church furniture destroyed, the wooden parts used as firewood, and a hole marks the place of the funeral monument that was rescued to Gârbova (Cat. No. 151, Figure 42).

* * *

Now almost every funeral monument in the Saxon Lutheran churches is displayed against the wall, but based on the available information on their previous position, it seems that they were originally inserted into the floor, probably covering the grave, and nothing about any of them indicates that they were wall monuments, even if some have been presented in the literature as such. The assumption was based on their present position and on the decoration in high relief that became wide-spread especially in the seventeenth century.[238] The 1692 grave visitation from the Lutheran church in Sibiu, however, suggests that even such stones were placed in the floor, and in Bistrița, the figural ledger of Albertus Cerasinus is there even now.

The same document on the grave visitation in Sibiu suggests that the regulations were aimed to preserve at least a certain group of the stones, since it was prohibited to remove any inscription-bearing funeral monuments from their original place in the parish church there.[239] A small stone slab in the Black Church in Braşov bears an inscription informing about the redemption of the grave (Cat. No. 59). This piece serves as a material evidence of an element in commemoration that is otherwise known only from the parish documents: even if the grave was marked, the descendants had to pay regularly to maintain it, which probably also influenced the loss and survival of the grave markers.

Based on the available information, it seems that the ledgers in Saxon churches were relocated roughly in two "campaigns". The first one happened in the eighteenth century, when the choir of many Lutheran churches was rebuilt, and new altarpieces were installed. Some of the funeral monuments might have been, however, in a secondary position even by that time. The second wave was in the nineteenth century, when they renovated several Saxon churches. This took place in the chronological context of the national revival of the Saxon, connected to the process of discovering their own heritage, which was manifest in the scholarly literature too as it was presented in the previous chapter. During the construction works, the Transylvanian

[237] Halaváts, "Úti jegyzetek," 220.
[238] Aggházy, *A barokk szobrászat Magyarországon*, 19; Aradi, *A művészet története Magyarországon*, 199.
[239] Albu, "Taxe de înmormântare în Sibiul," 265.

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Saxon re-discovered—physically and mentally—the funeral monuments of their ancestors, and displayed them in front of the walls of the churches, in a vertical position. The ancestors, especially through their life-size portraits elevated now into a standing position, re-entered virtually the life of the Saxon community. Local pantheons were created from the tombstones—in Biertan it was even named Mausoleum[240]—and the effect of the funeral monuments irreversibly changed. The image we inherited is significantly different from the original one, with the ledgers inserted into the floor. The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century figures and heraldic devices are now lined around the visitor of these nineteenth- and twentieth-century mausoleums suggesting the sometime strength of a now dispersed ethnic group. In a certain degree, this "distorted" picture can be corrected by revealing sources on the original context, but it is impossible to peel off completely these acquired layers of meanings resulting from a dynamic relationship between images and identities, these constitute an essential part of the stone memorials as seen by the visitors of the sites and available as sources for a scholarly analysis.

2.1.2.2. The Cathedral in Alba Iulia

Such a rich inheritance of meanings is not an exclusive characteristic of the Saxon area. The Roman Catholic Cathedral dedicated to Saint Michael in Alba Iulia houses the largest number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century funeral monuments in Transylvania outside the Saxon lands. The church is a unique site in Transylvania concerning its history, size, significance, and architectural forms. Alba Iulia, the medieval bishopric sea was turned into the seat of the principality in the mid-sixteenth century. After the death of Bishop Johannes Statileo in 1542, Queen Isabelle did not appoint a new bishop, but she took over the palace and the estates of the bishopric for the benefit of the court. The bishopric seat remained vacant for the next one and a half centuries and the medieval cathedral remained closely associated with the palace as a court church.[241] When religious reform reached Transylvania, Protestant liturgy was introduced here as well, and except for the last decades of the sixteenth century, it remained like that for most of the time during the period. The cathedral was already an important burial site in the

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[240] Nägler, *Marktort und Bischofssitz Birthälm in Siebenbürgen*, 461.

[241] András Kovács, "Gyulafehérvár, az erdélyi fejedelmi udvar színtere a 16. században" (Alba Iulia, the stage of the Transylvanian princely court in the sixteenth century), in *Idővel paloták... Magyar udvari kultúra a 16-17. században* (Palaces in time... Hungarian court culture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), ed. Nóra G. Etényi and Ildikó Horn (Budapest: Balassi, 2005), 235-258; András Kovács, "Az építkező Bethlen Gábor és székvárosa" (Gábor Bethlen the constructor and his capital), in *Emlékkönyv Jakó Zsigmond nyolcvanadik születésnapjára* (Memorial volume for the eightieth birthday of Zsigmond Jakó), ed. András Kovács, Sándor Tonk, and Gábor Sipos (Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1996), 276-294; Kovács, *Késő reneszánsz építészet* 75-76.

Middle Ages as it is testified by testaments, excavations, and a series of medieval funeral monuments (Figure 43),[242] which was known also during the time of the principality when it remained a popular burial place. Its significance and perception in this respect will be discussed in *Chapter 4* in more details.

The church and the palace was affected by a series of armed conflicts between the forces of various princes and throne pretenders, imperial military leaders, and the Ottomans starting from the mid-sixteenth century. The entire furniture was destroyed already in 1565; later it was devastated again in 1601, and burnt down in 1603. In 1658, the Tatar forces of the Ottoman army set the church on fire again and the ravaging troops destroyed the interior. Due to these events and the eighteenth century Catholic renovations, only a small fragment of the original set of funeral monuments have survived.[243]

The Alba Iulia cathedral is a characteristic example to demonstrate how the survival or loss of the objects determines the scholarly interpretation of the entire site. I will present this ensemble of memorials in more detail, since it is a complex problem to identify the matching fragments and to connect them to any monument known from written records. The first sources mentioning the funeral monuments date from the eighteenth century.[244] A total of thirty-six pieces have turned up from the principality period since these first inventories, but some of these have already disappeared by now. At least fourteen funeral monuments are known only from eighteenth-century sources, and the fragments of three memorials were even photographed in the twentieth century but I could not find them on the site any more—these include fragments found during the research related to the ongoing renovation of the cathedral.[245] This case is

[242] Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 138-139.

[243] On the sixteenth- to eighteenth-century history of the cathedral with the relevant sources, see ibid., 123-126, 140-141, the sources quoted on 188-191.

[244] Ferenc Fasching, *Nova Dacia ex probatis scriptoribus deprompta: honoribus Joannis Kastal ... dicata dum ... Joannes Kastalides Controv. fidei de eccl. Christi publ. propugn. sub Franciscus Fasching*, 4 vols. (Claudiopolis [Cluj]: Typ. Acad., 1743); Péter Bod, *Hungarus tymbaules, seu grata ac benedicti Hungarorum quorundam principum, heroum, magnatum toga et sago, domi militiaeque insignium, virorum eruditione ac prudentia clarorum, feminarum honestatis fama, ac pietatis studio illustrium ex epitaphiis renovata memoria quam ex cineribus excitavit* (Nagyenyed [Aiud]: Kiss ny., 1764, 1766); Szeredai, *Collectio*. Jolán Balogh referred to an even earlier manuscript by Johannes Georgius Vett from 1697 stored in the University Library of Cluj (Ms 977), which, according to Balogh, mentions only one tomb lost by now and treated neither by Fasching nor Szeredai. Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 298.

[245] The renovation started in 1999. For the fragments, see Márton Sarkadi, *"s folytatva magát a régi művet": Tanulmányok a gyulafehérvári székesegyház és püspöki palota történetéről* ("continuing the old work": Studies on the history of the cathedral and bishopric palace in Alba Iulia) (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2010), 222-224. The other lost pieces: the funeral monument of Giorgio Martinuzzi, a woman called Christina, a councilor of John Sigismund, Elizabeth (Erzsébet) Tompai, Prince Gábor Bethlen and his wife with István Bethlen, David, master of the table, Chancellor Ioannes (János) Giczi, Alexander (Sándor) Gyerőfi, wife of Petrus (Péter) Szénás, and someone with NT initials were all presented by Antal Szeredai. Péter Bod also published the inscription on the memorial of Sigismund (Zsigmond) and Franciscus (Ferenc) Rákóczi, Valentinus (Bálint) Nyíresi, and three more epitaphs where he did not specify whether they were on funeral monuments: of Johannes Crispinus, Thomas

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characteristic for the situation of the carved stone memorials from the cathedral, whose storage and inventorying have not been properly solved yet. The fragments are scattered at different spots in and around the cathedral: in the ground floor of the southern tower (Figure 44), on the first floor of the northern tower, in a small lapidary in the northern wing of the bishopric palace, in the courtyard of the palace on large shelves (Figure 45), and in the garden behind the palace (Figure 46). At all these places, I could identify fragments from five funeral monuments from the principality period (Cat. No. 11-14, 19). A previously unnoticed tombstone dating from 1585 lies along a path in the garden (Cat. No. 10).[246] In the cathedral interior, more-or-less intact funeral monuments have been preserved and displayed, but neither of them is in its original place (Cat. No. 5-6, and 18).[247]

The so-called Hunyadi monuments have been the focus of the most intense scholarly interest and for the longest time, not independent from the historical importance attributed to the subjects and the personalities involved into their creation (Figure 47, Figure 48, Figure 49. Figure 50). Two of them were attributed to King Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490) as an act of commemoration by his brother, László, and his father, Governor János Hunyadi, the famous enemy of the Ottoman forces. The analysis of these two tomb chests generated a debate already in 1899.[248] The monuments were damaged in the seventeenth-century military events, but restored still in the early modern times, when they replaced the missing elements with pieces from other memorials. The two side panels depicting the victories of János Hunyadi over the Ottomans were repeatedly described in the stylistic terms of liveliness and realism unique in the fifteenth century, and later made a career as the product of an indigenous fifteenth-century Transylvanian proto-Renaissance (Figure 49, Figure 50).[249] This theory was disproved for good

(Tamás) Nagy of Borsa, and Franciscus (Ferenc) Köpetzi. In addition to these, Johannes Georgius Vett mentioned the monument of Johannes Baptista Musto. The memorial of Gabriel Literatus and another fragment was published by Jolán Balogh. See 19-20, 25-28, 31, 33, 37-38, 42-44, 50-51; Szeredai, *Collectio*; Bod, *Hungarus tymbaules*, II, XV, XVII, XXII, XIII; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 299, 303-304, fig. 288, 305-306.

[246] According to the information I got from the bishopric, the garden was organized for Bishop Áron Márton who spent his twelve years of house arrest in the bishopric palace from 1956.

[247] Szabó, "Térszimbolika a gyulafehérvári főtemplomban," 19-28.

[248] Elemér Varju, "A gyulafehérvári székesegyház sírköveiről" (Tombstones in the Alba Iulia cathedral), *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 19 (1899): 97-110; Ödön Boncz, "Hunyadi János kormányzó állitólagos síremléke Gyulafehérvártt" (The so-called tomb of Governor János Hunyadi in Alba Iulia), *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 19 (1899): 33. The third one was installed for the commission of János Hunyadi for his brother bearing the same name as him and called "miles" in the inscription. From 1902, plaster copies made for the National Museum in Budapest served as a new base for the debate. Gyula Forster, "A Hunyadiak síremlékei" (The funeral monuments of the Hunyadi family), in *Magyarország műemlékei* (Monuments in Hungary), ed. Gyula Forster (Budapest: A Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1905), 60-67; István Möller, "A Hunyadi-síremlékek anyaga és kivitele" (The material and execution of the Hunyadi tombs), ibid., 68-74; Elemér Varju, "A Hunyadiak síremlékei a gyulafejérvári székesegyházban" (The funeral monument of the Hunyadi family in the Alba Iulia cathedral), ibid. (A Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága), 75-95; Endre Veress, "A Hunyadiak síremlékei és Castaldo " (The funeral monuments of the Hunyadi family and Castaldo), ibid. (A Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága), 96-108.

[249] Balogh, *Az erdélyi renaissance*, 76-79.

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and all only in 2000 by a previously unknown document proving that the funeral monument of Hunyadi was elevated only in the first half of the sixteenth century.[250] Thus, the qualities that were interpreted as a proof of historical primacy, resulted from its late and provincial character. The only element in the Hunyadi tomb chests that belongs to the scope of this thesis is the figural top combined with these side panels that was made even later, in the 1580s, for the memorial of a male subject whose identity is unknown (Cat. No. 18).

The level of attention devoted to the rest of the funeral monuments and fragments in the cathedral varies to a large extent. In the eighteenth century, three side altars were created from the architectural frame of the wall monuments imported from Poland for seventeenth-century princes and their family members (Figure 51, Figure 52, Figure 53).[251] Several smaller fragments that could come from any of these monuments are found now in the carved stone deposits in and around the cathedral and the bishopric palace: 20-60 cm wide blocks of polished dark grey marble with fragments of band and volute motifs (Figure 54, Figure 55, Figure 56).[252] The inscription plaque of the same sort of grey marble from the memorial of Prince György Rákóczi I have been stored in the open western porch of the cathedral since the mid-nineteenth century,[253] with two more ledgers at least since the mid-twentieth century.[254] Two further fragments, now fixed on the wall of the southern aisle of the church, have been recently re-discovered face down in the pavement of the western porch.[255] The ledger of Miklós Báthori was lost already by the second half of the eighteenth century,[256] while the one of Tamás Varkoch was still seen in the mid-nineteenth century, and recorded as lost already at the end of the 1890s.[257]

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[250] Ritoók-Szalay, "Hunyadi János," 297-299.
[251] Détshy, "A gyulafehérvári Rákóczi-síremlékek," 26-30; Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 64, 141.
[252] Two fragments now kept on the ground floor of the southern tower were published by Sarkadi, *"s folytatva magát a régi művet"*, 225, Cat. No. 251.226 and 251.227. Sarkadi identified an alabaster shell too as a part of one of the wall monuments; I did not find this item in November 2014. See ibid., 225, Cat. No. 251.225. About fifteen black marble pieces were stored in 2014 on the metal shelves in the courtyard of the palace.
[253] Cat. No. 17. Kővári, *Erdély építészeti emlékei*, 279.
[254] Bishop Johannes Statileo (d. 1542; Cat. No. 16), and the fragment of the memorial of Martinus Örmény (d. 1640, Cat. No. 15). According to Géza Entz, the lower half of the latter slab with an inscription in Armenian was found in the city museum of Alba Iulia. I have had no chance yet to verify this information. See Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 64.
[255] Both Entz and Balogh mentioned these ledgers as lost. Ibid., 172; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 300-302. The ledgers were found in a heavily damaged state of conservation and restored. See the website of stone sculptor Zoltán Kiss, http://zoltan.bkb.hu/index.php?gr_1_id=6&gr_2_id=15&gr_3_id=0&doc_id=98 (accessed June 21, 2014).
I would like to express my gratitude for Gábor Teleki, Enikő Hegedűs, and Judit Marton for helping me on behalf of the Bishopric of Transylvania with providing access to the funeral monuments in Alba Iulia.
[256] Died in 1575, Cat. No. 3. Antal Szeredai provided the inscription after Péter Bod who still saw the tombstone. Bod, *Hungarus tymbaules*, XXIII; Szeredai, *Collectio*, 41, 51.
[257] Died in 1566, Cat. No. 4. Kővári, *Erdély építészeti emlékei*, 279; Varju, "A gyulafehérvári székesegyház sírköveiről," 30; Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 172; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 300-301.

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I could identify one more lost memorial among those displayed in the cathedral now. Similarly to the above-mentioned two ledgers, the tomb inscription of György Lencsés and his wife was also recorded by Antal Szereday.[258] Lencsés was a nobleman, head of the court (*főudvarmester*) and treasurer under the Báthory princes, as well as the author of the first medical work in Hungarian.[259] An unpublished ledger built into the northern side altar depicts a figure holding the rod of Asclepios, which refers to a physician as its subject (Cat. No. 9). The inscription is not legible any more, but one word, "VITA" can be recognized in the upper part, and this is how one of the lines starts in the text transcribed by Szeredai.

Some fragments from tomb chests once set up in the church relate to the Lencsés memorial in their ornamental style. Two small, oblong panels were built now into the southern wall of the cathedral: one with a lion-faced masque, and one with a coat of arms (Cat. No. 7, 8). Before the second half of the twentieth century, the two panels were used as the short sides of two of the Hunyadi tomb chests.[260] In the late nineteenth century, Vince Bunyitay conditionally identified the coat of arms as that of the Kendi family, and around the turn of the century, the two fragments were mentioned together as the fragment of the funeral monument of the Kendi brothers, Ferenc, voivode of Transylvania, and Antal.[261] They both took an active part in the power struggles of the mid-sixteenth century around the formation of the new state, and were killed in 1558 on the order of Queen Isabelle. It was not clarified though, whether the brothers got one common or two separate tomb chests when they were finally properly commemorated in the church, nor the time when this could have happened.[262]

Jolán Balogh published a photograph with the lateral side of the slab with the coat of arms that is not visible any more, since the piece was built into the wall. It was decorated with pointed laurel leaves with berries and flowers with four petals (Figure 57).[263] A third related

[258] Szeredai, *Collectio*, 14; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 304-305, with further literature.
[259] József Spielmann, "Az Ars Medica szerző- és forráskutatása" (Research on the author of and sources on the 'Ars Medica'), *Korunk* 32, no. 2 (1973): 294-304; Attila Szabó T., "Váradi Lencsés György (1530−1593) és a magyar orvosi-élettudományi szaknyelv a XVI. században az Egész orvosságról való könyv, azaz Ars Medica (1577 k.) tükrében" (György Lencsés of Várad and the Hungarian medical-biological therminology in the sixteenth century in the mirror of 'Ars Medica'), *Magyar Orvosi Nyelv*, no. 2 (2013): 82-91.
[260] Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 64, 140, 168.
[261] Vince Bunyitay, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház későbbi részei s egy magyar humanista* (The later parts of the cathedral in Alba Iulia and a Hungarian Humanist) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1893), 6-7; Varju, "A gyulafehérvári székesegyház sírköveiről," 31; Forster, "A Hunyadiak síremlékei," 62; István Möller, "A Hunyadi-síremlékek anyaga és kivitele" (The material and execution of the Hunyadi tombs), in *Magyarország műemlékei* (Monuments in Hungary), ed. Gyula Forster (Budapest: A Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1905), 69; Endre Veress, "A Hunyadiak síremlékei és Castaldo" (The funeral monuments of the Hunyadi family and Castaldo), ibid., 108.
[262] Neither Entz, nor Balogh were consistent about mentioning one or two tomb chests even on the same page. See Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 64; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 219-220, 299.
[263] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, fig. 65. Endre Veress described this side of the stone and pointed out that the decoration is not there on the other side. Veress, "A Hunyadiak síremlékei és Castaldo," 106.

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piece has recently been discovered in the floor of the choir: a winged shield appears in its central field topped by a helmet, flanked by a sword, a mace and a banner on one side and an arrow case with arrows on the other.[264] The field is framed by strapwork and a band of the pointed leaves with berries and flowers asymmetrically on one side (Figure 58). The latter looks so similar to the composition of the fragment published by Balogh that it could constitute the other, missing side of the slab, thus composing together a panel of the tomb chest. This is supported by the roughly equal height (45-46 cm) of the two pieces.

The forth connected fragment is housed now in the lapidary in the northern wing of the bishopric palace, and it offers a clue to the interpretation of the rest as well. It is an inscription panel framed with the familiar strapwork (Cat. No. 19). Its exact provenance is not clear; it surfaced during one of the twentieth century research campaigns of the cathedral, probably in the 1960s-70s.[265] The fragment of the text can be identified and completed based on Szeredai's work:[266] it informs that the memorial was erected by a certain Franciscus to his father, Antonius. Antonius was probably Antal Kendi, while Franciscus was his son, Ferenc III, so the slab is a fragment of the tomb chest of Antal Kendi commissioned by his son, which, thus, displayed the coat of arms on one of the side panels, and an inscription on another one, probably a long side. This new identification still cannot decide whether the tomb chest commemorated only Antal or Ferenc as well, since the epitaph verse refers only to Antal, but another panel may have displayed another inscription, about Ferenc. The initials of Ferenc next to the coat of arms can refer to the deceased Ferenc, Antal's brother, but also to his son, the patron Ferenc.

The panel with the masque decoration and the one with the trophies probably also originated from the same tomb chest since they are connected by their size and decoration. However, I cannot exclude the possibility that there was more than one tomb chest of the same style as hypothesized in the previous literature. Similarly, the slab that is now the foot-side short panel of the John Sigismund monument, but originally did not belong there based on its different size, might have come from the Kendi tomb chest but also from another memorial (Cat. No. 20).

As it appears from this relatively detailed presentation, the physical and scholarly treatment of the funeral monuments in the Alba Iulia cathedral has been far from uniform and this also reflects, to a certain extent, their scholarly evaluation. The site itself has been a popular target of visitors as an important historical monument and the burial place of the Hunyadi

[264] Sarkadi, *"s folytatva magát a régi művet"*, 222, 224, Cat. No, 251..
[265] Ibid., 223.
[266] Szeredai, *Collectio*, 45.

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family, national heroes of both Hungary and Romania, and the Transylvanian princes. Memorials belonging to these prominent historical figures have been discussed extensively by scholarship, and they are also in the center of visitor's interest and of commemorative acts (Figure 47, Figure 48), while the appearance and disappearance of some others does not seem to raise interest.

2.1.2.3. Stone memorials in village churches

About forty-five funeral monuments in the catalog are found in village churches outside the Saxon areas, one to four memorials per church, in a total of twenty-five villages. In this case, the original number must have been definitely higher. Many funeral monuments were probably lost from these, often remote churches far from the eyes of the monument protection organizations, but it is impossible to judge the number.[267] In most of the cases, the grave slabs have been walled into the choir or the nave of the church, but their badly damaged surface often suggest that they were originally inserted into the floor, such as the ledger in Aghireș or one among the three tombstones in the choir and the nave of the Calvinist church in Fântânele which are accompanied by some eighteenth and nineteenth century memorials too (Figure 60, Figure 61). These stones were at the same place in the same condition even in the mid-nineteenth century.[268] Sometimes it is not clear what caused the damage on the surface of the memorials, such as on the two funeral monuments—one of them originally the top of a tomb chest—in Căpușu Mic, now located in a vertical position in the wall of the choir (Cat. No. 71-72, Figure 62, Figure 63).

Some stone memorials were saved even if the church was destroyed. In Căluşeri, two stones were found on the hill called Kripta (Crypt) west from the village, on the site of the demolished medieval church. A collapsing vault buried more than fifteen tombstones in the first half of the nineteenth century, [269] and I could still identify the place of the crypt surrounded by the graves of the cemetery (Figure 64). Two stones were taken down in the 1980s to the village, to the Baroque Catholic church, and they were built into the western facade next to the entrance. About five years ago, they were freed from the wall and placed under a wooden protective roof

[267] For example, Jolán Balogh still saw the top of the figural tomb chest of a member of the Wass family in the 1930s in Ţaga, as well as the funeral monument of Balázs Tötöri in Tioltiur (Figure 59). Here, with the disappearing of the Hungarian community after the Second World War, the Romanian Orthodox Church took over the medieval building of the Reformed church, and a new one was erected in its place from 1964. The Renaissance funeral monument got lost too. See Balogh, *Az erdélyi renaissance*, 200; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 220, 353, fig. 285.

[268] For Aghireș, see Cat. No. 1. For Fântânele, Cat. No. 144-146; Orbán, *Székelyföld* http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/152.html (accessed July 30, 2014)

[269] Ibid. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/165.html (accessed July 30, 2014)

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in the churchyard (Figure 65).[270] Three ledgers were transferred from the medieval Calvinist church in Deva to the newly built one after it was demolished in the early twentieth century (Cat. No. 139-141). Similarly, in Făgăraș the tombstone of Prince Mihály Apafi's daughter was taken to the new Calvinist church built on a new plot from 1712 (Cat. No. 143).

It is still a question even about those memorials that have been preserved how long they will survive. In Comlod, a tiny settlement that is indeed difficult to access, two tombstones of the Petrichevich-Horváth family were installed in the wall of the nave (Cat. No. 128-129; Figure 66). The small Reformed community rarely uses the building that was open for all passersby when I visited the site. In contrast, the gravestone of Kata Kornis now in the Unitarian church in Dârjiu has a more promising future (Cat. No. 135). It was originally set up there, but it was taken to the nearby village, Daia before the mid-nineteenth century, for re-use by a local villager according to the tradition.[271] At around the year 2000, it was still standing in the churchyard in Daia, in a gradually decreasing state of preservation (Figure 67). In 2011, for the initiative of the priest and parish community of Dârjiu, the tombstone was taken back to its original site, conserved, and installed in the porch of the church. It was considered as a part of the local communal memory, since the subject was the wife of the main patron of the church in the early seventeenth century; this is why the community was eager to take it back "home".[272]

Most, maybe all, funeral monuments set up in village churches have been removed from their exact original place. Even in the case of those pieces that are in the floor now, such as the one in Cristian (Cat. No. 134), the present arrangement might have resulted from a reorganization. The ledger stone now in the pavement of the Calvinist church in Florești was, in fact, found in the wall of the porch in 1963 (Cat. No. 147).[273] There are no sources about these types of sites from before the mid-nineteenth century—mostly meaning the topographical work of Balázs Orbán –, and often no sources at all. The funeral monument of Mátyás Sigér in Sânvăsii is an exception in a certain respect (Cat. No. 196). In the mid-nineteenth century, it was seen on the ground floor of the tower attached to the northern side of the choir, but then, already by the turn of the century, sank into the ground.[274] It was re-elevated during the recent years and placed on wooden beams above its previous location (Figure 68). According to the

[270] Cat. No. 69-70. Oral communication of the residents.
[271] Orbán, *Székelyföld* http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/51.html (accessed July 30, 2014).
[272] On the history of the mission, see the blog of the local parish priest, Demeter Sándor Lóránd http://derzsipapek.blogspot.hu/2011/05/kornis-projekt.html (accessed July 30, 2014).
[273] I thank Attila Weisz for the information and the photos about the tomb monument.
[274] Lajos Kelemen, "Nyárádmenti műtárgyak az 1900. évi párizsi világkiállításon (Marosvásárhely 58. sz., 1899)" (Artworks from along the Niraj river at the World Expo in Paris in 1900), in *Művészettörténeti tanulmányok 2*, ed. Margit B. Nagy (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1984), 262; Orbán, *Székelyföld* http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/158.html (accessed July 30, 2014).

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tradition, this was the burial place of the Sigér family, but no excavation was carried out until now to prove whether the gravestone survived at its exact original place. The figural ledger of Krisztina Harinnai was found in 2004, under the side altar, during the restoration of the Franciscan church in Călugăreni (Cat. No. 68). The tomb dates from 1640, thus it survived from the first church, instead of which a new church was erected between 1650 and 1680, incorporating the earlier walls too. Since there were no excavations in this part of the building, it cannot be decided at the moment whether the tombstone was moved or it was placed and survived above the grave.[275]

These examples demonstrate the limits of the research: the random and fragmentary survival of the material and the lack of information even on the previous location of the objects not mention the original place. In this respect, the situation appears to be worse than in the Saxon territories, where some information was put into writing usually in the nineteenth century. The reason might be that the Saxon intellectual efforts were concentrated in a much smaller area, while concerning the rest of the Transylvanian territories, it was rather accidental whether any representative of the Hungarian heritage protectionist movement happened to turn up there. Another reason might be that the buildings hiding the memorials were much less spectacular and raised less interest than, for example, the Mountain Church in Sighișoara, the Black Church in Braşov, or the Cathedral in Alba Iulia. This, however, gives a special significance to the above-mentioned observations in the village churches, since they carry information on the attitudes and judgments of the later periods in an environment that was for a long time outside the focus of organized monument protection and interested intellectuals, so there is hardly any other source in this respect.

An additional source type is available, however, concerning the context of setting up these gravestones scattered in village churches: testaments of nobles. They relatively often made provisions and specified some aspects of their funeral ceremony and resting place. Even if it is exceptionally rare that these data can be brought into relation with an existing tomb monument, last wills reflect the preferences of the nobility and some motivational patterns behind their choices. The main problem in this respect is caused by the state of research, as only a limited number of testaments have been edited and published from the Transylvanian Principality.[276] Among these, I could find only twelve testaments that refer to a future funeral

[275] Tamás Emődi, "A mikházai kolostortemplom helyreállítása" (The reconstruction of the Franciscan cloister church in Călugăreni), *Műemlékvédelem* 51, no. 6 (2007): 385-392. I thank Tamás Emődi for personally confirming this information.

[276] On the state of research, see Horn, "Testamentele maghiare din Transilvania premodernă," 107-118; Béla Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet és háztartás a XVI. és XVII. században* (Hungarian family life and households in

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monument in any respect,[277] but some more gave instruction on the spatial context and the funeral ceremony.

2.1.2.4. Funeral monuments around castles and chapels

Sources are a bit more detailed on the earlier—though still the modern—context of funeral monuments from the estate centers of the most prominent aristocratic families. In the early twentieth century, two ledgers were found in the park of the Bethlen Castle in Criș, at the place of the already demolished Lutheran church, lying in front of the former altar.[278] The gravestones were taken to the garden of the castle, and by 1912, they were built into a small wall-like structure erected in the side of the hill (Figure 69).[279]. Half of a third ledger with a finely carved Renaissance ornamental frame but without any other image or inscription turned up in the last few years in the courtyard of the castle (Cat. No. 130).

In Sânpaul, two fragments of funeral monuments were walled into the facade of the sometime Haller Castle which is about to collapse these days for good and all; it is not clear when but they were already there in the mid-nineteenth century (Figure 70, Figure 71, Figure 72).[280] Also in Sânpaul, eleven tomb monuments commemorating members of the Haller family survived in the separate burial chapel called *Imola* built upon the hill above the castle and the village, nine of which date from the seventeenth century (Cat. No.187-195). The *Imola* consists of a longitudinal chapel with a rectangular churchyard on its western side, surrounded by a wall with four small bell towers on the corners (Figure 73). In the middle of the courtyard, a large octagonal tower stands on a rectangular structure of four robust pillars connected by arches. The memorials are partly walled into the pillars of the massive tower, partly built into the surrounding wall (Figure 74, Figure 75). It is necessary to present these objects in more detail

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the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), 3 vols. (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor könyvkereskedése, 1879-96); Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol.1. Hadviselő székelyek végrendeletei. Háromszék*; Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 2*; Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3*.

[277] Katalin Lévai (1551), Miklós Patócsi (1565), János Sasa (1585), László Brinyi (1590), Farkas Kovacsóczi (1591), András Dóczi (1620), Ferenc Rhédei (1621), Prince Gábor Bethlen (1629), Zsigmond Kékedi (1638), István Bethlen (1645), Zsigmond Lónyai (1648), Krisztina Bethlen (1656). See Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 2*, 63-65, 76-78, 130-131, 139-143, 143-146; Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3*, 63-65, 76-78, 130-131, 139-143, 143-146; Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet és háztartás*, 63-65, 76-78, 130-131, 139-143, 143-146; Horn, "Testamentele maghiare din Transilvania premodernă," 117.

[278] Lajos Szádeczky, "Az ebesfalvi és keresdi kastély" (The castles in Dumbrăveni and Criș), *Vasárnapi Újság* 52, no. 45 (1905): 717-719; Fr. Wilhelm Seraphin, "Zwei in Kronstadt gefundene Grabsteine," *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 31 (1908): 136-141.

[279] Cat. No. 131-132. It is attested by a photograph from 1912. Source: Blog by Radu Oltean, http://art-historia.blogspot.ro/2011/03/castelul-de-la-cris-mures.html (accessed May 20, 2014). This position lead to a misunderstanding in the later literature that the tombs cover the entrance of the crypt in the hillside where the Bethlen family was buried. See Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 244.

[280] Cat. No. 185-186. Orbán, *Székelyföld* http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/185.html (accessed July 30, 2014) with engravings that represent the carvings still in a better state of conservation than they have today.

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since their close observation combined with a recently discovered document modifies the dating of the entire site compared to the conclusions in the previous literature.

The earliest funeral monument commemorated Judit Kendi (d. 1634) wife of István Haller, the first owner of the castle and the estate on behalf the Haller family from 1609 (Cat. No. 188). The rest were created in the second half of the seventeenth century, and the subject of the latest one died in 1711.[281] Most of them are simple ledgers, but those three pieces—including the above-mentioned Judit Kendi's monument—are the most interesting that have a ridged form, with two flat vertical surfaces meeting in an edge as inserted into the corners of the tower, since they are the only representatives of this type (Cat. No. 187, 188, 191). The building complex with the chapel was dated to the eighteenth century in scholarship going back to Balázs Orbán who wrote that it was erected after 1737 by a female member of the Haller family as a pious foundation.[282] The memorials, according to Balázs Orbán and accepted by the later scholarship too, were originally installed in the church belonging to the castle down in the village, and were taken to the *Imola* only later, in the eighteenth century.[283] The references in the literature to the—unpublished—sources that serve as the basis for this dating, however, do not mention specifically the construction of the tower, only the chapel.[284]

In addition, a document found recently raises serious questions concerning the eighteenth-century dating of the tower, and allows its interpretation rather as the memorial of István Haller who had it built for himself, still before his death in 1657. It is a letter written in

[281] Apart from an additional small plaque from 1872.

[282] Orbán, *Székelyföld* http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/185.html (accessed July 30, 2014), József Biró, *Erdélyi kastélyok* (Castles in Transylvania) (Budapest: Új Idők Irodalmi Intézete, 1943), 168. The dating by Orbán was probably based on the two votive paintings he saw in the chapel, both donated by Klára Károlyi, wife of Gábor Haller. Both were copies of wonderworking images of the Virgin Mary. According to the inscription, one was donated by her in 1737 to commemorate that her brother and two sons safely returned from a military campaign in Bosnia. See Ferenc Mihály, ed. *Mária-tisztelet Erdélyben. Mária-ábrázolások az erdélyi templomokban. Kiállítási katalógus* (Veneration of the Virgin in Transylvania. Representations of the Virgin in Transylvanian churches. Exhibition catalog) (Székelyudvarhely [Odorheiu Secuiesc]: Haáz Rezső Múzeum, 2010), 24. The other painting recorded by Orbán tells the story of a miraculous escape by Klára Károlyi and her husband from the broken ice of a lake on their way to Sânpaul, when she made a vow to erect a church in case they escaped. Based on this, Orbán attributed the construction of the *Imola* to Klára Károlyi. This latter painting has been lost by now, but a third one is housed in the Târgu Mureş Ecclesiastic Collection from 1740. This paining was made to commemorate that the Sânpaul church was taken back by the Catholics from the Reformed. Ibid., 16-17 with fig. on 16.

[283] Orbán, *Székelyföld* http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/185.html (accessed July 30, 2014); Judit Márton and Annamária Kimpián, *Kerelőszentpál. Haller kastély* (Sânpaul. Haller Castle) (Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Kriterion, 2002), 10-11. The church was reportedly still standing in 1745 nearby the southwestern bastion of the castle fortification. In 1760, when Gábor Haller (the son of István) rebuilt the castle, the church was demolished and the funeral monuments would have been taken to the *Imola* that time. Ibid., 12.

[284] Notably, Klára Károlyi organized a procession to the church already in 1741, and in 1745, she wrote about the chapel as built by herself. Márton and Kimpián, *Kerelőszentpál. Haller kastély*, 12. Inside the chapel, there are memorials of a number of Haller family members built into the walls, the earliest one for Klára Károlyi and her husband, Gábor Haller, the most recent one dating from the 1980s.

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1652 by a member of the Nuremberg-branch of the Haller family, who visited the castle of István Haller in Sânpaul as a guest. In the letter to his brother, he described the memorial built by his host for himself which he found rather ostentatious, since the structure looked to him like a castle from the distance.[285] The modest ledger inserted into the wall of the tower commemorating István Haller is very far from this image (Cat. No. 192). It is easy to associate the description, however, with the entire tower standing on the hill and visible from a long distance, surrounded by a wall with four further towers on the corners, in a form wide-spread in the contemporary castle architecture.[286] The simple architectural forms of the tower do not contradict a seventeenth century dating. In this case, the tower was only included into the chapel complex mentioned it in 1745,[287] though it cannot be excluded that they also made some changes in the tower as well, which might have affected the funeral monuments too. This would also provide an answer for a few inconsistencies in the arrangement.[288] I will return to the interpretation of the structure and the choices of István Haller in *Chapter 4*.

The tombstone of Judit Kendi was created not too long after her death in 1634,[289] but its originally intended spatial context is unclear. Its shape corresponds to that of the coffin-shaped gravestones set up in cemeteries in the period, which I will present in the second half of the chapter in more details. However, coffin-shape tombstones were put horizontally on the grave, but the decoration of this memorial is composed for a vertical position, the same way as it appears today. It could originally be planned to set up in a cemetery and then moved to the pillar of the tower, but it is also possible that even the original intention was to put the stone into the wall, and they took only the shape from coffin-shaped gravestones. One more

[285] "...er noch in seinem Leben ein aigen Grab gebauet, welches von der weitten einem Schloβ gleich sehet. Auff dem Grabstein hat er die Grabschrifft selbst gemacht, worinen er sich viel groβes Lob zumisset, so ihm gewiβ nach seinen Todt weder von sein Söhnen, noch von seinem Weib gegeben würde,..." Szabó, "Haller Gábor," 86. The letter was written by Jobst Dietrich Haller to his brother, Hans Willibald Haller in March 1652, and it is stored in the archives of the German branch of the Haller family (Hallerarchiv Großgründlach). It was found by András Péter Szabó, to whom I would like to express my immense gratitude for generously handing over his transcription to me.

[286] The castle built by István Haller from 1610 in Kerelőszentpál also displayed this form. Kovács, *Késő reneszánsz építészet* 111-137, with the sometime view and reconstructed ground plan of the Haller Castle in Sânpaul on page 130-131. The difference is that around the tower of the Imola, unlike at castle fortifications with *trace italienne*, the blocks of the towers are located within the rectangle of the wall.

[287] Márton and Kimpián, *Kerelőszentpál. Haller kastély*, 12.

[288] Later, nineteenth- and twentieth-century interventions could also contribute to the present image. According to Balázs Orbán, the site was damaged in 1848. Also, he describes the memorials in the tower in a slightly different arrangement from the present one, though his presentation is not always very precise in other cases either. Orbán, *Székelyföld,* http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/185.html (accessed July 30, 2014). The memorials show clear traces of modern conservation and reconstruction; the texts were re-painted. I could study their early-twentieth-century state on the photographs from a photo album of the present German branch of the Haller family I received from András Péter Szabó, for which I am expressing my thankfulness here.

[289] This is confirmed by a close parallel concerning the decoration (the two cherub heads in the upper corners): a headstone from the Calvinist cemetery of the nearby Târgu Mureş that nears the date of 1636 (Cat. No. 300).

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monument predates István Haller's death, set up by István Kamuthy for his wife probably from the Haller family before 1644.[290] This one is conspicuously in a secondary position, since the text goes upside down (Cat. No. 190). Even if the stone memorial of Judit Kendi was originally not planned for this setting, two other pieces with a similar, ridged shape were probably already created to set into the corners of the pillars, on the model of the previous one.[291] Their subjects died in 1697 and 1696 respectively, so the Kendi monument must have been set into the tower by this time the latest.

A possible reconstruction of the story sounds like this: the tower with the rectangular wall was built already in the first half of the seventeenth century by István Haller as a burial site for himself. The coffin-shape monument of Judit Kendi and the ledger from before 1644 were originally set up somewhere else. They got into the wall of the tower in the late seventeenth or eighteenth century, complemented one by one with the rest of the ledgers for the descendants. Even if all the funeral monuments were walled in during the eighteenth century to their present place, they must have been connected to the structure on the hilltop even before. The chapel building was added to the complex around 1737-40. Though the present arrangement of the funeral monuments transmits a very characteristic image of a consciously constructed genealogical display, this can be confirmed or disproven only by a thorough architectural research of the wall structure under the plastering and perhaps some further research in the family archives.

2.1.3. Gravestones in churchyards and cemeteries

A group of tombstones now found in churches or churchyards in a secondary position were originally set up in cemeteries, and transferred to save them from a complete decay or re-use. This phenomenon is especially characteristic for churches in the area of Cluj. East of Cluj, in Sic, three tombstones were taken from the churchyard to the southern aisle of the medieval

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[290] The only István Kamuthi who appears in the genealogy reconstructed by Iván Nagy died in 1638. Iván Nagy, *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* (Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables), 13 vols. (Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1857-1868), vol. 6, 60-61. However, a book of sermons by Gáspár Pesti housed by the Székely Museum in Csík bears a note that informs about "*Generosus Dominus Stephanus Kamuthi de Szent Lazlo Illustrissimi Principis Domini nostri clementissimi aula familiaris obyt Anno Domini 1644 Die 11 January*". See Erzsébet Muckenhaupt, *A Csíki Székely Múzeum "Régi Magyar Könyvtár"-a. Katalógus. Colecţia Biblioteca Maghiară Veche a Muzeului Secuiesc al Ciucului. Catalog. Old Hungarian Library Collection of the Szekler Museum of Ciuc. Catalogue. I. 1498-1710*, ed. István Botár, et al., A Csíki Székely Múzeum gyűjteményei. Colecţiile Muzeului Secuiesc al Ciucului. Collections of the Szekler Museum of Ciuc 1 (Csíkszereda – Miercurea Ciuc: Csíki Székely Muzeum – Muzeul Secuiesc al Ciucului – Szekler Museum of Ciuc, 2009), 65.

[291] They commemorate János Haller, son of István Haller and Judit Kendi, who inherited Sânpaul, as well as his wife, Kata Kornis, Cat. No. 187 and 191. Szabó, "Haller Gábor," 102.

church (Figure 76, Figure 77, Figure 78).[292] In the Kalotaszeg region, west of Cluj, János Herepei recorded in the 1930s several seventeenth- and eighteenth-century grave markers in the churchyard of Calvinist village churches, but many of these had disappeared by the time I was doing my fieldwork.[293] In Vișтea, all three seventeenth-century pieces were lost, only eighteenth- and nineteenth-century headstones were built into the churchyard wall (Figure 79),[294] while in Turea, there is one stone in a similar series that dates from the seventeenth century (Cat. No. 309; Figure 80). In Gilău, four of the six stones recorded by Herepei are still there in the churchyard (Cat. No. 151-154, Figure 81).[295] In Zimbor, an unusual commemorative plaque was built into the southeastern external pillar of the choir of the Calvinist church which has been completely abandoned by now (Cat. No. 314; Figure 82). The date, 1991, written on the pillar base might indicate the time when it was found, during the renovation of the church.

The plaque looks like the series of commemorative inscriptions carved on the ashlars of the city wall of Cluj. These inscriptions were first collected in the 1840s by István Nagyajtai Kovács, who was inspired and assisted by the Englishman John Paget.[296] Scholars recorded epigraphic remains from the walls even before, but mostly the Roman ones as well as construction memorials.[297] The plots near the fortifications were sold out from the late eighteenth century, and they started to demolish the wall that blocked the growth of the city. The Vienna court, and consequently the town council too issued an order in 1841 by which the inscription-bearing stones were to be preserved, but it was not really put into practice.[298] Nagyajtai published only four commemorative inscriptions, but he saw and heard about several more. This made him conclude that the blocks were not taken from a cemetery to the wall as

[292] Cat. No. 270-271. József Kádár, *Szolnok-Dobokavármegye monographiája* (A monograph of Szolnok-Doboka County), 7 vols. (Dés: Szolnok-Dobokavármegye közönsége, 1900-1901). I used the online edition published in the Hungarian Electronic Library (Magyar Elektronikus Könyvtár) by the Széchényi National Library. Cretated by Arcanum Adatbázis Ltd, 2003. http://mek.niif.hu/04700/04755/html/435.html (accessed July 30, 2014). A drawing by László Debreczeni also represents the tombstones in the cemetery. I thank Attila Weisz for the information.
[293] Herepei, *A kalotaszegi templomok, cintermek és temetők régi sírkövei*.
[294] Ibid., 47-60.
[295] Ibid., 17-46.
[296] Nagyajtai Kovács, "Vándorlások," 1–46, 49–55, 57–62, 65–72, 73–76; István Nagyajtai Kovács, "Kolozsvári régiségek" (Antiquities from Cluj), *Tudománytár* 14 (1843): 67-76. John Paget, a physician born in Longborough, found his way to Transylvania due to his marriage with the divorced wife of Baron László Bánffy, Polixénia Wesselényi in 1836 or 1837. He travelled all over Hungary and Transylvania, and published his experiences in a book called *Hungary and Transylvania* in 1839. The volume had several editions in English and German, and by this, Paget contributed to a positive image of the country in the nineteenth-century Europe. See Sándor Kovács, "Kétszáz éve született John Paget, Erdély magyar honpolgára" (John Paget, a Hungarian patriot in Transylvania, was born two hundred years ago), *Keresztény Magvető* 114, no. 2 (2008): 203-218.
[297] Sándor Letavay, "Jegyzetek Bocskay István E.F. szerencsés Péntek napja eránt; s néhány Erdélyi Fölírások" (Notes on a lucky Friday of István Bocskay Prince of Transylvania; and some inscriptions in Transylvania), *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* 5 (1818): 132-141.
[298] Kerny, "A kolozsvári múzeum középkori kőtára," 71, with references; Mihály, "Monumente," 19.

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building material but the ashlars of the wall itself were turned into memorials. His assumption was confirmed by the large amount of human bones he saw during the nearby construction works: the territory between the two ranges of the double city wall (*zwinger*) of Cluj served as a cemetery in the Early Modern Period. The city walls dated from the early fifteenth century, and they were reinforced in the sixteenth and seventeenth century at the eastern, southern and western parts with a second range and a *zwinger* in between, known as „stone gardens" in the period; parts of this area were turned into a cemetery (Figure 83, Figure 84, Figure 85).[299]

Nine of the inscription-bearing ashlars, that is, stone memorials, have been preserved to-date: three were taken to the lapidary of the National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj from segments of the wall that were demolished, one stone was moved to the communal cemetery called Cimitirul Central or *Házsongárdi temető* in Hungarian and built into the facade of the crypt of the Bethlen of Iktár family (Figure 86), and five are still in the wall, at their original places (Figure 84).[300]

The Central or Házsongárd *Cemetery in Cluj*

The Central or *Házsongárd* Cemetery was opened in 1585 for the order of the Cluj town magistrate as a new public cemetery outside the city walls and it has been continuously used ever since then (Figure 87, Figure 88, Figure 89).[301] Its establishment was embedded into the longer and complex historical process of moving the burials out from the church and churchyard to separate public cemeteries, the social implications of which I will discuss in *Chapter 4*, while the religious motives will be analyzed in *Chapter 5*.

The graveyard was open for all ethnic and confessional groups from the beginning, but the composition of the population has changed significantly since that time. In the Early Modern period, the town had a mixed, dominantly Hungarian and German population, with an increasing share of the Hungarian element; the Hungarian name of the cemetery, *Házsongárd*, originates from the German, *Hasengarten* form. The number of the Romanians was very low still in the early nineteenth century, but it started to increase rapidly in the following few decades, and especially after the First World War, when Transylvania was annexed to Romania. After 1945, the centralized demographical politics of the Romanian state intervened drastically,

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[299] Mihály, "Monumente," 126. I will write more about the circumstances and possible interpretations of this cemetery foundation in *Chapter 4*.
[300] Cat. No. 81-83; Cat. No.121; Cat. No. 122-126. These latter are hardly accessible—I could not even approach two of them—since they belong to private properties, but they were published with photographs in Dániel Lőwy, János Demeter V., and Lajos Asztalos, *Kőbe írt Kolozsvár* (Cluj written in stone) (Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Nis, 1996), 46-48.
[301] Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 20; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 196-197.

and a large number of ethnically Romanian population was settled to Cluj from the nearby regions and also from the eastern side of the Carpathians, who started to use the cemetery as well.[302] Several prominent representatives of both the Hungarian and the Romanian culture were buried there, and the cemetery became an iconic place of both national communities.[303] Thus, the fate of the old gravestones has closely been associated with issues of collective identity, commemoration, and the related emotional responses. The Hungarian nation—and not only the Transylvanian segment but also that in the "mother country"—has considered the tomb monuments from the first one and a half century of the cemetery as a part of their own heritage. They have seen the modern re-use of old stones as an attack against their communal identity and rights, even though ethnically Hungarian actors also contributed to the destruction of the ensemble, as a part of the natural process of change and renewal in the "life course" of cemeteries. The Central or *Házsongárd* Cemetery became a virtual battlefield during the second half of the twentieth century for the ownership of the town's past and present.

Hungarian scholarship started to document the historical gravestones in the mid-nineteenth century,[304] the most important inventories were created between 1910 and 1950.[305] Based on these data, 144 funeral monuments are known from before 1700, but I could find only twenty-seven still existing pieces at various sites in the city: most of them in the lapidary of the Museum of Transylvanian History, one in the Unitarian church, and three still in the cemetery.[306] The number of the latter group is, however, constantly changing, since stones tend to turn up and disappear again.

The first attempts to counteract the otherwise natural transformation process of old cemeteries were made in the 1880s: the committee responsible for taking care of the graveyard

[302] Elek Csetri, "Kolozsvár népessége a középkortól a jelenkorig" (The population of Cluj from the Middle Ages to the present), in *Kolozsvár 1000 éve. A 2000. október 13–14-én rendezett konferencia előadásai* (1000 years of Cluj. Papers presented at the conference on 13-14 October 2000), ed. Tibor Kálmán Dáné, et al. (Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület, 2001), 5-22.

[303] For a selection of the related Hungarian literature, see e.g. György Gaal, *Tört kövön és porladó kereszten. Pusztuló múlt és fájó jelen a házsongárdi temetőben* (On broken stone and vanishing cross. Disappearing past and painful present in the Házsongárd Cemetery) (Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Stúdium, 2009). and the website of the Házsongárd Foundation, http://www.hazsongardalapitvany.ro/hazsongard-bibliografia (accessed July 30, 2014). Arguing for the share of the Romanians in the cemetery as their heritage, see e.g. Ionuţ Ţene "Şi eroii români îşi dorm somnul de veci în Cimitirul Central din Cluj-Napoca: Smaranda Brăescu," *NapocaNews*, no. 1 July (2011), http://www.napocanews.ro/2011/07/si-eroii-romani-isi-dorm-somnul-de-veci-in-cimitirul-central-din-cluj-napoca-smaranda-braescu.html (accessed 23 May, 2014). The comments reflect very well the public discussion.

[304] Sándor Kovács published a part of the grave inscriptions recorded by István Nagyajtai Kovács in 1849 surviving in manuscript in the library of the Unitarian College in Cluj (Ms.U1315). See Sándor Kovács, "Unitárius nagyjaink sírjai a házsongárdi temetőben" (The graves of our prominent Unitarian personalities in the Házsongárd Cemetery), *Keresztény Magvető*, no. 2 (1994): 97-105.

[305] Hillel Kohn and Gyula Zsakó, "A kolozsvári házsongárdi temető sírkövei 1700-ig" (Gravestones from the Házsongárd Cemetery in Cluj from before 1700), *Erdélyi Múzeum* 6, no. 5, 6 (1911): 284-303, 331-340; Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*.

[306] Cat. No. 84-103; Cat. No. 127, and Cat. No. 118-120

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collected the ancient stones that did not belong to any grave and exhibited them at a designated part of the cemetery as "memory from the past and display for the future."[307] The first fragments were taken to the lapidary of the museum in 1904, but the bulk of the material was transferred in 1942.[308] and some more between 1950 and 1980.[309] In the meantime, the graveyard was taken over by the state, numerous grave parcels were sold out for new burials, and the old stones that were not collected were broken up and utilized as construction material. A foundation called *Házsongárd Alapítvány* was launched in 1999 with the mission to take care of the cemetery and to conserve the old stones.[310] The graveyard has been protected as a whole since 2004, but this did not solve the problem of the single gravestones, only when almost four hundred were finally put under individual protection in 2012.[311] The *Házsongárd Alapítvány* has renovated several grave monuments and designated certain sites within the graveyard where such pieces are displayed, but, as I noted, old stones tend to turn up also in the still functioning parts of the cemetery.

Discontinuity and continuity of communities has largely influenced the material condition was well as the intellectual and emotional context and treatment of grave markers. Standing up against the loss of old gravestones has belonged to the sphere of ideas that were centered around saving the remains of the Hungarian nation. The cemetery as a site and the memorials were not only influenced by, but also have contributed to the strengthening of national and local identities. In most cases, however, it is not the exact—Hungarian, but in fact,

[307] "emlékül a múltból és mutatványul a jövendőnek" Kohn and Zsakó, "A kolozsvári házsongárdi temető sírkövei," 286.

[308] Thirty-one pieces; see Mihály, "Monumente," 42. They were still there in 1949-50, since they appear in the card catalogue by Géza Entz from 1949-50. See Géza Entz, "Card catalogue," (1949-50). I am truly grateful to Pál Lővei for providing me with his transcription. See also Melinda Mihály, "Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület középkori és kora újkori kőtára" (The medieval and early modern lapidary of the Transylvanian Museum Association), in *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyes let Gyűjteményei* (The collections of the Transylvanian Museum Association), ed. Gábor Sipos (Cluj-Napoca: Societatea Muzeului Ardelean, 2009), 145; Terézia Kerny knows about twenty-one pieces, see Kerny, "A kolozsvári múzeum középkori kőtára," 81; Mihály, "Monumente," 50-51, 54. She referred to a letter by Lajos Kelemen to János Herepei from 1955, according to which Kelemen remembered a decade later that in 1942 or 1943, twenty-five gravestones were taken to the museum from the cemetery. The letter was published by Péter Sas, "Kelemen Lajos levelei Herepei Jánoshoz" (Letters by Lajos Kelemen to János Herepei), *Nyelv- és Irodalomtudományi Közlemények* 27 (1993): 172.

[309] Kerny, "A kolozsvári múzeum középkori kőtára," 83; Mihály, "Monumente," 59. In 2013, Melinda Mihály catalogued thirty-one tomb monuments from the Central or Házsongárd Cemetery now in the museum collection from before 1900; see ibid., 119. The ensemble is unfortunately not open for the visitors of the museum, most of the memorials are found in the basement storage rooms under renovation at the moment. The contrast between the intense interest in the cemetery and the unavailability and neglect of the stones in the museum is striking, and raises questions about the role of grave markers in the cemeteries as places of memory and as mental constructs. This issue would, however, lead too far from the topic of this research. I thank Melinda Mihály here as well for helping me in getting access to the objects and for sharing with me her catalogue compiled as her PhD dissertation.

[310] For their website, see http://www.hazsongardalapitvany.ro/ (accessed April 3, 2017).

[311] For the initiative of the *Házsongárd Alapítvány* and the *Kelemen Lajos Műemlékvédelmi Társaság* (Kelemen Lajos Monument Protection Society).

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often German—ethnicity of the subject that matters, but the general context. The seventeenth-century history of Cluj is an essential part of Hungarian cultural memory, even if the German element of the population also played a significant role that time. The confessional motive can also be captured: some of the publications on the gravestones belong to a transitional area between the local intellectual and religious life,[312] and denominational connections have also influenced the physical treatment of the monuments. As an example, the gravestone of the Unitarian preacher, András Lachovius was moved from the cemetery to the Unitarian church in 1924, and thus saved, in contrast with several other stones (Cat. No. 127).

The Calvinist cemetery in Târgu Mureș

The old gravestones from the Calvinist cemetery in Târgu Mureș seem to have mattered from the point of view of a different type of communal identity than those in Cluj. The town had a Hungarian majority even twenty years ago, and their share is still close to fifty percent. The Hungarian population has been dominantly Calvinist since the principality period, and the public cemetery established in the first quarter of the seventeenth century was soon taken under the care of the Calvinist church. Burials of the townspeople take place in distinct graveyards on denominational basis even today, and the inherited confessional identity of the family is the decisive factor when choosing the burial site even for non-religious people. This cemetery is still used exclusively by Calvinist Hungarians—different cases are exceptional –, and the gravestones are taken care of by this community even if there are no living family members to pay for the grave parcel anymore.[313] Consequently, unlike in Cluj, the cemetery and the memorials are not surrounded by debates over ownership. The community takes care of the survival of the old memorials valuable from the point of view of their past and identity, nine of which date from the seventeenth century.[314] They have been displayed around the mortuary of the cemetery also dated to the late seventeenth century, where they were collected probably in the second half of the nineteenth century (Figure 90, Figure 91).[315] Similarly to the graveyard

[312] Dezső Szabó, "Unitárius sírok a kolozsvári házsongárdi temetőben" (Unitarian graves in the Házsongárd/Central Cemetery in Cluj), *Keresztény Magvető*, no. 3-4 (1973): 190-202; Kovács, "Unitárius nagyjaink sírjai a házsongárdi temetőben."; Vilmos Tóth, "Unitárius felekezeti pantheonizáció a kolozsvári Házsongárdi temetőben," (The process of creating a Unitarian pantheon in the Házsongárd Cemetery in Cluj) *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* 3, no. 1 (2002), http://www.uni-miskolc.hu/~egyhtort/cikkek/tothvili.htm (accessed March 14, 2017).

[313] I thank for the information to Koppány Bulcsú Ötvös.

[314] Cat. No. 296-304. See Lajos Kelemen, "A marosvásárhelyi református temető legrégibb sírkövei" (The oldest gravestones in the Calvinist cemetery in Târgu Mureș), *Erdélyi Múzeum* 26, no. 2 (1909): 154.

[315] Balázs Orbán described the mortuary but did not mention the old gravestones around. Orbán, *Székelyföld* http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/169.html (accessed July 30, 2014). Lajos Kelemen, on the other hand, recorded them at the present place already in the early 20th century. Kelemen, "A marosvásárhelyi református

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in Cluj, this cemetery and the old gravestones are also the objective of many Hungarian visitors from Transylvania and Hungary.

* * *

As the biography of the funeral monuments at various sites ranging from Saxon fortified churches to village churchyards show, the historical dynamics of the local and broader communities have largely determined the survival or loss as well as the state of conservation of the tomb monuments. However, the essential difference between the various site types must also be kept in mind. Funeral monuments are much more protected inside church buildings, while graveyards have their own formation processes. Funeral monuments in churches have generally attracted more scholarly attention, since they have been considered as sculpture.[316] The biography of stone memorials in the Saxon Lutheran churches confirm this observation. The scholarly and public discourse of grave markers from the cemetery in Cluj shows, however, that agendas related to various levels of communal identities can largely influence the scholarly perception of the memorials, and these are tightly interrelated with their material histories too; the present analysis is certainly no exception from this process.

2.2. A collective overview of the stone memorials

2.2.1. Number and representativeness

I presented only a selection of the sites in the first half of this chapter, to point at the different types and the main characteristics that determined the image of the source material. From the 314 funeral monuments included in the analysis, I could visit 243 pieces located at sixty sites. In case of the remaining seventy-one items that I included into the dataset, I have a reliable information about the existence of the objects and their present place of preservation.[317] I did not include, however, approximately twenty additional gravestones about which I found some data but I did not have the chance to confirm their present existence yet. This would be, however, essential before including them into the catalog, since I found that many pieces known

temető legrégibb sírkövei," 154. The tombstone of Tamás Borsos, chief judge of Târgu Mureș in the seventeenth century, was completely re-carved in the late nineteenth century (Cat. No. 304). See ibid., 157.

316 Sarah Tarlow wrote about her similar experience in the Orkneys. See Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration: An Archaeology of Mortality*, 14, 16.

317 These also include tomb monuments located at sites that I visited even more than once with the intention of documenting them, but I could not have access to the objects, such as in Deva, where the parish priest was away both times I went there, or in Sibiu where, after I had covered about half of the monuments, the church was closed down for renovation. In both cases, however, the funeral monuments have already been thoroughly surveyed and published, see Emese Sarkadi Nagy, "Adatok az eltűnt dévai templom történetéhez" (Data on the history of the disappeared church in Deva), in *Építészet a középkori Dél–Magyarországon. Tanulmányok* (Architecture in the medieval Southern Hungary. Studies), ed. Tibor Kollár (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2010), 935-965; Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*.

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from earlier secondary literature had been lost by the time I visited the given site. It cannot be excluded either that there are more surviving tomb monuments from the sixteenth-seventeenth century about which I do not know yet, though I doubt that this number would be significant. To sum up, this work is not based on the hundred percent of the surviving objects, but I could survey the overwhelming majority.

The original number of the tomb monuments set up in the principality period is difficult to judge for reasons mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Their destruction started already in the time of the principality, by various plundering military forces, as it happened in Alba Iulia. In this case, the destruction was continuous and parallel with the installation of new memorials. In Sibiu, based on the reconstruction of the late seventeenth-century situation by Ioan Albu, 58% of the entire ensemble has survived.[318] However, this well-documented case cannot serve as the basis of calculations for the entire Transylvanian Principality, partly because one cannot exclude a certain level of loss even before the late seventeenth-century, and partly because of the different conditions characterizing each site. Sibiu was for sure a special case in many respect, as it will appear also in the following chapters. The level of decay was especially high in graveyards due to the environmental conditions.

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century written sources do not prove very helpful in calculating the frequency and number of funeral monuments. Testators rarely expressed their wishes about their funeral monuments in their last wills, they seem to have been more concerned with the place of the burial. This, however, does not mean that none of the rest had a funeral monument, since there are cases when both the testament and the stone memorial of the same person have survived, though the latter was not mentioned in the last will.[319] Due to these uncertainties, I cannot even guess at this point the original number of funeral monuments set up in the principality. However, the analysis in the following chapters will produce some results that will help to estimate how widespread this form of commemoration was among certain social groups, which will lead closer to an answer for the question concerning the overall number and the representativeness of the surviving ensemble as well.

The possibilities to compare the number of the preserved stone memorials with that from the preceding period and from other geographical regions are also limited due to a general lack of such comprehensive surveys. Pál Lővei collected about one and a half thousand medieval

[318] Albu, "Eine „Gräbervisitation" in Hermannstadt (1692) / Un „conspectus sepulchrorum" din 1692 la Sibiu."; Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*.
[319] E.g. Kelemen Mikes: Cat. No. 295 and Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol.1. Hadviselő székelyek végrendeletei. Háromszék*, 34-36. Tamás Borsos: Cat. No. 304 and József Koncz, "Borsos Tamás végrendelete" (Last will of Tamás Borsos), *Erdélyi Múzeum* 16, no. 5 (1899): 316-320.

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monuments from the territory of the entire Kingdom of Hungary, from before 1541 (plus approximately 700 "roughly carved" gravestones from about thirty cemeteries now in Slovakia).[320] Though the proportion of the monuments from Transylvania within the medieval Kingdom of Hungary is not specified in the work of Pál Lővei,[321] those that survived from the time of the principality appear to outnumber it, especially if considering that in this case, the chronological framework is shorter, only 150 years versus the 500 years calculated for the Middle Ages in the region. Medieval funeral monuments were, however, equally influenced by the events and factors that contributed to the loss of the early modern ones, and they were also replaced even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries due to the limited extent of burial space.

As far as the contemporary situation is concerned, there are not too many similar calculations from early modern Europe. The estimated number of Post-Reformation funeral monuments in England is 4000, and this is weighed to be the 75% of the original.[322] This is probably a much larger rate of survival—and of production too—than the one to calculate with in Transylvania. Europe, in general, was characterized by an increase in the number of sepulchral monuments in the period, but, as for example a case study about Gotland in Scandinavia showed, the actual political and economic situation largely influenced the trends.[323]

2.2.2. Geographical distribution and representativeness

Present-day Transylvania consists of sixteen counties, but the south-western part of its territory did not belong to the principality in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was under Ottoman-Turkish occupation. The sepulchral monuments in the database were collected from eleven modern counties, and three counties appear to be empty on the map from among those that belonged to the principality (Map 3) In this respect, the distribution seems to be uneven. This can partly be due to the coverage of the fieldwork, but much more to the uneven distribution of the material, since I organized the fieldwork based on the information previously collected from primary and secondary written sources on the occurrence of tomb monuments in the different regions.

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[320] Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 24, 37.
[321] No more than a few dozen, according to his kind oral communication.
[322] Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, 6-7.
[323] Jörn Staecker, "Die Reformation auf Gotland - Innovation und Tradition im Kirchenraum" in *Arch ologie der Reformation: Studien zu den Auswirkungen des Konfessionswechsels auf die materielle Kultur*, ed. Carola Jäggi and Jörn Staecker, Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 74-75, 92, diagram 76.

The example of today's Covasna and Harghita counties demonstrates the former assumption. I visited large segments of these two counties from settlement to settlement in the framework of a cultural heritage inventorying project[324] and the number of funeral monuments indeed proved to be low there. The largest concentration of the objects can be observed in Sibiu, Mureş, Braşov, and Alba counties—the two first were the core of the former *Königsboden* and *Burzenland*, the privileged lands of the Saxon, complemented with the southern corner of the present Mureş County with Sighişoara and the eastern stripe of Alba County. As presented in the first half of the chapter, here funeral monuments are housed in the fortified Lutheran churches of the Saxon, and some of the urban centers—Sibiu, Braşov, Sighişoara, Mediaş—are characterized by an especially high number of stone memorials. The Székely area is covered today by Harghita, Covasna and Mureş counties, and, as mentioned above, the share of the former two in the material is very small. The rest of Mureş, Alba, Cluj, and the southern part of Bistrița-Năsăud County were covered by the former Transylvanian noble counties. Here, on the one hand, a significant number of funeral monuments survived in the centers belonging to an administrative structure separate from the counties: Târgu Mureş was a market town of the Székely, Cluj, and Alba Iulia, the seat of the Prince. On the other hand, several memorials are scattered in small village churches on the former noble estates. Relatively few objects are included from Sălaj and Bihor counties as well that cover the area of the former Partium—here I still expect to find some more, since about the third of the tomb monuments I know about but I was not able to visit by now are located in this region.

The fieldwork covered the major centers and a significant part of the net of small villages too, and the historical regions determined by distinct social structures: the noble counties, the Saxon as well as the Székely Land. Except for the area of Sălaj and Bihor counties, the results reflect the actual density of the surviving material and can be considered as representative, even if a few further memorials might turn up later. This, however, will not change significantly the level of representativeness, especially considering that the surviving ensemble is presumably only a fragment of the number of memorials that was once set up in the Principality. Based on the available—limited—information on the original location of funeral monuments, the 314 pieces were situated at seventy-five sites on sixty-six settlements.

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[324] See "Az épített örökség inventarizációja Erdély magyarok lakta településein," (Inventorying the built heritage in the settlements inhabited by Hungarians in Transylvania) Entz Géza Alapítvány, Teleki László Alapítvány, http://www.ega.ro/Prog_Inventari.htm (accessed September 9, 2014).

2.2.3. Dating and chronological distribution of the funeral monuments

Methods and problems

It is an essential first step towards a chronological overview of the funeral monuments to clarify the dating of the specific pieces. It sounds to be a relatively easy task, as by the sixteenth century, it had long been a general practice to mark the date of the death on the memorials,[325] and sometimes also the date when the stone was created; the latter is the optimal type of information is from the point of view of establishing a chronology.

Seven monuments display specifically the date of the installation without marking the date of the death.[326] In six cases, both the date of the death and that of the creation were marked, and these indicate that there could be a considerable difference between the two. The Lutheran bishop Christian Barth had his own funeral monument made in 1649, three years before his death. Kata Kornis died in 1637, but her daughter had her monument created only in 1641. Six years were the difference between György Lázár's date of death and the installation of his ledger in Fântânele. Domenicus Rosenauer died in 1612, and his son ordered a stone monument for him only in 1636. Sixteen years passed between the two events in the case of the ledger of Andreas Literatus, and six in that of Blasius Rhau, both in Sibiu.[327]

The date of death is there on the overwhelming majority of memorials from the time of the Transylvanian Principality, on 243 of the 314 pieces.[328] The examples above demonstrate, however, that the date of death indicated in the inscription cannot automatically be accepted as the dating of the funeral monument.[329] It is a question though whether these data mark special cases—this is why the dates were indicated—or they reflect the average; so it hard to judge in what extent the date of death can be used for dating the tomb monument in individual cases. The image is further complicated by those cases where they only gave the year without specifying whether it refers to the date of death or the time when the stone memorial was created.

One can turn to relevant written sources to find the answer, but these are, unfortunately, extremely rare and primarily connected to the highest-ranking subjects. Prince Gábor Bethlen died in 1629, and the structure commemorating him together with his wife Zsuzsanna Károlyi who passed away in 1622, was created in 1632–34 based on the related correspondence and

[325] Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 49-62.
[326] Cat. No. 21, 144, 282, 248, 264, 293, and 294
[327] Cat. No. 27, 135, 144, 212, 221, and 239.
[328] In addition, maybe on fifty-five more where the inscription is too fragmentary to decide.
[329] On the problem, see Layla Renshaw and Natasha Powers, "The Archaeology of Post-Medieval Death and Burial," *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 50, no. 1 (2016): 160.

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contracts.[330] Prince György Rákóczi I passed away in 1648, his memorial was ordered in 1649, and finalized by 1652. His son, Zsigmond Rákóczi died in 1652, and it took further three years to produce his memorial, by 1655.[331] The church register in Sighişoara attest that the two Roth children died in 1610 and 1611, but their ledger was set up only in 1617.[332] These examples testify about the same phenomenon: several years could pass after the death of a person until he or she was commemorated in stone. As the inscription on the portrait monument of Saxon bishop Christian Barth shows, subjects could have their own memorials prepared still in their lifetime (Cat. No. 27). The questions, thus, remain the same: were these exceptions or the average? In what extent can the date of death serve to establish a chronology of the funeral monuments, and what other sources and methods are at disposal?

Funeral monuments themselves serve as a contextual source for dating through their forms. A comparative analysis reveals, for example, that the ledger of Johann Roth, the mayor of Sibiu who died in 1556, can be dated to the years between 1612 and 1620, since it fits into a series in Mediaș and in Sighișoara.[333] Consequently, the funeral monument was set up about sixty years after the mayor's death, exactly in the years when his former office was held by a descendant also called Johann Roth. It is reasonable to suppose that he was the patron of the memorial.[334]

On one of the nine plaques from the city wall of Cluj bears the date 1554 (Cat. No. 81). Scholarship has agreed on the dating of most of the inscriptions to the decades after the foundation of the cemetery in 1573,[335] so this piece seems to be twenty years older than the rest. The first problem comes with the death date of the subject, who is the widow of János Keretszegi. He was, however, still alive in 1557, so his wife could not be his widow in 1554.[336]

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[330] József Herzog, "Újabb adatok Bethlen Gábor és Károlyi Zsuzsanna síremlékéről" (New data on the funeral monument of Gábor Bethlen and Zsuzsanna Károlyi), *Századok* 55-56 (1921-22): 539-555.
[331] Cat. No. 17; Détshy, "A gyulafehérvári Rákóczi-síremlékek."
[332] Cat. No. 282. See Melzer, "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg," 103-104.
[333] Cat. No. 250; Cat. No. 167, 168; Cat. No. 282, 283. Albu erroneously dated it to the mid-sixteenth century. Based on the correct dating, this is not the first appearance of the angels and cherubim heads as Albu wrote. Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 49-50, Cat. No. 45, fig. 20. For a detailed analysis, see also *Chapter 3*, 164.
[334] On this second Johann Roth and their relation, see ibid., 132-133.
[335] Nagyajtai first presented a memorial from 1514 as the earliest one, but later scholarship agreed that the dating should rather be modified to 1574 (Cat. No 125). Nagyajtai Kovács, "Vándorlások," 68; Jolán Balogh, *Pákei Lajos rajzai Kolozsvár emlékeiről* (Drawings by Lajos Pákei about the monuments in Cluj), Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek 186 (Kolozsvár [Cluj]: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1944), fig. V/5; 298; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 193-194; Lőwy, Demeter V., and Asztalos, *Kőbe írt Kolozsvár*, 48, fig. 15/c. Nagyajtai dated the inscription commemorating Jakab Fazekas Szakmári, that was lost since then, to 1482, though he admitted that the second digit is not clearly legible. Nagyajtai Kovács, "Kolozsvári régiségek." Later scholarship has been suspicious about this dating too, and tended towards a modification to 1582, though Melinda Mihály accepted 1482 as the dating. Mihály, "Monumente," 126.
[336] See Ágnes Flóra, "The Matter of Honour. The Leading Urban Elite in Sixteenth Century Cluj and Sibiu" PhD Thesis (Central European Universty, Budapest, 2014), 379.

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The fact that the text was written in Hungarian, suggests that it was not made earlier than 1570. Taking aside the plaque dated to 1554, the ones from 1574 are the earliest Hungarian commemorative inscriptions in all Transylvania.[337] The form and script type of the plaque does not distinguish it either from the rest. All this evidence together suggests that the date 1554 on the plaque resulted from a mistake of the carver, and probably it was also made in 1574. This kind of contextual analysis is a method to date also those funeral monuments where the inscription does not contain any chronological reference.

Several funeral monuments commemorated more than one person by listing their names and even their dates of death. A similar series of names could, however, result from different processes. One possible version was when previously departed relatives appeared on the tomb monument set up on the occasion of a later death. As an example, the grandfather, Christoph Ofner was commemorated seventy years after his death on the tombstone of Christoph Greising in the Lutheran church in Sibiu (Cat. No. 262). It is not always the latest date of death, however, that marks the time when the memorial was created, the circle of subjects could also be broadened on the stone after it had already been set up. The analysis of the script can also help here: whether it is uniform or it was created at more than one occasion, though it is not always possible to decide unambiguously which is the case. For example, in Braşov, some of the ledgers display lists of several names. In some cases, there is only a few years' difference between the dates indicated with the names, but the script is different, while sometimes they appear to have been incised at the same time.[338]

All these problems and possible explanations must be taken into consideration when establishing a chronology of the funeral monuments. The situation is clear when there is any information on the exact time of the creation of the object. In the rest of the cases—the overwhelming majority –, I accepted the date of the death as the dating if there were no contradicting data after a careful confrontation of the specific monument with the context. Though due to this method, exact years appear in the chronology, the value of the information is not equal in each case. The practical relevance of this problem emerges in the analysis of the appearance and chronological distribution of types, forms, elements. As, however, the set of objects used as sources does not cover the entire output of the sometime funeral monument production, the validity of the patterns would be limited even if the dates were precise. It is simply not a relevant question whether a certain type or motif was introduced in a given year,

[337] The only additional inscription in Hungarian belongs to a stone coat of arms, probably a construction memorial from the Dumbrăveni castle and was created in 1567. See Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 245.
[338] For the first case, see e.g. Cat. No. 47, 49, and for the second, Cat. No. 44, 54.

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since the earlier examples could easily be lost. The reasonable aim is to eliminate significant mistakes that would lead to major misinterpretations. As the case studies from Sibiu, Cluj, and Braşov testify, the confrontation with the context is helpful in this respect, since it helps to highlight the problematic cases.

Chronological patterns

The earliest tomb monument included in the database dates from 1542 (in this case the year marks the death of the subject in the inscription), commemorating the last Catholic bishop residing in Transylvania, Johannes Statileo (Cat. No. 16).[339] The rough chronological distribution of the surviving monuments appears to be relatively even within the period between 1541 and 1700 with some decrease in the last fifty years: 104 date from the period before 1600, 130 from the period between 1600 and 1650, and sixty-nine from the second half of the seventeenth century. This corresponds to the trend in Habsburg Hungary where the number of stone memorials also decreased in the second half of the seventeenth century.[340]

273 pieces can be dated with the precision of a decade. As Chart 2.1 shows, the number of funeral monuments displays a sudden increase in the 1570s-1580s and in the 1630s-1640s.

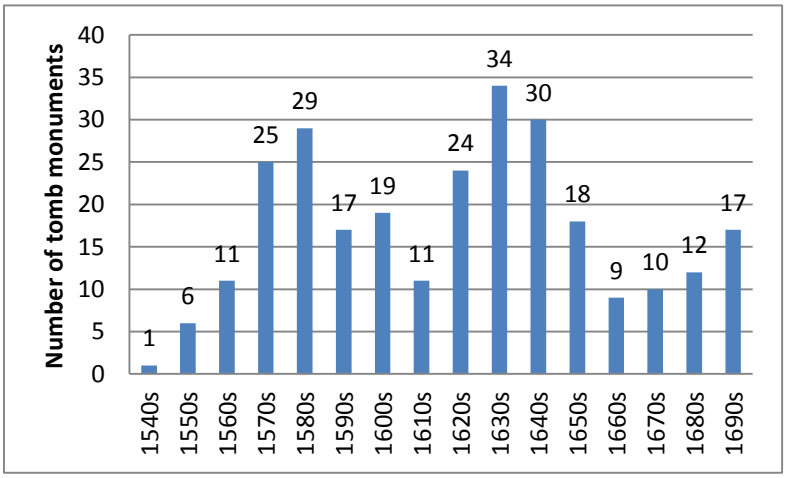

Chart 2.1. Chronological distribution of funeral monuments in Transylvania

The explanation for this phenomenon can be searched for in various directions. In the case of the first boom, there is a remarkable correspondence with the appearance of a new type of burial site: as briefly mentioned in the first half of the chapter and will be discussed in more details in

[339] When Transylvania was taken over by Ferdinand of Habsburg for a short time, in 1553 Pál Bornemissza was appointed as the Bishop of Transylvania, but he had to leave the country in 1556.
[340] Mikó, "Késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékek," 649. Seven pieces cannot be dated more precisely within the chronological scope of this research, though it can be stated that they belong there.

Chapter 4 and *5*, a public cemetery was opened in Cluj in the 1570s between the city walls, and another, larger one—the Central or *Házsongárd* Cemetery—in 1585, outside the city. However, only six of the fifty-four tomb monuments from these two decades survived from these new public cemeteries, plus two more among those that have been recorded but lost by now.[341] A graph showing the temporal distribution of the funeral monuments from Cluj does reflect the change marked by the opening of the public cemeteries, since this is the time when stone memorials from here appear in the material (Chart 2.2). Comparing it with Sibiu, another site where a large series of memorials were preserved, a sudden increase is observable in the 1570s there as well (Chart 2.3).

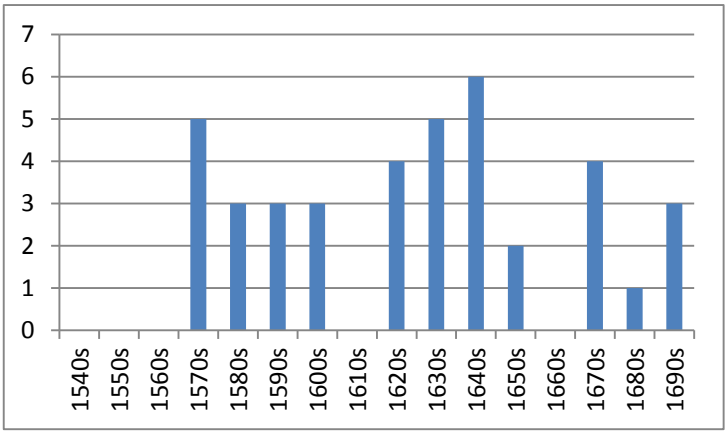

Chart 2.2. Chronological distribution of funeral monuments from Cluj

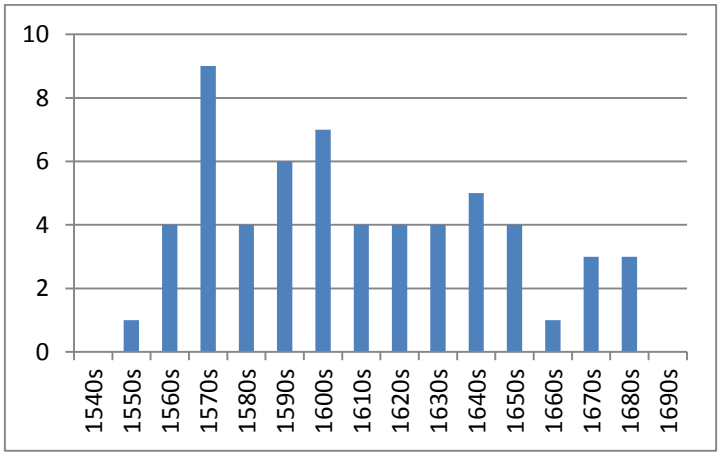

Chart 2.3. Chronological distribution of funeral monuments from Sibiu

Concerning the second peak on Chart 2.1, ten of the total fifty-four memorials from the 1630-40s originate from the Cluj public cemetery. Calculating with all the known but lost gravestones

[341] Kohn and Zsakó, "A kolozsvári házsongárdi temető sírkövei," 289; Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 36-43.

from there, more than one third were set up in these two decades. This was clearly a boom here; at the same time, the tendencies did not result from a change in the practice of burial in Cluj, but they are valid for all Transylvania as displayed on Chart 2.4 with the data excluding Cluj.

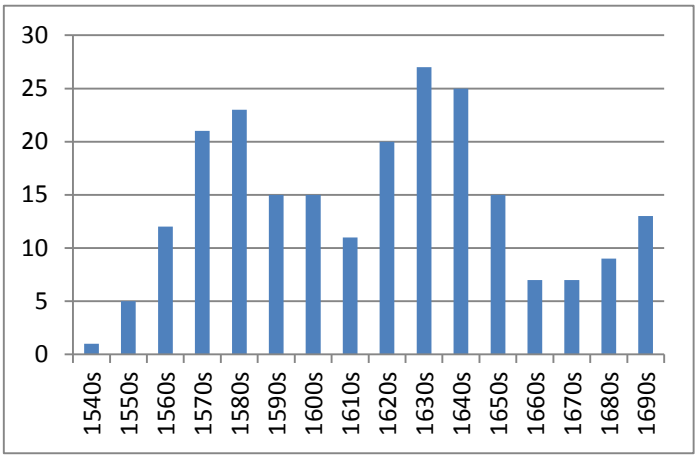

Chart 2.4. Chronological distribution of funeral monuments without Cluj.

Sources on the opening of the new graveyards in Cluj explain it with the lack of free burial place due to the plague, and hygienic considerations.[342] Is it true that more people died in these periods? It is not that simple to give an answer, since there are no data on the level of mortality in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Transylvania. The above-mentioned accounts from Cluj suggest that the plague was an important factor in this respect, which reached Transylvania in nearly every decade (Figure 92, Figure 93).[343] No information has, however, survived on the number of victims and on the intensity of the particular waves of epidemics from before the mid-eighteenth century, only sporadic local data shed light on the tendencies.[344] There are no numeric data from this period on the number of victims of other factors generally considered in demographic calculations either, such as famine and war, so changes in mortality rate cannot be identified with decades' precision. The circle is closed here, since the only information

[342] Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 20, 196-197; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 196; Elek Jakab, *Kolozsvár története. Második kötet oklevéltárral. Újabb kor. Nemzeti fejedelmi korszak (1540-1690)* (History of Cluj. Second volume with archival documents. Modern Age. The period of the national princes, 1540-1690) (Budapest: Szabad kir. Kolozsvár város közönsége, 1888), 222-223.

[343] Tamás Faragó, "Adatok a pestisjárványok magyarországi történetéhez. A máramarosi példa" (Data on the Hungarian history of the plague. The example of Maramureş), *Korall* 30 (2007): 19-60. Chronicles of the Saxon testify on great epidemics in Sibiu in 1554, 1574, 1577, 1604, 1636 and 1660. See Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, xvii-xviii.

[344] Péter Őri, "A pestisjárványok demográfiai következményei a 17-18. századi Magyarországon" (Demographic consequences of the plague in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Hungary), in *Történeti demográfiai évkönyv 2005* (Annual of historical demography 2005), ed. Tamás Faragó and Péter Őri (Budapest: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 2006), especially 121-127.

comes from the opening of new cemeteries in Cluj related to a zenith of the plague in these decades.[345]

The number of funeral monuments, especially of the surviving ones, cannot be explained exclusively with the death rate, even if there were related data at disposal. It is connected to the attitudes towards the stone memorials in the past five centuries in various social, religious, and spatial contexts, as it turned out from the first half of this chapter and the previous one. It can also reflect contemporary, that is, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century changes in the attitude towards commemoration, as well as an increase in the supply due to changes in the structure of funeral monument production. These two sides are interrelated, and the following chapters will investigate certain aspects of these.

2.2.4. Types, forms and typological systems

The presentation and analysis of funeral monuments from Transylvania and the contemporary Kingdom of Hungary are, in general, based on a typological approach even if the aim is to examine them in their use in various social contexts: they describe the memorials by classifying them into certain categories, and, based on that, identify which social layers used which types. Though this approach is useful to provide a broad overview of the material as a first step, it cannot reveal and explain the variations, deviations from the basic types. In *Chapter 4*, I will turn the method around, and start from the social groups to see what kind of memorials they chose. However, even in this case, it is necessary to find a way to describe the funeral monuments. In this section, I will search for some meaningful categories of funeral monuments preserved from the Transylvanian Principality using their original spatial context as a starting point. I will examine what types previous scholarship established when presenting stone memorials there and in the broader geographical region, and if these are suitable to classify all Transylvanian funeral monuments acknowledging as many similarities as well as differences as possible. Here, however, I will only focus on defining the typology, and I will not examine, for example, which layers used which type and why certain types were more popular than the others; these questions will be raised in *Chapter 4* and *5*.

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[345] Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 23, 196-197.

2.2.4.1. Stone memorials in churches

Ledger stones and the problems of a possible typology

Most of the preserved tomb monuments are simple ledgers: 218 of the 314 pieces. All ledgers are rectangular with only one trapezoid exception, from the Hospital Church in Sibiu (Cat. 207). Based on the surviving examples, it seems that trapezoid ledgers were not widespread in medieval Hungary either.[346] Two ledgers in Sibiu represent another variation of rectangular ledgers, where the upper two corners were diagonally cut (Cat. No. 234 and 239).[347]

Ledgers were either decorated with the portrait of the deceased or with his or her heraldic device, that is, a coat of arms signaling noble status or a symbolic motif in a similar form referring to the subject in some respect.[348] Thirty-seven ledgers display a life-size portrait either in a full-figure or a half-figure form. In the latter case, the lower part of the slab is occupied by an inscription panel or heraldic representation, and both of these appeared on full-figure monuments as well. Most of the figural ledgers are situated in the former area of the Saxon seats. The remaining three are the tomb monument of Bishop Johannes Statileo in the cathedral in Alba Iulia, that of Krisztina Harinnai in the Franciscan church in Călugăreni, and a fragmentary piece in Sălard (Cat. No. 16, 68, and 183).

A figure referring to the commemorated person appears on further six ledgers in a smaller scale (Cat. No. 21, 224, 244, 275, 280, 282, 313). Except for a small reclining figure on the upper part of the surface in two cases (Cat. No. 21, 275), the representation is not of a single person but it is a "group portrait" of family members: either a row of kneeling relatives or the combination of two small images. A group portrait of the kneeling children accompanies the life-size portrait of Barbara Theilesius too (Cat. No. 165). One ledger displays a life-size double portrait: the memorial of Andreas Amend and his wife, Catharina in Bistrița (Cat. No. 38). Narrative scenes are almost absent in Transylvania; only two, almost identical ledgers belong to this iconographic type, both in Sibiu, and both depicting the Resurrection of Christ (Cat. No. 222 and 263).

The absolutely most popular type of stone memorials in the principality period was the heraldic ledger: 141 display a combination of the shield with real or symbolic heraldry and an inscription panel. The shield is on the upper part in most of the cases, and the text occupies the lower half in a simple or ornamented frame. The most frequent place for text is the frame of the

[346] Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 401.
[347] In the case of the ledger for Kata Kornis, the upper corners were probably cut down in the nineteenth century, when it was used as a headstone (Cat. No. 135).
[348] Symbolic heraldry will be discussed in *Chapter* 4 in more details.

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ledger, both on the figural and the heraldic types. The border inscription was often combined with inscription panels in the central field of the ledger. This type of ledger with the combination of a shield and an inscription panel was widespread all over Transylvania, and there are some examples with two or three inscription fields too.[349] Sometimes the text was not written on a separate inscription panel but in the central field of the ledger, without any frame.[350] Additional inscriptions were placed within the images, on the frame of the shield, or on scrolls as well.[351] Twenty-five ledgers bear only inscription without any image, most of them located in and nearby Braşov.[352]

Up to this point, I described the funeral monuments along two categories: their type was defined as ledger, and, in addition to that, they belong to various iconographic groups. There are other types too in Transylvania, such as tomb chests, wall monuments, and different versions of grave markers in cemeteries which will be discussed below. Concerning their iconography, all these can bear a portrait image, some other kind of figural representation, heraldic images, inscriptions, and the combinations of these.[353] Stephanie Knöll applied a three-level typology to classify the funeral monuments of professors from Oxford, Leiden and Tübingen displaying an especially broad variety of forms.[354] Though the Transylvanian material is far not that varied, I found it useful to apply Knöll's system, since it reveals differences that are important for the analysis in the context of commemorative practices. Such a useful element is the third variable of Knöll's typology that she called "main class". It refers to the memorial's spatial position with relation to an architectural structure, in most of the cases to a church. Knöll distinguished freestanding structures, monuments set against the wall but starting from the floor, those placed on the wall, and ledger stones set into the floor. These four "classes" are suitable to present and classify all Transylvanian funeral monuments as well.

A ledger set into the floor and a similar form but built into the wall of the church can potentially fulfil a different function—those in the floor can close down a grave or vault—and they also appear in an essentially different form and are experienced in a different way: people walk *on* the one in the pavement while move and take part in the liturgy *among* those in the wall. The awareness of this difference is reflected by the history of the Transylvanian tomb

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[349] e.g. Cat. No. 4, 34, 46, 63
[350] e.g. Cat. No. 40, 42, 144, 155, 163
[351] e.g. Cat. No. 25, 26, 27, 76, 133, 150, 215, 218
[352] Some of the fragments bear only inscription, but the iconographic type cannot be identified due to the missing parts: Cat. No. 14, 115, 184, 208.
[353] Pál Lővei also emphasized that these two aspects must be handled separately when speaking about types of the medieval monuments, as well as Árpád Mikó in the context of early modern church monuments in Upper Hungary. Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 398; Mikó, "Késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékek," 630.
[354] Knöll, *Creating Academic Communities*, 90-92.

monuments presented in the first part of this chapter: by the trend that mostly in the nineteenth-century, they elevated the monuments and built them into the wall of the churches. Walking on the stones was not acceptable anymore, and almost all of them were set up against the walls, to look at, and also to preserve them from the trampling feet. Because of this new image, but also of the changes in the perception of what type of interaction was acceptable with an—especially portrait—memorial, several of these ledgers have been treated in the scholarly literature as wall monuments or epitaphs, a category to which I will return later in this chapter.[355]

As far as the original position of the ledgers is concerned, there are no sources that would testify it with certainty for any of the ledgers. Most of them are now in the wall of a church, the rest have been taken to museum collections. As it turned out from the presentation of the site histories in the first half of the chapter, many of those—at least about eighty—that are now in the wall, were found in the floor in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[356] In further forty-five cases, some other factor, e.g. the foot-worn surface of the ledger suggests a similar position. Iron rings fixed into the surface of the slab to lift it also testify that it functioned as a crypt or rather a vault cover (Cat. No. 287). To conclude, none of the ledgers can be proved to have been situated originally in the wall—though nothing disproves it either –, and in a considerable number of cases, the data point at the direction that they can be classified as ledgers set into the floor of the churches.[357] In the case of four slabs, the decoration as well suggests such a position: the overall form is more oblong than usual, and the shield in one end of the stone is turned "vertically" along to the longitudinal axis, while the text occupying the rest of the panel was arranged "horizontally", turned in 90 degrees (Cat. No. 69, 73, 79, 105). This makes sense only if the ledger can be walked around, since there is no position in the wall in which it would look correct.

The epitaph problem[358]

Two stone memorials now in the wall stand out from among the rest of the ledgers, mostly because they correspond to a distinct and characteristic iconographic type known from a

[355] E.g. by Éber, "Erdélyi szobrászati emlékek," 175.
[356] Further examples are the ledger of György Nápolyi from Cluj-Mănăștur (Cat. No. 65) and two ledgers from the Keserű family in Vingard (Cat. No. 311 and 312). See János Eszterházy, "A kolozsmonostori apátság és egyházi maradványainak leírása" (Description of the abbey and church in Cluj-Mănăștur), *Archaeologiai Közlemények* (1868): 107; Halaváts, "Úti jegyzetek," 211.
[357] Pál Lővei found vertically placed gravestones very rare in medieval Hungary. He could find some Jewish gravestones, and two examples from the region north from the Balaton, but all these examples were surely from cemeteries and not from churches. Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 399.
[358] For a more detailed presentation, see Mérai, "Stones in Floors and Walls: Commemorating the Dead in the Transylvanian Principality," 151-173.

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European context. The memorial of a child, Despina Paleologa (1575) is located high up in the wall of the triumphal arch in the Lutheran church in Alţâna (Cat. No. 21, Figure 94, Figure 95). It displays the swaddled infant among trees and plants with wind-blown, lance-shaped leaves and a commemorative text above, on a field framed with strapwork. The panel measures 105 x 44 cm, so it is relatively small compared to the Transylvanian average, though children's monuments were generally smaller than those of the adults. The second memorial is in Sibiu and commemorated Margaretha Haller born Budai (d. 1566) depicted with her four children, all kneeling in front of the crucified Christ (Cat. No. 225). It is now in the eastern wall of the northern transept of the Lutheran church, also high up on the wall. There is a third plaque that also differs from the rest of the Transylvanian memorials. It is composed of an inscription panel and a shield with the coat of arms framed by a semi-circular arch, and it wasbuilt into the wall above the entrance of the sacristy in the Lutheran church in Sibiu (Cat. No. 230). The death of the subject, Leodegar de Montagnac dates it to the year 1574. A common feature of the three memorials is that they all correspond to certain forms wide-spread in Europe of the object type called epitaph in the literature.

Definitions, forms, and functions

It is difficult to find a clear definition of the genre called epitaph in scholarship, especially if trying to cover the entire period and area characterized by the presence of objects denoted by this term. The practice of placing commemorative objects on the wall of the churches that display inscriptions and often also images existed for at least five centuries, and all these pieces are called epitaphs by scholarship. It is difficult, however, to define the common characteristic holding together this group and those traits that unambiguously distinguish them from funeral monuments. There is a confusion especially in the way scholarship has applied the term for sixteenth and seventeenth century objects. Some tried to give a precise definition at least for a specific geographical context, while in many cases it is applied without any further considerations.

The word, of Greek origins, referred to something that was or took place over or at the grave.[359] In ancient Roman times, it labelled an inscription stating the name and age of the deceased as well as the date of his or her death.[360] In the Late Middle Ages, the word *epitaphium* was applied for panels bearing an inscription and fixed on the wall. These were not associated

[359] ἐπιταφιος, see *The Online Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon. Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (Irvine: University of California, 2011), http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lsj/#eid=1&context=lsj (accessed February 3, 2016).
[360] Kohn, "Zwischen standesgemäßem Repräsentationsbedürfnis und Sorge um das Seelenheil. Die Entwicklung des frühneuzeitlichen Grabdenkmals," 25; Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 49.

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closely with the grave, but evolved from images reminding of a pious donation and were only later equipped with a meaning in a commemorative context. The genre acquired characteristic representational forms from the fourteenth century, first in the German and Dutch territories.[361]

The function of the medieval epitaph defined within the sphere of liturgical memory, was to evoke prayers for the salvation of the soul of the departed.[362] Philip Ariès interpreted the appearance of commemorative inscriptions on church walls within the process of personalizing the burial starting from the thirteenth century, and he saw epitaphs simply as a specific type of funeral monument, but distinct from donation plaques. These latter reminded of the individual, but not the place where his or her body was interred.[363] In the view of Alfred Weckwerth, the difference between epitaph and tomb monument was that the former was not set up to signal the burial place. It invited the faithful for devotional contemplation and to pray for the dead.[364] Other definitions emphasized a distinct role in the liturgical memory related to the domain of personal devotion and turning towards the heavenly sphere for intercession.[365]

As far as the form is concerned, there is no clear definition: epitaphs displayed a text about the deceased, often a portrait (of the living person) combined with a religious image, most popularly with the Crucifix or the Holy Virgin. This definition, however, excludes those commemorative plaques put on the wall independently from the grave that display text with heraldry or only text.[366] Furthermore, this iconography was not exclusive for the epitaph function; portraits and religious scenes appeared on funeral monuments marking the grave as well, together with the same kind of commemorative text that was written on the epitaphs.[367]

Proceeding in time, some elements in these definitions can by no means applied for the early modern epitaphs. According to the new theology of the Reformation, neither the inhabitants of the earthly sphere nor of the heaven could intercede for the dead.[368] The forms

[361] Alfred Weckwerth, "Der Ursprung des Bildepitaphs," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 20 (1957): 150-151; Doreen Zerbe, "Memorialkunst im Wandel. Die Ausbildung eines lutherischen Typus des Grab- und Gedächtnismals im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Arch ologie der Reformation: Studien zu den Auswirkungen des Konfessionswechsels auf die materielle Kultur*, ed. Carola Jäggi and Jörn Staecker, Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 104 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 119-121; Douglas Brine, "Evidence for the Forms and Usage of Early Netherlandish Memorial Paintings," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 71 (2008): 139-168.
[362] Weckwerth, "Der Ursprung des Bildepitaphs."
[363] Ariés, *Western Attitudes toward Death*, 46-50.
[364] Weckwerth, "Der Ursprung des Bildepitaphs," especially 150-151, 173.
[365] As summarized by Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 444.
[366] Kohn, "Zwischen standesgemäßem Repräsentationsbedürfnis und Sorge um das Seelenheil. Die Entwicklung des frühneuzeitlichen Grabdenkmals," 25.
[367] Zerbe, "Memorialkunst im Wandel," 119-121.
[368] See Dóra Mérai, "Funeral Monuments from the Transylvanian Principality in the Face of the Reformation," *New Europe College Yearbook* (2012-2013): 201-237. On the new, Reformation iconography and content of the epitaphs, see Jan Harasimowicz, *Kunst als Glaubensbekenntnis. Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der Reformationszeit*, Studien zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte 359 (Baden-Baden: Verlag Valentin Koerner, 1996).

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were changing as well. Concerning the iconography, scholarship distinguished three main types of early modern epitaphs: those with a devotional, primarily religious image (called *Bildepitaph* in the related literature written mainly in German), those with the portrait or the heraldic device of the deceased (*Personepitaph*), and those centred around a text (*Inschriftenepitaph*). All three types appeared all over Europe in an endless range of variations.[369]

Accordingly, early modern objects named epitaphs display a broad variety of forms, from small inscription plaques to large structures with life-size figures. The term seems to be less problematic concerning the painted wooden epitaphs that resembled an altarpiece in their form. This was the most popular type in certain regions of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[370] In addition to these, various forms of stone epitaphs have also been discussed in the scholarly literature. Based on the broadest definition, every commemorative object made of stone is called an epitaph that was installed against or upon the wall, either starting from the floor or hung higher above.[371] Some of these are, however, categorized as funeral monuments in other art historical works.[372]

A crucial element in the definition of epitaph—in fact the only one valid for the entire period of its existence besides its connection to the wall—is its relation to the grave: they did not mark the grave but were independent from it.[373] The problem with this seemingly clearly distinctive element is that often it is useless when categorizing a specific object, since there is no information on the original position of the memorial (a situation not exclusively characteristic for Transylvania), or the location of the grave. Several forms that appear as an

[369] Kohn, "Zwischen standesgemäßem Repräsentationsbedürfnis und Sorge um das Seelenheil. Die Entwicklung des frühneuzeitlichen Grabdenkmals," 26; Katarzyna Cieślak, *Tod und Gedenken: Danziger Epitaphien vom 15. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Einzelschriften der Historischen Kommission für ost- und westpreußische Landesforschung (Lüneburg: Verl. Nordostdt, 1998), 1-2.

[370] See, e.g., Harasimowicz, *Kunst als Glaubensbekenntnis*; Gurun Anderson, "Der Tod als Statusbekräftigung. Epitaphien und Gräber einer schwedischen Stadtelite 1650-1770," in *Macht und Memoria. Begräbniskultur europäischer Oberschichten in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Mark Hengerer (Cologne: Böhlau, 2005), 47-70.

[371] See the roundtable discussion in Walter Koch, ed. *Epigraphic 1988* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990), 283-314. For an application, see Kohn, "Zwischen standesgemäßem Repräsentationsbedürfnis und Sorge um das Seelenheil. Die Entwicklung des frühneuzeitlichen Grabdenkmals," 25-26.

[372] E.g., the structures standing on the floor in front of the wall and including a life-size image of the deceased that were popular in Austria and Upper Hungary in the second half of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century are called epitaphs according to one classification and funeral monuments in the other. See Mária Aggházy, "Felvidéki XVII. századi főúri síremlékeink stíluseredete" (The stylistic origins of funeral monuments of aristocrats in seventeenth-century Hungary), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 6 (1957): 166-173; Mikó, "Késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékek," 625-660; Kohn, "Zwischen standesgemäßem Repräsentationsbedürfnis und Sorge um das Seelenheil. Die Entwicklung des frühneuzeitlichen Grabdenkmals," 29-31. Another example is Stephanie Knöll's analysis of university professors' memorials set on the wall in Oxford, Tübingen and Leiden, which she all calls funeral monuments. Knöll, *Creating Academic Communities*.

[373] Weckwerth, "Der Ursprung des Bildepitaphs," 147-151; Cieślak, *Tod und Gedenken*, 1-2; Kohn, "Zwischen standesgemäßem Repräsentationsbedürfnis und Sorge um das Seelenheil. Die Entwicklung des frühneuzeitlichen Grabdenkmals," 21-26.

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epitaph somewhere in the scholarly literature could easily be fit into the floor as well, and if one of these did not survive in its original location, there is no way to tell how it was originally related to the grave. Memorials starting from the floor and set against or even hung on the wall, could also mark the place of a grave that was right next to the wall, so the functional distinction between a funeral monument and an epitaph is not easy in such cases either.[374]

In Transylvania, as the overview of the collected material shows, the relation of the grave and the memorial shows a broad variety in the actual practice. A tomb monument could cover the grave or vault, as for example, it was clarified during the elevation of the Apafi and Sükösd monuments by "excavations" in the eighteenth and early twentieth century respectively.[375] Some stone memorials were set up within the church but commemorating a deceased whose corpse was placed in the crypt beneath the building.[376] These were also connected to the place of the burial, even if not directly to the individual's grave. Monuments displaying various forms were set up at places entirely different from that of the burial too. It could also happen that the subject never ended up lying under the grave marker erected in his or her lifetime. A modern example is offered by the memorials of those Transylvanian Saxons who left Romania for Germany in the 1980s-90s, but before that, they had already had their names carved on their gravestones in the local cemetery. They never returned afterwards and rest somewhere in Germany (Figure 96). The same may have easily happened in earlier historical periods as well and with funeral monuments set up in churches too.[377]

In Transylvania, it is indeed a general problem concerning sixteenth- and seventeenth-century memorials that many of them survived in a secondary position, and the relation to the interred body cannot be found out unambiguously any more. Excavations rarely prove that they marked the place of the burial, such as the aforementioned Apafi and Sükösd tomb chests or

[374] Renate Kohn pointed out that the inscription of many epitaphs installed in the German territories are themselves "unreliable" in this respect, as their text contains versions of the "hic iacet" formula, which would signal that they were related to the burial or at least considered as being so. Kohn, "Zwischen standesgemäßem Repräsentationsbedürfnis und Sorge um das Seelenheil. Die Entwicklung des frühneuzeitlichen Grabdenkmals," 24, note 14.

[375] Cat. No. 66, 107. Kovács, "Apafi György almakereki sírkápolnájáról," 625-634; Mihály, "Monumente," 42-43, 380-382.

[376] The category of "crypt cover" or "crypt plate" was introduced by researchers too, which is a useful term for a functional description but cannot always be recognized on a purely formal basis if the stone is in a secondary position. For the application of the term, see, e.g. Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 410-414; Kohn, "Zwischen standesgemäßem Repräsentationsbedürfnis und Sorge um das Seelenheil. Die Entwicklung des frühneuzeitlichen Grabdenkmals," 22-23. The distinction and definitions of a brick grave, vault, and a crypt and the different ways to cover them in the Early Modern Period and in various regions is also an important methodological issue but it far overreaches the scope of this work.

[377] A similar phenomenon was experienced in Leicester, where several names on gravestones did not appear in the funerary register. See University of Leicester Graveyards Group, "Frail Memories: Is the Commemorated Population Representative of the Buried Population?" *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 46, no. 1 (2012): 166-195.

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the ledger of Johann Mankesch in Braşov (Cat. No. 45).[378] However, as argued above, not all the memorials belonging to the category of funeral monuments concerning their form (tomb chest, ledgers, etc.) were related to the burial. Consequently, there was a difference in the function of funeral monuments that is not always visible in their form: they might have marked the exact place of the grave, they might have commemorated the subject in the same interior, and they might have stood at an entirely different site, thus bringing there the memory of the dead.

This methodological problem can be solved by adding a fourth layer to Stephanie Knöll's typology: 1) type in the context of the constructed space; 2) form; 3) iconography; and *4) the spatial relation to the burial*. The last one is important to understand how a memorial functioned in the commemoration context. In Transylvania, unfortunately this aspect cannot be determined in most of the cases, which means that the role of the objects in the context of commemoration cannot be fully explored. This is an important information on the validity of the data for any kind of analysis of tomb monuments as functional objects.

Stone memorials connected to the church wall show a broad variety during the Early Modern Period and in different regions of Europe. It is not my intention here to find universal definitions and to answer all the related questions, only to examine to what extent the term "epitaph" is a useful descriptive and analytical category concerning the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century memorials from Transylvania.

The use of the term "epitaph" in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Transylvania

The application of the term *epitaphium* for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century objects seems to be justified by the fact that it was used by their contemporaries as well. It needs further clarification, however, what exactly they meant, and how it relates to the scholarly definition: whether it is useful at all in this respect.

The word *epitaphium* appears in the inscription of several Transylvanian memorials from the period.[379] Though they are not in their original place any more, at least those in Sibiu are known to have been inserted into the floor, so probably marked the grave. Concerning their form, they all appear to be regular funeral monuments: five are ledgers displaying the real or symbolic coat of arms and an inscription panel, and one is the top of a tomb chest with the portrait of the deceased. The only exception is the above mentioned memorial plaque of Margaretha Haller, which is called *epitaphium* in the inscription and it can easily be fitted into

[378] Gross, "Die Gräber in der Kronstadter Stadtpfarrkirche," 140-141.
[379] e.g. Cat. No. 1, 73, 140, 165, 182, 210, 211, 214, 215, 246, and 280.

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a narrower definition of epitaph in the scholarly discourse according to its size, form, (present day) location and image.

The same word on the floor slab of Tobias Sifft appears as the title of the epitaph verse (Cat. No. 215) and it can be interpreted as referring to the inscription in other cases as well among the aforementioned examples. It appears that the term was used to designate an object as well as a piece of funerary poetry in the early modern Transylvania, which is not very surprising in a late Humanistic environment. Contemporary dictionaries, such as those by Ferenc Pápai Páriz and Albert Szenci Molnár define the word as a type of funerary poetry,[380] and the term appears in testaments too, clearly with this meaning, such as in the testament of Tamás Debreczeni from 1645. He ordered that no *epitaphium* should be written on his funerary coats of arms prepared by him in advance, only his name, age, and the date of his death.[381]

"Epitaph forms" Transylvania and forms of memorials called epitaph in the scholarship

Researchers have applied the term "epitaph" for a variety of forms of Transylvanian memorials and in different meanings. Several early modern wooden panels or altarpiece-like structures survived in the Saxon Lutheran churches usually with a lengthy text in an architectural or ornamental frame, and sometimes with images that belong to the type unanimously called epitaph in the European scholarly literature.[382] These—similarly to the stone memorials—have never been collected and studied as a group, most of them are unpublished.[383] In the late seventeenth-century, stucco epitaphs were created right on the wall surface.[384] However, as this work is about stone memorials, I am not going to present these wooden and stucco objects in details, only refer to them where relevant in the analysis.

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[380] Ferenc Pápai Páriz, *Dictionarium Latino-Hungaricum et Hungarico-Latino-Germanicorum* (Budapest: Universitas Könyvkiadó, 1995, based on the 1767 edition), 211; Albert Szenci Molnár, *Dictionarium Latinoungaricum*, Bibliotheca Hungarica Antiqua 25 (Budapest: MTA Irodalomtudományi Intézete, 1990, based on the 1604 edition), EP. See Katalin Granasztóiné Győrffy and Anna Kiss, "Epitáfium," [Epitaph], ed. Péter Kőszeghy and Zsuzsanna Tamás, *A magyar régiség művelődéstörténetének adatbázisa (a kezdetektől a 18. század végéig)* (Budapest: MTA-BTK-ITI, 2013-2016), http://mamul.btk.mta.hu/MAMUL_SZERK/mamul_print.php (accessed 15 October 2017); Szentirmai, *A XVII. századi magyar nyelvű halotti költészet teljeskörű, sokszempontú gépi nyilvántartása* http://magyar-irodalom.elte.hu/gepesk/halal/ (accessed 15 October 2017).

[381] Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3*, 156-163, 263.

[382] Roth, *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik*, 145-159; Kovács, "Képfaragók és dekorátorok," 163-178; Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, Cat. No. 174, 212, 228, 239, 250.

[383] An exception is the epitaphs in Sibiu included as the inscription bearing objects by Ioan Albu, see Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*.

[384] Ibid., 234-237; Zsolt Kovács, "Politikai emblémák a nagyszebeni Haupt-epitáfiumon" (Political emblems on the Haupt epitaph in Sibiu), *Korunk* III.18, no. 4 (2007): 75-81.

A form similar to the wooden epitaphs, but on a smaller scale and carved exclusively from alabaster, is housed in the Brukenthal Museum in Sibiu (Cat. No. 269).[385] It commemorated Margaretha Glockner, wife of Valentin Franck, who died in 1692. The central part of the 71x64 cm structure includes the catafalque portrait of the deceased, two angels holding blazons above, and the upper part displays an image of God the Father with Christ kneeling in front of him on the left and the deceased with her six children on the right. Alabaster carvings as pieces of church furnishing were widespread in Western as well as in Central Europe. These, often ready-made small-scale objects or elements of larger stone or wooden structures, mostly produced by Netherlandish masters, were easy to transport.[386]

As far as memorials made of more solid stone material, Victor Roth made a distinction between epitaphs and tomb monuments, and the only stone memorial he called epitaph was that of Margaretha Haller, though he treated it among the gravestones too.[387] Virgil Vătăşianu labelled all the ledgers in the wall of the Saxon churches as epitaph.[388] In general, however, the term was used for those memorials that, according to their forms, were probably hung on the wall (e.g. they are smaller than the size of an average grave) and displayed certain attributes, such as an inscription in an architectural frame occasionally complemented with some specific kind of image. Accordingly, the memorial of Despina Paleologa was called an epitaph by Gustav Gündisch and Nicolae Sabău.[389] Árpád Mikó defined the memorial of Gabriel Literatus as a stone epitaph, which was previously seen on the wall of the Alba Iulia Cathedral but has been lost by now.[390] It is only known from a photograph by Jolán Balogh, who, however, called it a gravestone (Figure 97).[391]

András Kovács used the term *epitaphium* when he discussed the heraldic ledger that was found in the Calvinist church in Matei in 1982 (Cat. No. 163) together with a slab bearing a dedication inscription in the southern pillar of the triumphal arch.[392] He determined that both referred to Borbála Homonnai, the wife of Ferenc Kendi, the voivode of Transylvania. As he concluded, the original position of the two panels is not possible to reconstruct any more, but

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[385] Inv. no. M 5208/ AD 369. Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 229-231, Cat. no. 260.
[386] Aleksandra Lipińska, "'Ein tafell von Alabaster zu Antorff bestellen': Southern Netherlandish Alabaster Sculpture in Central Europe," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 32, no. 4 (2006): 231-258.
[387] Roth, *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik*, 136-137, 148.
[388] Vătăşianu, *Istoria artelor plastice*, vol. 2, 167.
[389] Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 224; Sabău, "Monumentul funerar transilvan între Renaşterea târzie şi neoclasicism," 29.
[390] Mikó, "Báthory István király," 124.
[391] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 223, 303-304, fig. 288.
[392] The latter seems to have been there already since the nineteenth century. I thank the archaeologist Árpád Tatár for providing me with information on this and on the other tomb monument from Matei.

he suggested that also the ledger was set into the wall as it bears no damage from foot-traffic.[393] This argument is, however, weakened by the fact that many of the ledgers collected here from Transylvania display a completely "fresh" surface, though they were originally set into the floor, since the signs of wear also depend on where the memorial was placed within the church.

Borbála Homonnai was the third wife of Ferenc Kendi, and András Kovács referred to the memorials of the first two spouses of Kendi as analogies which had also been located on the wall. These were found in the Calvinist church in Sântioana in 1818, but both have been lost by now.[394] In fact, there is no information about the original position of these two memorials either, but the term *sub hoc lapide* on one of them suggests more an actual grave marker. Additionally, according to the nineteenth-century description, this one was decorated with a coat of arms displaying a heart pierced with a lance, so the overall impression is rather that of a heraldic ledger. There is no information on the original arrangement of the two stones in Matei either, but the one in the wall now could indeed be an epitaph, in case we understand the term in the meaning of a commemorative panel with inscription placed on the wall of the church, which did not serve to mark the burial, since there was a separate gravestone created for this purpose.

A ledger in Sânpaul bearing only inscription can be cited as an analogy here, since the subject, János Haller had an additional tomb monument too, a ledger displaying his coat of arms and a commemorative inscription (Cat. No. 191 and 193). There is one more example where it can be proved that in addition to a tomb monument, a separate inscription panel was also placed in the same church where the burial took place: the memorial of György Sükösd (Cat. No 107). Now it is housed in the National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj, but originally it was set up in the village church of Tirimia. In its present form in the museum, it has an altar-like form with a tomb chest as the lower part serving as the basis for the sculpted effigy, and an upper part on the wall behind the figure: a plaque bearing an inscription and closed by a tympanum. The Sükösd monument made a career in the twentieth-century historiography as an Italian-type wall monument. Following Jolán Balogh,[395] Mária Aggházy emphasized the difference between the "Italian" structure of this monument and the "German" type tomb chests,

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[393] Kovács, "A szászmátéi református templom 16. századi síremlékéről," 44.
[394] The inscriptions were published though, and they indicated the years 1538 and 1551. See Kádár, *Szolnok-Dobokavármegye*, vol. 7, 70. http://mek.niif.hu/04700/04755/html/potkotet/12.html (accessed July 30, 2014). See also Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 171, 188-189, 291-192.
[395] Balogh, "A reneszánsz építészet és szobrászat Erdélyben," 152; Balogh, *Kolozsvár műemlékei*, 25; Balogh, "A későrenaissance és korabarokk művészet," 560-562; Balogh, "A Korarenaissance. Későrenaissance," 244-245.

and she even derived the form from the fifteenth-century Saint Sabinus tomb in Faenza sculpted by Benedetto da Maiano.[396]

Mid-nineteenth century observers, however, who saw the Sükösd monument still at its original site, described it an essentially different way.[397] The lower part that is basically a tomb chest representing the subject in a full armor suit on the model of medieval chivalric tomb chests, was situated right next to the wall of the church in Tirimia. The inscription plaque with the triangular pediment was fixed higher on the wall (some less than 4 meters from the floor) separate from the tomb chest. Both authors clearly speak about a separate memorial plaque and a tomb chest, and the two are depicted as separate illustrations in Balázs Orbán's work (Figure 98, Figure 99). Both parts were purchased from the Reformed Church of Tirimia in 1904, when the old church building was demolished. When transferring the monument, the museum conducted a small-scale excavation too so as to investigate the objects in the grave, which proved to be there under the tomb chest, right next to the wall of the nave.[398] Consequently, the memorial complex in Tirimia can be described as a tomb chest marking the grave and an inscription panel closed by a tympanum higher above on the wall of the church.

The stone memorials that were carved into the ashlars of the city wall of Cluj, and belonged to people buried in the cemetery between the two lines of the fortification, are simple inscription plaques displaying the name of the deceased and the date of death (Cat. No. 81-83, 121-126). They were situated at a height of 0.6 to 2 meter, but it seems that they were somehow related to the place of the burial.[399] The memorial plaque of Martinus Schinder was found during construction works, and two skeletons were discovered nearby the inscription.[400] Nineteenth century accounts inform about a large number of burials disturbed during the construction works.[401] In Zimbor, a village east from Cluj, Jakab Szilágyi was commemorated in a similar manner on an ashlar of the south-eastern side of the choir of the church (Cat. No. 314). His corpse was supposedly buried there too, next to the wall, though unfortunately there is no available evidence.

[396] Aggházy, *A barokk szobrászat Magyarországon*, 16-17. Árpád Mikó too understood the Sükösd memorial as a simple, local variant of the Polish type wall monument ultimately originating from Italy. Mikó, "Báthory István király," 125.
[397] Lajos Medgyes, "Sükösd Györgyről" (On György Sükösd), *Nemzeti Társalkodó*, no. 1 (1840): 180-181. Orbán, *Székelyföld* http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/155.html (accessed July 30,2014).
[398] Mihály, "Monumente," 380-382. There is a brick in the collection of the museum from the church, from the vault under the Sükösd funeral monument, bearing the date 7 May 1631, see Entz, "Card catalogue."
[399] Nagyajtai Kovács, "Kolozsvári régiségek."; Deák, "Magyar feliratú sírkövek a XVI. századból," 358.
[400] Cat. No. 82. The excavation was carried out in 1910, and the documentation is in the National Museum of Transylvanian History. The bones were not taken to the museum as they were destructed by the workers. See Entz, "Card catalogue."; Mihály, "Monumente," 44.
[401] Nagyajtai Kovács, "Vándorlások," 69-71.

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The tradition of placing the commemorative inscription related to a nearby burial on the ashlar of an already standing structure was known already in the Middle Ages. Pál Lővei cited medieval examples from Italy and the German territories, ranging from the thirteenth to the first half of the sixteenth century. He found a few thirteenth-century examples from Hungary as well,[402] and collected similar inscriptions from the eighteenth century from Jászapáti, incised into the ashlars of the inner side of the churchyard wall.[403] It is an essential difference between these and the examples from Cluj that these were carved on the walls of a church or a monastic building, while the ones in the Cluj city wall were connected to the first public cemetery of the townspeople designated separately from the church.

This overview shows that a simple classification into grave monuments and epitaphs is not really useful as an analytical framework in the case of the Transylvanian stone memorials. The word *epitaphium* did not refer to any special type of object in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there, they applied it for memorials placed in the floor, on the wall, as well as for the commemorative texts. The term as used in art history is not helpful either in distinguishing any formal group of memorials with a specific function here. The same forms seem to have fulfilled different functions in terms of their relation to the burial. As the plaques in the Cluj city wall suggest, memorials could even be set on the wall with the purpose of marking a particular burial below. All these confirm that it is more useful to introduce the above-mentioned fourth variable into the classification of tomb monuments, their relation to the burial, and involve it in the analysis when there is any available information on that. Accordingly, memorials are described and analyzed here concerning four different aspects: their spatial position with respect to the church building, their spatial relation to the grave, their form, and their iconography. By doing so, a few memorials emerge as a distinct group: they were simple inscription panels and served as secondary commemorative stones in addition to a proper grave monument. The popularity of this practice cannot be judged. Even if there were more inscription panels like that, their chances of survival were relatively low as they may not have been very attractive for the posterity due to the lack of images.

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[402] The memorial of Martinus Lapicida (early thirteenth century, Kalocsa), Bishop Marcus (after 1262, Szeged), a thirteenth-century fragment from the ambulatory of the Székesfehérvár Provostry. Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 193-195, 414-415, figs 726-728.
[403] Ibid., illustration volume 135, figs 736-737.

Tomb chests

Twenty-one tomb chests have survived from the Transylvanian Principality, either in a complete form or as fragments. Four complete tomb chests are housed in museums now: the memorial of Gábor Haller and his wife and that of György Sükösd (treated here as a tomb chest based on the arguments above), the tomb chest of György Apafi, and that of Zsófia Patócsi.[404] The remaining two, almost intact tomb chests are those set up for Prince John Sigismund and Queen Isabelle in the Alba Iulia cathedral.[405]

Larger pieces including the top survived from a number of other memorials. The figural top of what is called the "sarcophagus" of János Hunyadi also in Alba Iulia has been in a secondary position since the seventeenth or eighteenth century when the present structures were compiled from the remains of several tomb chests (Cat. No. 18, Figure 47, Figure 49). The top and one side panel of the memorial of Kelemen Béldi was taken to the Székely National Museum in Sfântu Gheorghe, and now it is stored in the open-air lapidary in the entrance courtyard (Cat. No. 204). The red marble top with fragments of the side panels from the tomb chest of Ferenc Rhédei as well survived in a secondary location, in the family mausoleum of the descendants (Cat. No. 173). In Săcueni and Pericei, the figural tops depicting the portrait of Tamás Zólyomi and two members of the Báthori family have been built into the wall of the local church), and the same happened to two heraldic tops in Căpușu Mic and Tileagd.[406] In Benic, a small fragment of a figural top was found among the ruins of the abandoned parish church, and it was taken to parish of the nearby Ighiu. Further small fragments of the cornice of tomb chest tops are in the collection of the National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj and similar ones were recently published by Márton Sarkadi from Alba Iulia.[407] Also in Alba Iulia, four white marble pieces of side panels survived in and around the cathedral which can be connected to the tomb chest of the Kendi brothers as presented above.[408]

The form of the Isabelle tomb chest is somewhat different from the rest, since its top is not horizontal but sloping towards the spectator. It was not a freestanding structure but placed against the wall of the church. The only other tomb chest installed originally in a similar position was the Sükösd monument. As I argued above, the tomb chest, the lower part of the structure

[404] Cat. No. 77 (National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj), Cat. No. 107 (National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj), Cat. No. 64 (Hungarian National Museum in Budapest), Cat. No. 66 (National Museum of Romanian History in Bucharest).
[405] One of the short panels was lost from the tomb chest of John Sigismund and a small fragment from that of the Queen; Cat. No. 5 and 6.
[406] Cat. No. 174, 175, 182 and Cat. No. 72 and 305
[407] Cat. No. 161, 110, and Sarkadi, *"s folytatva magát a régi művet"*, 223-224.
[408] Cat. No. 7, 8, 19, 20

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as it is now in the museum, and the upper part, the inscription plaque were originally two separate objects.

Among the three tomb chests with heraldic representation on their top, only the monument of Gábor Haller survived in a complete form, the other two are fragmentary tops, in case the one from Căpușu Mic was indeed a tomb chest (Cat. No. 72). Twelve of the tomb chests displayed the full figure on the top, but there is no information about the associated side panels in those five cases when only the top or a fragment survived. The full program can be studied on the Pathócsi, Apafi, and Sükösd monuments: they consist of a full-figure portrait, heraldic devices, inscription, with some additional elements (allegoric figures and other symbolic, figural and vegetal ornaments). The tomb chests of John Sigismund and Queen Isabelle bear no inscription at all. In the case of the first one, it may have been located on the lost side panel, or it cannot be excluded that a separate inscription plaque belonged to either, similarly to the Sükösd memorial.[409] Péter Bod published an epitaph of Queen Isabelle, but he did not specify where he saw it, so it does not take us closer to the solution.[410]

There is one more terminological problem to clarify: these tomb chests were not sarcophagi, though they have been called like that in the literature. A misunderstanding about the corpses that have been removed from them appeared from time to time as well, probably based on the topoi in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century humanistic accounts on how the tombs were broken up by the Ottoman and Christian invaders.[411] Tomb chests, if there is any information on their spatial connection to the burial, covered a vault where the corpse was buried, as attested by the documentation related to the opening of the Apafi and Sükösd tomb chests.[412]

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[409] Árpád Mikó interpreted the lack of inscriptions as a conscious solution to avoid mentioning the questionable status of John Sigismund as an elected Hungarian king. Mikó, "Gótika és barokk között," 27.
[410] Bod, *Hungarus tymbaules*, 16, No. XI. He noted in a number of cases if the epitaph in question was incised into stone or he copied it from a tomb monument, but not in each case, as it is proven by those verses published by him without any comment that survived also in stone, e.g. on the memorials in Tileagd.
[411] Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 65, 139. Literary accounts tell that the graves were broken up and robbed in 1601 and in 1658, and some of them refer to human remains inside the tomb chests. Several texts from the Middle Ages and the Ottoman Turkish Period reported about military attacks in these terms both in Transylvania and in other parts of Hungary. Though these accounts would worth a detailed analysis, it would extend over the frames of this work.
[412] Pál Lővei discussed that it is a terminological problem to distinguish tomb chests and sarcophagi from the Middle Ages, they fulfilled both functions but they cannot be distinguished concerning their form. No such problem exists concerning early modern Transylvania. See Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 427-431. The problem with the medieval classification, however, shows that it is useful to introduce the four-level typology where the relation of the tomb monument to the body appears as a variable separate from the description of the form.

Wall monuments

The only wall monuments that are known from the Transylvanian Principality were erected in the Alba Iulia cathedral for the princes and their family members: four or five structures depending on the interpretation of the sources, as it will be presented in *Chapter 3* in more detail. These were imported from abroad, from Poland and—besides a few fragments (Figure 54, Figure 55, Figure 56)—only their structural elements have been preserved within the side altars of the cathedral, since the memorials were turned into those in the eighteenth century (Figure 51, Figure 52, Figure 53; Cat. No. 17). According to the testimony of contemporary accounts, they displayed the portrait of the dead, but the exact type of the figural representation cannot be determined any more. Researchers suggested either a kneeling or a reclining pose, both wide-spread in that period and in the artistic context.[413] There are no surviving examples, however, that would show the influence of the princely monuments in the Transylvanian Principality: apparently no more large-scale architectural structure complemented with figural images, ornamental motifs and inscription panels were set up against any church walls.[414] This appears as a sharp contrast with Poland, where the wall monument became an extremely popular type among the nobility, following the model of King Sigismund's memorial in the Wawel Cathedral in Cracow.[415]

2.2.4.2. Grave markers in cemeteries

Ledgers and tomb chests were wide-spread in the Middle Ages too, and a few small inscription plaques as well were identified from the territory of the Carpathian Basin.[416] In contrast, ledgers in the cemeteries seem to have been very rare in Transylvania. János Herepei mentioned two such gravestones from the Central or Házsongárd Cemetery in Cluj, but both have been lost since then.[417] The only surviving example is in Gilău, now in the Calvinist churchyard, and Herepei still saw the year 1649 inscribed on this slab very much damaged by now (Cat. No. 154).[418] That time, in 1935, the stone was found in the central area of the cemetery, standing on its side, so in a secondary position, sunken into the ground. It cannot be clarified any more

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[413] Herzog, "Újabb adatok."; Détshy, "A gyulafehérvári Rákóczi-síremlékek," 28; Árpád Mikó, "Báthory István király és a reneszánsz művészet Erdélyben" (King István Báthory and the Renaissance art in Transylvania), ibid. 37 (1988): 123.
[414] Possible influences concerning the details will be discussed in the forthcoming chapters.
[415] See Kozakiewiczowa and Kozakiewicz, *The Renaissance in Poland*; Białostocki, *The Art of the Renaissance*.
[416] Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 400.
[417] From 1598 and 1608. Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 44-45, 68-69.
[418] Herepei, *A kalotaszegi templomok, cintermek és temetők régi sírkövei*, 29.

whether the memorial was originally set up in the cemetery or it was taken there from the church interior.[419]

Headstones in cemeteries placed vertically above the grave had been known in medieval Europe since the Early Middle Ages, but this form was exceptionally rare in the Carpathian Basin before the period of the Reformation.[420] Other forms of headstones were also used, such as natural stones, boulders, even without any sign or inscription. Herepei supposed that it was a custom in the Cluj cemetery too already in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to move such boulders atop the graves, but this can neither be confirmed nor disproved, as there is no method to date these stones.[421] The only surviving gravestone that was probably not or just slightly shaped but only provided with an inscription is displayed in the Lutheran church in Prejmer now and dates from the seventeenth century based on the script type (Cat. No. 176).

Two types of grave markers seem to be characteristic for the early modern graveyards in Transylvania: coffin shaped gravestones and coped head stones. The first preserved examples of both appear from around 1600. Both types seem to have emerged together with the communal cemeteries in Transylvania, though in the same period they occur in churchyard cemeteries too.[422]

Coped gravestones

Coped gravestones served as headstones, and were simple stone slabs with the upper edge turned into a protruding cornice to protect the inscription and images from the rain and snow. The lower end of the gravestones (about one third) was dug into the ground. Coped stones occur also on the northern edge of the Great Hungarian Plain—in Borsod County, in Gelej and Miskolc—, though less frequently than in Transylvania. They display a slightly different form there, with a multiply articulated cornice.[423] In Transylvania, such grave markers were produced

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[419] Similarly, the memorial of Agatha Jung was found in the churchyard of the main parish church in Sibiu, but this might easily have been its secondary location. See Cat. No. 226 and W. Schiller, "Ein Grabsteinfund auf dem Huetplatz," *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 13 (1900): 85-87, 93.
[420] According to the survey of Pál Lővei, only Jewish stone slabs were placed vertically. Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 198.
[421] Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 498-499; Balassa, *A magyar falvak temetői*, 70. Also in certain parts of the Székely area, but provided with date and name only from the late eighteenth century. With traces of paint in Chendu Mare (in Mureş County) see Péterfy, *Marosszék régi sírkövei*, 26-27. Pál Lővei suggested that in excavated medieval cemeteries, a similar practice may have been related to the layer of lower nobility. See Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 218.
[422] Herepei referred to a few gravestones from the Central or Házsongárd Cemetery as simple headstones, but it is difficult to judge based on the discussion whether these were coped stones with the upper part missing or this was the original form. See e.g. Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 36-43, 74-75, 93, 109-110, 130-135, 208-210.
[423] Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 218.

in the nineteenth century as well,[424] but only the thirty-four pieces surviving from the seventeenth century belong to the scope of this work.

The earliest one commemorated a certain Felten Waida in 1599 and it was set up in the Central or *Házsongárd* Cemetery in Cluj, from where the overwhelming majority, twenty-two pieces originate from (Cat. No. 118). The data collected by János Herepei testify, however, that the number of this form was much higher even in the 1920s-30s: he identified sixty-eight pieces, so more than two thirds of the material has been lost since then.[425]

Seventeenth-century examples survived from the area around Cluj as well, from churchyard cemeteries.[426] Seven coped stones are found a bit further from Cluj, in the Cavinist Cemetery in Târgu Mureș, dating from 1634 to 1690 (Cat. No. 296-302). Most of them bear a simple commemorative text about the deceased and a heraldic motif in the upper part: the coat of arms or an emblem referring to the profession or social status. Five pieces display only the inscription under the narrow roof. It was complemented with two cherubim in the upper corners on a headstone from 1636 (Cat. No. 300). On three of the surviving coped stones, one to three small figures were represented on the upper part in a frontal, standing position, referring to the deceased.[427]

Coffin-shape gravestones

Coffin-form memorials, unlike tomb chests, were made of a single solid block of stone formed into an oblong shape with a roof-like top. The long sides are either parallel or run slightly inwards towards the "feet" ending of the grave. Later examples dating from the eighteenth century occur with a curved top as well. Horizontal gravestones with a roof-like top appeared on medieval representations of churchyard cemeteries too originating from the French territories.[428] Pál Lővei found some pieces also among the roughly cut grave markers from the Upper Hungarian cemeteries that resembled the coffin shape, which were dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[429] It seems, however, that this form of gravestone disappeared from the Carpathian Basin for the next three centuries. The dating of the earliest piece that followed

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[424] Mihály, "Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület középkori és kora újkori kőtára," 163; Mihály, "Monumente," 124-125.
[425] Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*.
[426] From Sic (Cat. No. 270), Turea (Cat. No. 309), Vișstea (fig. 2.51.1-6), and in Gilău (Cat. No. 151-153), also from the eighteenth century, and some of the stones seen by Herepei have been lost since then. See Herepei, *A kalotaszegi templomok, cintermek és temetők régi sírkövei*, 17-33, 47-51, 72.
[427] Cat. No. 88, 95, and 97. Herepei still saw six more similar examples, see Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 255-256.
[428] Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 404-405, 439.
[429] In Klátova Nova Ves (Tőkésújfalu, Stockneudorf; Slovakia); ibid., 439.

in time is slightly ambiguous: a massive coffin-shaped gravestone of hard red limestone from the former *Dobozi* Cemetery in Debrecen bears no inscription or sign, but according to the tradition, it belonged to the sixteenth-century Calvinist bishop Péter Méliusz Juhász, who died in 1572.[430] The earliest coffin-shaped gravestones that bear a dating survived from the Central or *Házsongárd* Cemetery in Cluj from 1600.[431] It appears that indeed a new tradition began in the late sixteenth century that was not connected to the unarticulated medieval antecedents.[432]

Ten seventeenth-century examples of coffin-shaped gravestones survived from Transylvania, eight of which originated from the Central or Házsongárd Cemetery (Figure 100, Figure 101, Figure 102). Each of these seem to date from the first half of the century.[433] A seventeenth-century memorial was set up for the Calvinist Bishop Gáspár Tiszabecsi in the churchyard cemetery of the nearby Sic (Cat. No. 271). There is one more similar stone in Sic bearing no text but traditionally attributed to one of the eighteenth-century Calvinists bishops (Figure 77, Figure 78). Herepei saw further examples in Vişlea (from the seventeenth century) and Suceagu (from the eighteenth century) in the Kalotaszeg region east from Cluj, all of which seem to have been lost by now.[434] The tenth, still existing piece is from the eastern fringes of the Székely Land, from Hăghig; it bears the year 1642 and commemorated Tamás Nemes.[435] The gravestone of judge Tamás Borsos is still accessible in the Calvinist cemetery in Târgu Mureș, but in a strongly re-carved form from the nineteenth century (Cat. No. 304). The surviving seventeenth-century coffin-shaped stones all bear an inscription on either both or just one side, and in all but two cases this was complemented by a small heraldic element on the "head-side" ending: a coat of arms or a symbol referring to the profession of the deceased.

Three further memorials must also be mentioned here from Sânpaul, though as discussed above, they can hardly be classified into any formal type. Though they correspond to the shape of coffin-form tombstones, they are built vertically into the pillars of the tower in the "fortified"

[430] Lajos Sápi, "Régi temetők Debrecenben" (Old cemeteries in Debrecen), in *Hajdú-Bihar temetőművészete* (The art of cemeteries in Hajdú-Bihar County), ed. Gyula Szőllősi (Debrecen: A Hajdú-Bihar megyei Tanács Műemléki Albizottsága, 1980), 177, fig. 172 on 184.
[431] Cat. No. 84 and 113. One fragment (Cat. No. 85) was dated to the sixteenth century by Melinda Mihály, but this assumption cannot be verified. Herepei new about one example from this graveyard dating from the 1590s, and another piece from the same decade appeared in the literature as well, though neither of these can be sought out today. Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 43-44; Kovács, "Unitárius nagyjaink sírjai a házsongárdi temetőben," 97-105.
[432] Pál Lővei too considered this more probable than the continuity of the form. Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 439.
[433] Cat. No. 84, 85, 91, 112, 113, 114, 119, 120. Nineteen more were recorded during the twentieth century and have disappeared since then. See Kohn and Zsakó, "A kolozsvári házsongárdi temető sírkövei."; Szabó, "Unitárius sírok a kolozsvári házsongárdi temetőben."; Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*; Kovács, "Unitárius nagyjaink sírjai a házsongárdi temetőben."; Gaal, *Tört kövön és porladó kereszten*.
[434] Herepei, *A kalotaszegi templomok, cintermek és temetők régi sírkövei*, 51, 61.
[435] Cat. No. 205, now housed in the Székely National Museum in Sfântu Gheorghe.

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chapel complex, and their decoration is accommodated to this position too with the coat of arms folded along the upper edge of the top and the text running parallel with the short sides (Cat. No. 187, 188, 191; Figure 74). They resemble vertically installed coffin shaped tombstones, but the decoration is positioned as if they were intended for a vertical placement originally as well. In this respect, these tombstones are indeed unusual without any parallel in the Transylvanian material.

In the eighteenth century, coffin-shaped tombstones seem to have been wide-spread all over Transylvania. I documented several examples, e.g. in Cluj (Figure 100, Figure 102), Târgu Mureș (Figure 103), Vințu de Jos (Figure 104, Figure 105, Figure 106), Ighiu (Figure 107, Figure 108), Păuca (Figure 109, Figure 110). The only such gravestones I found in the Saxon region are in Ocna Sibiului, a privileged mining settlement that belonged to Fehér County already from the Middle Ages, and had a significant Hungarian population with a Calvinist pastor starting from the late sixteenth century (Figure 111). Outside Transylvania, in eastern Hungary, one more seventeenth-century coffin-shaped gravestone survived in Debrecen, of the Calvinist pastor György Komáromi Csipkés (d. 1678), and some eighteenth-century pieces from the same place and elsewhere, e.g. in Miskolc, from the churchyard cemetery of the Calvinist church on the Avas Hill.[436] The form of these, however, does not exactly correspond to that of the Transylvanian ones.

This is the place to clarify a misunderstanding concerning a term in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources, „koporsókő" (coffin-stone), which has been interpreted in the scholarly literature as referring to coffin-form gravestones.[437] It appears relatively often in the sources—compared to the fact that in general, funeral monuments are not very frequently mentioned –, especially in testaments.[438] Miklós Patócsi, *comes* of Zaránd County made

[436] Sápi, "Régi temetők Debrecenben," 185-187; István Dobossy, "Az avasi református (műemlékké nyilvánított) temető története" (The history of the Calvinist cemetery in Avas, declared as a historical monument), *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 42 (2003): 342-343; Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 440. For some further examples, see the latter work.

[437] The Transylvanian Hungarian Etymological Lexicon defined the word as a gravestone displaying the shape of a coffin. Attila Szabó T., ed. *Erdélyi Magyar Szótörténeti Tár* (Transylvanian Hungarian etymological lexicon), 12 vols. (Budapest - Bukarest: Akadémiai Kiadó - Kriterion, 1975-), vol. 7, 228. The ethnographer of the Hungarian cemeteries, Iván Balassa also used the term "koporsókő" for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century coffin-shaped gravestones, though he noted that the word "koporsó" (coffin) was used in the old Hungarian langue in the meaning of grave as well. Balassa, *A magyar falvak temetői*, 54. Jolán Balogh understood the term appearing in a note from 1582 in the account books of Cluj as marking either a tomb chest or a coffin shaped stone. "Chaky Dienes lelte meg Bíró uramat levele által, hogy ő kegyelmek vitetnék az Parlagi Pál koporsó kövét Zilahig. Kis Mihály vitte 6 lovon, fizettem fl. 3. den. 75." – Dénes Csáki found my lord judge with his letter and asked them to have the coffin stone of Pál Parlagi taken to Zalău. Mihály Kis took it by six horses, I paid 3 denar 75; see Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 221-222, 345.

[438] The first known use of a version of the word "kőkoporsó" dates from 1497, in a document of the Pilis Abbey (situated in the central part of Hungary). This, however, has a different meaning, "stone coffin", which might

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provisions in 1565 about the money sent by a relative for the *koporsókő* of another family member.[439] László Brinyi, the prefect of the fortress of Gherla laid down in his last will that his heirs should first have a *koporsókő* made for him before they share the inheritance.[440] Ferenc Rhédei asked his heirs in 1621 to have a *koporsókő* prepared for him in Cluj.[441] Zsigmond Lónyai, *comes* of Bereg County asked the executors of his testament in 1648 to take care of setting up a *koporsókő* above his grave (also called *koporsó* here), either from marble or just from some fine stone from Cluj.[442] Krisztina Bethlen did not specify what kind of *koporsókő* they should set up for her, just that it should be done according to the available financial means.[443] Zsigmond Lónyai, László Brinyi, and Ferenc Rhédei also expressed their will about the church in which they wanted to be interred. This means that their memorials were to be set up in a church, while all the known coffin shaped gravestones were created for open-air locations, into cemeteries. Furthermore, as it will turn out from *Chapter 4*, these testators did not belong to the social layer whose members were commemorated with the known coffin shaped gravestones.

In contrast, Ferenc Nagy Szabó wrote in his Chronicle about an *ormos koporsókő* (a coffin-stone with a gable) he had brought from Cluj and installed in the graveyard; his wife was buried under it in 1647.[444] In this case, both the spatial and the social context, as well as the use of the adjective *ormos* suggest that it was indeed a coffin-shaped gravestone.[445] As far as the term *koporsókő* without any adjectives is concerned, a note in the Town Account Books of Cluj contains a hint at what kind of memorial was understood under that in a church interior. In 1585, the town paid a certain sum to two men whose task was to restore the stones in the "Small Church", the Saint James Church in the main square that had been disturbed during some events in the night. The stones are called "koporso es padymontom keowek" (coffin and pavement stones), which means that those called *koporsókő* were disturbed together with the stones in the pavement of the church; consequently, they were probably ledgers inserted into the

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have even referred to an ancient Roman sarcophagus. See István Szamota and Gyula Zolnai, *Magyar oklevél-szótár* (Hungarian charter dictionary) (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor, 1906), 530.

[439] Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 2*, 26-28.

[440] Ibid., 139-143.

[441] Ibid., 80-83.

[442] Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3*, 177-179.

[443] Ibid., 204-208.

[444] "Borsos Sebestyén krónikája 1490-1583. Folytatta Nagy Szabó Ferenc 1580-on kezdve 1658-ig", (Chronicle by Sebestyén Borsos 1490-1583. Continued by Ferenc Nagy Szabó from 1580 to 1658), in *Erdélyi Történelmi adatok* (Historical Data from Transylvania), ed. Imre Mikó (Kolozsvár [Cluj]: 1855), 122, 151.

[445] This is why I understand the text of the testament of Ferenc Dobó from 1602 (cited by Pál Lővei too), where the adjective *szökrényes* (in the form of a chest) was added to *koporsókő*, as referring to a tomb chest and not to a coffin shaped stone. See Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 441. For the text of the testament, see Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet és háztartás*, 201.

pavement.[446] Finally, one of the memorials that survived from the seventeenth century Transylvania is called *koporsókő* in its inscription in Hungarian. It is a ledger too, commemorating János Kun in Căluşeri, and it was originally in the interior of the sometime Antitrinitarian church located on a hill above the village (Cat. No. 69).

It can be concluded that the term *koporsókő* in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources did not refer to the coffin-shaped gravestone type, but it could cover any type of stone grave marker inside or outside the church building. The use of coffin form cannot be proven before the years around 1600—though it cannot be disproven either—and it seems to have been used exclusively in cemeteries, but not in church interiors.

2.2.5. The material of tomb monuments

It made a significant difference whether for example, a heraldic ledger was made of red marble or sandstone, so this aspect must be mentioned here too. No analysis of the stone materials of funeral monuments has been done in Transylvania, and there is no available information on the origins of the stones,[447] though, as presented in the first half of the chapter, carved stone materials have been in the focus of interdisciplinary research in Hungary for a while now. It seems that they mostly used locally accessible materials, since sources inform one about quarries in the area of Cluj, for instance.[448] The overwhelming majority of tomb monuments looks uniform with respect to their material; the sandstone or limestone is sometimes more greyish, sometimes more yellowish, but it does not reflect any special demands or ambitions. Sometimes it is difficult to judge the original color, since the surface received a tarnish due to the time and environmental conditions. The surface of the memorials was often painted in colors.[449]

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[446] Szabó T., *Erdélyi Magyar Szótörténeti Tár*, vol. 7, 228. "Az Kys Templumban eyelkor az hogy meg zakatak volt, hogy esmegh helyre chinaltak es fel emeltek attunk ket embernek d 6" – In the Small Church, since they were disturbed during the night, we gave 6 denars to two men who restored and elevated them.
[447] Red marble samples were analyzed in the framework of a project aiming to distinguish red marble from various Central European quarries. See Farkas Pintér et al., "The Provenance of 'Red Marble' Monuments from the 12th-18th Centuries in Hungary," *European Journal of Mineralogy* 16 (2004): 619-629. The Faculty of Biology and Geology of the Babeș-Bolyai University in Cluj runs projects dealing with historical stone materials, see recently Anca Balog, Nicoleta Cobârzan, and Emília Mosonyi, "Analysis of limestones from heritage buildings as damage diagnostics," *Romanian Reports in Physics* 68, no. 1 (2016): 353-361; Emília Mosonyi and Nicoleta Cobârzan, "Studii asupra gradului de alterare, conservare și al compatibilității materialelor de construcții folosite la renovarea zidului de fortificații al bisericii reformate din Dej, monument istoric (jud. Cluj) / Weathering, conservation state and compatibility studies on the construction materials used for renovation of the historical Dej Reformed Church fortifying walls," *Revista Română de Materiale / Romanian Journal of Materials* 46, no. 4 (2016): 542-551.
[448] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 105-107.
[449] E.g. Cat. No. 2, 26, 28, 30, 45, 64, 65, 180, 263, and 313.

Only a few pieces stand out concerning their material, e.g. a group of grained white or light grey marble memorials from the late sixteenth century as well as some red marble pieces.[450] This phenomenon raises questions concerning the origins of the funeral monuments in terms of their place of production and material, which I am going to address in the next chapter. An analysis of the stone materials would, however, be unquestionably useful to understand, for example, which memorials were made of local stone and which of imported material. This would contribute in a large extent to decide questions related to the context of the production of funeral monuments that will arise in the following chapter.

Conclusions

Funeral monuments did not survive in their original position, since almost every piece can be proved to have been moved during the past centuries, and many have also been modified in some other respect. These changes reflect how the objects were perceived by later generations, and, accordingly, they added to the meanings carried by the memorials, communicating new ideas for a new audience. For example, memorials that were considered as unimportant at a certain time were used as flooring material. These temporarily hidden objects were interpreted as new relics from the past of the community when rediscovered and publicly displayed, which is a meaning completely alien from the original intention of commemorating a dead individual. They re-entered the public discourse in a new form and, as it was manifest in the presentation of the historiography in *Chapter 1*, with a new interpretation, which influenced the self-perception of the communities; the *Házsongárd* or Central Cemetery is an excellent example in this respect. The historiography and the material history of these objects has essentially been interrelated in the object biographies. These processes contributed to the selection of what survived and how it was presented, sometimes consciously, such as in Sibiu, Braşov, and Sighişoara, sometimes in a seemingly random manner, such as in the case of Cluj.

This surviving ensemble of funeral monuments inventoried during the fieldwork seems to reflect the actual geographical distribution of the surviving material, except for the Partium that was covered less evenly by my fieldwork. This distribution shows an uneven pattern with a clear clustering of stone memorials in the Saxon territories and an almost lack of them in the Székely areas, the explanation for which will be sought in *Chapter 4*, in the sometime social context. The analysis of the social patterns of setting up stone memorials will also help to reconstruct how the surviving ensemble might relate to the original number of funeral

[450] Cat. No. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 19, 20, 21, 233, 239 and Cat. No. 173, 234, 305.

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monuments set up in the principality period, since there are no sources that would help to estimate that number.

It is a special methodological problem to establish the dating of the funeral monuments, since most of them do not display the date of production but the date of death, and the cases where both are known show that several years might have passed between the two. A few written sources as well as a contextual analysis helped to establish the chronology of the preserved memorials. Their distribution appears to be relatively even within the period between 1541 and 1700 with some decrease in the last fifty years, similarly to the trend in the contemporary Kingdom of Hungary. Before that decade, two periods are highlighted by a sudden increase in the number of stone memorials: in the 1570s-1580s and in the 1630s-1640s. Since demographic sources are sparse from the principality period, the only way to find an explanation for this phenomenon is again to take a closer look at the specific ensembles and their social context, which will be done in *Chapter* 4.

Scholarship has established certain categories to classify funeral monuments and to examine the spatial, chronological, and social patterns of the use of certain types. Most of these typologies are, however, based on a mixture of formal, iconographic and functional aspects—distinguishing e.g. tomb chests (a form), figural monuments (iconography), crypt covers (function), epitaphs (an ambivalent definition referring to form, iconography and function) –, which makes it difficult to include every piece and masks differences that might be important from the functional point of view. Therefore, distinguishing these aspects, I created a four-level typology by complementing Stephanie Knöll's three-level classification system.

The first level concerns the type, which can be determined in the case of every memorial even if it is not in its original context any more. Funeral monuments in Transylvania can be classified as simple stone slabs including ledgers and smaller plaques, tomb chests, wall monuments, coped gravestones, and coffin-shaped gravestones. As far as the second level of classification is concerned, that is, their relation to the architecture, stone slabs were either inserted into the floor or placed on the wall, higher up or starting from the floor; tomb chests were freestanding or set up against the wall; wall monuments were architectural structures standing on the floor in front of the wall; and coped as well as coffin-shape gravestones were freestanding grave markers in cemeteries. Regarding the third level, their iconography, all these displayed a variety of images: portraits and other figural representations, heraldic devices, ornamental and symbolic motifs, and texts. The fourth variable designates the relation of the memorial to the grave: it could mark the exact place of the burial, stand in the same building or complex but also further away, even in a different settlement. This typological system is suitable

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to characterize every memorial that survived from the Transylvanian Principality, even if there are no data about one or another variable. The lack of information is, however, meaningful as well: on one hand, it signals the limits and the validity of interpretation, on the other hand, it is informative concerning the object biographies and the inherited layers of meanings.

The most wide-spread version of funeral monument was the heraldic ledger with inscription: 47% of the surviving pieces belong to this type. Where there is any information on the original position, it seems that they were inserted into the floor of the church. 13% are ledgers with some kind of a portrait: full-figure, half-figure, smaller-scale, and mostly also combined with real or symbolic heraldry and text. 8% of the ledgers displayed nothing else but text. Tomb chests are represented in the ensemble with 7%, and, where the iconographic type can be determined, they mostly proved to be figural tomb chests (Chart 2.5 and 2.6).

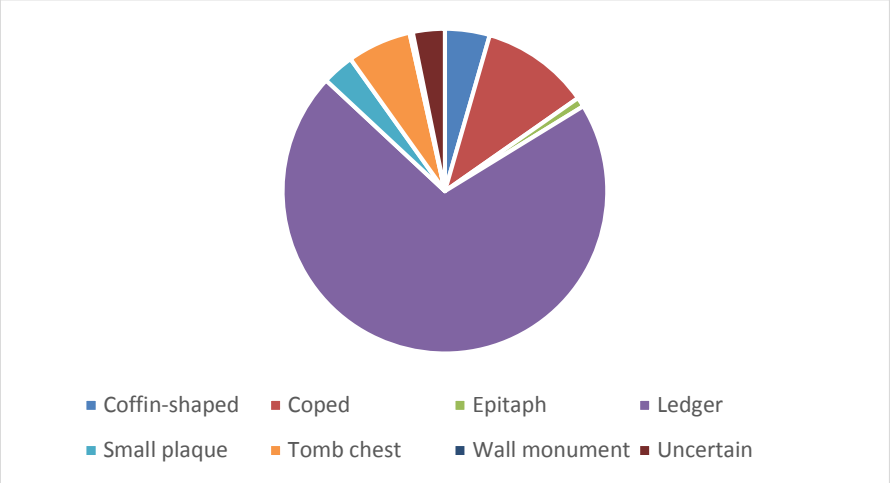

Chart 2.5. Distribution of funeral monuments in the catalog according to their form

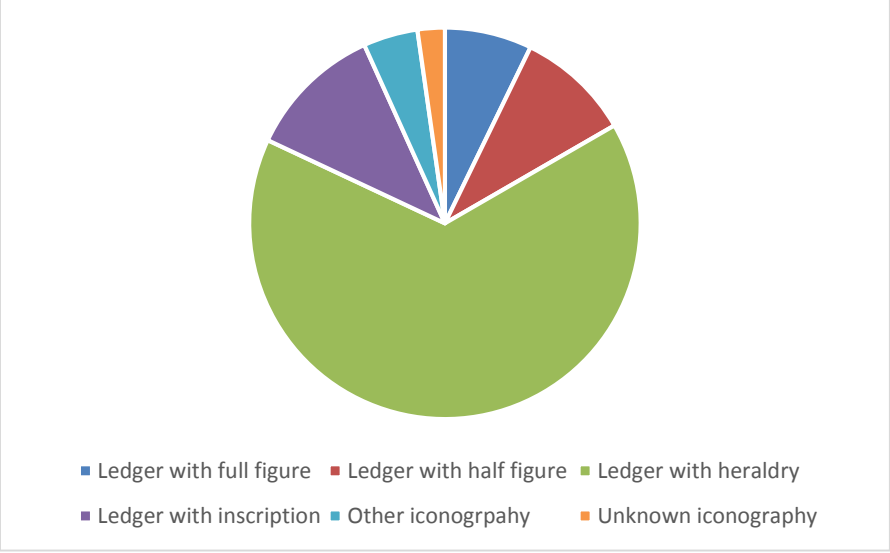

Chart 2.6. Distribution of ledgers in the catalog according to their iconography

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The four (or five) wall monuments ordered from Poland by the family members of the Transylvanian princes seem to have been the only examples of this type. With the opening of communal cemeteries in the late sixteenth century, new forms of grave markers appeared: coped headstones and coffin-shape gravestones. The coped version seems to have been the most popular type of headstones, almost all the surviving pieces display this form. Coffin-shaped stones constitute only 4% of the surviving material, but as the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century inventories of certain ensembles indicate, these two forms exposed more to the erosive forces due to their open-air location were represented in a much higher number than today.

This overall image appears to be largely different from that in the Kingdom of Hungary under Habsburg rule. Many wall memorials have survived there classified as epitaphs and wall monuments, both of which seem to have been much less characteristic in Transylvania. The most widespread iconography of epitaph with the deceased and his or her family kneeling under the Crucifix—only one example of which is known from Transylvania (Cat. No. 225)—was very popular in Upper and Western Hungary in the second half of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century.[451] This phenomenon was explained with the vicinity of Vienna, where a large number of such memorials was installed in the Saint Stephen Church in the mid-sixteenth century, and the same workshops produced for the Hungarian market as well.[452] In a broader context, it was Upper Hungary and Vienna, not Transylvania that reflected the general trends in Western Europe.[453]

The early modern memorials from Austria and the rest of the German speaking territories were analyzed by Renate Kohn based on the published volumes of the *Deutsche Inschriften* series and her own collection in Austria.[454] She distinguished two large groups: grave markers and epitaphs, the latter including basically everything that was installed against or on the wall (including architectural, smaller-scale sculpted stone, painted and wooden structures). Among the grave markers, she identified tomb chests, grave slabs that cover the grave shaft, and crypt plates which close the opening of the tomb; the latter two were distinct in their shape and size, the crypt plates sometimes being smaller. She included mortuary shields,

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[451] Mikó, "Késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékek," 626-627. The earliest known example of this type that survived in Hungary is from Buda, from around 1520, made of red marble, and it depicts the descent from the cross. Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 286-287.
[452] Mikó, "Késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékek," 626.
[453] See, e.g. Cieślak, *Tod und Gedenken*; Kohn, "Zwischen standesgemäßem Repräsentationsbedürfnis und Sorge um das Seelenheil. Die Entwicklung des frühneuzeitlichen Grabdenkmals," ; Fidel Rädle, "Epitaphium - Zur Geschichte der Begriffs (Diskussionsbeitrag)" in *Epigraphic 1988*, ed. Walter Koch (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990), 305-310.
[454] Kohn, "Zwischen standesgemäßem Repräsentationsbedürfnis und Sorge um das Seelenheil. Die Entwicklung des frühneuzeitlichen Grabdenkmals," 19-46.

and the gravestones and grave crosses from the cemeteries too. At this stage of the research, one cannot make any more detailed or more complex comparison that goes beyond generalizations. The obstacle is not only the lack of numeric data, but also the use of different categories which is especially conspicuous when comparing them with those applied concerning the Kingdom of Hungary under Habsburg rule: the same types of memorials appear as figural wall monuments and portrait epitaphs respectively.

There are some characteristic differences that are worth to emphasize even in a basic comparison. In contrast with Transylvania, forms of heraldic and inscription epitaphs widespread in the Habsburg Empire were applied in the Kingdom of Hungary under Habsburg rule too.[455] Wall memorials standing on the church floor and including a life-size portrait as well were a prestigious type of memorial for the members of the high clergy and the aristocracy, the tombs installed in Hungary followed the trends in Austria and the German territories.[456] The portraits of the aristocrats appeared either in a "civilian" costume or in full armor suit, the latter in accordance with the local medieval tradition, the continuity of which was also manifest in the popularity of chivalric tomb chests still in the first half of the seventeenth century. This corresponds to the Transylvanian trend, as well as the widespread use of heraldic ledgers, even in a very simple form.[457] In spite of the continuity of these medieval forms, however, the adoption of and a combination with a number of motifs and elements can be observed that originated from the new, more fashionable types popular more to the north and west.[458] This phenomenon, as it will turn out from the forthcoming chapters, characterizes some of the Transylvanian memorials too, though in a more limited extent. The forthcoming two chapters will seek to answer the question whether this was due to the much more restricted ways of transfer, so the limits of the production and offer, or to the differing preferences on the commissioner side.

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[455] Mikó, "Késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékek," 628-630.
[456] Aggházy, "Felvidéki XVII. századi főúri síremlékeink stíluseredete," 166-173; Galavics, *Köss nk kardot az pogány ellen: török háborúk és képzőművészet*; Mikó, "Késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékek," 625-660; Mikó and Pálffy, "A pozsonyi Szent Márton-templom késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékei (16-17. század)," 107-172.
[457] Mikó, "Késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékek," 638-645.
[458] Ibid., 636-638.

CHAPTER 3. THE PRODUCTION OF TOMB MONUMENTS

The variety of the material that was presented in the previous chapter resulted from the contribution of several people involved into the creation of funeral monuments including the "tomb-makers": craftsmen working in stone, that is, sculptors, stonecutters. This chapter will examine who were they, in what framework they worked, and how they influenced the outlook of the tombs through their choices. Since only a few of the surviving funeral monuments were signed by their creators, and written sources relevant in this respect are extremely rare from the period of the principality, the only way to give any answer for these questions concerning the bulk of the material leads through analyzing the objects themselves. I will examine whether the surviving tombs show any kind of pattern that would be informative concerning their production: on the place, on possible workshops or masters, the origin or education of the latter, and the models they followed.

The number of tomb-makers' names known for scholarship is definitely modest compared to the amount of the surviving objects. Interest in these names, has, however characterized the research since its very beginnings. The first collections of artists' names recorded in sources were issued in the nineteenth century. Iván Nagy published a list of artists known from Hungary from before 1850,[459] and the Saxon scholar, Wilhelm Wenrich collected the artists' names that survived from among the Transylvanian Germans.[460] They both included two stonecutters who produced funeral monuments as well: Péter Diószegi who signed the memorial of György Sükösd (Cat. No. 107), and Elias Nicolai, whose signature was read on some tombs in and around Sighișoara.[461] Art historical literature on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries or on sculpture from Transylvania showed later as well a clear preference for those works that bear some kind of signature. These were generally evaluated as being above the average concerning their artistic quality, as the products of the most prominent masters of their time. Authors took it as self-evident that signatures served to sign that the master made the object with his own hands and that these were an imprint of artistic self-awareness of the most excellent masters. This interpretation reflects the dominance of a Vasarian understanding of art history that was especially influential in the field of Renaissance studies.

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[459] Iván Nagy, "Magyarországi képzőművészek a legrégibb időktől 1850-ig" (Hungarian artists from the earliest times up to 1850), *Századok* (1874): 25-44, 84-102,185-206, 285-287.
[460] Wilhelm Wenrich, "Künstlernamen aus siebenbürgisch-sächsischer Vergangenheit," *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 22 (1889): 42-78.
[461] Ibid., 53-55; Nagy, "Magyarországi képzőművészek," 37, 186.

Researchers in the nineteenth and a considerable part of the twentieth century aimed to construct a history of Hungarian or Transylvanian art through the oeuvres of individual artists preferably known by name, and these oeuvres were put together with the method of stylistic criticism, following the model based on which the history of the Italian Renaissance had been constructed.[462] The picture was distorted also by the varying amount of information on the producers of funeral monuments in the Transylvanian Principality concerning different groups of objects. More is known about those who created the memorials imported from abroad for members of the princely families; even some documents have survived related to the commissions. These are, however, exceptional cases even among the memorials of the rulers; there is no information on the provenance of the tomb chests of Queen Isabelle and John Sigismund, and the picture researchers could draw is very sketchy even about the main directions where they might search for their origins.

The main motivation behind the attempts to construct oeuvres of "artists"—and to focus on those cases where it seems to be feasible—lied in the aim to create a national history of art in Transylvania on both the Saxon and the Hungarian side. Since funeral monuments constitute the majority of sculpted figural representations from the period of the Transylvanian Late Renaissance, they were assigned a significant role in national art histories. Victor Roth evaluated Elias Nicolai as the leading artist of his time, though he discussed a number of unsigned funeral monuments too including some relatively high quality pieces.[463] The interpretation of the stone carvings by János Seres from Cluj developed similarly in the Hungarian literature. Seres, starting with Jolán Balogh, was determined as an excellent sculptor, referring to the term written on his gravestone.[464] However, the works attributed to these known names display a diverse quality even at first sight and there are several funeral monuments that cannot be connected to any known sculptors' names but testify of at least a similar level of craftsmanship.

It is not self-explanatory at all that funeral monuments can be labeled as sculpture or art in any terms, though even several relatively recent art historical overviews have also referred to them as the most important genre of sculpture in the Late Renaissance period.[465] This interpretation goes back to on an understanding of art that is based on that of the Italian

[462] About a similar endeavour in the scholarship of funeral monuments in England, see Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, 31-35.
[463] Roth, *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik*, 89.
[464] *INSIGNIS SCVLPTOR*. As Melinda Mihály observed, the signed works of János Seres do not belong to the most excellent carved stone relics from the Renaissance Cluj. Mihály, "Monumente," 64.
[465] See *Chapter 1*, 48-54.

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Renaissance, the conceptualization of which shows a significant change as compared to the Middle Ages.[466] The framework of the production of tombs in Transylvania, however, did not change too much after the Middle Ages, and it is more justified to discuss the products in the context of visual or material culture than that of Renaissance art.

This chapter will offer an overview of the material focusing on clusters that can be identified based on any kind of formal quality: the composition, ornaments, images, and the execution of the tombs. I will seek to determine the meaning of these clusters in the context of tomb production. Though the traditional art historical method of stylistic criticism is applied within this comparative analysis, the aim is not necessarily to distinguish "hands." I will use the term "workshop" for the units of production, but this can mean various things depending on the context. First, it can refer to a historical phenomenon, the organization of the production connected to a certain location, where a craftsman of a master's rank took orders and produced the stones together with the assistants he supervised, in the production structure controlled by the guild. Workshops and masters in this sense can be discussed in Sibiu and Cluj where written sources testify of their activity. Second, in terms of art history, sculptors' workshops are determined by the leading master who is an artist, a known individual with a well-defined style. This concept does not prove to be helpful to understand the production of funeral monuments in Transylvania, but has some relevance concerning those sculpted memorials that were imported from abroad, from sculptors' workshops in Poland. The third way the term "workshop" is understood here comes from archaeology, where it is applied to connect objects whose formal qualities suggest that their production was connected somehow. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the same person or the same guild master's workshop made them, since there is no evidence to translate the nature of the connection into these personal, organizational, or physical terms. This archaeological concept of workshop proves useful when interpreting clusters in the material that cannot be connected to any known stonecutter's name. In addition, it offers a clue to re-interpret also those stone carvings that have been attributed by previous scholarship to names or guild masters' workshops known from written sources, as it will be attested by, for example, the case of Elias Nicolai.

Consequently, I do not take it as self-evident that the clusters that can be identified in the material refer to distinct and individual producers; this is why I do not give any pseudonym for any presumed "masters". The aim of the analysis is to see if the objects themselves can reveal anything as sources about the structure of tomb production that is otherwise very poorly

[466] For perhaps the most well-known discussion of the problem, see Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

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covered by written evidence, and about the extent and way in which the outlook of the surviving memorials was determined by the ideas and choices of the tomb-makers. Most written data refer more generally to the activity of craftsmen working in stone and not specifically to the circumstances of the production of any tomb monument. Though signed pieces preserved the names of some tomb makers, there is very little information available from other sources on their activity in general, on the organization of the work and the rest of their products, so the analysis of the objects might contribute to our knowledge in this respect too.

The terms "master","tomb maker", "craftsman", "stonecutter" are used to designate the person who did the stone carving work that resulted in a funeral monument. As the following analysis will show, there is not a single good term to use, since some (or maybe most) of them did not only work in stone, and they were not specialized exclusively on funeral monuments. Sources suggest that the production of stone memorials fit into a more complex framework in which the various professions operated in early modern Transylvania.

The imported nature of memorials is testified by written sources only in the case of the wall monuments of princes and their family members erected in Alba Iulia, though scholarship has raised this possibility concerning the origins of some other pieces as well. The discussion will start with these two groups, then turn to the rest, which were supposedly local products. I will examine in a geographical and chronological order what can be revealed about the circumstances of their production, and ultimately how the "imported" and "local" nature of objects can be interpreted in this specific context.

3.1. Tomb monuments from abroad

Wall memorials for princes and their families

The funeral monuments ordered from Poland and erected to commemorate the princes and their family members are the ones first associated with the adjective "imported" by those who are familiar with the previous scholarly literature. The first in this series was erected to commemorate Prince Kristóf Báthory, who died in 1582 and was interred in Alba Iulia, in the former Dominican, that time Jesuit church, on the Palm Sunday of 1583. His brother, Prince István Báthory (1571-1586), King of Poland that time (1576-1586), ordered a memorial for him from Gdańsk, from the workshop of Willem van den Blocke, a sculptor originating from the Netherlands and attracted to Poland by a potential market for his products.[467] The preparation

[467] For references to the sources on the monument, see Herzog, "Újabb adatok," 539; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 270; Mikó, "Báthory István király," 119-122. The most recent discussion of the memorial as well as a full collection of related sources is in a monograph on Willem van den Blocke written as a PhD thesis: Franciszek

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of the monument must have been finished by the beginning of 1583, but according to the account books of the royal court, its transportation to Transylvania took about a year. It was taken through the Carpathians on the frozen, thus solid roads in December 1583, and the masters were also travelling with the stone carvings to set up the funeral monument at the site. The installation was finished by June 1584, and complemented with iron rails sent also from Gdańsk in 1585.[468]

The funeral monument has unfortunately disappeared without any material traces left, only the inscription is known as written down by a contemporary humanist nobleman.[469] The appearance of the tomb can be imagined based on some other works by Willem van den Blocke.[470] The Dutch sculptor received his education in the environment of Cornelis Floris, and his works—e.g. the funeral monument of Elisabeth, wife of Margrave Georg Friedrich in Kaliningrad from 1578-82, and the tomb of the King of Sweden, John III Vasa (d. 1592) in Uppsala—followed those of his master in many respect. Van den Blocke settled down in Gdańsk around the time he got the commission from King Báthory and, later working together with his son, Abraham, created a series of funeral monuments until his death in 1628. These, including the one in Transylvania, were large architectural structures set against the church wall. They displayed the full-figure portrait of the deceased either in a kneeling position according to the traditions he met in the Netherlands or in a reclining pose, with one leg pulled up or crossed and leaning on one elbow. This latter form, called *demi-gisant* in secondary literature, was the most popular portrait type on funeral monuments in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The form originated in Italy[471] and it was conveyed to Cracow by Bartolomeo Berrecci, who came from the area of Florence and created a wall monument for King Sigismund I the Old between 1529–31 into his Renaissance funerary chapel attached to the Wawel cathedral. This served as the model for hundreds of similar structures all over Poland. The forms were repeatedly refreshed by sculptors coming from Italy, and also a broad

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Jan Skibiński, "Willem van den Blocke. Netherlandish Sculptor in the Baltic Region" PhD Thesis (Utrecht University, , Utrecht, 2013), 26-27, 44-47, 215, 289-291.

[468] A letter by van den Blocke to the Council of *Gdańsk, see* Mikó, "Báthory István király," 119-120, 132; Skibiński, "Willem van den Blocke. Netherlandish Sculptor in the Baltic Region," 289-290.

[469] "Gyulafy Lestár följegyzései. 1565-1605", (Notes by Lestár Gyulafy), in *Magyar történelmi évkönyvek és naplók a XVI-XVIII. századokból* (Hungarian historical yearbooks and diaries from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries), ed. Károly Szabó, Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Magyar Történelmi Emlékek 31 (Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvkiadó-hivatala, 1881), 50.

[470] This presentation is based on the results of Skibiński, "Willem van den Blocke. Netherlandish Sculptor in the Baltic Region."

[471] The first Renaissance wall monument displaying the portrait in this pose was the memorial of Pietro Manzi dei Vincenzi by Andrea Sansovino (1504) and he applied this model on the wall monuments commissioned by Pope Julius II in Santa Maria del Popolo Church in Rome. Białostocki, *The Art of the Renaissance*, 52-53 and figs 175, 177.

range of local, provincial variants were produced inspired by both the Italian and the Northern Renaissance.[472]

It is not clear whether this pose or the kneeling version was applied on the funeral monument of Kristóf Báthory. King István Báthory requested in his testament that his own monument should be prepared on the model of his brother's memorial, but he did not specify in what respect. Thus, though his wall monument made by the sculptor Santi Gucci to the Wawel Cathedral displays a reclining figure, this does not necessarily mean that Kristóf Báthory's figure was presented in the same pose.[473]

The rest of the tombs made by van den Blocke for Transylvanian aristocrats staying in Poland also help to imagine the appearance of the wall monument in Alba Iulia. Márton Berzeviczy, chancellor of Transylvania and a member of King Báthory's court in Poland ordered his own memorial in 1593 to set up in his funerary chapel adjoining the parish church in Lisnowo (Figure 112). He was also involved into the preparations of the monument to set up in Alba Iulia, this is how he got into contact with van de Blocke. The structure of his own wall memorial is based on the *aedicula* type, with an architectural frame that includes the reclining figure of the deceased on a sarcophagus in front of a large inscription plaque. Unfortunately, this monument was destroyed in 1939.[474] András Báthory, nephew of King Báthory was Bishop of Warmia, cardinal, and, from 1599, Prince of Transylvania. He set up his own memorial also including his brother, Boldizsár still before returning to Transylvania, in 1598, in the Bernardine church of Barczewó (Figure 113). He was a patron of the monastery, and he sponsored also the reconstruction of the buildings. The funeral monument represents a different version of the *aedicula* type, and displays two figures. The cardinal was represented in a kneeling pose, in an eccleasiastical robe, while his brother, the military man Boldizsár in full armor suit, in a reclining pose.[475] The wall monument of Kristóf Báthory in Alba Iulia, characterized by a

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[472] See Kozakiewiczowa and Kozakiewicz, *The Renaissance in Poland*; Białostocki, *The Art of the Renaissance*, 45-58. On the origins of the form as well as on its role in van den Blocke's oeuvre, see Skibiński, "Willem van den Blocke. Netherlandish Sculptor in the Baltic Region," 143-148.
[473] According to the interpretation of Árpád Mikó, this referred more to the main form, a wall monument. Mikó, "Báthory István király," 122. However, Skibiński (and researchers outside Hungary in general) consider it more probable that it refers to the figure too, and the memorial of Kristóf Báthory also displayed a reclining figure. See Skibiński, "Willem van den Blocke. Netherlandish Sculptor in the Baltic Region," 291.
[474] Skibiński, "Willem van den Blocke. Netherlandish Sculptor in the Baltic Region," 48-51, 109-113, 211-211, 345-348, Cat. No. B.108.
[475] Ibid., 48-51, 114-115, 215-218, 349-351, Cat. No. B.119.

contemporary as an exceptional piece in Transylvania that could compete with monuments in the German and Italian lands, might have looked similar to these.[476]

When Prince Gábor Bethlen (1613-1629) decided to set up a funeral monument for her deceased wife, Zsuzsanna Károlyi in the court church (formerly the Catholic bishopric cathedral) in Alba Iulia, he pointed in a letter written in 1622 at the tomb of Kristóf Báthory made by van den Blocke as a model for the future structure.[477] First he thought about finding a sculptor in Upper Hungary and inviting him to Alba Iulia to take a look at the Báthory monument, but it seems that his plans failed that time. Finally, in his testament formulated before his death in 1629, he left a large sum for the memorial of his first wife and himself, and the execution was subsequently organized by his brother, István Bethlen later Prince of Transylvania (September – November 1630). In 1630, an Italian master working in Cracow, Antonio de Castello signed an obligation in Târgu Mureş, based on which he would create the memorial for the order of István Bethlen, in the size and form depicted on the approved plans, in a material and execution that correspond to the model. He would also transport the memorial to Alba Iulia and set it up there. The sculptor guaranteed that if he would die before finishing the work, his brother, Andrea would accomplish the task.[478]

Based on the sources, the work seems to have been completed by 1634, but it is not clear how many tombs were set up, so whether Prince Gábor Bethlen and his first wife were commemorated on one single memorial or on two separate structures. Researchers in general, talk about one memorial,[479] but already József Herczog, who discovered the documents about the commissioning, pointed out that the agreement between the commissioner and the sculptor mentioned two monuments (*duo monumenta*).[480] The chronicler Ferenc Nagy Szabó describes briefly first the tomb of Bethlen, then that of his wife as a similar one.[481] Péter Bod, an eighteenth-century collector of tomb inscriptions published two epitaphs separately.[482] All these data suggest that Antonio de Castello created two wall monuments.

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[476] István Szamosközy, "Rerum Ungaricarum liber quartus," in *Szamosközy István történeti maradványai 1566-1603* (Historical relics by István Szamosközy), ed. Sándor Szilágyi, Monumenta Hungariae historica 21 (Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvkiadó Hivatala, 1876), 211.
[477] Herzog, "Újabb adatok," 539.
[478] Ibid., 542, 554-555 with the transcription of the letter of agreement
[479] Géza Entz, for example, wrote about one double monument, see Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 141. Árpád Mikó talked about four seventeenth-century wall monuments, which means that he understood Bethlen's and his wife's memorials as separate structures, but he did not elaborate on the issue. See Mikó, "Báthory István király," 125; Mikó, "Gótika és barokk között," 29.
[480] Herzog, "Újabb adatok," 548.
[481] "Nagy Szabó Ferenc memorialéja" (Memoires of Ferenc Nagy Szabó), in *Erdélyi történelmi adatok* (Historical Data from Transylvania), ed. Mikó Imre (Kolozsvár [Cluj]: Ref. Főtanoda Ny., 1855), 142-143.
[482] Bod, *Hungarus tymbaules*, 46-50. Géza Entz assumed that it was one double tomb, since Antal Szereday's collection contained only one common epitaph. Szereday, however, quoted the separate epitaphs too after Péter

These tombs did not survive either, but some parts of them might still be there in the cathedral. Some sources inform that when the side altars were created in 1717-1718, they utilized the remains of the wall monument of Prince György Rákóczi I (to be discussed below). Mihály Détshy came to the conclusion that the truncated structure of the monument was more or less preserved in one of the side altars (Figure 51, Figure 52, Figure 53). As four black marble side altars were erected that time,[483] he hypothesized that the structure of four wall monuments were used, including those commissioned by István Bethlen.[484] This also suggests that Prince Gábor Bethlen and Zsuzsanna Károlyi received two separate memorials (which results in four with the two Rákóczi tombs).

The architectural structures preserved in the side altars are all made of dark grey marble. Nagy Szabó described them as displaying the images of the prince and his wife carved from alabaster. Based on Szereday, it can be added that a common commemorative text was inscribed on a black (probably dark grey) marble surface with gilded letters. The obligation signed by Antonio de Castello specified that he was to use white, red, black, dark and various other colors of marble and alabaster polished bright.[485]

The Italian sculptors, Antonio and Andrea de Castello settled to Central Europe from the area of Lake Lugano, and Antonio appeared in the town records of Cracow first in 1623 as "*lapicida Italus*". They created the chapel of the duke Zbaraski family in the Dominican church in Cracow between 1627 and 1633, the dark marble interior of which became a model for several similar chapels. This was the first example for the large-scale use of black marble in the town, and it soon became a popular material for similar memorials.[486] Some further works erected some later in Poland are connected to Andrea's name alone.[487]

Bod. It is not clear where these were inscribed, but they must have been lost by Szereday's time. See Szeredai, *Collectio*, 19-20 and Tabulae XI and VIII; Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 141. Péter Szabó as well calculated with one common monument when he attempted to reconstruct the original position of the tombs in the Alba Iulia cathedral. Szabó, "Térszimbolika a gyulafehérvári főtemplomban," 19-28.

[483] Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 135-136.

[484] Détshy, "A gyulafehérvári Rákóczi-síremlékek," 28.

[485] "… ex albo, rubro, nigro, subnigro et versi colore, vero marmore et alabastro insigniter polito…", see Herzog, "Újabb adatok," 554.

[486] Mariusz Karpowicz and Céleste Zawadzka, *Artisti ticinesi in Polonia nel '600* (Lugano: Republica e Cantone del Ticino, 1983), 81-87; Mariusz Karpowicz, "Andrea e Antonio Castello. Milano, Cracovia, Vilna e Alba Julia," *Arte Lombarda* 137, no. 1 (2003): 42-58.

[487] It is possible though that Antonio settled in Transylvania. Herzog found documents on a certain Antonio Castello who arrived in Oradea from Italy with a relative called Francesco, and stayed there until 1622, when he sold his landed property, at a time before he is first mentioned in Cracow. Herzog also argued that Antonio was mentioned as a noble, while he did not possess nobility in Poland. However, he could be a noblemen in Transylvania in case if he owned an estate there. Herzog, "Újabb adatok," 548-554. Andrea later returned to Milan, see Karpowicz, "Andrea e Antonio Castello," 43.

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Prince György Rákóczi I (1630-1648), successor of Gábor Bethlen—after the brief rule of the wife of the latter, Catherine of Brandenburg (1629-30) and his brother, István— died in October 1648, and he was buried in the Alba Iulia Cathedral in January 1649. His wife, Zsuzsanna Lórántffy ordered a tomb for him also from Cracow. Another Italian sculptor operating a workshop there, Sebastiano Sala, was sent to Transylvania in 1649 to look at the Bethlen memorial as a model to follow.[488] Sebastiano Sala was also from the Lugano region; he lived in Cracow from 1630. From 1635, he was the leading master of the masons' guild and from 1648, he also performed the tasks of the court architect. The princely family from Transylvania contacted him through their merchants' network,[489] but it is not clear why they specifically chose his workshop (nor why István Bethlen gave the commission to Antionio de Castello).[490] The prince himself designated his place of burial in his last will, and he also started to have his memorial prepared. He ordered his elder son, György to have it finished.[491] Contrasting this information with the above-mentioned sources that suggest an entirely new commission by Zsuzsanna Lórántffy, it is not clear if the last will refers to the same memorial or a different one that finally remained unfinished for some reason. The documents tell that they started to transport the carved elements to Transylvania in early 1651, again on the frozen roads. The transportation took place in several stages, and they reached Alba Iulia by the end of October, though some stones arrived as late as the following March. In January 1652, Sebastiano Sala himself arrived as well and he returned to Cracow in mid-April, when the tomb must have been finished.[492]

During these months, the younger son of Prince György Rákóczi I, the brother of the reigning prince, György II (1648-1660) also died. His mother ordered one more memorial from Cracow. The same merchants' network was used to contact another Italian sculptor, Bartolommeo Ronchi, who was also a leading master there. He, however, died during the works, and the monument was finished by his successor who took over the workshop. The surviving documents reveal some steps in the process of the commission and production. In 1653, they mentioned a drawing displaying the form of the tomb that was to be sent to the master, and they also sent a painted portrait about the deceased as a model for the sculpted one,

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[488] Détshy, "A gyulafehérvári Rákóczi-síremlékek," 26 and 28, footnote 24.
[489] Ibid., 26.
[490] Herczog tried to answer this latter question by suggesting a Transylvanian stay of Antonio even before he moved to Cracow. See Herzog, "Újabb adatok," 548-550.
[491] Détshy, "A gyulafehérvári Rákóczi-síremlékek," 28, footnote 24.
[492] Ibid., 26.

as was probably done also in the case of György Rákóczi I.[493] The master expected the commissioner to provide him also with the text to inscribe on the monument,[494] and the commissioner side was to decide whether they wished to see one or two alabaster figures, in what form and in what size. The exact measures of the already standing tomb of György Rákóczi I had to be sent as well, so they probably adjusted the new memorial to that. Wagoners transporting wine to Cracow were ordered to bring the stones by their carts which were otherwise empty on their way back to Transylvania. The transportation started on November 1654 and the elements were already in Hungary, at Sárospatak in January 1655.[495]

The written documents, the structure of the dark marble side altars, and the few fragments now in the lapidary of the Bishopric help to imagine these memorials (Figure 54, Figure 55, Figure 56). Sebastiano Sala wrote a letter in July about the planned tomb of György Rákóczi I to Zsigmond Rákóczi (who was still alive then), in which he described how he would have prepared the memorial: with the figure of the prince in a suit of armor, the face and hands made of alabaster, and certain parts of the figure would have been gilded.[496] Both the descriptions and the fragments testify that dark grey ("black") and white marble (alabaster) was used.[497] The fragments in the lapidary include dark grey marble blocks with volutes, and the inscription plaque from the tomb of György Rákóczi I is exhibited in the western porch of the cathedral (Cat. No. 17).[498] The four side altars were made of similar dark marble with pinkish columns, and one of them displays alabaster cherub heads.[499] These elements appear also on the memorial of Piotr Opaliński in the parish church of Sieraków, which was created by Sebastiano Sala in 1641-42 (Figure 114). Here the central niche of the dark marble architecture accommodates the kneeling figure of the deceased flanked by the standing figures of two saints,

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[493] They mentioned a painted portrait in the correspondence also in that case. The documents were also discovered and published by Mihály Détshy. Ibid., 28, footnote 25, 29-30, footnote 23.
[494] The inscription was put down by Péter Bod in the eighteenth century. Bod, *Hungarus tymbaules*, 81-82. A longer version was found by Árpád Mikó. Mikó, "Báthory István király," 133, footnote 109. Based on the texts, the funeral monument commemorated also György's brother, Ferenc.
[495] Détshy, "A gyulafehérvári Rákóczi-síremlékek," 27.
[496] Ibid., 28, footnote 29.
[497] György Enyedi describing the destruction of the memorials by the Tatar forces in 1658, see ibid., 27.
[498] Some fragmens of the monuments were taken to the Jósika Castle in Micești, and in 1837, they were seen in the park there. See Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 141. In the second half of the nineteenth century, black marble blocks were located around the side altars. Ferenc Kazinczy, *Erdélyi levelek* (Transylvanian letters) (Budapest: Aigner Lajos, 1880), 287.
[499] Márton Sarkadi published a picture and the description of an alabaster shell ornament belonging to one of the wall monuments. Sarkadi, *"s folytatva magát a régi művet"*, 224-225, Cat. No. 251.225.

all three made of alabaster.[500] There is, however, no information on the number and pose of the figures on the two Rákóczi tombs.[501]

Red marble memorials

The few red marble tombs that emerge from the sea of limestone and sandstone carvings were clearly imported even if there are no documents informing about their origins, since red marble was not quarried in Transylvania. In the Middle Ages, hard red limestone (locally called "marble") was mined in a large scale in the Gerecse Mountains in Central Hungary (Figure 115, Figure 116), and Austrian red marble also occure among the medieval stone carvings. Red marble associated with porphyry was used for decorative display at constructions by the medieval Hungarian royal court, probably following Byzantine models, and medieval sources even apply the term "porphyry" for red marble carvings.[502] This stone material was extensively used in tomb production from the second half of the fourteenth century (the 1360-80s), first for tomb chests of the royal family members, and later also among the *barones*, the nobility, the clergy, and the burghers. Soon it became only a financial issue to have a red marble memorial, primarily a heraldic ledger. These tombs, similar in style and form, supposedly produced in specialized workshops in the central area of the kingdom, in Buda and Esztergom, were spread into an area ranging from Transylvania to Bosnia and southern Poland.[503]

After the Ottoman Turkish occupation of Buda and the central part of the country, these workshops ceased operating. In the second half of the sixteenth and the seventeenth century, many red marble memorials were erected in Upper Hungary under Habsburg rule. These included ledgers, wall monuments, epitaphs, and tomb chests, with figural as well as with heraldic decoration. Some of these were proved to have been imported from Austria or Poland, but in some cases the possibility of local production has also been raised.[504] A research team of geologists recently started to develop methods to distinguish red marble materials of Central European origins, and all their samples from after the mid-sixteenth century proved to originate

[500] Détshy, "A gyulafehérvári Rákóczi-síremlékek," 28 and 27, fig. 21.
[501] Détshy hypothesized a standing figure in armor suit in the central niche of the tomb of György Rákóczi I, a type that was also wide-spread in Poland. Ibid., 28. Árbád Mikó assumed that, based on the analogies, the tombs were equipped with kneeling figures, probably in niches, under the Crucifix, and that they might have followed the Báthory monument also in this respect. Mikó, "Báthory István király," 123.
[502] Lővei, "'Virtus, es, marmor, scripta'," 38-55; Lővei, "Salzburg und Gran," 411; Lővei, "Uralkodói kőanyagok," 79-109.
[503] This presentation of medieval red marble tomb production is based on Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 495-523; Lővei, "A tömött vörös mészkő – 'vörös márvány'," 3-28; Pál Lővei, "Kőanyagvizsgálat, művészettörténet, műemlékvédelem," (Analysis of stone materials, art history, monument protection) *Archeometriai Műhely*, no. 3 (2005), http://www.ace.hu/am/ (accessed December 20, 2017); Lővei et al., "Vörös és fehér díszítőkövek," 75-82.
[504] See Mikó, "Késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékek," 625-660.

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from Austria. However, since they worked with relatively few samples, it requires further clarification whether the producers of early modern red marble memorials erected in Upper Hungary used exclusively Austrian stones, if they re-carved also some medieval monuments, or if they somehow had access to stone from the Central-Hungarian quarries under Ottoman occupation.[505]

The same questions are relevant concerning the few red marble memorials in Eastern Hungary and Transylvania as well. Two such examples survived from the principality period in the Partium and one relatively early piece from Sibiu.[506] The art historical analysis of the objects suggests that they were all produced outside Transylvania.

A red marble memorial was set up still in the sixteenth century in the parish church of Tileagd, for a member of the Telegdi family identified by the previous research as Miklós Telegdi senior, vice-voivode of Transylvania (Cat. No. 305). The red marble slab that bears no inscription displays the figure of the deceased in a full armor suit, in a standing, triumphal pose, slightly turned right. This kind of representation has no analogy among the surviving funeral monuments from the principality. The figure's feet rest on a lion, he raises a mace above his head with his right hand, and holds the sword on his side with his left. The red marble material was complemented with a metal or stone inlay as the ornament of the helmet. Though the slab is located now vertically, built into the wall of the church, originally it probably served as the top of a tomb chest.[507]

Both the material and the image indicate territories outside Transylvania. The closest analogy of the representation is on the memorial of György Serédy in Bardejov, in Habsburg Hungary (now Slovakia).[508] This was also a tomb chest dismantled now, presenting the figure in an armor, slightly turned right, holding a flag and standing on a lion. The monument that represents the highest quality of craftsmanship among those in Upper Hungary was commissioned from Hieronymus Canavesi in Cracow by the wife of the deceased, Katarzyna Buczyńska de Olszyn, who also came from Poland.[509] The Telegdi tomb was also attributed to

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[505] Lővei, "Kőanyagvizsgálat"; Pintér et al., "The Provenance of 'Red Marble' Monuments," 619-629.
[506] There is only one red marble quarry documented in Transylvania, in the Apuseni Mountains, at Moneasa, but there are no historical sources that would attest the use of this quarry before the mid-nineteenth century. See Felicia-Aneta Oarcea and Spiridon Groza, *Moneasa. Monografie Istorică* (Moneasa. Historical monograph) (Arad: Editura Gutenberg Univers, 2007), 118-121.
[507] Árpád Mikó considers it more probable that it was the part of a wall monument, but Tamás Emődi describes also the molding of the edge of the memorial that is not visible now, since it has been built into the wall. Based on this, he excludes that it would have originally been intended to set into the wall. See Mikó, "Késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékek," 648; Emődi, "A Telegdi család," 191, footnote 116.
[508] Emődi, "A Telegdi család," 178.
[509] Mikó, "Késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékek," 632 and fig. 635 on page 633.

the circle of Canavesi and based on this, the creation of the tomb was dated to the 1560s.[510] In *Chapter 4*, I will return to this memorial and see how this commission and the iconography of the monument can be interpreted along the commemorative traditions of the Telegdi family and their broader social environment.

The tomb of Ferenc Rhédei, Captain of Oradea and councilor of the Prince, was made of red marble as well, about sixty years later than the Telegdi memorial; still, it is a more conservative representative of chivalric tomb chests (Cat. No. 173). The top and a few fragments of the side panels have survived in a secondary position. The figure in full armor appears in a static, symmetrical position on the top, holding a mace with the right hand in front of the chest, and the sword on his side with the left hand. The inscriptions originally on the longer side panels were preserved by an eighteenth-century transcription.[511] A fragment of a side panel was preserved, on which the scrollwork frame of an inscription panel can be identified, the outlines of a small bust on one of the scrolls, and an angel with a palm leaf in its right hand that holds the panel from the left.[512]

Ferenc Rhédei died in 1621, two months after he expressed in his last will his wish to have a funeral monument made for him in Cluj.[513] This red marble tomb chest was, however, not prepared in Cluj but probably in Upper Hungary, since its closest analogies are found there.[514] Rhédei, as captain of Oradea, head of Bihar County, and councilor of the prince, was the second largest estate owner after the ruler; this is the context in which the commission of the single red marble memorial known from the seventeenth century Transylvanian Principality is to be interpreted.[515] Another version of the same type of tomb chest that is clearly more modest concerning the quality of craftsmanship as well as the material was probably also imported from Upper Hungary, to the parish church of Săcueni, for Tamás Zólyomi (d. 1588, Cat. No. 182).[516]

The third red marble memorial is in Sibiu: the ledger of Salome Ursula Hedwig, wife of Royal Judge Augustin Hedwig (d. 1567, Cat. No. 234). Zsigmond Kékedi, head of the court of Prince György Rákóczi I, also requested a red marble memorial with a sculpted figure (*statua*

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[510] Emődi, "A Telegdi család," 180.
[511] Iván Nagy, "Rhédey Ferenc epitaphiuma" (The epitaph of Ferenc Rhédey), *Századok* 8 (1874): 355-356; Mikó, "A szentjobbi monostor és vár," 261-262.
[512] Emődi, "A Telegdi család," 179 and fig. 177 on page 181.
[513] Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3*, 12-14, 80-83.
[514] E.g. the tomb chest of István Dobó (d. 1572, Ruská) erected several decades earlier; see Emődi, "A Telegdi család," 179. For the Dobó tomb chest, see Mikó, "Késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékek," 646-648.
[515] Ildikó Horn, *ndérország útvesztői* (The labyrinth of a Fairy Land) (Budapest: ELTE BTK, 2005), 244, 255.
[516] Emődi, "A Telegdi család," 179, fig. 175 on page 180, endnote 119 on page 192; Mikó, "Késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékek," 648.

– statue) in his last will written in 1638.[517] He wished to be buried in the court church in Alba Iulia, so this is where the memorial he asked from his brother would have been sent, but there is no information on whether his wish was realized or not. The testament did not specify where to acquire the memorial, but based on the material, the request implies an imported piece.

The Jagellonian tomb chests and the related pieces

The question of foreign origins has been raised in the scholarship concerning two more figural tomb chests: those commemorating Queen Isabelle and Prince John Sigismund. In contrast with the relatively richly documented wall memorials erected for the later rulers and their family members, no written sources inform on the provenance of these two tombs that survived in an almost complete form in the Alba Iulia cathedral. Neither does their material— white or light grey marble grained with light brown and darker grey—help to answer the question in the lack of any scientific analysis, since this kind of marble occurs within the territory of Transylvania as well.[518] These two are not the only tombs that were carved from this type of stone, a series of other pieces are found in the southern zone of Transylvania that display a broad variety concerning their type and iconography.

The memorial of John Sigismund is a freestanding tomb chest with the figural representation of the deceased on the top, in a full armor suit, holding a mace in his right hand and a sword on his side with his left hand (Cat. No. 5). His head rests on a brocade pillow and his feet on a breast-plate. The crown and the orb was organized by his head and his helmet by his feet. He is flanked by two angels: the one on his right holds his coat of arms and the one on his left appears with a lion. The main figure's head and a part of the chest was broken off. The long side panels display battle scenes in low relief, both flanked by two protruding herm figures: a female, a male with feather wings, a figure with butterfly wings, and the fourth one is missing. One of the short side panels was also lost and it has been replaced with a smaller panel originating from another tomb (Cat. No. 20). The other short side is composed of an empty (inscription?) field framed by beading, strapwork, fruit bunches, and lance-shaped laurel leaves with berries. The base of the tomb chest and the side of the top is richly molded with egg-and-

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[517] Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3*, 124-128.
[518] It seems that the white marble material for the memorial of Voivode Matei Basarab was also transported from Transylvania to Arnota. See Chiaia, "Date noi," 117.

dart and variations of acanthus leaves. There are no inscriptions on the tomb chest, though it might have been located on the lost side panel, or perhaps on a separate inscription plaque.[519]

Queen Isabelle is represented on the top of her tomb chest in a rich brocade garment, wearing her crown. The orb was laid on the brocade pillow supporting the queen's head. She holds a mace in her right hand and a cloth in her left. Her coat of arms as a queen and the Jagiellonian coat of arms appear at her feet which rest on the back of an angel bust flanked by two volutes turned towards the short side of the tomb chest. The structure has only one long side panel since it was designed to set up against the wall, with a diagonally sloping top. The long panel displays the story of the Good Samaritan in a flat relief, in a manner similar to the battle scenes on the tomb of John Sigismund. The scene extends on the corner element of the structure on the "feet side" of the tomb chest; the corresponding block from the other corner on the "head side" was lost. Both short side panels display an empty plaque framed by strapwork and lance-shaped laurel leaves, with an angel figure on the upper side emerging from "behind" the empty inscription plaque. The molding of the base and the cornice of the top is similar to that on John Sigismund's tomb chest, and no inscriptions are found on this memorial either.[520]

The creator of the two tomb chests has been an enigma for research. László Éber emphasized the high level of craftsmanship but also the provincial qualities, and he identified both Italian and German influences. He suggested that the tombs possibly originated from Poland.[521] In contrast, Jolán Balogh incorporated them into the history of Hungarian art in Transylvania, acknowledging the German influence but attributing it to a Hungarian master from Cluj.[522] She pointed out that the composition of the reliefs on the side panels shows the influence of German prints, and dated the Isabelle tomb chest to the years after 1565, whilst assigning the John Sigismund tomb to the period between 1571 and 1575. She attributed their commission to Prince István Báthory during the years before he became the King of Poland.[523] In contrast, Árpád Mikó determined the two memorials to be the products of the same workshop

[519] Antal Szeredai did not see any texts on the tomb chest either; see Szeredai, *Collectio*, 23. Árpád Mikó interpreted the lack of inscriptions as a conscious solution to avoid mentioning the questionable status of John Sigismund as an elected king of Hungary. Mikó, "Gótika és barokk között," 27.

[520] Péter Bod published an epitaph of Queen Isabelle, but he did not specify where he saw it; see Bod, *Hungarus tymbaules*, 16, No. XI. He noted in several cases if the epitaph in question was incised on stone or he copied it from a tomb monument, but not in each case,. This is proven by those verses published by him without any comment that survived also in stone, e.g. on the memorials in Tileagd.

[521] Éber, "Erdélyi szobrászati emlékek," 177.

[522] Balogh, "A későrenaissance és korabarokk művészet," 560. Her opinion was taken over by János Herepei and Géza Entz, see Herepei, *Bocskai Gábor egeresi síremléke és mestere*, note No. 21; Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 140.

[523] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 220. She raised the idea that the battle scene frescoes in the Alba Iulia palace could have been the transmitting media; consequently, she hypothesized that the monuments were produced locally, depicting a particular battle of John Sigismund. Ibid., 381.

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created at the same time. He suggested a dating similar to that by Balogh: the years between 1571, the death of John Sigismund, and 1576, the year of István Báthory's accession to the Polish throne.[524] Mikó also hypothesized István Báthory as the patron of these two funeral monuments, preceding the commission of the wall memorial of his brother, Prince Kristóf.[525] Though Giovanandrea Gromo mentioned Isabelle's tomb already in the second half of the 1560s as one of those that survived the Protestant iconoclasm in 1565, he wrote about a "humble resting place" (*un humil deposito*) which does not seem to refer to the white figural tomb chest.[526]

Jolán Balogh based her assumption that Isabelle's and John Sigismund's tomb chests were produced in Transylvania on the similarity she noticed between them, especially that of John Sigismund, and the tomb of Governor János Hunyadi (Figure 49, Figure 50): the side panels were decorated with battle scene reliefs in both cases.[527] This similarity is not a coincidence, since the battle scenes on both the Hunyadi tomb and on John Sigismund's tomb chests made about four decades later followed the composition of German woodcuts.[528] The memorials of Queen Isabelle and John Sigismund represented a more modern version of the same tradition of tomb chests as the one commemorating Hunyadi,[529] and corresponded to what was perceived as a prestigious form of funeral monument according to the local tradition, but executed in a durable and aesthetic material.[530] Still, the Hunyadi memorial could serve as a model in terms of the iconography even if the Jagiellonian tomb chests were produced abroad, though in this case, not for the sculptor but for the commissioner. The documents related to the funeral monuments imported from Poland testifies that the commissioner was involved in the decisions on the exact appearence of the product even in those prominent workshops. The

[524] Mikó, "Báthory István király," 124-125; Mikó, "Csatajelenet," 299; Árpád Mikó, "Reneszánsz" (Renaissance), in *Magyar művészet a kezdetektől 1800-ig* (Hungarian art from the beginnings to 1800), ed. Géza Galavics, et al. (Budapest: Corvina, 2001), 290; Mikó and Verő, *Mátyás király öröksége*, 27-28; Mikó, *A reneszánsz Magyarországon*, 173-175. He referred to some written sources proving that the tomb of John Sigismund was not ready at the time of his death but he did not specify which are these.
[525] Mikó, "Báthory István király," 125.
[526] Giovanandrea Gromo, "Compendio di tutto il regno posseduto dal Re Giovanni Transilvano ed di tutte le cose notabili d' esso Regno, ed. by Aurel Decei" *Apulum (Buletinul Muzeului Regional Alba Julia)* 2 (1943-45): 175; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 91.
[527] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 220; Balogh, "A reneszánsz építészet és szobrászat Erdélyben," 148.
[528] Ritoók-Szalay, "Hunyadi János," 298; Mikó, "Csatajelenet," 299. Jolán Balogh dated the Hunyadi tomb chest to the 1460s, as a representative of a local proto-Renaissance style, but Ágnes Ritoók-Szalay modified the dating to 1533, based on a newly discovered transcription of the texts otherwise lost by now. See *Chapter 2*, 77-88 on the scholarly debates around the Hunyadi memorials and the Alba Iulia cathedral.
[529] The trend to represent narrative scenes referring to the life of the deceased has been identified already in the fifteenth-century Kingdom of Hungary, with the rise of Humanism, in the form of a relief fragment from the side panel of a tomb chest that survived from Nagyvázsony. See Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 436-437.
[530] See also Mikó, "Báthory István király," 125. I will return to the social interpretation of the form and the iconography in *Chapter 4*.

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patron may have had a local model in mind when he chose from the solutions offered by the stone cutter, so the tomb chests of Isabelle and John Sigismund could fit into the local context as a result of a similar negotiation process to the one documented about the memorials from Poland.

Recognizing the possible role of similar iconographic models, Árpád Mikó, in contrast with Jolán Balogh, defined the ornamental style and not the iconography as a decisive element when hypothesizing the place of production. He found it more probable that the ready-made Jagiellonian tomb chests were imported from abroad, since the carvings are completely alien to anything else seen in Transylvania, though he could not define their place of origin either. Since he knew about a few fragments in the Alba Iulia cathedral that are connected in their ornamental style to the tomb chests, he suggested that those were also imported together with the Jagiellonian memorials.[531] The circle of the related objects is, however, getting broader as the research connected with the cathedral proceeds, and the appearance of the ornamental style is not restricted to Alba Iulia.

In *Chapter 2*, I mentioned some of those pieces in and around the cathedral that cluster around the Jagiellonian tomb chests concerning their ornamental motifs. They include five fragments from side panels of tomb chests (Cat. No. 7, 8, 19, 20, and Figure 57, Figure 58). It is not clear whether we are dealing with one or more dismantled tomb chests. The heraldry and the inscription connects at least two fragments to the memorial set up by Ferenc Kendi for his father, Antal Kendi, and maybe also for the brother of the latter, Ferenc, and I find it likely that all five pieces belonged to the same structure.

This group of fragments were connected to the Isabelle and John Sigismund tomb chests by researchers a long time ago, based on stylistic considerations. Indeed, the two short side panels of both tomb chests display the same strapwork and pointed laurel leaves with berries, though the "head side" short panel of John Sigismund's monument was decorated with its more complex version, including also pomegranates and scalloped leaves. The simpler version of the ornamental style appears on one more funeral monument in the cathedral: on the ledger I identified in *Chapter 2* as the lost funeral monument of György Lencsés, author of the first medical writing in Hungarian (Cat. No. 9). The details are not visible any more on the worn surface of the stone, but the oval central field with a figure holding the rod of Asclepios is flanked by branches with the familiar pointed leaves and berries.

[531] He supposed that the tomb chests and the stylistically related tombs were brought to Transylvania as finished works, while earlier he only emphasized that their style cannot be deduced from the Transylvanian traditions. Mikó, "Reneszánsz," 290.

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The memorial of Despina Paleologa in the Lutheran church of Alţâna was recognized as being somehow related to Isabelle's and John Sigismund's tomb chests already by Jolán Balogh, who attributed it to the same master (1575, Cat. No. 21).[532] The slab also made of grained white marble displays a similar, but simpler strapwork, and the lance-shaped leaves also appear, though not as ornaments but on the trees above the infant and in a somewhat different form. The swaddle and the body of the child underneath was treated similarly to the figures holding the Kendi coat of arms. The memorial of Despina was set up by her parents in 1575. She was the daughter of Jacob Paleologus, a prominent theologian of the international Antitrinitarianism, who sought refuge in Transylvania when his situation became unstable in the religiously less tolerant European countries. He arrived from Poland in 1572 first to Cluj, then to Alţâna, to the estate of the radical Antitrinitarian aristocrat János Gerendi. He stayed there until 1575, then returned to Poland, but kept his contacts with the Transylvanian Antitrinitarian thinkers. In the 1580s, he was finally captured and ended his life due to the Inquisition.[533]

The memorial suggests that his daughter died during his stay in Transylvania. The image of the swaddled infant is without any analogy in Transylvania from those decades (only two swaddled children appear about half a century later: one on the short side panel of the Apafi tomb chest, and another one on the ledger of Barbara Theilesius). The type was, however, well known elsewhere in Europe, and especially popular in Poland where an extremely large number of funeral monuments were erected for children.[534] Though neither the material (hard white limestone with darker grey graining) nor the stylistic forms (simple strapwork) exclude the proposition that the memorial was created in Transylvania and connected somehow to the production of the aforementioned cluster of tombs, the unique type and representation may have been initiated by the patron due to his previous encounter with infants' monuments during his stay in Poland.

The strapwork ornament is combined with scrollwork on two ledgers, which distinguishes them from the grained marble memorials and fragments in Alba Iulia and Alţâna. These two funeral monuments are so similar that they must have been produced in the same workshop. The tomb of Simon Miles, seat judge and mayor in Sibiu (d. 1576; Cat. No. 233)

[532] Balogh, "A késő renaissance és korabarokk művészet," 560. (Balogh determined it as the tomb of the daughter of Jakab Páll).
[533] On Paleologus and his role in the Transylvanian Antitrinitarianism, see Gustav Gündisch, "Zum siebenbürgischen Aufenthalt des Jacobus Palaeologus," *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 4 (1966): 71-79; Mihály Balázs, *Early Transylvanian Antitrinitarianism 1567–1571. From Servet to Palaeologus* (Baden-Baden: Éditions Valentin Koerner, 1996).
[534] Łabno, *Commemorating the Polish Renaissance Child*.

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displays the coat of arms on the upper half of the slab in an oval frame composed of rich strap- and scrollwork. The long, lance-shaped leaves with berries known from the tombs in Alba Iulia appear as well, behind the two griffins that flank a lion head incorporated into the frame of the inscription plaque. The other funeral monument commemorates Zamphira, daughter of the Wallachian Voivode Moise, who was buried in the church of the Orthodox Prislop Monastery erected by herself (d. after 1580, Cat. No. 179). The ledger was made of a more modest material, sandstone, and displays a simpler form of the previous composition: the coat of arms of Wallachia is displayed in a similar oval frame with strap-and scrollwork. The characteristic draperies pulled through the strapwork appear here as well under and above the inscription plaque, but in this case, the griffins were replaced by crosses. The ornamental style connects both ledgers to the memorials in the Alba Iulia court church.[535]

Four ledgers in the Lutheran church in Sibiu display a related, but slightly different version of this ornamental style. The furthermost variation can be detected on the memorial of Blasius Rhau (d.1587, Cat. No. 239). The—largely damaged and reconstructed—upper part of Michael Hellwig's tomb is composed of the portrait busts of a couple in relief (d. 1591, Cat. No. 244). The emblem of Hellwig's profession appears underneath, in a laurel wreath held by a lion and a griffin and framed by strap- and scrollwork, similarly to the two inscription plaques above and below. The symmetrical, rounded scrolls are formed in a characteristic manner, which is even more conspicuous on the ledger of Dorothea Lutsch born Schirmer (d. 1604; Cat. No. 248) and of Albert Huet (d. 1607; Cat. No. 251). The coat of arms is held by lions and griffins on all three ledgers. Both this motif and the symmetrical, round scrolls are similar to the ornaments on the red marble tomb chest of Prince Zsigmond Rákóczi (1607-1608) in Szerencs (1618), in the Kingdom of Hungary under Habsburg rule that time (Figure 117). The ledger of Dorothea Lutsch is the first surviving example in Transylvania with cherub heads in the upper corners, a motiv that later became popular.

To sum up, the same sculptural and ornamental style can be identified on memorials in Alba Iulia, Sibiu, Prislop, and Alţâna, but the chronology of these pieces is more problematic. In Alba Iulia, the only piece that bears a date is the ledger of György Lencsés, from 1594. The Kendi brothers were executed in 1558, so the tomb chest with the Kendi heraldry was clearly

[535] András Kovács also defined the ornamental style of Zamifira's memorial as being related to the environment of Alba Iulia that time. András Kovács, "Date privind viaţa Zamfirei, fiica lui Moise-Vodă" (Data on the life of Zamfira, the daughter of Moise-Vodă), *Anuarul Institutului de istorie şi arheologie Cluj-Napoca* 27 (1987): 355. Neither did András Kovács, nor did I have the possibility to study the tomb monument on site. However, I received new photographs from Dragos Nastasoiu—to whom I would like to express my gratitude—in addition to the photo (probably bearing traces of retouch) published in Vătăşianu, *Istoria artelor plastice*, vol 1, fig. 429.

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created some decades later. The Jagiellonian tomb chests, which with all likelihood represented the first examples of this ornamental style, were set up after 1571, the death of John Sigismund. The next datable example of the ornamental style is the ledger of Simon Miles in Sibiu, who died in 1576, and it was followed by that of Zamfira (d. 1580) and Despina Paleologa, the latter dated to 1585 in the inscription.

This wide chronological range makes it difficult to interpret the transmission of ornamental style in terms of movement of people or objects. On one hand, I do not consider it very likely that all the memorials similar in their style to the Jagiellonian tomb chests were ordered from abroad; on the other hand, the Jagiellonian tomb chests were clearly the products of a stonecutter who was educated outside Transyvania. The example of the later wall monuments imported from Poland shows that even if the sculptural work was done abroad, the master came with the elements to Transylvania to supervise the installation. The process was the same in the case of the tomb chest made for the Prince of Wallachia by Elias Nicolai, stonecutter from Sibiu, whom I will present in more details below. From his activity, his travel to Wallachia is relevant here, accompanying the memorial he created to set up in Tîrgovişte, the Wallachian rulers' seat. A few other tombs in Tîrgovişte can also be related to the activity of Elias Nicolai concerning their ornamental style, so the picture is similar to the one around the two tomb chests in Alba Iulia. Based on these stone carvings, it seems that Elias Nicolai received some other smaller commissions there, and his works could also serve as a model for other stone cutters. Something similar might have happened to the sculptor of the Jagiellonian tomb chests as well: he might have come to Transylvania and might have taken some more commissions, maybe even more than what we know now based on the surviving pieces.

However, this hypothesis does not explain those stones in the group that can be dated as late as the 1590s. Did a member of the foreign workshop stay in Transylvania and produce funeral monuments for the local elite? Did someone else arrive from the same region to fill a niche in the local market? Did one or more local master pick up the new ornamental style? The surviving sources—that is, only the stones—do not allow us to give a clear answer. The most problematic element in the speculation is that up to now, nobody has been able to tie convincingly the stone carvings to any part of Europe, or to identify which region the tomb chests or their creator came from. The ornamental style itself was widespread in the form of graphic prints, for example, by Jost Amman, whose compositions seem to have served as the source for the battle and Samaritan scenes on John Sigismund's and Queen Isabelle's tomb

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chests.[536] The origin of the stone material constitutes a further layer in the problem of origins. Its analysis could help to clarify at least one question: in case the stone proves to be of Transylvanian origins, the carving work was probably also done in Transylvania. It is another question, however, what this information would tell about the "local" or "imported" character of the works, and whether it is useful concerning the interpretation to think along these categories at all.

Memorials of foreign origin in Sibiu

The following two memorials have already been treated in *Chapter 2* in the context of the epitaph problem. They are both small stone plaques fixed on the church wall, and both are unique examples of forms that are otherwise unknown in Transylvania, though very popular in the German and Austrian territories as well as in the Kingdom of Hungary under Habsburg rule. This is why they have to be mentioned here again, among the memorials that resulted from an "import" in a certain sense.

Strapwork ornament appeared in Transylvania with the group arond the Jagiellonian tomb chests presented above, but a scrollwork frame can be detected even earlier around inscription plaques in the form of a cartouche, on a single memorial: that of Margaretha Budai, (or Ofner in German), wife of Peter Haller Junior, who died in 1566 (Cat. No. 225). Her memorial plaque in the Lutheran church in Sibiu represents her and her children kneeling in front of the Crucifix, complemented with inscription plaques in the form of cartouches framed by scrollwork. The Hallers in Sibiu originated from a rich patrician family in Nuremberg whose wealth was based on trade and banking. Sources from the 1480s mention their representative in Buda, whose son, Peter Senior, father-in-law of Margaretha, was already a citizen of Sibiu in 1527. Later he was appointed royal judge of the town and acquired nobility as well. Nevertheless, the family kept their tight personal connections with their relatives in Nuremberg.[537] The bronze grave monument of Peter Senior set up in the Lutheran church in

[536] See, for example, Jane S. Peters, ed. *German Masters of the Sixteenth Century. Jost Amman: Intaglio Prints and Woodcuts*, The Illustrated Bartsch, vol. 20, part 1 (formerly vol. 9, part 3), (New York: Abaris Books, 1985), 127, 129.171 (357); 133, 129.175 (357); 214, 112.124 (360); 215, 112.125 (360); 218, 112.128 (360); 357, 123.122 (367); 768, 112.151 and 112.152 (374); 769, 112.154 (374); 772, 112.160 (374); 773, 112.161 and 112.162 (374); 775, 112.165 and 112.166 (374).

[537] János Haller, whose chapel construction in Sânpaul was analyzed in *Chapter 2*, 83-86, descended from the same family, and I attibuted the construction to him based on a letter of a relative visiting from Nuremberg. My presentation of the family is based on Szabó, "Haller Gábor," 11-16. See also Nagy, *Magyarország családai*, vol 5, 26-27; András Kubinyi, "A nürnbergi Hallerek Budán: adalékok a késö középkori dél-német kereskedelem történetéhez" (The Haller family from Nuremberg in Buda. New data on the history of late medieval trade from South Germany), in *Tanulmányok Budapest középkori történetéről, vol. 2* (Studies on the medieval history of Budapest), ed. András Kubinyi, Várostörténeti tanulmányok 10 (Budapest: Budapest Főváros Levéltára, 2009), 705-741.

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Sibiu was produced in the German town and transported from there to Transylvania (Figure 118).[538] The appearance of a new ornamental style and in Transylvania unique form of the memorial of Margaretha Budai can probably also be attributed to the foreign relations of the family.

The memorial of the French royal councillor, Leodegar de Montagnac, was also mentioned in the sub-chapter discussing the epitaph issue in Transylvania. He died on his way as a legate to the Ottoman Porte, and a special form of heraldic plaque was installed as his memorial in Sibiu by his brother as stated in the inscription (Cat. No. 230).[539] The choice of the unusual form can be attributed to the foreign origins of the subject and the commissioner here as well.

* * *

All the memorials discussed in this sub-chapter originated from outside the borders of the Transylvanian Principality in some respect, but the extent and way in which their "imported" or "foreign" characteristics can be understood and determined varies. The case of the wall monuments imported from Poland is exceptionally clear, since written sources testify to the circumstances of their production. The elements of the structures were carved in Poland from locally applied material. They were transported to Transylvania in pieces, where the presence of the master was required to assemble the structures. Concerning the red marble memorials, both the material and the formal qualities point towards the same direction: west of Transylvania, Upper Hungary or Little Poland. In this group, the depth in which the origins of the tombs can be determined depends on the level of our knowledge of the production systems and production units (sculptors, tomb-makers, workshops) all over Central Europe.

The most complicated cluster is the one around the Jagiellonian tomb chests, since they clearly show some cohesion in their ornamental style and material that distinguishes them from their Transylvanian context, but due to their diverse geographical and chronological position, they cannot be explained in a uniform manner. This group calls attention to the fact that the nature of import could also be diverse: it could mean the purchase of a ready-made monument abroad, the invitation of a foreign stonecutter who could even accompany a finished or half-finished product to Transylvania, an imported material, or the combination of all these. In the lack of other sources, it is very difficult—or even impossible—to distinguish these cases from the products of "local" masters who followed foreign models in any respect. These conclusions

[538] Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 61-62, Cat. No. 57.
[539] Ibid., 73-74, Cat. No. 67.

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already suggest, and the following sub-chapters will demonstrate that the understanding of the term "local" is not less complicated either.

3.2. Transylvanian frameworks of tomb production: local supply

Tomb-makers were available also within the borders of Transylvania for those who did not want or could not afford to order a memorial from abroad. Those craftsmen who can be identified as creating funeral monuments were not specialized exclusively in this direction, but produced all sorts of decorative and architectural elements of carved stone: door- and window frames, mantelpieces, coats of arms, and the bulk of their activity seems to have been constituted by commissions related to constructions. Written documents testify to the frameworks of their operation and this has been treated extensively by previous scholarship.[540] The largest-scale constructions were executed for commissions from the princes' court, but some of the stonecutters working there came from the urban organizational framework of craft activity, the guilds. According to the guild regulations, masters were obliged to go and contribute with their work when called by the prince, as well as to take part in the constructions of their own cities.[541] They also worked for private commissions both within and outside the town as was verified by Jolán Balogh, who found written and material traces of the activity of members of the Cluj guild at the noble estates in various territories of Transylvania.[542]

Princes often invited masters from abroad too to contribute to their constructions. These craftsmen mostly came from the direction of the Kingdom of Hungary under Habsburg rule and Vienna, and their number was especially significant during the time of Prince Gábor Bethlen and Prince György Rákóczi I.[543] However, it has been a challenge for the researchers to identify their activity testified by written sources with specific carved stone or built remains. The fact that such masters contributed to the creation of memorials as well is attested by only one written document, the last will of chancellor Farkas Kovacsóczy from 1590. In this, he expressed his wish to be interred in the court church in Alba Iulia, in the grave he had prepared for himself, covered with the tomb he had ordered and which was to be presented by his friend, Simone

[540] See primarily Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek* and works by András Kovács.
[541] Kovács, "Az építkező Bethlen Gábor," 234.
[542] See Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*. The organization of craftwork at early modern constructions has been researched by Tibor Koppány, mostly focusing on the Kingdom of Hungary under Habsburg rule. See Tibor Koppány, "Építési gyakorlat a 17. századi Magyarországon a tervezéstől a megvalósításig" (Consruction practice in seventeenth-century Hungary, from design to realization), *Építés-Építészettudomány* 19, no. 3-4 (1987-88): 449-488; Tibor Koppány, "A kastélyépítés folyamata a 16–17. századi Magyarországon a királyi engedélytől a befejezésig" (The process of castle construction in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Hungary, from royal permission to finalization), *Építés-Építészettudomány* 43, no. 3-4 (2015): 209-235.
[543] Kovács, "I. Rákóczi György fejedelem erdélyi építkezéseiről," 63-96; Kovács, "Képfaragók és dekorátorok," 163-178.

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Genga, the architect of the Prince.[544] The reconstructed career of Elias Nicolai, that will be presented below in details, suggests that he was probably from among the craftsmen who arrived in Transylvania to work at the commissions provided by Prince Gábor Bethlen, but later settled down in Sibiu and pursued his activity as a member of the local guild.[545]

Tomb-makers worked within the masons' or stonecutters' guilds.[546] They were called *lapicidae* in Latin, *Steinmetz* or *Bildhauer* in German, or *kőmíves* in Hungarian (meaning someone shaping or carving stone).[547] Antonio de Castello, for instance, was called *artis lapicidariae magister* in his obligation letter,[548] Elias Nicolai was labeled as *Bild- und Steinhauer* in the documents,[549] Sigismund Möss was called *Bildhawer* and *Schnitzler*,[550] and Jacob Srawo also signed his work as *Bildhawer* (Cat. No. 181). János Seres, the member of the masons' guild in Cluj, was defined as *insignis sculptor ... lapidum* in his own tomb inscription (Cat. No. 78).

The earliest regulation of guilds in four Saxon towns in Transylvania was issued in 1376, but masons and stonecutters were not included among the nineteen crafts affected by them; their representatives worked without such an organizational and legal framework.[551] Scholarship keeps count of the masons' guild registered in Cluj in 1525 as the first such organization in Transylvania and as the second in time within medieval Kingdom of Hungary, after the masons' guild in Buda founded in the late fifteenth century.[552] However, Gernot Nussbächer listed a document from Sighişoara, in which the town magistrate confirmed the

[544] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 221, 304. Kovacsóczy wrote a second testament a year later, in which he provided the text he wanted to have inscribed on his own memorial. Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 2*, 143-146. The Italian Simone Genga was the architect of the prince between about 1585 and 1602, see András Kovács and Mircea Ţoca, "Arhitecţi italieni în Transilvania în secolelor al XVI-lea şi al XVII-lea" (Italian architects in Transylvania in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), *Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai, Seria Historica* 18 (1973): 107-115, 228-229. Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 208-217.

[545] See Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 216-220; Kovács, "Képfaragók és dekorátorok," 170-171.

[546] Wood sculptors were treated separately where they were mentioned, together with the carpenters and painters, in the sixteenth-century guild documents of Braşov, see Gernot Nussbächer and Elisabeta Marin, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt. Neunter Band: Zunfturkunden 1420-1580*, vol. 9 (Brasov: Aldus, 1999), 139-141, No. 168; 153-176, No. 176. Seventeenth-century sculptors, such as Elias Nicolai and Sigismund Möss worked bothin woodandin stone, but this has no trace in their guild affiliation.

[547] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 11.

[548] Herzog, "Újabb adatok," 542.

[549] Anonym, "Steinmetz Elias Nicolai" *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 25 (1902): 70-72; Éber, "Apaffi György," 97-113; Roth, *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik*, 90.

[550] Victor Roth, "Sigismundus Möss, Bildhauer (+1676)" *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 35 (1912): 145.

[551] Lajos Szádeczky, *Iparfejlődés és a czéhek története Magyarországon* (The development of industry and the history of the guilds in Hungary) (Budapest: Országos Iparegyesület, 1913), 20, 31, 35; Géza Kovách and Pál Binder, *A céhes élet Erdélyben* (The life of guilds in Transylvania) (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1981), 9-11, 57-65. The first stonecutters appear in the list of the Hungarian tax paying inhabitants of Cluj from 1453, see Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 25.

[552] Kovách and Binder, *A céhes élet Erdélyben*, 27; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 26.

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satutes of the masons' guild in 1513.[553] The subsequent statutes of a masons' guild survived from Mediaş from 1539,[554] followed by one from Sibiu in 1552[555] and 1569,[556] then from Braşov in 1570.[557].

The guild statutes from Cluj issued in 1525 and their confirmation from 1589 contain a fairly detailed presentation of the structure and operation of the guild.[558] Two types of masters were distinguished: the *lapicidae* building walls but also carving stone, and the *murarii* who only built walls. The master work of the *lapicidae*, the stonecutters, was a carved stone Renaissance doorframe flanked by pilasters, while the *murarii*, the masons had to prove that they were capable of building a crossvault. Guild members included both Hungarians and Germans, and among the first masters there was also an Italian named "Olaz" in Hungarian.[559] Not every mason or stonecutter was a guild member though. Stonecutters who were not guild members were also allowed to work in Cluj, but they could not benefit from the guild membership, they were not allowed to keep assistants and to work collaboratively.[560]

Since Cluj is the town where the activity of the guilds is documented in the most details by preserved documents, I will start with that an overview of urban tomb makers. I use the term "tomb maker" for craftsmen who carved funeral monuments, but, as it will turn out, stonecutters did not specialize in tomb making. In addition to stone memorials, they produced all kinds of carved stone structures for constructions in and outside the urban space.

[553] Gernot Nussbächer, *Documente privind meşteşugurile din Sighişoara. Catalog de documente 1376-1598* (Documents on the crafts in Sighişoara. Catalog of the documents, 1376-1598) (Brasov: Editura Aldus, 1998), 28. Szádeczky knew the first document from Sighişoara only from 1757; see Szádeczky, *Iparfejlődés és a czéhek története Magyarországon*, vol. 2, 337.
[554] Viktor Werner, *Die Mediascher Zunft-Urkunden* (Mediasch: Druck Reissneberger, 1910), 33; Stefan Pascu, *Meşteşugurile din Transilvania până în secolul al XVI-lea* (Crafts in Transylvania until the sixteenth century) (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1954), 195; Kovách and Binder, *A céhes élet Erdélyben*, 27.
[555] Szádeczky, *Iparfejlődés és a czéhek története Magyarországon*, vol. 2, 336.
[556] Monica Vlaicu, *Handel und Gewerbe in Hermannstadt und in den Sieben Stühlen: 1224 - 1579* (Hermannstadt [Sibiu] - Heidelberg: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, 2003), 409-413. Here they mention the tower of the masons in the city wall in 1492 and 1493. See ibid., 202-206.
[557] Pascu, *Meşteşugurile din Transilvania*, 195; Kovách and Binder, *A céhes élet Erdélyben*, 27; Nussbächer and Marin, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt. Neunter Band: Zunfturkunden 1420-1580*, 297-303, No. 152. Szádeczky new only about statutes from 1636 and 1713 there. Szádeczky, *Iparfejlődés és a czéhek története Magyarországon*, vol. 2, 328. Kovách and Binder refer to early modern guilds in Oradea and Bistriţa as well, without any further details; the activity of the latter is also attested by at least some of the funeral monuments surviving there, see Cat. No. 32-39. Kovách and Binder, *A céhes élet Erdélyben*, 27. In 1567, Chancellor Mihály Csáki wanted to call stonecutters and masons to the constructions at Rupea from Bistriţa, see Pascu, *Meşteşugurile din Transilvania*, 197.
[558] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 30.
[559] Ibid., 33, 65.
[560] Ibid., 31-32.

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3.3. Masters and tombs from Cluj

From the sixteenth century onwards, the town account books of Cluj contain several stonecutters' names and also mention their products. These account books and the minutes of the town council were studied in this respect by Lajos Kelemen in the 1930s and early 1950s, and his findings were interpreted in the context of surviving stone carvings by Jolán Balogh.[561] She identified fifty-six names from the second half of the sixteenth century,[562] and Annamária Jeney-Tóth continued her work in this respect concerning the seventeenth-century documents.[563] The account books mostly contain data on the works carried out for the town and the Prince, but rarely on private orders by noblemen—only in those cases when the commissioner turned to the town for transporting the stone by wagon. Thus, since funeral monuments were produced for private commissions, they are very rarely mentioned.[564]

The surviving pieces, however, testify that nobles frequently ordered tombs from the Cluj workshops, and such cases can be detected also in some last wills. Ferenc Rhédei, whose red marble tomb chest was discussed above, originally wished to have a memorial from Cluj.[565] Zsigmond Lónyai, *comes* of Bereg County, wanted a memorial either from marble or only from fine, carved stone from Cluj (this source does not refer to the stonecutters but only the stone quarries nearby Cluj).[566] Only one tomb bears the signature of a stonecutter known from the Cluj guild documents: Péter Diószegi signed the tomb chest of György Sükösd in 1632 (Cat. No. 107). According to the documents, he prepared, for example, a coat of arms for the city wall in 1629.[567] There is a reference from 1601 that his father, István Diószegi prepared a tomb (*koporsó*) for the bishop, but the term here can mean the preparation of a walled grave or modest vault as well, not necessarily a funeral monument.[568]

Two memorials in Cluj were marked with a stonecutter's sign. The funeral monument of János Seres mentioned as *insignis sculptor lapidum* in the inscription displays his initials in the shield in a form of his stonecutter's mark (d. 1579, Cat. No. 78). Since the sons of Seres continued his business, it seems logical to suppose that they made the memorial for their father.

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[561] Ibid., 58.
[562] Ibid., 27-28.
[563] Annamária Jeney-Tóth, *Míves emberek a kincses Kolozsvárott. Iparostársadalom a 17. századi Kolozsváron* (Artisians in Cluj, the "City of Treasures." A society of craftsmen in seventeenth-century Cluj), Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek 247 (Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2004), 132-137.
[564] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 28, 58-59. In 1582, a tomb (*koporsókő*) for Pál Parlagi was mentioned in the account books that was wagoned from Cluj to Zalău and probably transported further from there, see ibid., 221, 345.
[565] In 1621, Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3*, 80-83.
[566] The testament dates from 1648. Ibid., 177-190.
[567] Jeney-Tóth, *Míves emberek*, 164.
[568] Ibid.

Jolán Balogh attempted to reconstruct the oeuvre of the stonecutter János Seres building on the previous observations of János Herepei.[569] Herepei discovered Seres's mark on the tomb monument of György Bocskay in Aghireș and assigned him the creation of the ledger which he dated to the years between 1570 and 1573.[570] He connected to Seres the memorial of Erzsébet Mikola in Dumbrava as well, based on stylistic arguments (d. 1575, Cat. No. 143). A different version of the Seres family's sign has been detected on the top of a tomb chest displaying a chivalric figure that has been combined later with the side panels of János Hunyadi's tomb (Cat. No. 18).[571] More recently, Melinda Mihály examined the stone carvings from Cluj with respect to the stonecutters' signs and their testimony on the activity of Seres and his sons. The image turned out to be rather blurry because of the variations of these marks detected on the carved stone monuments.[572]

The other memorial that can be connected to a specific stonecutter was created for a child, István Berkenyesi (d. 1595; Cat. No. 79). It bears a stonecutter's mark probably belonging to the boy's father mentioned in the tomb inscription as well, Máté Berkenyesi. He was also mentioned in the documents in Cluj as the *rector* of the guild, but the sign is not known on any other preserved stone carvings.[573] Jolán Balogh attributed to him two more works based on the appearance of the same type of flowers (tulips) among the ornaments, one of these was the tomb chest of Zsófia Patócsi (d. 1583, Cat. No. 64).[574] However, these attributions are largely dubious, since they are based on isolated motifs.

A series of heraldic memorials originating from the Cluj workshops are found all over Transylvania (mostly the northern part) and they all follow the same tradition, displaying a very simple structure: a coat of arms with or without a laurel wreath around, and an inscription with or without a second one running around on the border.[575] This tradition can be followed up to the late seventeenth century in the material. Certain trends can be observed in the details that appeared and disappeared, such as shields formed with scrolls in the second half of the sixteenth century, the almost calligraphic mantling in the 1580s, tulip-like flowers applied in the corners from the late sixteenth century, the combination of these flowers with a wreath in the late sixteenth – early seventeenth century, and the flatly shaped forms characteristic in the second

[569] Herepei, *Bocskai Gábor egeresi síremléke és mestere*; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 52, 80-83.
[570] Herepei, *Bocskai Gábor egeresi síremléke és mestere*, 14-21. The carved stone elements of the Egeres castle were also attributed to him, primarily a doorframe from 1572.
[571] Mihály, "Monumente," 88. As the closest variant is located on a window frame of the so-called Wolphard-Kakas House dating from 1581, it could only refer to the sons of János Seres.
[572] Ibid., e.g. 177-178, 180-181, 206-107.
[573] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 68.
[574] Ibid., 51-52, 68.
[575] E.g. Cat. No. 1, 69, 70, 72, 78, 137, 142, 146, 293

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half of the seventeenth century. The forms are, however, so simple and in most of the cases so damaged that it is useless to attempt to try to determine masters' oeuvres among the works by the Cluj workshops. Similarities suffice only to ascribe them to Cluj, not to a specific individual. One exception might be the group constituted by the ledger of János Seres (d. 1579, Cat. No. 78), the top that survived from the tomb chest of Mihály Petki (d. 1578, Cat. No. 137), and that of Balázs Tötöri from Tioltiur lost by now but known from a photograph of Jolán Balogh (Figure 59).[576] In these three cases, the mantling is treated in such a similar manner that it might signal a closer connection between the tombs otherwise installed in rather distant parts of Transylvania.

A second group of memorials that were attributed to masters from Cluj besides the heraldic ledgers is constituted by a series of tomb chests. The earliest pieces are some preserved tops with heraldic images: the tomb of János and Zsigmond Gyerőfi in Căpușu Mic from the late sixteenth – early seventeenth century (Cat. No. 72), Mihály Petki in Dârjiu (d. 1578, Cat. No. 137), and of Miklós Telegdi Jr. in Tileagd (d.1583, Cat. No. 306).[577] As already Jolán Balogh observed, the molding of the edge connects the latter two with the figural tomb chest of Zsófia Patócsi (d. 1583, Cat. No. 64).[578] The tomb of Elek Báthori (d. 1587) and the one identified as that of Ferenc Báthori (d. 1589) in Pericei have also been related to the activity of Cluj workshops, Cat. No. 174 and 175). In the latter case, the molding consists of laurel and acanthus leaves.[579] Based on the dating of these tomb chests, the chivalric top now combined with the side panels of the tomb chest of János Hunyadi was probably produced in the 1580s too, and it has been associated with Cluj also through the stonecutter's sign it displays (Cat. No. 18).[580] Tamás Emődi discovered one more fragment from Benic that he connected to this group (Cat. No. 161),[581] and a fragment of the edge of a top housed in the National History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj may have belonged to a similar structure as well (Cat. No. 110).[582]

Tomb chests were produced in the Cluj workshops also in the first half of the seventeenth century. One has survived with a purely heraldic decoration, commemorating Gábor Haller, councilor and treasurer of the Prince (d. 1608), and his wife, Ilona Bocskai (Cat.

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[576] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 353, fig. 285.
[577] Ibid., 220, 221, 327, 340; Emődi, "A Telegdi család," 182-184; Emődi, "Monumente funerare figurative," 136. In this latter paper, Tamás Emődi analyzed specifically the tomb chests with figural tops in Transylvania.
[578] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 51-52, 68, 319-320. One more memorial survived with a female figure that was probably also made in Cluj, the ledger of Krisztina Harinnai in Călugăreni (d. 1640, Cat. No. 68).
[579] Ibid., 220-221; Emődi, "A Telegdi család," 182-183; Emődi, "Monumente funerare figurative," 139-141; Emődi, "Perecsen." I thank Tamás Emődi for providing me with his unpublished manuscript.
[580] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 220 and figs 269-270; Mihály, "Monumente," 88.
[581] Emődi, "A Telegdi család," 182; Emődi, "Monumente funerare figurative," 141, fig. 145.
[582] Mihály, "Monumente," 340, Cat. No. 288.

No. 77). The two seventeenth-century chivalric tomb chests that can be connected to Cluj belong to two different representational types concerning the pose of the figure. The memorial of Kelemen Béldi originally from Budila displays the figure in a strictly symmetrical position, with probably a mace or a rod in his right hand and holding his sword on his side with his left (d. 1627, Cat. No. 204) corresponding to the same tradition as the Rhédei and Zólyomi, as well as the two Báthori tomb chests. However, the tomb chest of Sükösd György—signed by the above mentioned Péter Diószegi—was designed to be installed against the church wall, and represents the figure in a reclining position with one leg pulled up to the other knee and supporting the head with one hand, as a distant derivative of the figures on Polish wall monuments (1632, Cat. No. 107).[583]

Another element of the Sükösd tomb chest can be traced back to a specific source, a graphic model. On one of the short side panels, the figure of Death is displayed in the form of a skeleton holding a scythe, with a hourglass and skulls on its two sides. The German engraver Barthel Behem prepared several versions of the "putto with a skull" topic in the 1520-30s, and in two of these, a dead putto is flanked by a hourglass and piles of skulls.[584] The skulls are turned similarly into the same characteristic position on the Sükösd tomb as in these drawings, which might have been a distant source of the composition (Figure 119). This was not the only case where the use of western graphic models by the stonecutters in Cluj could be detected. The representation of Saturn on a corbel in a town house has been proved to have followed an engraving by Hans Sebald Beham.[585]

From the beginning of the seventeenth century, many grave markers were produced in Cluj to the local public cemeteries and to the churchyards of the nearby area. The preserved examples are all very similar and display very simple forms. Some pieces that cluster in the years around 1650 are even closer to each other concerning their execution. These clearly originated from the same workshop, though they cannot be identified with any known stonecutter's name.

All gravestones in the cemetery in Târgu Mureş look very similar to the coped stones in Cluj, and as a note in the chronicle of Ferenc Nagy Szabó testifies, they indeed ordered such grave markers from there.[586] Three coped stones with a heraldic symbol in a wreath and an

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[583] On the Italian origins of this representational type on Polish wall monuments, see Białostocki, *The Art of the Renaissance*, 52-58.
[584] Horst W. Janson, "The Putto with the Death's Head," *The Art Bulletin* 19 (1937): figs 27-28; Kurt Löcher, *Barthel Behem. Ein Maler aus dem Dürerkreis* (Munich - Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1999), 37, fig. 29-30.
[585] Mihály, "Monumente," 64-65, 98, 139, 228, Cat. No. 118.
[586] "Die 7 january hozattam egy ormos koporsó-kővet Kolosvárról tizenhét forinton, melyet hogy haza hozának, az én temető-kertemben letétetem" (On 7 January, I had a coffin-shaped gravestone bought from Cluj for 12 forints,

inscription beneath are especially close to those in Cluj (Cat. No. 297, 198, 299). Two ledgers in Căluşeri commemorating the nobleman János Kun and his wife, Zsófia Bercsényi look so similar to this series concerning the stone carving that they were probably also produced in the same workshop (Cat. No. 69, and 70). The first one was created in 1647, the second one also probably around these years. There is one more memorial that resembles to these, produced for the children of István Fábián before or around 1650 (Cat. No. 154). It is also a ledger stone, today set up in the courtyard of the Reformed church in Gilău, but its original site is unknown.

These stones in Tîrgu Mureș, Căluşeri, and Gilău were all produced in Cluj, and probably in the same workshop, though for commissioners coming from different social layers, different regions and into different settings, since they include ledgers into churches as well as gravestones for cemeteries. They are also connected by the language of the inscription: all were written in Hungarian, while Latin was the dominant language on the memorials in this period (I will return to this question in *Chapter 4*). Consequently, it seems that the use of Hungarian language was somehow connected to the producer and not necessarily the commissioner side in this case, even if it would sound more plausible that the commissioner gave the text to the stone carver. This phenomenon sheds a new light on the character of the cooperation between the patron, the author of the texts and the stone cutter.

3.4. Tombs and their production in the Saxon area

3.4.1. Late sixteenth-century ledgers in Sighișoara

Five of the stone memorials in the western part of the Mountain Church suggest the existence of a workshop in Sighișoara producing these pieces. All the five ledgers are characterized by a relatively wide frame with a border inscription, a shield with an emblem in a slightly recessed field (except for the earliest one) in the upper part, and a characteristic type of script combining incision and relief. Three of the memorials display a shield with an emblem held by two winged putti (Pancratius H., d.1583, Cat. No. 285; Martinus, d. 1587, Cat. No. 289; Thomas Groß, d. 1587, Cat. No. 284) and one without putti (Gerg Bret, d. 1602, Cat. No. 290). The fourth one represents a reclining youth with crossed legs, supporting his head with his arm resting on a skull, and holding a pen with his right hand, writing into a book (d. 1587, Cat. No. 275). The image is a *memento mori* symbol, at the same time, it refers to the "intellectual" profession of

which, as it arrived, I had installed in my burial garden). "Borsos Sebestyén krónikája," 122. According to the narration, the entire cemetery was established with the installation of this gravestone on the private land of Nagy Szabó. When the town purchased the surrounding areas for a graveyard, he demolished the fence around his private plot.

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the deceased specified in the text as the scribe of the town. The figures of the putti and the reclining boy do not appear in a real relief but similarly to the letters, as flat motifs protruding from the recessing plane of the field. They remind of graphic motifs, and the entire ledger resembles a block for a woodcut. There is one more tomb monument that can be connected to this group, which is situated in Saschiz, 20 km from Sighișoara, erected for a pastor Lucas Kuschius (Cat. No. 199). The form of the shield constitutes the only difference. There is, however, a discrepancy here between the possible dating of the ledger based on its close analogies and the date of death of the deceased as suggested by the literature, 1631.[587] Since the part of the stone that displays the date is sunk into the floor now, this information cannot be verified.

One more sixteenth century ledger was preserved in Saschiz, but it points in a different direction, towards Braşov. It was also erected for a pastor, Michael Conradus (d. 1572, Cat. No. 198). The reason for transporting the ledger from 75 km far—if not in case it was indeed produced in Braşov—might have been the fact that the installation of the memorial probably predated the activity of the stonecutter who created the memorials for the nearby Sighișoara. The ledger displays nothing else but an inscription. There is no real border, the script runs in a stripe slightly recessed from the surface of the ledger, the upper and lower lines of the letters are connected to that. The name and the date of the death were carved on stripes deepened into the main field. A close analogy of this characteristic script in Braşov displays the name of Türcken Hannes and the year 1596 (Cat. No. 41).

3.4.2. Ledgers with inscription in Braşov

As mentioned in *Chapter 2*, not many tomb monuments survived the great fire in Braşov; consequently, it is difficult to study the local stone carving practice based on the extant memorials. The group of ledgers preserved from the seventeenth century bear only inscriptions: a biblical quotation as a border inscription, but without any carved frame, and the name and date of death of the subjects listed one after the other in the central field, sometimes complemented with a simple incised emblem of profession. It was not infrequent that three to five names were indicated on the same ledger. A group of these ledgers is distinguished by their

[587] Friedrich P. Menning, *Keisd. Eine Marktgemeinde in Siebenbürgen im Wandel der Zeit* (Keisd: Heimatortsgemeinschaft Keisd, 1996), 86; Daniela Marcu Istrate, *Saschiz - Keisd* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2011), 37. This Lucas Kusch can be identified with Kusch Schesburgensis who studied in Wittenberg in 1603, see Miklós Szabó and Sándor Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700* (Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700), ed. Bálint Keserű, Fontes Rerum Scholasticarum 4 (Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992), 155, No. 1584.

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characteristic border inscription: a religious rhyme mostly paraphrased from the Bible, either in Latin or in German (Cat. No. 42, 44, 49, 50, 55, 61). These stones date from the 1640s to the 1660s; however, four pieces outside Braşov belong to the same type and were produced several decades earlier, probably also in Braşov, since they cluster in the geographical area around the town (Benedek Geréb in Araci, d. 1602, Cat. No. 22; Michael Basti in Prejmer, d. 1586, Cat. No. 177; the Damokos brothers in Cernat, d. 1600, Cat. No. 73; Ferenc Daczó in Sfântu Gheorghe, 1602, Cat. No. 206).

This tradition of memorials listing names characteristic of the area of Braşov continued well into the eighteenth century, and the simple stone slabs were supposedly produced locally. The few surviving tombs bearing some more complex decoration in relief are so different even from each other that it is not possible to draw any conclusion about the circumstances of their production (Cat. No. 46, 47, 48). The arbitrary survival of the memorials after the great fire makes it impossible to investigate to what extent and form tomb monuments were produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth century Braşov. As far as the funeral monuments from around 1700 are concerned, Ágnes Bálint Ziegler convincingly connected them to the masons' workshop working on the reconstruction of the church after the fire, but these already belong to the period following the scope of this thesis (Figure 16, Figure 17, Figure 18, Figure 19, Figure 20).[588]

3.4.3. Sibiu – workshops in the second half of the sixteenth and the first quarter of the seventeenth century

The earliest cluster of similar funeral monuments in Sibiu can be identified in the 1560s and 1570s. These are grey stone slabs displaying the coat of arms on the upper part and an inscription on the lower part; the difference in their quality is manifest in the epigraphy. The ledger of Agatha Jung and Andreas List is very simple, but they bear a finely cut script (Cat. No. 226 and 214). The memorials of Matthias Hebler, Matthias Ponsler, and Christoph Ofner are characterized by a slightly more complex heraldry, but the script is not that balanced (Cat. No. 227, 228, 229). The ledger of Servatius Weidner represents the same quality, but with a different type of letters protruding from the surface (Cat. No. 231). The tomb monument of Johann Rewel and Michael Heidel also belong to this group, the latter from 1580 as the latest piece (Cat. No. 235 and 236). This cluster of ledgers were probably produced by local stone cutters, but nothing more can be concluded about them.

[588] Ziegler Bálint, "A brassói evangélikus főtemplom," 188-196.

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A certain kind of continuity manifest in repeated compositional elements and technological similarities can be observed in a series of funeral monuments dating from the late 1600s until the early 1620s and located in Sibiu, Biertan, Sighişoara, and and Mediaş. From among the series of figural ledgers starting in the 1590s and displaying the portrait of Lutheran pastors in a shell-formed niche, two in Sibiu are related by several elements in the composition: the shield is held by two angels wearing a long robe and stepping forward with one leg, the upper spandrels above the niche are filled with a cherub head on both side, and the inscription panel in the lower part of the ledger has a frame composed of acanthus leaves (Petrus Molnár d. 1608, Cat. No. 252 and Georg Hann d. 1610, Cat. No. 253). A third one, the memorial of the Lutheran Bishop Mathias Schiffbaumer in Biertan (d.1611, Cat. No. 31) is clearly related to these by the upper half of the composition as well as by the details, though here the spandrels were filled with a flat acanthus flower with two leaves. The lower part, the frame of the inscription plaque, is, however, different: it is composed of scrollwork, with small figures of birds bending their neck under their body, feeding their nestlings. Both the scrolls and the birds display a high level of plasticity, as if they were tiny three-dimensional figures lined up in the box-like space formed by the border of the ledger.

This characteristic way of composing the frame with a range of small three-dimensional figures can be observed on several funeral monuments in Sibiu and in other Saxon centers too. On the ledger of Gallus Lutsch in Sibiu, the shield is held by two angels with short wings and long robe as on the aforementioned figural memorials (d. 1615, Cat. No. 254). A frame running within the border of the ledgers and a second one inside this, around the inscription panel in the lower half is composed of scrolls, but here the already familiar little bird figures are complemented with small three-dimensional lions. As an additional motif, a small cherubim head is placed in the middle axis on the upper and lower side of the inscription panel, and the lower one is positioned upside down compared to the arrangement of the rest of the motifs on the plain.

This cherub head turned upside down can be observed on the memorial of Paul Paulinus, who died almost a decade earlier, in 1606 (Sibiu, Cat. No. 213). This work followed the tomb monument of the mayor Lucas Enjetter created in 1604 both concerning the composition and the details, but showing a much lower quality of craftsmanship. (Sibiu, Cat. No. 247). The shield is, however, placed under an arch and held by lions here too, the upper spandrels are filled by naked putti riding snakes, the inscription panel is in a scrollwork frame with a cherub head and fruit bunches—though well-behaved student-like figures appear instead of the grotesque creatures on the two sides—, and the lion heads holding fruit bunches in their mouth

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appear as well. The ultimate origin of most of these motifs and of the overall composition based on the *horror vacui* principle can be identified in the memorial of the mayor Johann Waida (d. 1599, Cat. No. 218). This stone carving appears as one of the most beautiful and subtle pieces in Sibiu (as well as in all Transylvania), characterized by an unusually high quality. The figures of the two angels holding the shield and the putti riding the scrolls in the upper corners are especially graceful, and the petals, leaves and tendrils of the flowers decorating the surface were carved in a spectacular high relief. The frame of the inscription field is constituted by scrollwork with lion heads holding fruit bunches in their mouth, and on the lower part, a reclining putto appears with a death head and a small plaque bearing a motto. The motifs of this frame can be detected in an even more distorted form on the memorial of Leonard Kirtscher. The scrolls, fruit bunches, and the bunch of leaves belonging to the fruits hanging from the lions' mouth originate from the lower corners of the Johann Waida memorial, but they already appear as a separate element on that of Lucas Enjetter. Here, on the Kirtscher memorial, they were repeated in a mirrored form, turned upside down in the upper corners (d. 1607, Cat. No. 249).

Mayor Paul Roth's ledger in Sighişoara is the closest analogy of the above-mentioned memorial of Gallus Lutsch concerning the composition, the ornamental and figural motifs in the frame, and the execution (d. 1618, Cat. No. 283). It follows the tomb monument of Paul Paulinus—ultimately that of Lucas Enjetter—in another respect as well: the upper spandrels are occupied by putti riding snakes. The memorial for the royal judge Johann Roth in Sibiu who died in 1556 (Cat. No. 250) is also a variation of Gallus Lutsch's and Paul Roth's ledgers, so it was not created shortly after the judge's death in 1556, but probably between 1615 and 1620.[589] Here the upper corners were filled with cherub heads and the frame of the inscription is slightly more ornamented also including rosettes. One more ledger commemorating further members of the Roth family is a variation of the previous composition. On the tomb of Paul and Catharina Roth, the children of Johann Roth, mayor of Sibiu, angels holding the shield and cherub heads in the corners were put in the upper half of the slab, and two portraits appear in the lower half under arches as well as an inscription plaque in a scrollwork frame (1617; Cat. No. 282). Johann Roth, mayor of Sibiu was probably the brother of Paul Roth, mayor of Sighişoara, this is why he had both of his children buried there. The memorial for the children and his brother were

[589] As opposed to the dating by Ioan Albu to 1556; see Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 49-50, Cat. No. 45. Consequently, in contrast with the observation of Albu, this is not the first example of applying angels in a long robe as shield holders, but the memorial actually fits into a series starting from the first decade of the seventeenth century. The first example in Sibiu is the ledger of Johann Wayda (Cat. No. 218).

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produced in the same workshop, and Mayor Johann Roth might have ordered also the one for his ancestor (Cat. No. 250).[590]

Simpler versions of these heraldic ledgers seems to have been produced in an even larger series: five of them survived in Mediaş and Sighişoara (Cat. No. 170-171, 272-274). Each follows the same structure with recurrent motifs. In the upper half of the surface within the border, the emblem in a shield or in a laurel wreath is held by two angels wearing a wind-blown long robe with folded sleeves and stepping forward with one leg in a characteristic pose. The upper corners are filled with a cherub head on both sides, and between them, there is half of a rosette surrounded by acanthus leaves in the form of a radiating sun. The emblem-holding angels stand on a shelf-like element dividing the heraldic field from the inscription. The text appears on exactly the same parchment-like scrollwork-framed panel in three cases (Cat. No. 171, 272, 274), which is complemented with four cherub heads on the forth one (Cat. No. 273). The lower, inscription-bearing part of the fifth ledger is set into a simple architectural frame (Cat. No. 170). A commemorative inscription runs along the border on each ledger and a etric epitaph is found on the inscription panel in Latin (where it is still legible). The memorial of Simon Zacharias in Mediaș (Cat. No. 170) indicates the earliest date of death among the five ledgers, 1612, while the latest is 1620 on that of Stephan Kreuzer in Sighişoara (Cat. No. 273) and of Andreas Fleischer alias Gräf in Mediaş (Cat. No. 171).

Two more figural ledgers display the same kind of angels holding the shield with an emblem, but in front of the portrait of the deceased: Pastor Simon Kirtscher's on his grave monument in Mediaş (d. 1621, Cat. No. 166) and Bishop Zacharias Weirauch's in Biertan (d. 1621, Cat. No. 30). Both ledgers display a half-figure portrait with two angels behind their shoulders holding a leafy branch and with a dove, symbol of the Holy Spirit, floating above their head. The upper corners are occupied by two bird figures feeding their nestlings respectively, which belong to the same kind of small three-dimensional figures that were encountered on the more complex heraldic ledgers of Gallus Lutsch and Paulus Roth. Under the portrait, two angels hold the shield with an emblem in a laurel wreath. There is a small inscription plaque in the lower part in both cases, in a richly ornamented frame: a cherub head on each side, the lower one upside down, fruit and flower bunches in the upper corners and—the only difference between the two ledgers—with two lions in the lower corners on Weirauch's memorial. A second scrollwork frame includes two birds on the upper side turned towards each

[590] Johann Roth himself died before his brother, in 1617, and a common memorial for him and his wife was set up in Sibiu, manifesting a higher quality of craftsmanship than those for the rest of the family members (Cat. No. 254).

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other and two bird figures bending back on the two sides. Exactly the same ornamented frame appears on the portrait memorial of Mathias Schiffbaumer (Cat. No. 31) and the heraldic ledger of Gallus Lutsch as well (Cat. No. 254). A third range of framing motifs runs up to the figure's shoulders: scrollwork with tiny swine and lion figures and fruit bunches. There is a slight difference though in the execution of the otherwise corresponding motifs on the two portrait gravestones: the motifs on Zacharias Weirauch's ledger are a bit smaller and the composition is more balanced, especially in the lower part around the inscription plaque.

The last—and probably the latest—couple of memorials that can be associated with this group are two heraldic ledgers. One of them was set up for mayor Petrus Gotterbarmet in Mediaş (d. 1623, Cat. No. 167). The other one is located further from the area marked by Biertan, Mediaş, Sighişoara and Sibiu, where the rest of the related tomb monuments have been identified; it is found in the Lutheran church in Prejmer, east from Braşov. It bears a badly damaged border inscription, and the inscription plaque on the lower half of the ledger was re-carved with a new text in the late seventeenth century. It can be, however, figured out that it originally commemorated pastor Petrus Fronius who died in 1610 (Cat. No. 178). The fact that the closest analogy of the stone is the memorial of Petrus Gotterbarmet, suggests that it was produced later, several years after his death, in the 1620s. The upper half of these two ledgers is occupied by two angels holding the shield, with two angels in the two corners holding something that is missing now. On one, the dove, symbol of the Holy Spirit appears in the middle and two birds feeding their nestlings in the corners, while on the other, the dove is above and the Lamb of God on the other. The lower halves are similarly arranged as on the two aforementioned figural stones, with a small inscription plaque surrounded by a double frame that is composed of cherub heads, scrollwork, and tiny animal figures. The "program" is somewhat more complex here though: with four prophets and the four evangelists on the piece from Prejmer and two lion heads holding fruit bunches in their mouth on the one in Mediaş, conspicuously following the memorials of Johann Waida and Lucas Enjetter in Sibiu set up about twenty years before. In the lower part of the memorial in Mediaş, a putto appears in a reclining pose with a death head and a sand-glass, a motif known also from the monument of Johann Waida, but here one more lion figure was substituted for the inscription plaque with the motto.

This series of gravestones ranging from about 1608 to 1623—though they include figural and simple heraldic ledgers and the complexity of the composition varies—is connected by a set of ornamental motifs and figures formed in a similar manner, e.g. the characteristic shield holding angels looking almost identical with their long, wind-blown robes with folded

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sleeves, the stepping pose, and the compressed-ovoid head forms that characterize the cherubim as well. The eyes—where it is still observable—were formed by drilling, of a circle with a dot in the middle. These angels sometimes, but not always, appear together with an ornamental frame composed of scrollwork, cherub heads and tiny three-dimensional animal figures. Within the series, a certain "development" can be observed: the earliest figural ledgers follow an already existing tradition of pastors' memorials, then, in the period between 1612 and 1620, their motifs appear on two types of heraldic ledgers, a more ornamented and a simpler version. A second set of portrait ledgers with a new form of small inscription plaques in a double ornamental frame is dated by two deaths in 1621, and two, even more complex heraldic ledgers date probably from the later 1620s, one of which was even transported further from the place of production, from Sibiu to the region of Braşov. They were clearly produced in the same workshop that must have operated in Sibiu, since those memorials that served as a model for their compositions and details were located there. Among these, the memorial of Johann Waida (d. 1599, Cat. No. 218) seems to have played the most important role. It was made by an unknown sculptor, but it stands out from its context with its sculptural qualities, and it seems to be a unique piece without any analogies in Transylvania.

The activity of the workshop started before 1610 and it can be traced for more than a decade. The distinct groups within the series of ledgers suggest that the clients could choose between simpler and more complex variants, and the memorials were composed by combining a varying set of elements from the workshop's toolkit. Based on the surviving products, the memorials were commissioned for the leading elite of Sighişoara, Sibiu and Mediaş (mayors, seat judges, royal judges), and the pastors of these wealthy towns including a Lutheran bishop. On one hand, the workshop followed the traditional types for both circles of their commissioners—the Lutheran clergy and the civil elite of the towns—, on the other hand, they also created new versions by utilizing motifs from certain good-quality models available in Sibiu, and supplied their market in the framework of some kind of serial production, if it is possible to speak about such considering the low number of the surviving material.

Based on the overview of the material, it is difficult to judge whether we are dealing with one single "sculptor" or the ledgers resulted from the work of more than one pair of hands. Not only does the variability of the compositions raise doubts concerning the first version but also the fact that a certain diversity can be observed in the treatment of the different elements that appear together on the same ledgers: some are in a flat relief (such as the clothes of the figures and the angels) others are almost three dimensional. The same motif was not always

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shaped in exactly the same manner; for example, I pointed out the difference between carving style in the frame of the inscription plaque of the two portrait ledgers (Cat. No. 30 and 166).

The conclusions drawn on these memorials related to a previously unidentified workshop and also on the kind of coherence they show are useful when analyzing the activity of another workshop discussed extensively in the previous literature: that of Elias Nicolai. In that case, the name known from several signed works served as the starting point for researchers when they compiled a related oeuvre, on the model of the large workshops of top-quality Western European artists in the period. This understanding of the term "workshop" focused on the individual achievement of the "sculptor" whose name was preserved in the sources. Consequently, it obscured the nature of the cohesiveness of the group assigned within the material as well as a certain incoherence, similar to those observed in the early seventeenth-century workshop identified here that, however, cannot be connected to any known master's name. Applying the same approach, the understanding of workshop coming from archaeology for the works connected to Elias Nicolai will help to re-evaluate the oeuvre put together by previous research.

3.4.4. Sibiu – The expansible oeuvre of Elias Nicolai

Elias Nicolai in the art historical literature

The name of Elias Nicolai appeared in the local historical literature first in the mid-nineteenth century when his signature was observed on a few tomb monuments,[591] though the Apafi tomb chest also signed by him had been a target of visitors and written accounts since the previous century (Cat. No. 66).[592] Arnold Ipolyi was the first to identify Elias as its sculptor as well as of some other works.[593] The Hungarian Iván Nagy and the Saxon Wilhelm Wenrich both included Elias in their collections of Hungarian and Transylvanian artists' names.[594] Wenrich listed four of his signed works (the Apafi tomb chest, Georg Heltner - Cat. No. 280; Georg Theilesius - Cat. No. 26; Christian Barth - Cat. No. 27) and attributed to him further three "based on the tradition" (all of which are in fact signed too: Stephan Mann - Cat. No. 278; Valentin Franck - Cat. No. 259; Tobias Sifft - Cat. No. 215). Wenrich searched for the origins of the sculptor in the Netherlands associating him with a painter bearing a similar name. Friedrich Teutsch gave a more conceivable explanation, defining him as a German from Vienna in his

[591] Müller, "Die evangelische Kirche in Birthälm," 199-217; Boner, *Transylvania*, 359.
[592] István Wesselényi, *Sanyarú világ: napló 1703-1708* (A bitter world. Diary from 1703-1708), 2 vols. (Budapest: Kriterion, 1983), 499-503.
[593] Arnold Ipolyi, *A középkori szobrászat emlékei Magyarországon* (Pest: Eggenberger, 1863), 132-133.
[594] Nagy, "Magyarországi képzőművészek," 186; Wenrich, "Künstlernamen," 53-55.

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edition of his father's monumental work on the history of the Transylvanian Saxon, but without referring to his sources.[595]

The funeral monument of György Apafi was purchased by the Hungarian National Museum in 1902, and this event drew attention to the creator of the object. The first archival data on him were published from the Sibiu archives, and further works were added to his oeuvre: a stone carving displaying the Hirscher coat of arms (Figure 120),[596] then the epitaph of Michael Agnethler (Figure 121),[597] the tombstone of Zsuzsanna Kamuthy and her daughters (Cat. No. 131)[598] and of Barbara Theilesius (Cat. No. 165).[599] Victor Roth collected all the information he could find on Elias Nicolai, and listed the works attributed to him by that time in his summary of Transylvanian sculpture.[600] He did not broaden this circle (he even discarded the memorial of Stephan Mann neglecting the fact that it had been signed). He presented, however, a large number of funeral monuments situated all over the Saxon lands, and found that several of them were related in their style to the works of Elias Nicolai. Most of these were added to the oeuvre by later researchers, then some of them removed again by others.

Roth tried to position the works by Elias Nicolai within the landscape of funeral monuments from the period. He described seventeenth-century Transylvanian sculpture as generally backward as regards the artistic quality because of the rough historical circumstances in the period, but he evaluated Elias Nicolai as a shining exception who was aware of his talent and rose as high as he could within his limits. Roth created a picture of Elias as an offspring of the Saxon environment characterized by an atmosphere of dignity, aloofness, and serenity, which was manifest in his clear, naturalistic, and meticulous style with a fine sense of form and proportion, as well as an individualizing style of portrayal. He missed poetry though, even in the Apafi monument, which Roth evaluated as a unique opportunity in Elias' career. He attributed the choices concerning the form and iconography of the monuments to the master's "artistic fantasy"[601] and blamed wishes of the commissioners for the compositional problems he perceived.[602]

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[595] Teutsch and Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen*, vol. 1, 509.
[596] Repeating Wenrich concerning the rest, see Anonym, "Steinmetz Elias Nicolai."; Éber, "Apaffi György." The first is a re-publication of a paper originally written probably by Frank Zimmermann, since Éber named him as his source of information.
[597] Emil Sigerius, "Datierte Werke des Elias Nicolai" *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 29 (1906): 71.
[598] Seraphin, "Zwei in Kronstadt gefundene Grabsteine," 141.
[599] Roth, "Barbara Theillesius sírköve," 97-101; Roth, *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Siebenbürgens*, 130-136.
[600] Roth, *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik*, 80-141.
[601] Ibid., 89, 96-98.
[602] Ibid., 102, 104.

I presented Roth's evaluation in such a length because it has largely determined the discussion in later scholarship as well. Since Elias Nicolai was treated within the framework of the history of art in Transylvania, the provincial character of his works had to be explained in terms of conscious artistic efforts. "Realism" became the keyword in this context, distinguished from pure naturalism and involving decorum and a positively temperate atmosphere.[603] László Éber was more critical concerning the artistic qualities of Elias Nicolai in his review and response to Roth's book, but he also considered him to be well above the average of the contemporaries. Analyzing the style and execution, he wrote about the fading conscience of the artist due to the high technical skills characteristic for the Baroque epoch. In Éber's view, Elias remained within the sober bourgeois atmosphere of the Saxon towns, even when he received a commission from the sphere of the nobility, though the Apafi monument was the only opportunity in his career to unfold his real talent.[604]

These evaluations of Elias Nicolai's activity within the framework of *Geistesgeschichte* served as a justification for Hungarian researchers to avoid any deeper discussion of his works, together with the rest of the Saxon sculpted heritage, since they were not specifically interested in "German" art. Elements of the stylistic characterization of Nicolai by Roth and Éber were repeated in the literature. Jolán Balogh argued that Saxon stonecutters applied the ornaments of the German Renaissance, in contrast with the Hungarians, and they found the style corresponding to their spirit in cumulating the ornaments in a picturesque, hectic manner.[605] She used Elias Nicolai to demonstrate the difference between the Hungarian and the Saxon mentality, and the case study of the pulpit commissioned by Prince György Rákóczi I for the Calvinist Church in Cluj was symptomatic in this respect (Figure 122). Balogh related certain elements of the carved decoration to two masters respectively, both named in the sources in connection with the pulpit, the Saxon Elias Nicolai and a certain Benedek, whom Balogh considered to be Hungarian. She explained the differences in their style with their different mentality corresponding to their ethnic origins (more naturalistic, Baroque-like plastic forms, crowded motifs by the Saxon master, and graphic forms in flat relief, even spatial arrangement, finely stylized flower motifs, a preference for Italian forms by the Hungarian).[606] This long-lived attribution was disproved for good and all by András Kovács, who—refreshing the results of Géza Entz— identified in some additional sources Elias Nicolai as the main "entrepreneur"

[603] Ibid., 104.
[604] Éber, "Apaffi György."; Éber, "Erdélyi szobrászati emlékek."
[605] Balogh, "A reneszánsz építészet és szobrászat Erdélyben," 148.
[606] Ibid., 153; Balogh, *Kolozsvár műemlékei*, 31.

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and subcontractor, defined a series of other persons involved into the creation of the pulpit, and finally identified Benedek as Benedictus Moeck, the German architect of the prince.[607] A similar demonstrative contrast was set up by Jolán Balogh between two, more or less contemporary funeral monuments displaying the full figure of two Hungarian noblemen in armor suit, György Apafi and György Sükösd (1632, Cat. No. 107).[608] Contrasting the two monuments as a demonstration of the difference between the Saxon and the Hungarian sculpture in Transylvania found its way as a *topos* in the art historical literature and survived well into the late twentieth century.[609] Mária Aggházy even contemplated why the two noblemen chose an Italian- and a German-oriented style respectively (the first problem here is that, based on the inscriptions, the actual patrons were the wives in both cases).[610]

After World War II, Romanian research as well turned towards Transylvanian art, and a new group of Elias Nicolai's works was discovered: those situated outside Transylvania, created for commissions from Wallachia. First a fragment of the figural top of a tomb chest was brought into the foreground from the National Museum in Bucharest (Figure 123). The fragment represents the trunk of a male figure wearing a long robe, lying on his right side with his right arm raised to his head, that is, in a pose like that on the Apafi monument (the hand must have been supporting the missing head), and holding a sabre on his waist with his left. The fragment preserved a part of the border inscription in Old Church Slavonic, and another one in Latin along the edge of the top. On the right side, a series of winged cherub heads appear under the inscription (Figure 124, Figure 125).[611] Though the piece had been known to earlier scholarship, Aurelian Sacerdoteanu and Stelian Metzulescu identified it as the first funeral monument of Voivode Matei Basarab (1632-1654). They connected it in stylistic terms to the ledger of his wife, Elena **(**Tîrgovişte, d. 1653; Figure 127) and a fragment from a short side panel of the tomb chest commemorating their adopted son, Mateiaş (the son of the humanist

[607] Kovács, "I. Rákóczi György fejedelem erdélyi építkezéseiről," 77-80; Kovács, *Késő reneszánsz építészet* 151-152; Kovács, "Képfaragók és dekorátorok," 167. See also Géza Entz, "A Farkas utcai templom" (The church in Farkas/Mihail Kogălniceanu Street), in *A kolozsvári Farkas utcai templom címerei* (Coat of arms in the church in Farkas [Mihail Kogălniceanu] Street), ed. Géza Entz and András Kovács (Budapest - Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Balassi-Polis, 1996); Géza Entz, "A kolozsvári Farkas utcai templom építéstörténete" (The construction history of the Farkas [Mihail Kogălniceanu] Street in Cluj), in *Ötszáz éves a kolozsvári Farkas utcai templom* (The five-hundred-years-old Farkas [Mihail Kogălniceanu] Street in Cluj), ed. Zsuzsa K. Fogarasi (Budapest: Ráday Gyűjtemény, 1986).

[608] Balogh, "A reneszánsz építészet és szobrászat Erdélyben," 154; Balogh, "A későrenaissance és korabarokk művészet," 562; Balogh, "A Korarenaissance. Későrenaissance," 244-245.

[609] See e.g. the chapter on renaissance by Rózsa Feuer-Tóth in Aradi, *A művészet története Magyarországon*, 201.

[610] Aggházy, *A barokk szobrászat Magyarországon*, 15-21.

[611] I did not have a chance to see the fragment, since its present location is unknown. In the mid-1950s, it was in the garden of the Palace of the Republic in Bucharest, see Sacerdoteanu and Metzulescu, "Intîia piatră de mormînt a lui Matei Basarab," 342, footnote 344. Now I did not find it in any of the lapidaries housed in Bucharest.

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Udrişte Năsturel, d. 1652; Figure 126), both situated in the so-called Prince's Church in Tîrgovişte.[612]

The fact, however, that Matei Basarab had an already known, intact gravestone in the monastic church of Arnota, required an explanation (Figure 128). According to the authors, there was a first funeral monument erected in Tîgovişte soon after the death of the voivode (1654) which was destroyed in 1655 by a Tatar invasion. As a replacement, a second memorial was ordered by Voivode Constantin Serban (1654-1658). They found a note in the Cluj town accounts that in 1656, a stonecutter from Sibiu had a stone cut for the funeral monument of the voivode of Wallachia, and they interpreted it as a reference for this second gravestone.[613] It was finally set up in Arnota by Radu Mihnea III (1658-1659), the second successor of Matei Basarab, and the corpse was transferred too.[614]

Later Pavel Chiaia determined the figural tomb chest top as belonging to the same funeral monument as the short side panel, and the whole structure as the memorial of Mateiaş.[615] He identified the master from Sibiu mentioned in the source from 1656 as Elias Nicolai. He did not count with a first funeral monument in Tîgovişte.[616] The excavations conducted in the pronaos of the church in Tîrgovişte where Matei Basarab and his family members were interred, contributed with additional data to the story of the funeral monuments, and partly confirmed, partly disproved Chiaia's points.[617] The graves of all three individuals were identified, and further pieces were found of the tomb chest with the figural top including the name of the subject, Mateiaş, which decided the attribution. The signature of Elias Nicolai was also found on a piece. They excavated some fragments of Elena's smashed gravestone too, so it could be reconstructed in the form it is presented in the pronaos today.

However, some small fragments suggested the existence of a third monument displaying Romanian inscription in latinized Cyrillic fonts, fragments of heraldic and ornamental motifs, a sword, and half of an angel's or cherub's a head (Figure 129). The style of the stone carving corresponded to that of Elias Nicolai's works, and the examination of the material pointed towards a quarry in Northern Transylvania. It seems that there existed indeed a first funeral monument of Voivode Matei Basarab in Tîrgovişte that predated his reburial in 1658 under the stone that still stands in Arnota. The entire story was put together by Gustav Gündisch, re-

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[612] Ibid.
[613] Ibid., 348. For further related sections in the Cluj town accounts, see Chiaia, "Date noi," 117.
[614] Sacerdoteanu and Metzulescu, "Intîia piatră de mormînt a lui Matei Basarab," 349.
[615] Chiaia, "Date noi."
[616] Ibid.; Chiaia, "Elias Nicolai," 62-65.
[617] Constantinescu, Moisescu, and Nicolăescu-Plopşor, "Considérations," 302-319.

interpreting the sources the following way: Elias Nicolai created for the order of Matei Basarab a memorial for the Voivode's adopted son after 1652, and another one for his wife after 1653. The voivode himself died in 1654. A first funeral monument was made also by Elias Nicolai and set up shortly after the death (still in 1654). It was destroyed in the revolt in 1655. Voivode Constantin Serban ordered a new funeral monument for his predecessor in 1656 also from Elias Nicolai, testified by the note in the account books of Cluj on cutting the stone. This second memorial was, however, installed only in 1658 by Radu Mihnea III in Arnota, where the bones of Matei Basarab were reburied according to his original wish.[618]

The work of Gustav Gündisch is the only comprehensive study on Elias Nicolai to-date that incorporated also the Romanian researchers' results. He re-evaluated the written sources and complemented them with some new information he found in the Sibiu archives. He collected the works previously attributed to Elias Nicolai and added several new ones to the list with the method of stylistic criticism (this was started even before by Anna Maria Haldner[619]). Thus, a large oeuvre of Elias Nicolai evolved consisting of forty-one stone carvings, most of which are tomb monuments but also coats of arms for architectural settings and the pulpit in Cluj were included. Gündisch distinguished two groups among the works: those by the master's "own hand" (either bearing a signature or not) and "workshop products." He even attributed some early pieces to a supposed master or teacher of Elias Nicolai. Gündisch's attributions were taken over by later scholarship, only their character was modified depending on how close the researchers felt a particular work to any of the signature-bearing pieces.[620]

The problem of the "early works"

It is enough to take a superficial look at the tombs attributed to Elias Nicolai to see that this is a very diverse collection concerning their form and quality, ranging from the late 1620s—starting with the memorial of Georg Jüngling who died in 1629 (Cat. No. 257)[621]—to the second

[618] Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 235-237. One more fragmentary memorial has been related to the stay of Elias Nicolai in Tîrgovişte: that of the daughter of Kyr Gheorghie Kolzinski, the captain of the German troops in the mercenary army of Matei Basarab (d. 1654). It is found in the Saint Dmitry Church, but I did not have the chance to visit it, since I did not know about its existence at the time of my visit to Tîrgovişte. See Chiaia, "Elias Nicolai," 63, footnote 62; Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 235.

[619] Haldner, "Zwei unnbekannte Arbeiten des Bildhauers Elias Nicolai in Hermannstadt," 61-64.

[620] See e.g Sabău, *Sculptura barocă în România în secolele al XVII-lea şi al XVIII-lea*, 13-16. Ioan Albu studied primarily the texts written on the memorials and his research produced important results in this respect, but he also dealt with the attribution problem, see Albu, "VIXI DUM VOLUI," 255-266; Albu, "The Iconography of Petrus Martyr Vermilius," 203-214; Albu, "Die Epigraphik und Ikonographie der Grabplatte des Heltauer Pfarrers Johannes Hutter (+1638)," 60-72.

[621] Attributed to Elias Nicolai by Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 225-226; and by Kovács, "Képfaragók és dekorátorok," 170; but not by Roth, *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik*, 126, due to the low quality of craftsmanship.

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half of the 1650s, the aforementioned tomb monuments for the Wallachian court. The memorial that bore the earliest death date, 1631, and was signed by Elias Nicolai commemorated Zsuzsanna Kamuthy, wife of Ferenc Bethlen, *comes* of Fehér County and head of the princely court, and their daughters (Cat. No. 132). It is now situated in the park of the Bethlen Castle in Criș. Scholarship has repeatedly referred to this tomb as a common work by Elias Nicolai and a certain Servatius from Sibiu, based on the signature quoted as an inscription from the memorial: SCVLP: ELI[AS] [NI]COLAI M. SERVATIUS CIBIN.[622] This is, however, not legible in this form today.[623] Tracing back the first appearance of the text, it was found on an engraving by József Köpeczi Sebestyén from 1927 illustrating the book by Imre Lukinich on the Bethlen family (Figure 130).[624] The engraving presented the rest of the inscriptions on the memorial as well, which was in a much less fragmentary condition that time: only the upper right corner of the stone was missing. A comparison of the engraving with those parts of the text that are still legible today proves that the transcription on the illustration was not perfect. Thus, it is likely that the stonecutter Servatius, who would have introduced Elias Nicolai into the traditions of the crafts in Sibiu[625] but about whom no further data has ever been found, did not exist at all; he came to existence only due to József Köpeczi Sebestyén's reading of the damaged inscription.

The surface of the ledger is composed of two main parts within the frame: an upper, heraldic and a lower, inscription field. The coat of arms of the Kamuthy family displaying two fighting horse riders was placed under an arch supported by two pilasters. The spandrels in the two upper corners were filled with winged cherub heads.[626] The shield is flanked by a skull with cross bones and an hourglass. The inscription field was framed with scrollwork—a much more elegant and dynamic version as compared to the scrollwork style of the previously discussed group of memorials—and the signature was legible underneath, on the inner element of the border. The border slopes towards the edge of the slab, and the border inscription runs the way that it is legible from outside, so in an unusual direction in the context of ledger stones.

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[622] See e.g. Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 244-245.
[623] The following fragment can be read: *...OLA...SIA..A*
[624] Imre Lukinich, *A Bethleni gróf Bethlen család története* (The history of the Bethlen of Bethlen family) (Budapest: Aetheneum, 1928), 155, fig. 122. In the text of the book, it did not appear at all.
[625] Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 245.
[626] The earliest example for the motif of an arcade supported by pilasters in the upper, heraldic half of the ledger is not related to Elias Nicolai. It can be detected on the tomb of Leonhard Kirtscher (d. 1621; Cat. No. 210), but here the spandrels are filled with acantus flowers. The frame of the lower inscription panel is similar to those in the previously discussed group of memorials, from the 1610-20s.

This suggests that even if it was not the top of a tomb chest, it was not completely inserted into the church floor but may have been in an elevated position.[627]

Though I expressed my doubts concerning the validity of the transcription of the signature, the authorship of Elias Nicolai must be accepted since a part of his name is still legible. The fact that he created some further stone carvings for the Bethlen family, though more than one and a half decades later, also suggests that the Kamuthy memorial indeed bore his signature.[628]

One more tomb from Criş, today housed in the Brukenthal Museum in Sibiu, has been attributed to Elias Nicolai.[629] It displays the coat of arms of the Kemény family. The upper part of the ledger was decorated with a banner and the blazon underneath presenting a deer emerging from a crown, and a star and a moon on the two sides, all in an oval wreath, and fruit bunches and pinecones in the four corners. Neither the banner nor the lower field of the ledger displays any inscription. Based on the blazon, the tomb can be related to the second wife of Ferenc Bethlen (d. 1653), Kata Kemény.[630] Kata Kemény died later then her husband, during the second half of the century.[631] The closest analogy of this funeral monument is that of Borbála

[627] In the early twentieth century, the tomb was seen in front of the altar of the Lutheran church, but the description does not mention that it would have been a tomb chest. Lajos Szádeczky, "Az Apafiak sírboltja és hamvai" (The grave vault and corporal remains of the Apafi family), *Századok* (1909): 187. The observation of Pál Lővei concerning the Middle Ages, that all tomb chests would have had an outward turned border inscription, is not valid any more in the Early Modern Period. Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 435.

[628] A combination of the coat of arms of the Bethlen and Váradi family—of Chancellor János Bethlen and his wife, Borbála, the daughter of the Cluj merchant Miklós Váradi—in stone is now housed in the Brukenthal Museum in Sibiu, which bears the date 1649 and a signature: *Fecit Elias Nicolai* (Figure 131). It was taken to the lapidary in 1959 (Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 248-249.) from Criş (Lukinich, *Bethlen család*, 179, fig. 140.; Figure 132) where it had been utilized as the back of a bench (Figure 133). A description of the castle of János Bethlen in Topa, destroyed in the first half of the nineteenth century, include a gate leading to the castle that bore an inscription referring to János Bethlen and Borbála Váradi, by Elias Nicolai stonecutter, see L. Gönczi, *A székelyudvarhelyi ev. ref. kollégium múltja és jelene* (The past and present of the Reformed College in Odorheiu Secuiesc) (Székelyudvarhely [Odorheiu Secuiesc]: Becsek Dániel Könyvnyomdája, 1895), 5-6; Dezső Buzogány, "A kisbúni Bethlen-kastély és 17. századi története" (The Bethlen Castle in Topa and its seventeenth-century history), *Református Szemle*, no. 1 (2002): 21-33. The stone carving may have been taken to Criş from Topa when the castle was demolished in the first half of the nineteenth century. The presence of Elias Nicolai in Boiu, an estate of the Bethlen family near Topa, was also recorded in 1656, see Chiaia, "Date noi," 117.

[629] Kovács, *Késő reneszánsz építészet* 140; Lukinich, *Bethlen család*, 163, fig. 129. The latter includes an engraving by József Sebestyén, which represents the tomb as walled into a corner somewhere in the exterior of the castle in Criş, with a little roof above. The tomb is referred with unknown provenance in the collection, see Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 246-247; Ioan Albu and Petre Beşliu Munteanu, "Tombstones of the Brukenthal Museum Collection" *Brukenthal. Acta Musei* 6, no. 1 (2011): 194.

[630] They got married in 1633, see Imre Lukinich, "Keresdi báró Bethlen Ferenc, 1601-1653" (Baron Ferenc Bethlen of Keresd, 1601-1653), *Századok* (1908): 900; Lukinich, *Bethlen család*, 154. The other possibility would be Anna Kemény, the wife of Farkas Bethlen, but it is less probable, since she married Ferenc Macskásy after the death of her first husband in 1618.

[631] She was still alive in 1657 according to the autobiography of her brother, János Kemény. László Szalay, ed. *Kemény János önéletírása* (The autobiography of János Kemény), Magyar Történelmi Emlékek (Pest: Heckenast Gusztáv, 1856), 14. According to an on-line geneology indicating none of its sources, she died in 1679; see Miroslav Marek, "Genealogy.eu," http://genealogy.euweb.cz/hung/bethlen2.html (accessed April 20, 2017).

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Ostrosith of Giletincz, wife of Farkas Bethlen. It is now located in the Lutheran Church in Bălcaciu (Cat. No. 23).[632] Borbála Ostrosith died in 1681, and probably the ledger with the Kemény coat of arms was also made around 1680, so it can be removed from among those connected to Elias Nicolai.

Turning back to the Kamuthy memorial that can be accepted as a work signed by Elias Nicolai, the closest parallels can be found in Sibiu: the tombs of Lucas Löw (d. 1641) and Dominicus Rosenauer (d. 1636), very similar to each other (Cat. No. 210, 212). Neither of these two was signed, but Elias Nicolai was mentioned to have a claim for 35 golden forints for Lucas Löw's memorial in 1645.[633] The upper half of both ledgers is composed of an arch supported by pilasters with staggered capitals, with two cherub heads in the spandrels. Underneath, a blazon appears with acanthus leaves as mantel, displaying a boar's head turned to the left and a jumping deer as the crest on the Rosenauer tomb, and a lion holding a laurel wreath in the right paw on Lucas Löw's memorial. On the latter, two fruit bunches appear on the two sides of the blazon and the cherub heads are somewhat smaller. The inscription on the lower part of both ledgers was presented without a cartouche.

The ledger of Stephan Stamp is a simplified version of these stones (Sighişoara, d. 1640, Cat. No. 281). The composition is the same: an arch supported by pilasters, two cherubim in the spandrels, and the heraldic motif underneath, in an oval laurel wreath. The inscription field on the lower part was composed without a cartouche. The border slopes outwards, but the text is turned inwards, as opposed to the border inscription on the Kamuthy memorial. Gustav Gündisch introduced Stamp's ledger into the oeuvre as a workshop product.[634] Its closest analogy can be found in Dârjiu (Cat. No. 135).[635] This ledger commemorated Kata Kornis, wife of Chancellor János Petki, whose daughter ordered the memorial in 1641 according to the inscription. The lower part with the inscription bearing plaque corresponds to that on the Kamuthy monument. The upper part was very similar to the Stamp memorial, but the coat of arms has been removed from the laurel wreath and probably also the two upper corners of the ledger (supposedly with cherub heads in the spandrels) were cut down when it was used as a

[632] Lajos Szádeczky wrote that he saw the ledger in Criş in the early twentieth century, but the invitation for the funeral ceremony of Borbála Ostrosith informs that her grave was in Bălcaciu, so it is not clear whether Szádeczky was mistaken or the ledger was taken to Criş and then back to Bălcaciu. See Szádeczky, "Az ebesfalvi és keresdi kastély," 719; Zoltán Köblös, "Giletinczi Ostrosith Borbála bethleni Bethlen Farkasné temetési meghívója. 1682. január 20." (Invitation for the funeral ceremony of Borbála Ostrosith of Giletincz, wife of Farkas Bethlen of Bethlen. January 20, 1682), *Genealogiai Füzetek*, no. May (1904): 77.
[633] Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 218-219.
[634] Ibid., 238.
[635] László Dávid determined it as the work of Elias Nicolai, though no signature has been found on it. László Dávid, *A középkori Udvarhelyszék művészeti emékei* (Monuments of the medieval Udvarhely Seat) (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1981), 265.

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headstone in the nineteenth century. Based on the analogies, it cannot be excluded that the Kamuthy memorial was created some later after the death of the subject, in the mid-1630s at the earliest.

The same Borbála Petki was named as the patron of the tomb chest for her husband as well as her children (Cat. No. 66). György Apafi died in 1635 and their eldest son, Gergely in 1637, so, in contrast with the dating by András Kovács, the tomb chest must have been ordered after that.[636] In 1639 the Apafi family owed 160 forints to Elias Nicolai, which was probably due for the works on the tomb chest.[637] The memorial was completed after 1661 with the last verses, since they mention Mihály Apafi as the Prince of Transylvania, but this did not necessarily mean that they were the contribution of Elias Nicolai any more.[638] The form of the memorial is a tomb chest, two more of which were produced later by Elias Nicolai for members of the Wallachian court. It represents the portrait of the deceased in full armor suit on the top, in a semi-reclining position, similarly to the aforementioned memorial in Wallachia. There, however, the figure had a different costume, since, unlike in Transylvania from the Middle Ages, the chivalric tomb chest was not an established type of memorial for the elite in Wallachia.

This semi-reclining pose originating from Polish wall memorials, with one leg raised and one hand under the head, rarely appears on carved stone monuments from Transylvania. Besides the Apafi tomb and the one for the Wallachian court by Elias Nicolai, I have already mentioned the Sükösd memorial (Cat. No. 66). One of the stone slabs built into the facade of the former Haller Castle in Sânpaul displays a small figure in relief in a similar pose, surrounded by pieces of arms, but in a "civilian" costume, in hat and mantle (Cat. No. 186). The fifth example is not a funeral monument. It dates from the very end of the seventeenth century, and commemorated the constructions of Baron, later Count István Apor in the Apor Castle in Turia

[636] I do not agree with the dating by András Kovács in this respect. First he dated the tomb to much later than 1637, probably to 1661-62, see Kovács, "I. Rákóczi György fejedelem erdélyi építkezéseiről," 79. Later he modified his opinion, and most recently he assumed that Apafi himself ordered the funeral monument in 1633-34, parallel with the construction of the burial chapel, and it was ready by 1638, but maybe by 1635. Kovács, "Képfaragók és dekorátorok," 170-171. This latter order is impossible, since both the iconography and the texts are largely built on the subsequent death of Gergely Apafi that occured in 1637.

[637] In 1639, the wife of Elias Nicolai (probably the first one) died, and besides the possessions of the couple, also the liabilities due to them were listed: gravestones to the value of 45 golden forints, debts of the Apafi family (160 golden forints, this must have been connected to the tomb chest), and a debt of the Werder family from Sibiu (25 golden forints). The gravestone of Georg Werder, a member of the city council (d. 1638) was recorded in Sibiu in the nineteenth century, but it does not exist any more. Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 217-218.

[638] Mérai, "Apafi György síremléke," 3-26. Roth's hypothesis is the closest to my opinion (according to whom it was started after 1637 and finished in 1660). Roth, *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik*, 99. The dating by Árpád Mikó to 1661-62 cannot be accepted either, partly because of considerations concerning the rest of the works by Elias Nicolai, and partly because it is highly probable that Elias Nicolai died in 1661. See Mikó, "Reneszánsz," 309-311.

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de Jos (Figure 137).[639] The small plaque represents him in a suit of armor surrounded by various pieces of military equipment, similar to the probably somewhat earlier composition in Sânpaul. Two such figures are known from funeral monuments erected in the territory of the Habsburg Hungary: one in Bardejov, from the last quarter of the sixteenth century, where the representational type originally from wall monuments was adapted for the top of a tomb chest, similarly to the case of the Sükösd memorial.[640] This tomb in Bardejov was probably also produced in Little Poland. The second example was found in Sárospatak, and the dating of the fragmentary figure is rather uncertain, but it is exactly the pose that suggests a dating to the seventeenth century.[641] While these examples from the Kingdom of Hungary might have originated directly from Poland, the representational type probably reached Transylvania through one (or more) funeral monument(s) disappeared by now, which could have served as the model for the diverse adaptations for tomb chests and wall plaques. It is logical to search for this model in the environment of the court, and the lost and unknown figural decoration of the memorial imported from Poland for Kristóf Báthory seems to be the most probable example in this respect, since the Sükösd tomb chest predated the rest of the princes' monuments. This argument also supports Skibiński's hypothesis against that of Mikó concerning the Báthory memorial's representational type: it was more probably a reclining figure than a kneeling one.[642]

Turning back to the Apafi monument, the portrait of the deceased is surrounded by grapevine, the main element in the Apafi heraldry. Not only is the treatment of the grapevine reminiscent of a manner characteristic for Late Gothic wood carvings,[643] but also the molding of the cornices where a wavy line imitates the traces of a characteristic tool of seventeenth century carpenters. The composition echoes the Gothic Tree of Jesse representations: here Death is threatening to cut the grapevine, that is, the line of the Apafi family, as a reference to the death of the father and the eldest son. A Gothic wooden altarpiece in nearby Sebeș could serve as an immediate visual source for the tomb-maker, where the reclining pose of Jesse as well as the branches surrounding the main figure (which is the Holy Virgin in the altarpiece) and weaving around smaller figures was echoed on the top of the tomb chest. The overall organization of the elements also resembles the chest-like structure of the altarpiece: the figures

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[639] I thank Réka Várallyai for showing me this plaque.
[640] Kornél Divald, "A bártfai Szent Egyed templom" (The Saint Egidius church in Bardejov), *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 38 (1918-1919): 69-70 and plate No. IV; Mikó, "Báthory István király," 126.
[641] Vera Gervers-Molnár, *Sárospataki síremlékek* (Funeral monuments in Sárospatak), Művészettörténeti füzetek 14 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983), 52-53 and figs 154-156.
[642] See Skibiński, "Willem van den Blocke. Netherlandish Sculptor in the Baltic Region," 281; Mikó, "Báthory István király."
[643] Kovács, "Képfaragók és dekorátorok," 171.

and other ornaments were placed in a chest designed for a vertical position on the tomb as well, with the figures standing on little "shelves" (Figure 134). The treatment of these elements is in a sharp contrast with that of the ornamental frames composed of scroll- and strapwork, the scrolls shaped in the form of grotesque masks, rosettes, cherub heads, acanthus leaves and small symbolic figures and motifs.[644] A third characteristic layer of the ornaments is composed of mostly vegetal elements in a very flat relief, especially in the background of the main figure but also on his armor suit and at several places on the side panels.

Neither of the latter two ornamental styles could be observed on any of the aforementioned works by Elias Nicolai, but they both appear on the memorial of Georg Heltner in Sighişoara (d. 1640; Cat. No. 280). This memorial displays the highest quality of stonecutter's workmanship among those signed by Elias Nicolai, with its minute details and fine ornaments. In contrast with the previously discussed heraldic ledgers, it consists of three parts. The composition of the upper part is the same here as well: a symbolic coat of arms under an arcade supported by a pair of pilasters, and cherub heads in the two spandrels. Here, however, two slender angel figures wearing a long, folded robe hold the symbol, and it is framed by rich scrollwork and fruit ornaments. In the middle part of the memorial, an inscription plaque appears, the form of which echoes the one bearing the signature on the Apafi tomb chest, and beneath that, the kneeling figure of Georg Heltner, his wife and their five children are represented. The lower part is composed of an inscription field framed by scrollwork incorporating the grotesque masks here as well. Flat, lace-like ornaments cover large parts of the surface, similarly to the Apafi tomb chest.

Kneeling figures can be observed on another memorial signed by Elias Nicolai, that of a female subject, Barbara Theilesius, located in Mediaş (Cat. No. 165).[645] The frame of the ledger slopes inwards, similarly to the side panels of the Apafi tomb chest. The lower half is an inscription field that was left blank, framed by scrollwork with fruit bunches and cherub heads, this time not as meticulously executed as on the Heltner memorial. The skull with crossbones familiar from the Kamuthy memorial appears here too. In the upper part, under the arch supported by a pair of pilasters, the half-figure portrait of the deceased is represented lying on her catafalque with a pillow under her head and flowers in her hand. Her children kneel in front of her, including a swaddled infant (as on the short side panel of the Apafi memorial). Two cherub heads fill the spandrels, and a cloud with a Hebrew text, an ear and an eye as well as a

[644] Ibid.
[645] The signature apparently remained unnoticed until now, and the discussion around the attribution has been based on stylistic arguments.

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cross appear above the head of the figure. The ledger bears traces of polychromy. Barbara Theilesius was the wife of Georg Theilesius who later became the bishop of the Saxon Lutheran church. The last digit in the year of death disappeared in the border inscription, but she surely died in the 1620s. Her husband was a pastor in Mediaş between 1621 and 1627, but the text mentions him as *reverendus*, which implies that he was already a bishop (1627-1646) by the time the tomb was created.[646]

The ledger of Barbara Theilesius was often brought into parallel with the memorial of Anna, wife of Michael Maius in Cristian, near Braşov (d. 1631; Cat. No. 133). This one also represents a female half-figure portrait, similarly on her catafalque, under an arcade with cherub heads in the spandrels. Here the dove, symbol of the Holy Spirit floats above the head (like above György Apafi) and the Lamb of God was placed in front of the figure. The frame of the inscription panel is very similar to the tomb in Mediaş too, but a putto reclining on a death head with a hourglass appears underneath. The inward sloping border with the inscription runs only around the upper, figural part. The ledger seems to be a simpler version of Barbara Theilesius's memorial, and was also painted in colors. It was set up by the husband of the deceased, Michael Maius, who was pastor in Cristian between 1631 and 1648.[647]

As far as the rest of the works dated to the 1620s and early 1630s are concerned, even their attribution to Elias Nicolai has been a matter of debate. The ledger of Georg Jüngling (d. 1629; Cat. No. 257) was not attributed to Elias Nicolai by Victor Roth, it was considered as a workshop product by Gündisch, and as an early work by András Kovács.[648] The tomb is related to the signed (and not signed) works of Elias Nicolai by the composition: a half-figure portrait under an arch supported by a pair of pilasters with cherub heads in the spandrels. The similarity, however, ends here; in every other respect the closest analogy is the polychrome ledger of Michael Oltard in Șeica Mică (d. 1623; Cat. No. 203). Not only are the heads of the two figures very similar, but an egg-and-darts frame can also be observed on both ledgers. On Oltard's tomb, however, the arcade is supported by a pair of corbels, on which a chalice and a book, the symbols of the pastors' occupation, were placed. Here the inscription panel is framed by scrolls, fruit bunches and cherub heads, similarly to the one on the memorial of Anna, wife of Michael Maius. The three figural ledgers, that of Michael Oltard, Georg Jüngling and Anna are related

[646] Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 223-224.
[647] Ibid., 224-225, fig. 288. It was erroneously dated to 1710 by Roth, *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik*, 167.
[648] Roth, *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik*, 126; Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 225-226; Kovács, "Képfaragók és dekorátorok," 170.

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also by a "negative" element: none of them display the script type characteristic for Elias Nicolai's works, the Humanistic minusculae.[649]

Recently Ioan Albu suggested that one more memorial should be included in the oeuvre of Elias Nicolai: the portrait memorial of Thomas Bordan in Slimnic (d. 1633; Cat. No. 291).[650] The upper, figural part of this ledger is composed very similarly to the Oltard memorial, the only exception is that instead of the symbol of the Holy Spirit, another dove, the one bringing the oil branch to Noah is represented above the head of the figure. The rest of the ledger, however, appears to be largely different, as it is not articulated at all, and the inscription was carved simply onto the flat border as well as onto the lower half of the surface.

One more memorial can be included into this circle, from Mediaş, that has not been noticed yet by the researchers of Elias Nicolai (Cat. No. 169). It is a portrait monument with a half figure the identity of whom cannot be determined because the tomb was badly damaged including the border inscription that bore the name. The only thing it says about the subject is that he was a priest with the initials GM and he died in 1632 at the age of 60. The portrait is located under an arcade supported by pilasters, and the latter stand on little "shelves" like on the tomb of Anna, wife of Michael Maius tomb. The spandrels were filled with cherub heads, but here the space under the arcade is formed into a concave niche—similarly to the Thomas Bordan memorial—and its surface is covered with the flat floral pattern known from the Apafi tomb chest and the Heltner memorial. The dove, symbol of the Holy Spirit floats above the head like above Anna, and the figure is flanked by a chalice and Bible like Thomas Bordan and Michael Oltard. The shield in front of him, however, relates the ledger to the representation to that of Georg Jüngling. The lower half of the slab with the inscription plaque is reminiscent of the side panels of the Apafi tomb chest with the rich ornamental frame composed of grapevine, cherub heads, bird figures, a skull, a hourglass and fruit bunches. As a significant difference, however, the inscription was not incised here, but formed in relief.

These "early works" of Elias Nicolai have been considered important in previous scholarship as a crucial element in defining when and how he had started his career in Transylvania. The first source mentions the stone cutter in 1636.[651] He was a member of the Stonecutters' Guild and as such, took a loyalty oath right after the death of Prince György

[649] See Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, lix.
[650] Albu, "VIXI DUM VOLUI." It was not attributed to Elias Nicolai by Roth, *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik*, 126. Gündisch suggested also in this case that it was possibly a work of Nicolai's master. Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 230.
[651] In a division of inheritance from 1636 after the dyer Johann Barthell from Weinanger who died in the same year, Elias Nicolai was a trustee as a member of the neighborhood and fraternity; he lived in the house next to the deceased in Sibiu. Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 216.

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Rákóczi I in 1648.[652] The rest of the archival data refer to his family events—his marriages and the deaths of his wives— and are important because they list his properties and debts including liabilities from the commissioners.[653] The latest written information about him survived from 1654, and Gündisch suspected that he died in the plague of 1661.[654]

It has always been a question where Elias Nicolai came from to Transylvania. He was suspected to have arrived from Upper Hungary even by the earlier researchers,[655] and András Kovács found some sources based on which he could offer a more specific explanation. He detected a person called Elias among those craftsmen who came from Upper Hungary for the invitation of Prince Gábor Bethlen in the 1620s.[656] Kovács discovered a letter from 1627 referring to two carpenter assistants from Vienna, Miklós and Elias, who had been brought to Transylvania by a certain Master Jakab, and then left Alba Iulia for Bistriţa in November 1626. Master Jakab was commissioned by the Prince to create an organ for the church in Alba Iulia but his death prevented him from finishing his work. A master from Košice was commissioned to continue it, and the assistants of Jakab (supposedly Elias and Nicholas) joined the new master of the organ. At the same time, the prince planned to install a new pulpit as well, which would have been decorated with the figures of angels and apostles. András Kovács hypothesized the participation of the carpenters also in that work, and he suggested that Elias might have settled down and made a career in Sibiu after 1629-30 due to his practice in figure carving.[657]

Researchers tried to capture his appearance in Transylvania through the aforementioned "early" works, among which one—the ledger of Zsuzsanna Kamuthy—bearing a death date of 1631 was even signed. There are, however, two major problems with such endeavors. The first one concerns the method of dating, which was based on the year of death. Though some of the previously treated tombs have been defined as the early works of Elias Nicolai and dated to the 1620s and early 1630s, the circumstances allow or even support a later dating: they can easily be moved to the second half of the 1630s or even the first half of the 1640s. For example, the ledger of the priest in Mediaş who died in 1632 was probably created after the Apafi tomb chest, since it is logical to suppose that the idea of the grapevine motif evolved first from the Apafi heraldry. The second problem is also a methodological one: it is always possible to find

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[652] Anonym, "Steinmetz Elias Nicolai."
[653] Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 217-220; Anonym, "Steinmetz Elias Nicolai."; Éber, "Apaffi György."; Roth, *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik*, 90.
[654] Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 220.
[655] Ibid., 216. According to Sievert, he stayed in Bistriţa first, but Sievert does not mention his source. L. Sievert, "Sebastiann Hann. Ein Beitrag zu seiner Lebensgeschichte" *Mitteilungen aus dem Baron Bruckentalischen Museum* 2 (1932): 6.
[656] Kovács, "Simulált is szegény fejedelem az religio dolgában...," 690-691.
[657] Kovács, "Képfaragók és dekorátorok," 172.

similarities between the tombs and to draw a continuous "developmental" line, but it is no more difficult to find discontinuities. The method of stylistic criticism does not help here, since the specific elements were executed in an entirely different way even on the same works (the best example in this respect is the Apafi tomb chest) or on those signed by Elias Nicolai. Building on such a set of elements, his oeuvre can be broadened very flexibly by neglecting the differences, or if the differences are in the focus, a number of works can be removed from the oeuvre. Step by step, starting from the Apafi tomb chest, through the tombs of the priest from Mediaş and Barbara Theilesius, then Anna May and Georg Jüngling, one can get to the Oltard memorial and Thomas Bordan's monument, two ledgers that are already very far from the Apafi and Heltner tombs. Researchers tried to solve this problem by attributing some of the works to a supposed teacher, a master of Nicolai, or labeling them as workshop products without specifying what this exactly means in this context.

The second part of the hypothetical oeuvre

The image is very similar if we continue our overview Elias Nicolai's signed works and add those attributed to him. A group of heraldic ledgers display the ornamental style that appeared on the Apafi tomb chest with scroll- and strapwork, scrolls in the form of grotesque masks, fruit bunches, and cherub heads. However, neither the tomb of Johannes Reusner (d. 1637; Cat. No. 216)[658] and of Michael Agnethler (d. 1645; Cat. No. 220)[659] in Sibiu, nor that of Martin Rosalerus in Saschis (d. 1650; Cat. No. 197)[660] bears a signature. The composition of these is different from the previously discussed heraldic ledgers: there is no arcade and pilasters but the upper third of the surface is filled with an inscription panel bearing a verse in a richly ornamented frame composed of the above-mentioned motifs, the middle part with a heraldic motif, and the lower part with a larger inscription field. There are differences between the three though: on the Reusner memorial, the lower inscription field is divided into two and cherub heads were placed above the shield; on the Agnehtler tomb, the shield is held by angels;[661] and on the Rosalerus tomb, both cherub heads and shield-holding angels can be observed. The Rosalerus memorial also has a flat frame with a border inscription, and the lower inscription panel has the usual ornamental frame. Some symbolic images appear as well: the dove on the top, a chalice and a bible in the shield holders' hands, and a putto reclining on a skull with a

[658] Attributed to Elias Nicolai by Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 240-241, fig. 296.
[659] Attributed to Elias Nicolai by Gündisch, ibid., 240-241, fig. 297.
[660] Attributed to Elias Nicolai by Gündisch, ibid., 243-244, fig. 101.
[661] The heads are missing; one of them was replaced by a head originating from a memorial created in the previously discussed workshop marked by the characteristically drilled eyes.

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hourglass under the shield. These three ledgers clearly represent a form that is different from the previously presented group of memorials.

The elements that differentiated the Rosalerus memorial from the other two represent a step—in the line of analysis, but not necessarily in the oeuvre!—towards another pair of ledgers: that for Tobias Sifft (d. 1651; Cat. No. 215) and Petrus Rihelius (d. 1648; Cat. No. 224),[662] both located in the Lutheran church in Sibiu. The Sifft memorial was signed by Elias Nicolai. The field within the flat frame bearing a border inscription was divided into two, an upper part with the heraldry and a lower part with the text. Two slender angel figures known from the Apafi tomb chest hold the shield under a thin arch broken by the crest. The spandrels were filled with two cherub heads here as well. The inscription panel is surrounded by the usual frame composed of scrollwork and ornaments, with a putto reclining on a skull and holding a hourglass underneath. The upper part of the Rihelius memorial was composed similarly, but here a symbolic image with Noah's Arch held by two bearded saints' figurines replace the shield. The inscription panel has, however no frame, but it is in the plain defined by the border, and the inscription is turned ninety degrees.

None of these ornamental motifs appear, however, on the four portrait monuments signed by Elias Nicolai and dating probably from between 1645 and 1650. The memorial of the Lutheran bishop Georg Theilesius in Biertan, the husband of the aforementioned Barbara Theilesius (d. 1646; Cat. No. 26) and the tomb of Mayor Stephan Mann in Sighişoara (d. 1647; Cat. No. 278) display the full figure of the deceased in an almost three dimensional, deep space created by the inward-sloping frame that bears two lines of border inscription. The figures wear an official garment and are equipped with the corresponding regalia, of a pastor in the case of Theilesius and of a mayor in the case of Stephan Mann. A cloud and the radiating sun appears with Hebrew letters above both, complemented with the dove, symbol of the Holy Spirit above Theilesius. Angels hold a shield and an inscription plaque above the shoulder of both, the latter is in the form of a book with Theilesius and follows the trefoil shape seen on the Apafi and Heltner tombs with Man. Both monuments bear the traces of polychromy.

The third signed, and also polychrome figural monument commemorated Valentin Franck and is located in Sibiu (d. 1648; Cat. No. 259). It displays a half figure under an arch, but only framed by an inscription, and two cherub heads appear in the upper corners cut diagonally here. The deceased was represented with the sceptre of the royal judge and two

[662] Attributed to Elias Nicolai by Chiaia, "Elias Nicolai," 65, fig. 67; Haldner, "Zwei unnbekannte Arbeiten des Bildhauers Elias Nicolai in Hermannstadt," 62; Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 241-242, fig. 298.

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angels holding a shield in front of him. The inscription field has only a thin frame, no ornaments, no scrollwork can be observed here either.

The fourth signed memorial is again a full-figure portrait monument. It is the ledger mentioned in the Introduction, commissioned by the Lutheran bishop Christian Barth for himself still in his lifetime, in 1649, and set up in the Lutheran church of Biertan (d. 1649; Cat. No. 27). The bishop was represented under an arch framed by an inscription and supported by a pair of simple slender pilasters. In his right hand, he holds a bible, and a huge anchor in his left, the symbol of faith. The upper spandrels were filled with two cherub heads, and the inward sloping frame of the ledger bears a border inscription. Three similarly composed tombs have been attributed to Elias Nicolai based on this one: of two pastors who died in the late 1630s—Johannes Hutter in Cisnădie (d. 1638; Cat. No. 76)[663] and Paulus Whonner in Cincu (d. 1639; Cat. No. 74)[664]—and of one more pastor who died in 1653, Johannes Hellwig in Gârbova (d. 1653; Cat. No. 148).[665] On the first two, the life-size figure of the priest stands under an arcade supported by a pair of pilasters; the spandrels were filled with cherub heads on the Hutter tomb and left empty on the other. Symbols of their occupation and symbolic heraldry appear above the shoulders of the three priests. The inscription runs on the frame of the ledgers and on the pilasters. The Hellwig memorial is even simpler: the inscription runs on the place of the pilasters and there is no arcade, only two cherub heads in the corners. None of the three was signed, nor are those two ledgers in Sibiu that display a narrative scene under the arcade–pilaster–cherubim motif in the upper part and have been attributed to Elias Nicolai.[666] One commemorated Michael Schwartz (d. 1655; Cat. No. 263), and here the middle part is occupied by a shield held by two angels. The other one bears no name and date, only a biblical text appears in the inscription field on the lower half of the ledger framed by the familiar scroll, fruit, feather and cherub motifs, and with two putti reclining on one big skull from the two sides, both holding their own hourglass (Cat. No. 222). These two memorials are not among the most successful pieces as far as the execution of the ornaments is concerned, compared, for example, to the Heltner memorial (Cat. No. 280). The effect is especially distorted by the painted colors on Michael Schwartz's tomb.

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[663] Attributed to Elias Nicolai by Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 226-227, fig. 289. Ioan Albu also attributed it to Elias, see Albu, "Die Epigraphik und Ikonographie der Grabplatte des Heltauer Pfarrers Johannes Hutter (+1638)."; Albu, "The Iconography of Petrus Martyr Vermilius."
[664] Attributed to Elias Nicolai by Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 227, fig. 290.
[665] Gündisch related it to Elias Nicolai but determined it as a workshop product due to its simplicity: ibid., 228-229.
[666] Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 82-184, Cat. No. 198 and 181-182, Cat. No. 197.

The ornaments look completely different when cut in white and red marble (or hard limestone) on the funeral monuments created by Elias Nicolai for his Wallachian commissioners (Figure 123 to Figure 129). All the three preserved memorials display the full ornamental repertoire, and, based on the small survivingfragments, so probably did the first tomb of Matei Basarab. The figural top of the tomb chest of Mateiaş (d. 1652, Figure 123, Figure 124, Figure 125) was decorated with cherub heads on the edge and the signature appeared in the form of the "EN" initials on a small plaque framed with scroll- and strapwork on the short side. The red marble short panel located in Tîrgovişte (Figure 126) displays an inscription field framed by scrolls combined with feathers (like, for example, on the memorials of Johannes Reusner, Michael Agnethler, and Tobias Sifft, Cat. No. 216, 220, 215), and fruit bunches and acanthus leaves rolled into large volutes like on the Apafi tomb chest created about fifteen years before. Two shield-holding lions were moved to the long side, the shields are now lost.

The memorial of Princess Elena (d. 1653, Figure 127) represents a transitional form between a ledger and a tomb chest: it is one single slab of red marble, the side of which was molded and decorated too, and it was protruding from the floor level. The top side was composed with a dense repetition of the familiar set of ornaments, but the execution of the motifs can by no means be called elegant. In the center of the upper third part, the place of a former, probably of alabaster or white marble plaque is empty now. Beneath, two angel-genii raise the sign of the cross as well as a lighting and an expired torch. In the middle, two lions raise the coat of arms of Wallachia in a laurel wreath, and in the lower third, two griffins hold a trefoil inscription plaque (similar to the one on the Apafi and Heltner memorials) that bears a biblical quotation about death. The rest of the space was filled with masque-shaped scrolls, cherub heads, fruit bunches, and rosettes. On the long side of the slab, an empty oblong plaque appears flanked by two angels; the information on the deceased was included into the border inscription on the top.

The second, intact memorial of Voivode Matei Basarab in Arnota corresponds more to the traditional forms of the Wallachian tombs (Figure 128). The lower half of the surface of the white marble slab is filled by an inscription surrounding an incised cross in a meander-spiral. The upper half evokes the rest of the works by Elias Nicolai: the coat of arms of Wallachia was depicted on a shield decorated with rosettes, grotesque scroll- and strapwork, acanthus leaves and topped with a crown. The four corners were filled with the images of pieces of military equipment: armors, banners, canons with powder kegs, a drum, and tympani.

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All these memorials are somehow related to each other if compared to their context, and connected to those signed by Elias Nicolai. As argued above, based on the presence of certain characteristic solutions, further works can be added, e.g. the heraldic ledger of Pastor Simon Hartmann that is located in the floor of the Lutheran church in Moşna (Cat. No. 172),[667] or that of Christoph Greising and his grandfather, Cristoph Ofner (Cat. No. 262),[668] but it would be justified to argue for the removal of others from the oeuvre as well, based on the differences.[669]

The lengthy presentation of the compositions has served to demonstrate that the tombs were composed by combining a selection from a set of compositional schemes, figural motifs, and ornaments from the toolkit of the workshop, and their variations resulted in more complex and simpler types of both heraldic and figural monuments, sometimes conspiciously accommodated to the requirements of the commissioner. This can be captured outside the genre of funeral monuments as well. Elias Nicolai signed the coat of arms of Margareth Weis (1650) cut in stone, the inscription plaque of which framed with scroll- and strapwork and rosettes, is a variation of that on the tombs of György Apafi, Georg Heltner, and Princess Elena. The coat of arms on the Reusnerhaus in Sibiu (1652) was also signed by him, and it was composed into a laurel wreath, like the memorials of Stephan Stamp and Kata Kornis, with fruit bunches in the corners (Figure 135).[670] Similar ornamental motifs appear on the wooden and alabaster epitaph of Michael Agnethler (d. 1645) as well, which was signed by Elias Nicolai too, complementing the tomb monument in the same Lutheran church in Sibiu (Figure 121).[671] The epitaph has an altarpiece-like shape wide-spread in western Europe; the central panel is an oil painting representing the Ascension of Christ. Above that, two angels hold the coat of arms,

[667] Gündisch suspected that it is a work of Elias Nicolai, but he could not formulate an opinion because of the lack of proper light in the building. Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 246.
[668] Pavel Chiaia, Gustav Gündisch, as well as Ioan Albu, found similarities in the gravestone that connected it to the works signed by Elias Nicolai, but evaluated these differently. Chaia attributed the ledger to Elias Nicolai, Gündisch found it too Baroque for him, while Albu also emphasized the common elements pointing at Elias Nicolai's workshop. Chiaia, "Date noi," 121; Chiaia, "Elias Nicolai," 65; Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 243; Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 79-180, Cat. No. 196.
[669] Ioan Albu added two more works based on the script type characteristic for the signed works of Elias Nicolai: a dedication inscription from the Reusner House in Sibiu from 1646 and the commemorative inscription of Johann Stentzel and his wife from 1649 carved on the red marble ledger of Johann Lulay (d. 1521; Cat. No. 259). Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 165-166, Cat. No. 178 and 171-172, Cat. No. 185.
[670] Ibid., 177, Cat. No. 192. One more similar piece in Sibiu bearing the Lutsch coat of arms and the year 1632 has been attributed to him on stylistic basis, which, however, does not bear any signature. I did not have the chance to see it, so I cannot formulate any opinion about it. Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 250-252. Ioan Albu did not formulate his position on the attribution. Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 148, Cat. No. 157.
[671] Sigerius, "Datierte Werke des Elias Nicolai"; Roth, *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik*, 107, 151; Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 251; Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 162-163, Cat. No. 174; Kovács, "Képfaragók és dekorátorok," 171-172.

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and below, a trefoil-shaped cartouche appears with scrolls and fruits (the same form as on the gravestone of Princess Elena, György Apafi, and Georg Heltner).[672]

* * *

The previous evaluations of Elias Nicolai's reconstructed career—except for those by András Kovács[673]—were based on an implication that he developed as an artist with time and this development should be manifest in his works. As, however, my detailed overview of all the works that have ever appeared in the oeuvre showed, this is not the case here, but more complex and simpler forms, higher- and lower-quality execution can be observed throughout the two and a half or three decades covered by the works that have been connected to Elias. It was demonstrated above that compositional and ornamental elements were combined from a certain toolkit, as well as symbolic motives: the putto with skull, phoenix, pelican feeding the nestlings, grapewine, etc. Some of the texts were also applied as recurrent panels. Certain biblical quotations were especially popular in the period, and these were regularly carved on the works of Elias Nicolai too, e.g. Job 14: 1-2 (on the tombs of György Apafi and Princess Elena), Ezechiel 37: 12-13 (on the tombs of György Apafi and Kata Kornis), Job 19: 25-26 (on the tombs of György Apafi, Georg Jüngling and the anonymous ledger depicting the Ascension of Christ). On some of the ledgers, even the epitaphs are conspiciously similar and also placed in a similar way (e.g. on the tomb of Johann Reusner, Martin Rosalerus, and Michael Agnethler).[674] This implies a close cooperation between the commissioner, the composer of the texts, and the tomb-maker.

The patron obviously must have had a word in the choice of the tomb type. Elias Nicolai created a chivalric tomb chest for György Apafi, a form traditional among the Hungarian noble elite, and, following an unidentifiable model, applied a reclining pose originating from the Polish wall monuments for the main figure. He produced two more tomb chests for his Wallachian patrons: one for Voivode Matei Basarab, which is so fragmentary that the iconography is unknown, and one for the adopted son of the Viovode. On the latter, the figure appeared in the same posture as György Apafi, a motif probably offered already by the stonecutter as a part of his toolkit, but this time in a costume that corresponded to the traditions

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[672] As for András Kovács, it was probably produced after 1646 and reflects the cooperation of Elias Nicolai with the carpenter Hannes Lew Rehner, whom he contracted in 1646 for the works of the pulpit in Cluj. Kovács, "Képfaragók és dekorátorok," 171-172.
[673] Ibid.
[674] According to Ioan Albu, the author of the epitaphs of Tobias Sifft and Johann Reusner was the town pastor Andreas Oltard. Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 176. The poetry inscribed on the Apafi tomb chest is also very similar to these, and it was marked with the initials *A Sch*(?).

of the Wallachian elite. A similarly hybrid solution can be observed on the second tomb of Matei Basarab as well, since it was accommodated to the local traditions, but equipped with the basic elements of Elias' ornamental repertoire. As far as the ornaments, symbolic motifs, and even complementary texts (biblical and moralizing quotes) are concerned, these tombs do not differ too much from those produced for the Saxon urban clients.

The quality of the works is so diverse that the distinction of the "autograph" works of Elias Nicolai from "workshop products" does not seem to be a relevant question, especially since there is not much available information concerning the operation of the workshops in the period in this respect.[675] András Kovács sheds some light on how the stonecutters' work was organized through the analysis of sources related to the pulpit in Cluj. In this case, Elias Nicolai subcontracted the carpenter Hannes Lew Rehner, who worked also in stone, and it is not exactly clear which part of the pulpit (if any) can be related to the hand of Elias Nicolai.[676] This has implications concerning his personal contribution to the production of the funeral monuments too, and leads to the question how to interpret the signatures: whether they really signalled Elias's own and exclusive contribution. The number of Elias Nicolai's signed works—fourteen—is unusually high for the period. An interesting phenomenon is, however, that only five of these were produced for the town where his workshop operated, for Sibiu: two tombs and a wooden epitaph in the church, and two coats of arms placed on the façade of houses. The rest are spread all over his geographical sphere of activity: in Wallachia, in Sighişoara, in Criş, in Malîncrav, in Biertan, and in Mediaş, as if he had wanted to use various products to promote his trademark in a broader circle. The role of signature can probably be interpreted in this context, and not as a sign of the master's own authorship.

3.4.5. Sibiu – The contemporaries of Elias Nicolai

Though many memorials can in some way be connected to the above presented circle around the signed works of Elias Nicolai, some monuments in and nearby Sibiu dating from the same decades represent a very different quality and ornamental style. These are all related to each other by a similar compositional method. One among these ledgers bears a signature of a certain Jacob Srawo, the only tomb-maker's name known besides that of Elias Nicolai in the Saxon area from the first half of the sixteenth century. Still, similarly to the clusters presented above, it is very difficult to say anything about the exact authorship of the ledgers and their relation in this respect.

[675] Unlike those from Cluj; see above in this chapter.
[676] Kovács, "I. Rákóczi György fejedelem erdélyi építkezéseiről," 77; Kovács, "Képfaragók és dekorátorok," 169.

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Paul Ludwig (named Ludovicus on his memorial) was the judge and then mayor of Sibiu, who died in 1626. His funeral monument is one of those that display the highest quality of stonecutter's work among the memorials in the Saxon Lutheran churches (Cat. No. 217). The composition of the ledger does not differ too much from those produced in the workshop of Elias Nicolai: the surface is divided into two parts by a band bearing a moralizing text. In the upper half, the coat of arms is held by two elegant, nimble angels wearing an ancient Roman type costume. Two cherub heads appear in the two upper corners. In the lower half, the inscription plaque is framed by beading, and the space between that and the border inscription is filled with grotesque motifs including a masque, pieces of armor combined as trophies, fruit bunches in the corners, and a putto between two trees, holding a hourglass reclining on a skull and a snake entwined around both. The entire composition resembles of a book page and probably indeed followed some kind of a graphic pattern. The ornamental style represents a different layer of the northern Mannerism in the first half of the seventeenth century from the stone carvings related to Elias Nicolai. Here the scrollwork is replaced by auricular forms and it is packed with characteristic *memento mori* motifs.

The creator of the ledger of Daniel Klein, a pastor in a settlement nearby Sibiu (d. 1628, Cat. No. 256) followed the composition of Paul Ludwig's memorial (including the moralizing inscription on the horizontal band in the middle), but the level of execution did not reach that of the model. The similarly dense, but simpler frame of the inscription panel is composed of cherub heads, fruit bunches and a skull with a snake woven through the openings.[677] The memorial of Kolomann Gotzmeister is, however, situated much closer to the ledger of Paul Ludwig in its ornamental style and execution, though it is dated five years later by the death of the subject (d. 1639, Cat. No. 219). Here the coat of arms is held by two knights in full armor, but the ornaments framing the inscription plaque are very similar to those on the other ledger (as also in the quality of carving), only the shields appear above the plaque and the putto with the death head below, in an "upside down" position.

A similar ornamental style can be observed—remarkably combined with a Gothic script on the inscription panel in all three cases—on the figural ledger of the pastor Georg Peltz from Richis long known for the scholarship as a work that bears a signature: that of a certain "Jacob Srawo Bildhawer" (d. 1638, Cat. No. 180). The ledger displaying traces of polychromy was decorated with the half-figure portrait of the pastor in a niche supported by two Mannerist pilasters with two cherub heads in the spandrels. A putto reclining on a skull and holding a

[677] The lower half of this memorial was covered by furniture, so I did not have the chance to study it, only published photographs.

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hourglass and a scroll with a *memento mori* inscription is placed under the bust, on the cornice-like upper frame of the inscription plaque. On the frame of the plaque, small animal figures appear together with fruits and cherubim, the wings of which display the characteristic auricular forms here as well.

There is only one more figural ledger in the Saxon area from the first half of the seventeenth century that is conspicuously not related to the portrait ledgers by Elias Nicolai. It represents the full figure of the royal judge Valentin Seraphin in a rectangular niche framed by a simple border bearing the inscription (d. 1639; Cat. No. 258).[678] Two angels hold shields with emblems above the shoulders of the figure, and—though there are no purely ornamental forms at all on the ledger—the forms of these point at the direction of the group of tombs discussed above. The forms of the angel figures and the head of the portrait slightly turned left with a high forehead, globular cheeks, and large ears positioned rather low, as well as the shaping of the beard and the overall expression of the face undoubtedly show a similarity with those on the tomb of Georg Peltz, the other portrait monument from these decades clearly unrelated to Elias Nicolai. This points to the authorship of the same Jacob Srawo here as well, about whom, however, nothing more is known from any other sources.

3.4.6. Portrait monuments in the last decades of the seventeenth century – Sigismund Möss

One more tomb maker left his signature on a funeral monument located in Sibiu: Sigismund Möss. His initials—SMB resolved as Sigismund Möss Bildhawer—were detected on the tomb of Matthias Semriger (d. 1680, Cat. No. 266) together with the date 1681.[679] The tomb displays the full figure of Semriger with two angels holding his and his wife's coats of arms; the latter was the patron of the memorial. Two further angels raise cartouches in the lower corners and the third inscription bearing cartouche appears fixed on the front side of a table on which a book and a clock was placed. The figure of Semriger holds the book with his left hand and a mace, the symbol of his office as a royal judge, in his right. The entire composition looks as if the painted portrait of Matthias Semriger by Jeremias Stranovius (now in the Brukenthal Museum, Figure 136) had been modified according to the traditions of the portrait gravestones of the Saxon elite represented by the works by Elias Nicolai and the tomb of Valentin Seraphin from the first half of the seventeenth century.[680] The influence of the painted portraits of the elite is less visible on the memorial of Andreas Fleischer (d. 1676, Cat. No. 265) but more on that of

[678] Though Harald Krasser attributed the tomb to Elias Nicolai. See Krasser, "Sigismund Möss," 267.
[679] Roth, "Sigismundus Möss."
[680] See also Krasser, "Sigismund Möss," 270.

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Georg Chrestel in Braşov (d. 1672, Cat. No. 62), both attributed to Sigismund Möss based on the analysis of the style.[681] The figure of the latter also stands at a table, slightly turned right. Harald Krasser attributed one more portrait monument to Möss, that of Andreas Czeky originally in Dobârca (d. 1685, Cat. No. 150).[682] The half-figure of the priest was represented with a trefoil inscription plaque bearing the commemorative text, two putti in the upper corners holding a wreath above his head and two in the lower corners with *memento mori* motifs. Here, however, the differences might dominate over the similarities that connect it to the other three memorials.

Sigismund Möss created a wooden epitaph as well in the memory of Matthias Semriger in addition to his tomb,[683] and this was not the only work he executed in wood. Victor Roth identified his signature on the altarpiece in Guşteriţa, the patron of which was the wife of Andreas Fleischer, who ordered the tomb monument for her husband as well.[684] According to the sometime signature, Möss created the former pulpit of the Lutheran church in Sibiu together with the painter Paul Demosch, as well as the woodwork of the pulpits in Mediaş and Saschiz also painted by Demosch afterwards.[685] Both Demosch and Möss came to Transylvania probably from the Spiš region in Upper Hungary, similarly to Elias Nicolai and to a number of craftsmen who appeared from the 1670s in the principality.[686] The funeral monuments in stone sculpted by Sigismund Möss with their surfaces painted in vivid colors rather resemble woodwork, and the ornamental motifs, elsewhere appearing also in wood, are far the best elements in carving.

3.5. The price of the stone memorials

The cost of having a stone funeral monument set up to the memory of oneself or for one's relative must have obviously varied according to the material, size, quality of craftsmanship, and also the distance from where it was transported to the site of destination, as it has already been discussed concerning the tombs of the Transylvanian princes imported from Poland. Consequently, the amount one intended to invest in a memorial also influenced the decision which tomb-maker was approached by the patron. In the next chapter, this issue will be

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[681] Roth, "Sigismundus Möss."; Krasser, "Sigismund Möss," 271-275. Harald Krasser dated the tomb of Georg Chrestel to the late 1670s.
[682] Krasser, "Sigismund Möss," 275-276.
[683] Ibid., 282-283; Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 212-213, Cat. No. 239.
[684] Victor Roth, "A székelyzsombori és a szenterzsébeti oltárok" (The altarpieces of Jimbor and Guşteriţa), *Erdélyi Múzeum* 5 (27) (1910): 20.
[685] Krasser, "Sigismund Möss," 284-287; Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 211, Cat. No. 238.
[686] Krasser, "Sigismund Möss," 259. Spiš, called Zips in German and Szepesség in Hungarian, is situated in north-eastern Slovakia today.

discussed from the patron's point of view, in the context of his or her social and financial position. Here, however, I will present what is known about the entire market: what was offered for what price, and what kind of investment it required in general to set up a funeral monument.

Data on the amounts paid for the tombs are relatively sparse, and the sources have not preserved the specific price of any of the surviving objects. If compared to the same information surviving, for example, from England, the data are also much less detailed. Still, they are informative to a certain extent concerning what Nigel Llewellyn called "the economy of monuments": how highly certain solutions were priced by the contemporaries.[687]

To start with the most expensive items, Prince Gábor Bethlen left 18,000 forints for the wall monuments for himself and Zsuzsanna Károlyi, which, as I argued above, probably meant two structures.[688] According to the obligation letter, István Bethlen, the executor of the Prince's will, paid 18,000 Polish forints to Antonio da Castello, which equaled 16,200 Hungarian forints; the rest of the sum must have covered the transportation of the carved stone elements from Cracow to Alba Iulia.[689] Sebastiano Sala contracted to prepare the funeral monument of Prince György Rákóczi I for 6,000 Polish forints. The transportation of 51,000 kilograms of carved stone from Cracow to Sárospatak in Hungary by about 20 wagons cost 2,000 forints.[690] King István Báthory paid at least 1,500 forints only for the transportation of the funeral monument for Kristóf Báthory from Poland to Transylvania.[691]

To move towards a cheaper category, in 1590, László Brinyi, the prefect of Gherla and the captain of the cavalry guards of the Prince intended to spend 200 golden forints on his tomb monument (*koporsókő*) which he calculated as a sufficient amount.[692] The liabilities due to Elias Nicolai in 1639 included debts from the Apafi family in the value of 160 golden forints, a debt of the Werder family of 25 golden forints and 45 golden forints for various tombs. The amounts must have been due for funeral monuments also in the first two cases, but it is not clear whether this covered the entire work or was a partial payment.[693] The same way, a claim of 35 golden forints by Elias Nicolai in 1645 may have been only a part of the full price due for the ledger of Lukas Löw. [694]

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[687] Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, 113-115.
[688] Herzog, "Újabb adatok," 539-540.
[689] Ibid., 541-542, 547.
[690] Détshy, "A gyulafehérvári Rákóczi-síremlékek," 26.
[691] Árpád Mikó, "Báthory István király és a reneszánsz művészet Erdélyben" (King István Báthory and the Renaissance art in Transylvania), ibid. 37 (1988): 119.
[692] Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 2*, 139-143.
[693] Gündisch, "Elias Nicolai," 217-218.
[694] Ibid., 218-219.

In the same year, Prince István Bethlen designated in his testament only 100 golden forints for a carved stone above his grave, which sounds especially modest as compared to the 56 golden forints and 300 forints (altogether 500 forints) he left for the preachers at his funeral ceremony, 100 forints for the two main preachers each.[695]

These were still not the cheapest versions of memorials. Ferenc Nagy Szabó paid 17 forints for a coffin-shaped gravestone (*ormos koporsókő*) he had ordered from Cluj and set up in Tîrgu Mureş in 1617.[696] Another stone ordered for László Kemény by his wife from a stonecutter in the guild in Cluj, Márton Gyújtó, cost 12 forints in 1602.[697] Miklós Patócsi, *comes* (*főispán*) of Zaránd County wrote in his last will dated from 1565 about 6 forints, 2 golden forints and 2 thalers sent for the resting place (*szalo*) and tomb monument (*koporsókő*) of Gáspár Patócsi, which must have been, however, just a part of the full price in this case as well.[698] Krisztina Bethlen did not specify any amount, but she instructed her heirs to have a good tomb (*koporsókő*) prepared for a sum that could be designated for this purpose.[699]

The cheapest option in the church interior was to close down the grave with a simple stone slab in the pavement that did not bear any mark or inscription. In Sibiu, it cost 2 forints in 1554 if the family did not provide any funeral monument and the city had to take care of closing the grave in the parish church.[700]

As the data do not refer to still existing monuments, or in those cases where the tomb survived it is not clear whether the related source covers the entire amount, it is not easy to draw any conlusions about prices. The inflation rate must also be taken into consideration, which could vary between 20% and 100% in different sectors even within half a century as reflected by the price limitations issued by the Diet.[701] The above-mentioned sources testify that one could get a tombstone from about 10 to 10-15,000 forints depening on its size, form, material, and quality. A wall monument from Poland meant several thousand forints of investment, a locally made tomb chest cost a few hundreds, and a tombstone was less than 20. As a comparison, one had to pay only 32 to 50 denars for digging the grave.[702] A carved doorframe cost 5 forints in 1590,[703] while in 1598, a sheep valued 50 denars and an ox 4 forints 70

[695] Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet és háztartás*, vol 2, 279-280, 299.
[696] "Borsos Sebestyén krónikája," 122.
[697] Balassa, *A magyar falvak temetői*, 54, without giving his source.
[698] Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 2*, 76-78.
[699] Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3*, 204-208.
[700] Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, xxvi; Albu, "Taxe de înmormântare în Sibiul," 264.
[701] See Szádeczky, *Iparfejlődés és a czéhek története Magyarországon*.
[702] Ágnes Flóra, Tünde Márton, and Ágnes Mihály, eds., *Kolozsvári ispotály-számadások I. A Szentlélek ispotály számadáskönyvei 1601-1650* (Account books of hospitals in Cluj I. The account books of the Holy Spirit Hospital 1601-1650) (Budapest: Transylvania Emlékeiért Tudományos Egyesület, 2006), 62, 138, 158.
[703] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 34-35.

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denars.[704] The price of two glass cups was 1 forint 3 denars.[705] One could get two to twenty-two liters of wine for one forint, depending on the quality.[706] For 40 to 75 denars, one could buy a wagon of building stone.[707] A house in Alba Iulia cost about 500-700 forints in the second half of the sixteenth century, while town houses in the center of Cluj were much more valuable, 3200-3700 forints.[708] The income of the town of Cluj totalled 7162 forints in 1612.[709] All these sums demonstrate that the amount invested into the imported wall memorials of the princes was enormous, and even the 100-200 forints spent for locally made tombs could otherwise cover the fifth part of a regular town house.

Based on these sparse data, the sum spent on a stone memorial seems to correspond to the social and financial status of the deceased to a certain extent, but as the next chapter will demonstrate, this was not always the case: wealthy people of high status as well chose indeed modest solutions. The aforementioned testament of István Bethlen already suggests that the amount designated for this purpose was also a question of priorities within the context of commemoration.

Conclusions

The scholarship of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century funeral monuments in Transylvania positioned these objects as pieces of sculpture, and the names of their creators known from the signatures and other written sources served as a basis to identify the masters' oeuvres, distinguishing between "autograph" and "workshop" products. The surviving tombs were, however, produced by craftsmen working in different structures ranging from the large workshops of sculptors in Poland to stonecutters providing for the local market, and the expectations they had to fulfill also varied accordingly, which must be taken into consideration when searching for artistic values and sculptural qualities. Sources on the imported memorials of the princely family and a few surviving tombs of the highest strata of the nobility and the urban elite testify that those who had special demands concerning the memorial, and possessed

[704] Buvári, "Kolozsvári árjegyzék 1595-ből" (A price list from Cluj from 1595), *Nemzeti Társalkodó*, no. 1 (1840): 69-70.
[705] Annamária Jeney-Tóth, "Fejedelmek és udvartartásuk Kolozsvárott a 17. század első felében" (Princes and their courts staying in Cluj in the first half of the seventeenth century), *Urbs. Magyar Várostörténeti Évkönyv* 8 (2013): 107.
[706] Zsuzsanna Cziráki, "Prince Gábor Bethlen's Visits to Brassó as Reflected in the Town Account Books" *Hungarian Historical Review* 2, no. 4 (2013): 915. See also Zsuzsanna Cziráki, "Bewirtung ausländischer Legationen in den sächsischen Städten des Fürstentums Siebenbürgen im Lichte der städtischen Rechnungen (1613–1629)," *Historia Urbana* 23 (2015): 189-201.
[707] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 34-35.
[708] Ibid., 107, 157, 164, 296, 380.
[709] Jeney-Tóth, "Fejedelmek és udvartartásuk Kolozsvárott a 17. század első felében," 110.

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the necessary financial resources, could order a funeral monument from abroad. It was not only the unusual material, the form, and the expertise of the master that raised the costs of such memorials, but also the transportation of the heavy stone blocks.

In the case of those tombs that are not distinguished by their material (e.g. red marble), it is a real challenge to draw a line between the products of "foreign" and "local" sculptors. The analysis of the ensemble of the surviving tomb monuments showed a similar pattern throughout the whole period: from time to time new masters or products arrived probably from abroad, and gave new impulses to the traditions of the craft. In the case of those memorials that seem to have brought something new and stand out concerning their quality—such as the tomb chests of Queen Isabelle and Prince John Sigismund, or the ledger of Johann Waida in Sibiu—it is a question how to translate this novelty into the terms of human agency, and how to interpret along the same lines the relation of these stones to those that followed them as models in a certain respect. In default of written documents and any geological analysis of the stone materials, it is not clear whether the outstanding pieces were imported ready-made or whether their master came to Transylvania to prepare them. It is possible to identify their impact, a group of stonecarvings that follow the same ornamental style or iconograpahy, but again, it cannot be discerned whether they were somehow connected to the original master or are imitations by local masters. Even the latter term is problematic concerning its real-life meaning, since many artists and skilled craftsmen came from abroad to the principality, mostly through Upper Hungary. Some of these stayed for a shorter, some for a longer period, or even for their entire lifetime, such as Elias Nicolai and Sigismund Möss. In this context, there is no sense in distinguishing the categories of "imported" and "local."

The above-mentioned process of refreshing customary forms with new ornamental styles and motifs, which were then built into the local toolkit and shaped the market demands, can be observed in the activity of the stonecutters in Sibiu. In contrast, the stonecutters working within the framework of the Cluj guild—and perhaps also their costumers—seem to have been more conservative, as both the forms and the types were repeated without any significant change during the entire period. When providing more complicated solutions, tomb makers in both towns built on graphic ornamental and compositional models as attested by their products.

As far as it can be judged based on the sparse surviving material, tomb-makers from Sibiu supplied the elite of the Saxon towns and noblemen with funeral monuments in the southern part of Transylvania, while the northern half, including the Székely territories, were oriented towards Cluj. This town had long traditions in working with stone also in terms of the organizational structure and produced generations of stonecutter families. The Partium had ties

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both towards Cluj and the territories of the Kingdom of Hungary under Habsburg rule (Map 4). These observations support the picture previous scholarship has drawn concerning the supply of architectural stone carving.[710] The analysis of the surviving stone memorials has outlined some smaller centers as well with respect to the production of funeral monuments, such as the one in Sighişoara in the late sixteenth century and the one in Braşov providing its local market, but in default of written sources it is difficult to say anything about their organization.

Though several tomb monuments can be organized into groups according to some analogous characteristics, these analogies cannot be interpreted in a uniform manner. Memorials produced in Cluj, for instance, were so simple and showed so few individual characteristics that even if a number of stonecutters' names are known from the sources, it is hard to discover any related works beyond the few signed pieces. Identifying "sculptors' hands" is problematic, however, in Sibiu as well. A comparative analysis of tombs along their style, composition and ornaments clearly produced certain clusters that might signal workshops operating parallel to one another or sequentially in time. However, the term "workshop" is no more than an analytical category here, one which can cover various things in various contexts. It is not self-evident, however, even in case of signed works how this term can be translated into any specific production structure resulting in styles as art historical phenomena. It seems that those "workshops" whose activity can be followed for more than a decade, offered different variations of tombs composed of visual and even textual panels and they occasionally modified these according to the demands of the commissioner. A few surviving contracts testify that the masters cooperated, subcontracted their works in case of more complex commissions, such as a pulpit, but there is no information whether the set of tombs related to the same name or circle, or even one single tomb, was produced by a single person or not.[711] Even if we call these funeral monuments sculpture and determine their connections through art historical stylistic analysis, these cannot always be translated into real-world structures and relations of people as agents, in spite of all the efforts in previous scholarship.

The reason for this—and probably also for the lack of the sources that would support such an attempt—lies in the fact that the expectations towards funeral monuments targeted them as functional objects within commemoration. Nigel Llewellyn formulated this concerning post-

[710] András Kovács, "Erdélyi reneszánsz kastélyok" (Renaissance castles in Transylvania), *Korunk* 12, no. 3 (2005): 11-21.

[711] The phenomenon of complex work organization in scuptors' or painters' workshops is not new; it is well-known from the late medieval Western Europe where the source conditions are more favorable than in Transylvania. For such an analysis, see Kerstin Petermann, *Bernt Notke. Arbeitsweise und Werkstattorganisation im späten Mittelalter* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2000), 132-169.

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Reformation memorials in England as follows "the tomb-makers were comparatively passive agents, intent on satisfying certain ritualistic demands. Rather than identifying innovative individual tomb-makers, art historians should be analyzing monuments as the products of two interacting groups of cultural participants or actors, that is, the makers and the patrons. To treat the tomb-makers merely as 'artists' offers only a very limited account of their complex activity."[712] The next chapter will aim at revealing as much as possible about the expectations of the commissioner side by analyzing the tomb monuments and the related sources, some aspects of which have already surfaced above.

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[712] Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, 31.

CHAPTER 4. SUBJECT AND PATRONS

In this chapter, I will examine which layers of Transylvanian society are represented by the surviving funeral monuments, and what these stones show about the way members of these layers chose to commemorate their dead. The subjects and the patrons of the tombs were identified as precisely as possible based on the inscriptions and related secondary sources: what was their social position, which offices they held; this information has been included into the database, and in a short form also into the catalog. I will explore if the known set of funeral monuments display any pattern that reflects social status and ties, and whether any choices regarding the object can be explained by a motivation of communicating, negotiating or maintaining those.

Choices might have concerned the setting of the memorial, the type and form, the material, images and texts, as well as the selection of those individuals who received a memorial based on their position, gender, age and relations. Decisions were made by people who were involved in the creation of the memorials—the "senders" of the monuments as they were called by Stephanie Knöll[713] —: those who decided to have them made, who ordered them, composed the text of the inscriptions, and those who carved the stones. Thus, patterns of patronage will also be examined: who ordered the memorials, what was their relation to the subject, and whom did they choose from among the available stone carvers; whether these patterns shed any light on the motivations behind the choices the "senders" made. To do this, quantitative analysis will be applied as well as in-depth presentation of case studies, to balance between exploring social patterns and individual motivations and decisions. Ultimately, the aim of the analysis is to understand what the memorials were to communicate about their subjects, and through them, about the values of the society, by the spatial context, form, image, and text, and how this has been strained through later decisions made about the survival, spatial position and visibility of the monuments.

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4.1. Subjects of the memorials

The subject of a funeral monument is the one or more individuals or groups commemorated, with a clear reference to this intention, which usually means an inscription. Theoretically it can also be a visual representation, but in contrast with the modern practice of placing an identifiable portrait of the deceased, the function of images on medieval and early modern funeral monuments cannot be determined unambiguously in this respect. Consequently, I will

[713] Knöll, *Creating Academic Communities*, 227.

count in the analysis only those individuals who can be identified as subjects based on the inscription, even if it does not communicate any more specific information about them (e.g. three additional subjects will be counted if the inscription tells that the tomb commemorates three children with their mother, the main subject of the memorial, even if it does not contain their name, age, or date of death).

Many funeral monuments surviving from the Transylvanian Principality refer to more than one subject, so we are dealing with more individuals than tombs, and these people were related various ways to each other. The total number of people commemorated on the 314 tombstones in the catalog is at least 455 as reconstructed based on the inscriptions.[714] 193 funeral monuments indicate only one subject, which means that only 42% of those who were commemorated received a memorial as a separate individual. At least a quarter of the surviving memorials were clearly intended to commemorate more than one individual (see Table 4.1). It seems that joining people in their death and keeping their memory in this form was a wide-spread practice.

	Number of funeral monuments
One subject	193
Unknown, at least one subject	40
Two subjects	46
Three subjects	19
Four subjects	11
Five subjects	2
Six subjects	2
Seven subjects	1
Total number of funeral monuments	314

Table 4.1. Distribution of funeral monuments based on the number of subjects

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Primary subjects

The definition of "subject" is not that simple; people could be subjects of early modern Transylvanian funeral monuments in several ways. I call here *primary subject* the one or more individuals for whom the stone was originally set up.[715] If a memorial had more than one

[714] Forty stones are so fragmented that they do not provide enough information to figure out the number of subjects, so in these cases, I calculated with the minimum, that is, one person.

[715] Harald Mytum established a methodology for dating graveyard memorials from the eighteenth to twentieth century. His method is aimed to reconstruct the biography of gravestones (which is different from the aim here), so he did not distinguish individuals but inscription events, and he called the first event as primary commemoration,

primary subject, they either passed away at the same time, or the event of a death served as the occasion to commemorate in stone also someone else, usually a family member, who had died some time earlier. To bring an example from Sibiu for both, Anna Miles, born Weidner, was buried in Sibiu together with her newborn daughter, since she died during childbirth. Christoph Ofner, who died in 1574, was also indicated as primary subject on the memorial made on his grandson's death in 1655.[716]

Secondary subjects

The process of creating the memorial did not always end when it was produced and set up. Tombs were often continued: new inscriptions and sometimes also images were added, by which further individuals were included into the circle of the subjects. This could happen soon after the death of the primary subject, but much later as well.

A group of funeral monuments had secondary subjects who were connected to the primary subjects. They often were close relatives, and the burial site or even the grave served the entire family, which is reflected by the names added one by one to the funeral monument. This could be the original intention when the memorial was set up, but it was not necessarily so in every case. However, it is often difficult to decide, as stones rarely bear any such reference in the text. Occasionally, some irregularities in the composition help to reconstruct the process.

Inscriptions on funeral monuments testify that not only family members were laid into common graves but sometimes completely unrelated individuals or even families. The stones were re-used or simply complemented, in most cases a relatively long time after the primary commemoration. This was obviously not the part of the original design but a secondary use of the memorials. More than one individual, even entire families appear as secondary subjects, while the overall image was still dominated by the commemoration of the primary subject. For example, a late medieval red marble ledger in the Sibiu parish church was originally set up for royal judge Johann Lulay (d. 1521), and it was slightly modified in 1649 to commemorate Johann and Katharina Stenzel as well (Cat. No. 260). The heraldic image in the center and the original border inscription referring to Lulay were kept, but the *tabula ansata* under the coat of arms of Lulay was provided with a commemorative inscription for the new subjects and even with an epitaph verse.

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which does not necessarily correspond to the primary text, as the latter could be created even before the first death. See Harold Mytum, "The Dating of Graveyard Memorials: Evidence from the Stones" *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 36, no. 1 (2002): 2, 7-9.

[716] Cat. No. 238 and Cat. No. 262

Secondary commemorative inscriptions took a variety of forms. The simplest version displaying only the initials and a date, probably the date of death, is not easy to distinguish from *hic fuit* graffiti inscriptions.[717] The practice of adding new subjects to a funeral monument did not cease with the seventeenth century.[718] It is still a widespread custom to re-use headstones from graves of which nobody takes care anymore, whose subjects have been forgotten by the community. In most cases, however, they do not preserve the original inscriptions, but the old gravestones serve as raw material for new ones. This is a reason why there are no more than a few seventeenth-century funeral monuments known from graveyards all over Transylvania: they were easy to re-carve and move to a new grave with the expansion of the cemetery.

4.2. Social groups in the Transylvanian Principality commemorated in stone

Each of the funeral monuments surviving from the principality period can be associated with a privileged group of the society. The multiethnic Transylvanian Principality had a specific social structure inherited from the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. The three privileged estates were called "the three nations": the nobility, the Saxon towns, and the Székely. These three groups evolved in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries based on the rights and privileges granted by the king to them as a community.[719]

By the early modern period, it had generally been accepted that the entire nobility enjoyed the same rights since King Andrew II issued the laws called the "Golden Bull" in 1222. In reality, the legal basis for the equal noble rights was the law issued by Louis I in 1351, and in many ways this concept was fostered by the collection of customary law called *Tripartitum* put into writing by István Werbőczy in the early sixteenth century. Land-owning nobles belonged to the so-called "Hungarian nation" with no regard to their ethnicity or native language. The Saxons received their collective political and economic privileges allegedly from King Géza II (1141-1162), which were extended by Andrew II in 1224.[720] As a result, they enjoyed a collective ownership over their lands, they were entitled to elect their own judges, they paid their taxes collectively, and they had a diocese independent from the local bishopric, ordered directly under the archbishop of Esztergom. The king himself was their immediate

[717] See, for example, the inscription "RCA 1641" on Cat. No. 276, "G L C 15[..]" on Cat. No. 225, and seventeenth-century *hic fuit* graffiti on Cat. No. 64.
[718] See e.g. Cat. No. 133, 309.
[719] See Ioan -Aurel Pop, "Transylvania in the 14th Century and the First Half of the 15th Century (1300-1456)" in *History of Transylvania. Vol. I (until 1541)*, ed. Ioan -Aurel Pop (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Cultural Institute, 2005), 253, 271-280.
[720] For a critical edition of the decree called *Andreanum*, see Franz Zimmermann and Carl Werner, eds., *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen, vol. 1, 1191-1342* (Hermannstadt [Sibiu]: Michaelis, 1892), 33-35, No. 43.

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authority, represented by the royal judge (*iudex regius*, *Königsrichter*).[721] The Székely received their privileges in exchange for their collective military service on the eastern borders. The Székely *ispán* (*comes*) represented the royal power over them from the mid-thirteenth century; otherwise they chose their own leaders from among their own elite.[722]

It was a common characteristic of the three nations that their members possessed equal and hereditary privileges respectively. The nations did not correspond strictly to any ethnic group, even if their names—Székely, Saxon—would suggest that. Only those who possessed the privileges belonged to the nations, while the unprivileged included Hungarians, Saxons, Romanians, and several other ethnicities.[723]

The three nations were organized into autonomous administrative units, counties and seats or districts, which sent their representatives to the Transylvanian assemblies convened by the voivode from the thirteenth century. They strengthened their alliance in 1437 joining into a "brotherly union" against all internal and external threats, and later this union was repeatedly renewed. Representatives of the three nations maintained their privileged positions also after the collapse of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary and constituted the diet of the Transylvanian Principality, together with the nobles holding offices in the state administration and those invited personally by the Prince.[724]

The three major social groups that can be distinguished among the subjects of the surviving funeral monuments, the nobility, the burghers, and the clergy, however, did not correspond seamlessly to the three nations (see Table 4.2; Map 5). Members of the Székely nation also had funeral monuments, but the Székelys do not seem to constitute a meaningful category in this analysis; their memorials are discussed within the group of the nobility and the urban communities. The reason for this lies in the social history of the Székely in the late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period. A new type of differentiation started in the Székely society

[721] There has been an extensive literature produced on the medieval history of the Saxons; for a summary, see Gündisch, *Siebenbürgen und die Siebenbürger Sachsen*, 13-72; László Makkai and András Mócsy, eds., *History of Transylvania. Volume 1. From the Beginnings to 1606*, Social Science Monographs (Boulder, Colorado: Atlantic Research and Publications, Inc., 2001), 420-428; Thomas Nägler, "Transylvania between 900 and 1300" in *The History of Transylvania. Vol. I (until 1541)*, ed. Ioan-Aurel Pop and Thomas Nägler (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Cultural Institute, 2005), 219-227.

[722] For the most recent work on the Székely, see Benkő, *A középkori Székelyföld*. See also Zoltán Kordé, "A székely ispáni méltóság kezdeteiről" (On the beginnings of the office of the Székely ispán), in *Kastélyok, udvarházak és lakóik a régi Székelyföldön: in memoriam Demény Lajos (1926-2010)* (Residences castles and curias on the Székely Land), ed. Kinga S. Tüdős (Sepsiszentgyörgy [Sfântu Gheorghe]: Székely Nemzeti Múzeum, 2015), 64-72; Teréz Oborni, "A székelyek jogi helyzetének változásai a 16. század közepén - vázlatos áttekintés" (Changes in the legal status of the Székelys in the mid-sixteenth century - an overview), ibid., 73-85.

[723] See Pop, "Transylvania in the 14th Century and the First Half of the 15th Century (1300-1456)," 272-273.

[724] Ibid., 254-257, 267, 272-275; Anton E. Dörner, "Transylvania Between Stability and Crisis (1457-1541)" in *History of Transylvania. Vol. I (Until 1541)*, 299-300; Zsolt Trócsányi, *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690* (The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980), 396-397.

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from the fifteenth century. Not every Székely was wealthy enough to perform the military service they owed. Certain families of the leading stratum, however, accumulated large estates, and also outside the Székely lands.[725] The differences became more and more articulate, and parallel with this, the common Székely privileges were repeatedly challenged by the princes from the mid-sixteenth century. The notion of the common Székely nobility became problematic, and the leaders assimilated step by step into the nobility of the counties, taking up governmental positions, serving as military leaders and diplomats appointed by the Prince.[726] This process was reinforced by marriage ties as well. This upper layer of the Székely appears among the subjects of funeral monuments from the principality period. However, since there is no clear dividing line between them and the rest of the nobility– most of the tombs date from the seventeenth century and originate from families with multiple ties to the county nobility—, in the analysis I do not treat their funeral monuments separately but together with those of the nobles.

There is another group of gravestones from the Székely Lands, in Târgu Mureş. Though the town is situated in the Székely area, the Székely privileges did not apply for its inhabitants in the principality period, but they had special urban rights—I will discuss these later in more detail –; what is more, the town was in a constant conflict with the Székely Mureş Seat (Marosszék).[727] Thus, I discuss the Székely funeral monuments from Târgu Mureş in the context of urban memorials.

The third layer that appears among the subjects of funeral monuments, members of the clergy, partly belongs to the urban sphere, but urban clergy constituted only a segment of this group. The position of the clergy in the Transylvanian Principality became much more complicated compared to the Middle Ages. After the death of bishop Johannes Statileo in 1542, the episcopal palace in Alba Iulia was taken over by the ruler of the new Transylvanian state as seat and residence, and the properties of the bishopric were confiscated.[728] Parallel with the secularization of the bishop's properties, the Protestant Reformation reached Transylvania.

[725] The wealthiest families possessed estates in the territory of the counties since the Middle Ages, and they counted as nobles also outside the Székely area, which was manifest in their political, social, and military activity. See Benkő, *A középkori Székelyföld*, vol. 1, 195-205.
[726] Judit Balogh, *A székely nemesség kialakulásának folyamata a 17. század első felében* (The formation process of the Székely nobility in the first half of the seventeenth century) (Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2005), 3-29.
[727] Ibid., 6; Sándor Pál-Antal, *Marosvásárhely története. A kezdetektől 1848-ig* (The history of Târgu Mureş. From the beginnings to 1848) (Marosvásárhely: Mentor, 2009), 94-95.
[728] In 1553, Ferdinand of Habsburg appointed Pál Bornemisza as Catholic bishop, but he had to leave the country in a year, and the episcopal palace became again the princely residence. There was a second attempt to restore the bishopric between 1598 and 1604, by the appointment of Demeter Náprágyi. Keul, *Early Modern Religious Communities*, 87-88, 178-179.

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Three new Protestant churches and a new layer of Protestant clergy emerged in the period. They came from various social layers and served at diverse places ranging from small villages through towns to the court of the Prince. Catholicism did not disappear completely either, even if they did not have a bishop in Transylvania until the eighteenth century and the institution of the Church was represented first only by the Jesuits, and later by some Franciscan missionaries. Catholic religion was recognized by the Diet, and remained present primarily among the nobility and the Székely.[729]

The common feature of the three groups—the nobility, the burghers, and the clergy—is that they were all distinguished by a certain set of privileges within the rather complex society of the principality, though they themselves were also composed of various layers in terms of rank, occupation, financial status, ethnicity, and religion. Other people in the Transylvanian Principality, for example peasants from the village communities, might have also marked the graves of their dead, but there is no information—neither material remains nor descriptions—about this, so the nobility, the burghers,[730] and the clergy will be the three groups whose funeral monuments I will analyze.

Social layer	Nobility	Burghers	Clergy	Unknown	Total
Total number of funeral monuments	94	143	61	16	314
Total number of subjects, at least	126	229	84	16	455

Table 4.2. Distribution of funeral monuments per social groups

Sixteen funeral monuments survived in such a fragmentary state that their subjects cannot be identified, and in these cases, neither does the context give any clue to their social status. In an urban environment, where burghers, members of the clergy and nobles were all interred and commemorated, any of these layers could provide the unknown subjects of memorials. In parish churches of villages, ledgers bearing no clue to identify the subject could cover the grave of a local priest or his family member as well as that of a person of noble rank, a member of a local

[729] István György Tóth, "Bevezetés" (Introduction), in *Relationes missionariorum de Hungaria et Transylvania (1627-1707)*, ed. István György Tóth, Bibliotheca Academiae Hungariae in Roma. Fontes 1 (Rome - Budapest: Római Magyar Akadémia, Ráday Gyűjtemény, MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1994), 11-13; Keul, *Early Modern Religious Communities*, 21, 125-129, 174-182, 209-215.

[730] As it will be presented below, priests and nobles were also buried and commemorated with funeral monuments in towns. In those cases where I refer to this broader group, I will use the term "townspeople."

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estate owning family.[731] There are six funeral monuments also in the cathedral of Alba Iulia where the identity, thus the social status of the subject is unknown.[732] Finally, some fragments housed by the National History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj are of unknown provenance and do not display any name.[733]

4.3. Funeral monuments of burghers

The largest group of funeral monuments is connected to the urban communities in Transylvania. Though there are only 9 gravestones from the above mentioned Székely town, Târgu Mureş, 122 memorials survived in six Saxon towns—Sibiu, Braşov, Sighișoara, Mediaş, Bistrita, and Sebeş—and 47 from Cluj. I chose these three clusters to present the figures because the Saxon towns, Cluj, and Târgu Mureş each had a different status in the principality, and due to this, their urban society and social history also shaped differently.

I will examine which layers of the residents are represented among the funeral monuments in various towns. Then I will turn back to the main research question: what kind of choices were made about the funeral monuments in terms of their spatial arrangement, type, form, iconography, and inscriptions, and why? Who made the choices: who were the patrons indicated on the funeral monuments and what was their connection to the subjects? The final aim of this sub-chapter is to understand how burghers in general chose to be presented by their funeral monuments and which factors of the urban society might explain these choices.

4.3.1. Towns in medieval and early modern Transylvania

Urban development in the Saxon areas accelerated in the fourteenth century, and the towns received a range of new privileges from the King of Hungary. They functioned as centers of the Saxon seats, and were one by one given the right to elect their royal judges in the fifteenth century. As an outcome of some royal administrative reforms, seven seats—centered around Orăștie (in German, Broos), Sebeș (Mühlbach), Miercurea (Reuβmarkt), Sibiu (Hermannstadt), Nocrich (Leschkirch), Cincu (Groβschenk), Sighișoara (Schäβburg), and Rupea (Reps)—were organized in the so-called *Königsboden* (the Royal Lands between the Olt and Târnava rivers) under the authority of Sibiu, while two other seats, Mediaş (Mediasch) and Șeica Mare (Schelk)

[731] Cat. No. 147, 176, 184, and 314
[732] Cat. No. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14
[733] Cat. No. 108, 109, 110, 111, and 112

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constituted a separate unit. Sibiu became a common administrative center of the Saxon, since its *comes* and royal judge chaired the superior court of justice of the seven plus two seats.[734]

Braşov was designated as the center of a separate district in Burzenland mentioned first time in the mid-fourteenth century.[735] The district around Bistriţa was also geographically distinct from the Saxon seats, and in the mid-fourteenth century it received the same privileges as Sibiu. Though all the Saxon towns were important commercial and craft centers, Sibiu, Braşov and Bistriţa played an especially significant role in the trade towards Walachia and Moldavia.[736] The unification of the Saxon areas' status reached the last stage in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, when King Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490) confirmed the privileges of the *Königsboden* and extended it also to Braşov and Bistriţa. The Saxon territories joined into the Saxon University (*Universitas Saxonum*), a common political, administrative and representative authority of the Saxon nation headed by the mayor of Sibiu.

Though Cluj was also populated by Saxon settlers at a certain point of its history, its development diverged from that of the Saxon towns in many respects. Saxons were invited by the king in the mid-thirteenth century to the place of an earlier settlement connected to *Castrum Clus*. Sources, however, mention *hospites* and *Saxones* in this case, which implies that the new settlers receiving special privileges were not only Saxons but probably also included Hungarians.[737] In 1316, King Charles Robert confirmed and extended these privileges, based on which, for example, the town could elect its own leaders and parish priests.[738] Cluj developed significantly in the fourteenth century; its wealth was based on trade and crafts, but mostly on agriculture. It received the rank of royal free towns from King Sigismund in 1405, with a permission to build new stone walls around its increased territory.[739] Though its status differed

[734] See Pop, "Transylvania in the 14th Century and the First Half of the 15th Century (1300-1456)," 285-286; Dörner, "Transylvania Between Stability and Crisis," 308-310.
[735] Gernot Nussbächer, "Brassó és a Barcaság közigazgatása a koraújkor küszöbén" (The public administration of Braşov and the Burzenland at the dawn of the Early Modern Period), *Aetas* 26, no. 2 (2011): 172.
[736] Mária Pakucs-Willcocks, "Transylvania and Its International Trade, 1525-1575" *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica* 16, no. 2 (2012): 173-182.
[737] Due to the sparse sources, scholars have different views even on some key details in the early and thirteenth-century history of Cluj. For the most important directions, see Elek Jakab, *Kolozsvár története. Első kötet, oklevéltárral. Ős-, ó- és középkor. 513. Kr.e. - 1540 Kr. u.* (History of Cluj. First volume, with archival documents, Prehistoric Period, Antiquity, and Middle Ages, B.C. 513 to A.D. 1540) (Buda: Szabad Királyi Kolozsvár Város Közönsége, 1870), 215-249; Attila Szabó T., *Kolozsvár települése a XIX. század végéig* (The settlement of Cluj before the end of the nineteenth century) (Kolozsvár [Cluj]: Minerva Irodalmi és Nyomdai Műintézet Rt., 1946), 7-8; Elek Benkő, *Kolozsvár magyar külvárosa a középkorban* (The Hungarian suburb of Cluj in the Middle Ages), Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek 248 (Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2004), 9-13; Radu Lupescu, "Kolozsvár korai történetének buktatói" (Pitfalls in the early history of Cluj), *Erdélyi Múzeum* 67, no. 3-4 (2005): 26, 43-45.
[738] Jakab, *Kolozsvár története. Első kötet*, 260-263; Lupescu, "Kolozsvár korai történetének buktatói," 52-54.
[739] Jakab, *Kolozsvár története. Első kötet*, 366-369. The town was surrounded by stone walls before, but they ciscumscribed a much smaller territory.

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from that of the *Königsboden*'s Saxon towns in some respects, legally they were equals.[740] In the sixteenth century, Cluj was removed from the authority of the Saxon University, and was ordered directly under the Prince.[741] The city housed numerous diets, and sources testify that often the Prince himself chose to stay there.[742]

Funeral monuments in the Saxon towns and Cluj were set up to commemorate members of their urban communities, also including the priests who served in the towns. Though some burghers received nobility in the Saxon towns too, it was a distinctive feature of the society in Cluj that a considerable number of noblemen had lived among the city walls since the Middle Ages. They were members of the county nobility who found more safety and comfort in the town, especially in times of danger, and their number even increased in the sixteenth century due to the Ottoman-Turkish military advance.[743]

Târgu Mureş differed concerning its status and development both from the Saxon cities and from Cluj. It started to develop as a market place of the Székely at the River Mureş (Székelyvásárhely, *Forum Siculorum*) from the thirteenth century, and the king granted it with the rank of a free *oppidum* in the early fifteenth century. Still, it took several more decades to gain independence from the authority of Mureş Seat (Marosszék). The privileges of the town included the right to issue its own statutes, to elect its own leaders, and some favorable conditions for taxation and trade.[744] Though the privileges extended beyond those of an *oppidum* after the mid-sixteenth century, the settlement received the status of free royal town only in 1616.[745] Târgu Mureş housed numerous diets, since it was easily accessible also for the representatives of the Székely.[746] The inhabitants were overwhelmingly Hungarian speakers and mostly craftsmen (60% by the middle of the seventeenth century), with a smaller number

[740] Flóra, "The Matter of Honour," 43.
[741] András Kiss, "Kolozsvár településrendszere a XVI. században: fertályok, tizedek" (Settlement structure of Cluj in the sixteenth century: quarters and tenths), in *Kolozsvár 1000 éve. A 2000. október 13–14-én rendezett konferencia előadásai* (1000 years of Cluj. Papers presented at the conference on 13-14 October 2000), ed. Tibor Kálmán Dáné, et al. (Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület, 2001), 23; Benkő, *Kolozsvár magyar külvárosa*, 5-6.
[742] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 28-29, 44, 52, 80-83; Flóra, "The Matter of Honour," 418.
[743] See László Pakó, "Citizen or Noble? Nobility and Properties in the Free Royal Town of Kolozsvár in the 16–17th Centuries" in *Studies in the History of Early Modern Transylvania*, ed. Gyöngy Kovács-Kiss, Social Science Monographs, Atlantic Studies on Society in Change 140 (Colorado: Boulder), 423-448.
[744] Elek Benkő, István Demeter, and Attila Székely, *Középkori mezőváros a Székelyföldön* (A medieval oppidum in the Székely Land), Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek 223 (Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Erdélyi Magyar Múzeum-Egyesület, 1997), 11-17; Sándor Pál-Antal, "Székelyvásárhely" (Market place of the Székely), in *Marosvásárhely történetéből* (From the history of Târgu Mureş), ed. Ákos Egyed, et al. (Marosvásárhely: Mentor, 1999), 9-28; Pál-Antal, *Marosvásárhely története*, 17-22, 26-30, 32-35, 45-49; Benkő, *A középkori Székelyföld*, vol. 1, 366-370.
[745] Miklós Szabó, "Marosvásárhely szabad királyi várossá alakulása" (Transformation of Târgu Mureş into a free royal town), in *Marosvásárhely történetéből* (On the history of Târgu Mureş), ed. Ákos Egyed, et al. (Marosvásárhely: Mentor, 1999), 29-42; Pál-Antal, *Marosvásárhely története*, 60-61.
[746] Pál-Antal, *Marosvásárhely története*, 77-79.

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of merchants and tillers. [747] However, four of the nine known gravestones were set up for noblemen, since similarly to Cluj, there were also noble families living in Târgu Mureş.[748]

Sibiu, the main center of the Saxons, was the third largest town in Transylvania with a population of 6000, outnumbered by Braşov with about 8-9000 and Cluj with 7500-8000 inhabitants by the end of the sixteenth century. Bistrița had a population of 4000 by that time, while Sighișoara and Mediaș housed about 2500 people. The population of Târgu Mureş quickly tripled from the early seventeenth-century number—176 families, 900-1000 people—after the town received the rank of free royal town, but then stagnated due to the plague and various military events.[749]

4.3.2. Funeral monuments of burghers: sources and questions

143 of the 314 funeral monuments were created to commemorate members of various urban communities, but there is no way to find out how these figures are related to the original number of stone memorials set up in the towns of the principality. Still, one can get closer to an answer at least in the case of Sibiu, where grave inventories from the late seventeenth and eighteenth century include data also on the funeral monuments lost by now. Based on these, Ioan Albu created a catalog of all the known monuments: those 62 that have been preserved (including two bonze ledgers) and 46 more from the inventories.[750] In addition to these, 17 painted and/or sculpted epitaphs made of wood, alabaster, or canvas complement the picture, and the inventories inform us about two more that have been lost. This large number of memorials seems to fit to the status of Sibiu among the Transylvanian towns, but considering the total number of its population—around 6000—it is not that many at all.

From Cluj, besides the 47 preserved funeral monuments, about 120 more pieces are known from nineteenth-and twentieth century inventories, the overwhelming majority of which came from graveyards.[751] The first question was already raised: how are these numbers related to the original ensemble? The second one is whether this difference between Cluj and Sibiu or the Saxon towns in general concerning the original site of the memorials—churches or graveyards respectively—resulted simply from a difference between the survival of sources or whether it reflects a difference in the early modern commemorative customs. To answer this

[747] Ibid., 75, 80-83.
[748] Ibid., 94.
[749] Makkai and Mócsy, *History of Transylvania. Volume 1. From the Beginnings to 1606*, 462, 471; Csetri, "Kolozsvár népessége," 8; Pál-Antal, *Marosvásárhely története*, 75, 80-83.
[750] Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, for the sources, see xix-xxiii.
[751] See primarily Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*.

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question, I will examine where the subjects of the known funeral monuments stood within the urban communities, so which segment of the population is represented by the memorials, and whether the material displays any difference in this respect in various towns.

4.3.3. Towns and burghers on Transylvanian memorials

Funeral monuments serve as sources for genealogy, archontology, and prosopography, though those from the Transylvanian Principality have hardly been utilized in this respect. The texts are not equally detailed on each stone, so in addition to the tomb inscriptions, the results of previous local and social historical as well as epigraphic research helped to identify the status of the subjects within the towns. Even this information varies in its depth, and it could, potentially, be complemented by further archival research. Still, I will have to construct my analysis on the basis of secondary sources, since this kind of detailed archival study would require a substantial extension of the research project. The most important secondary sources I used were published by Johann Seivert, Ioan Albu, and Ágnes Flóra concerning Sibiu,[752] by Roland Melzer on Sighișoara,[753] and János Herepei as well as Ágnes Flóra on Cluj.[754]

Sibiu

The 62 funeral monuments that have been preserved from early modern Sibiu commemorate at least 84 subjects, but the total collection of Ioan Albu that contains 108 memorials allows one to broaden the analysis to 137 subjects.[755] These funeral monuments were displayed in the parish church on the main square of the town, so the first question to ask concerns the position of their subjects within the Sibiu society. Were they from the circle of people called the town elite by the social historical research of urban communities, that is, those who shaped the life of the urban society?[756] To start with, who were the elite in Sibiu, and how did this group relate to the subjects of the known funeral monuments?

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[752] Johann Seivert, "Die Grafen der sächsischen Nation und Hermannstädtischen Königsrichter im Grosfürstenthum Siebenbürgen," *Ungarisches Magazin* 2-3 (1782): 261-302, 129-163, 393-432; Johann Seivert, "Chronologische Tafel der Provinzialbürgermeister, Stuhlrichter und Stadhannen in Hemrnannstadt," *Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift* 2 (1791): 55-83; Johann Seivert, "Die Provinzial Bürgermeister zu Hermannstadt im Grossfürstenthum Siebenbürgen," *Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift* 2 (1791): 154-206; Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*; Flóra, "The Matter of Honour."
[753] Melzer, "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg," 91-114; also Anonym, "Verzeichniß der Schäßburger Burgermeister und Königsrichter," *Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift* 6 (1798): 316-319.
[754] Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*; Ágnes Flóra, *Prestige at Work. Goldsmiths of Cluj/Kolozsvár in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Saarbrücken: Verlag Dr. Müller, 2009); Flóra, "The Matter of Honour."
[755] Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*.
[756] Flóra, "The Matter of Honour," 5-16.

The operation of early modern Sibiu was controlled by the town council from the thirteenth century. The council was composed of twelve councilors (*senatores, Ratsherren*) plus the mayor, and it was responsible for the internal administration as well as for the external relations of the town. The twelve members were wealthy burghers who could afford to be involved in the town affairs, since council membership was an unpaid office.[757] The councilors were elected by and from among the hundreds (*centumviri, Hundertmannschaft*), members of the outer council. The hundreds were also an elected body, from the representatives of administrative quarters in the town and from the guilds. They fulfilled some legislative and administrative functions as well, for example they elected the holders of various offices in the town.[758]

By the end of the fourteenth century, the four main offices in the town leadership were the royal judge, the seat judge, the mayor, and the steward. The Saxon *comes* or royal judge (*iudex regius*, *Königsrichter*), the representative of the royal power over the Saxons, who took part also in the state politics of the principality, was mentioned already in 1224 when King Andrew II settled their legal status in the Royal Lands. From 1366, sources mention also a mayor (*magister civium or proconsul*, Bürgermeister) in Sibiu. He was elected by the town as the head of the administration and the finances, and performed also some jurisdictional functions. The seat judge (*iudex sedis*, Stuhlrichter), the third most prominent position in Sibiu, operated parallel with the royal judge in the jurisdiction both in the town and in the seat. The steward (*villicus*, *Stadthann*) was also part of this complex jurisdictional system up to the late sixteenth century, dealing with minor offences. This was an elective office and its holder oversaw the economic and administrative life of the town.[759]

Members of the town elite started their career in the council. Stewardship was a step forward, and some could proceed even further after a few years, to the office of the seat judge or mayor. Several mayors were appointed as royal judge after a while, which was a lifetime position, but the ruler could also decide in favor of an outsider. These positions meant a real service, a great responsibility, and required sacrifices in terms of time and finances. However, they also brought an immense social benefit for the holder, which could also be transformed into financial terms.

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[757] Ibid., 5, 51, 90, 94, 100, 170-171.
[758] Ibid., 76-89.
[759] Ibid., 50-55, 96-97, 173, 218.

Starting the examination of the subjects of monuments from the topmost positions within the town, seventeen royal judges of Sibiu died in the period between 1541 and 1700.[760] Funeral monuments of ten have survived: nine ledger stones, one bronze ledger,[761] and the early grave inventories inform us about one more ledger lost by now.[762] They all displayed a heraldic image until the 1630s, when a series of figural ledgers started.[763] One more new trend can be observed from the 1630s: in addition to the ledgers, they created painted wooden and alabaster epitaphs as well for the royal judges,[764] and three of them who passed away after 1680 were commemorated only by epitaphs.[765] To sum up, there are only two of the seventeen royal judges whose memorial is not known at all.[766]

Thirty-three mayors of Sibiu died in the same period, and we know about how twenty-six were commemorated. Eleven mayors did not finish their career there but became—and died as—royal judges, so their tombs have already been covered in the previous section. The first heraldic ledger, that of Martin Weis, was lost,[767] but eleven more have been preserved.[768] One of these, the memorial of Michael Lutsch, was made of bronze.[769] Georg Hecht also received a bronze memorial, which is not a ledger in this case, since it measures only 45x41 cm.[770] Only one mayor had his portrait represented on a ledger: Johann Bayer Jr. (d. 1592, Cat. No. 241). Johann Simonius and Christian Reihardt (Szabo) were commemorated with wooden and alabaster epitaphs, from 1669 and 1695, respectively.[771]

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[760] The eighteenth, David Weyrauch was the royal judge of Reps; this was the only case when the Saxon *comes* was not the royal judge of Sibiu. Seivert, "Die Grafen der sächsischen Nation," 159-160.
[761] Of Peter Haller, see Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 61-61, Cat. No. 57.
[762] For the first royal judge who died in the period, Matthias Ambruster. Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 40, Cat. No. 33.
[763] Valentin Seraphin (Cat. No. 258), Valentin Frank (Cat. No. 259), Andreas Fleischer (Cat. No. 265), Matthias Semriger (Cat. No. 266)
[764] Koloman Gotzmeister (a wooden funerary shield), Valentin Seraphin, Mihael Agnethler, Andreas Fleischer, Matthias Semriger. See Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 150-151, Cat. No. 160; 162-163, Cat. No. 164; 204-205, Cat. No. 228; 212-213, Cat. No. 239.
[765] Georg Ambruster, Johann Haupt, Valentin Frank; the last one also had a big family epitaph. Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 220-221, Cat. No. 250; 236-237, Cat. No. 266; 246, Cat. No. 276; 234-235, Cat. No. 265.
[766] Georg Huet (1539-1543) and Daniel Melmer (1607-1612). Johann Lutsch died in Constantinople in 1661, and his body was probably not taken back to Sibiu. A funerary flag preserves his memory in the collection of the Sibiu church, see ibid., 189, Cat. No. 207. Augustin Hedwig (d. 1577) did not receive a separate funeral monument either, but a brief inscription was added about him to the red marble ledger of his wife (Cat. No. 234).
[767] Died in 1552. Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 45, Cat. No. 39
[768] Simon Miles (Cat. No. 233), Blasius Raw (Cat. No. 239), Johann Wayda (Cat. No. 218), Lucas Enyeter (Cat. No. 247), Paul Paulinus (Cat. No. 130), Gallus Lutsch (Cat. No. 254), Johann Roth (Cat. No. 255), Michael Lutsch (bronze; ibid., 145-146, Cat. No. 155.), Paul Ludovicus (Cat. No. 217), Johann Reusner (Cat. No. 216), and Tobias Sifft (Cat. No. 215).
[769] Died in 1632. Interestingly, the inventories mention an additional ledger stone commemorating him, which has been lost by know. Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 147-148, Cat. No. 156.
[770] Died in 1580. Ibid., 85, Cat. No.82 and fig. 39. There was also a ledger stone is now lost but recorded, for a Georg Hecht who died in 1581. He must have been a relative of the mayor Georg Hecht. See Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 88, Cat. No. 85.
[771] Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 193, Cat. No. 212 and 239-240, Cat. No. 269.

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Forty seat judges served in Sibiu and died in the period, seventeen of whom later became mayors or royal judges, so twenty-three held the seat judge's position as their highest office. Here the proportions show a clear difference compared to the rates among the royal judges and mayors: of the twenty-three individuals, there is no information on any kind of memorial in the case of fifteen. Three heraldic ledgers survived,[772] and four more ledger stones now lost were registered in the grave visitations.[773] Melchior Hermann or Stukhart (d. 1692) did not receive his own memorial, but his name was only carved on a medieval funeral monument in the church, the red marble heraldic ledger of the mayor Georg Hecht the elder who died in 1496.[774]

It is difficult to estimate how many stewards died in the period since not every steward's death date is known, and in general, this was an office that town leaders held at an early stage of their career. There were at least sixty-two, probably about seventy stewards between 1541 and 1700. Forty-one of them proceeded to the position of seat judge, mayor, or even royal judge. From the group of about thirty–thirty-five people who died in the period and stewardship was their highest office, only two ledgers survived,[775] and two more are mentioned in sources.[776]

	Total number in the period	Number of those who did not proceed to any higher office	Number of known funeral monuments from the second column
Royal judge	17	17	15
Mayor	34	23	15
Seat judge	40	23	8
Steward	c. 70	c. 30-35	2

Table 4.3. Number of known funeral monuments of town leaders in Sibiu

The overview of the representatives of the four most important town offices already shows that the higher a person got in his career, the more probable it was that he would receive a funeral monument in the Lutheran church (see Table 4.3). Almost all royal judges were commemorated, while hardly anyone from among those who reached the highpoint of their career as stewards

[772] Mathias Ponsler (Cat. No. 228); Peter Kamner (Cat. No. 211); and Lucas Löw (Cat. No. 210)
[773] Georg Enyeter, Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 129, Cat. No. 138.; Paulus Roth/Rufinus, ibid., 153, Cat. No. 164.; Georg Werder, ibid., 156-157, Cat. No. 166.; Michael Theil, ibid., 179, Cat. No. 195.
[774] Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 21, Cat. No. 18. They chiseled down the original border inscription in the upper left corner, and incised the name of Hermann there, see Cat. No. 268.
[775] Four and maybe two more individuals died as stewards, nine went back to serve as council members, and there are no data on the further career of about eighteen former stewards. The preserved funeral monuments are Servatius Weidner (Cat. No. 231) and Michael Schwarz (Cat. No. 263). The memorial of Weidner's wife, Anna Wohlgemuth, was still visible in the nineteenth century. Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 81-82, Cat. No. 76.
[776] Valentin Repser, Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 109-110, Cat. No. 111.; Benedikt Kleinschelker, ibid., 135-136, Cat. No. 145.

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was. Theoretically it is possible that these numbers reflect the survival rate of the funeral monuments to a certain extent, but since some of the data on the memorials originate from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they probably have some relevance for the original trends.

To reverse the question, I will check how many of the known and preserved stones commemorated this circle of town leaders. Among the 62 surviving funeral monuments including the two bronze ledgers, 25 were made for holders of the four most important town offices, and six more for the wife or daughter of such a person, which therefore totals 50%. Including what is known about the tombs that have been lost since the grave inventories were compiled, this rate is 42%, which is still significant. At the same time, it also shows that the funeral monument of an important personality had a higher chance of survival than the rest. The question here is who were the "rest", that is to say, what was their standing in the urban society?

The inner council of twelve is the next stage when broadening the sample within the town elite. The total number of the council members in the period has not been calculated yet. Ágnes Flóra prepared an assessment for the sixteenth century, and she identified ninety-seven council members between 1541 and 1600.[777] Many of these stepped forward to higher positions, but fifty-nine people had the council membership as the peak of their career in these sixty years. Based on these numbers, it is probably not an overestimation to calculate about 120-150 council members for the period between 1541 and 1700. Compared to this number, there are only three surviving funeral monuments set up for members of the council, all from the seventeenth century, and one is known to have been lost (again, not including those who proceeded with their career and thus, were commemorated as seat judges, mayors, etc.).[778]

The office of the notary was also a respected position in the Transylvanian towns. The documents were produced by the *literati*, and authenticated by the notary. It was a well-paid job, but required good education, good Latin, as well as legal knowledge. Notaries thus also came from relatively wealthy families who could afford this kind of education; at the same time, this was an opportunity to start a career for those who did not come from the most influential circles.[779] Some of them became council members afterwards and some chose an ecclesiastical career as a pastor, such as Thomas Bomelius and Simon Hartmann (Cat. No. 292

[777] Flóra, "The Matter of Honour," Appendix.
[778] Paul Paulinus (Cat. No. 213), Dominic Rosenauer (Cat. No. 212), and Georg Fabritius (Cat. No. 267). The funeral monument of Caspar Huet (d. 1571) was lost, who, in fact, had been dedicated only a commemorative inscription on the earlier ledger of Johann Huet. See Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 47, Cat. No. 43.
[779] Ágnes Flóra, "'Laborem circumspecti domini notarii': Town Notaries in Early Modern Transylvania" in *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy I*, ed. Marco Mostert and Anna Adamska (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 313-335.

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and 172).[780] About twenty-three to twenty-five notaries died in the period, and twenty of them finished their life in a higher office, as priests, council members, mayors, seat or even royal judges. From among the rest, the heraldic ledger of only one notary, Johann Rewel, is known, who was commemorated together with his daughter (d. 1577, Cat. No. 235).[781] Katharina Haller was the wife of Georg Theil town secretary (*secretarius*); her father was Thobias Haller of Hallerstein, a member of the Haller family that possessed a noble title by that time (d. 1595, Cat. No. 243). Andreas Literatus probably also worked in the town administration as implied by his name as well as the emblem in the shield on his ledger: a man holding a scroll (Cat. No. 221). Andreas Krauss, whose funeral monument was lost, was one of the town orators in the seventeenth century.[782] Two lost funeral monuments from the late seventeenth century indicated that their subject came from the circle of the hundreds' council.[783] Valentin Fleischer was the captain of the city (*Stadthauptmann*); his son had a tomb chest set up for him and his wife in 1663 (Cat. No. 264).

The clergy is also well represented: nine surviving ledgers and a further nine lost memorials were set up to commemorate pastors or their family members. These will be discussed in more detail in the following sub-chapter. Table 4.4 demonstrates what the overview of the holders of the most important offices in the city administration has already suggested: most of the funeral monuments came from the sphere of the town elite.

	total	administrative elite	Clergy	Other
Surviving funeral monuments	62	42	9	11
Total number of known funeral monuments including the lost pieces	108	64	18	26

Table 4.4. Distribution of monuments according to the status of the subject in the town

Eleven of the preserved, and a further fifteen from among the lost memorials remain to be examined concerning their subjects, most of whom also belonged to the upper stratum of the urban society. Georg Jüngling was royal judge and mayor in Sighişoara, but since he died in

[780] Flóra, "The Matter of Honour," 105-107, 223, 227-228.
[781] One more ledger commemorating Rewel was recorded, but it has been lost by now; here the date had already been damaged by the time it was transcribed. Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 84-85, Cat. No. 80. The explanation might be that Rewel had the ledger made for himself and his deceased daughter still in his lifetime, but finally he was not buried underneath, and a separate memorial was made for him. The funeral monument of his wife, Sophia List was only recorded by the grave inventories. Ibid., 87-88, Cat. No. 84.
[782] Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 249, Cat. No. 281.
[783] Georg Müller, Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*., 216, Cat. No. 243.; Paul Brölft/Brelft, ibid., 249-250, Cat. No. 282.

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Sibiu, he was buried and received a figural ledger here, in Sibiu (d. 1629, Cat. No. 257). Leodegar de Montagnac was a French legate who was buried in a Transylvanian urban church because he died in Sibiu on his way to Constantinople (d. 1574, Cat. No. 230). Margaretha Budai or Ofner also came from the topmost social layer in the town (d. 1566, Cat. No. 225): her husband was Peter Haller Junior, son of the royal judge Peter Haller. Her father was Christoph Ofner, whose ledger stone is also in the church (d. 1574, Cat. No. 229); he was a representative of a family in the Saxon elite whose members held important positions in Brasov.

Some of the subjects were wealthy craftsmen who did not hold any office. Michael Heidel owned a house on Grosser Ring, which suggests that he belonged to one of the prominent guilds or he was a rich merchant (Cat. No. 236).[784] Michael Markgraf was a furrier and Michael Hellwig was a weaver based on the emblems depicted on their respective ledgers (Cat. No. 240 and 244). The emblem on Leonard Kirschner's common ledger with his wife indicates that he was a tailor (Cat. No. 249). Georg Stolzemberger was a shoemaker (Cat. No. 261). One funeral monument does not indicate who is the subject (Cat. No. 222) and one is too fragmentary (Cat. No. 208) for one to be able to draw any conclusion.

As far as the lost funeral monuments are concerned, four clearly commemorated members of families from the administrative elite.[785] Georg Stamb was a merchant, Stephan Bierkoch a weaver, Johann Steinheiser a furrier, and the only information about S. Dobrig is that he was a burgher.[786] There were two *concives* among the deceased and the wife of one more.[787] Johann Rodner came from Sighisoara, and he probably held some office there based on the formulation of the damaged text, while there is nothing known about the subject of three memorials.[788]

To sum up, the overwhelming majority of the known funeral monuments were set up to commemorate members of the town's leading elite: those who held offices in the town government and their close family members. The higher someone could climb the ladder in the Sibiu town administration, the more probable it was that he received a funeral monument in the parish church. As participation in the town leadership was correlated with the financial status, these were also the wealthiest members of the community. Most of those subjects who did not

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[784] Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 87.
[785] Johann and Magdalena Wohlgemuth, ibid., 84, Cat. No. 79.; Caspar Oliar(?), Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 110-111, Cat. No. 112.; Michael Wayda, ibid., 164-165, Cat. No. 175.; Peter Wolf, ibid., 114, Cat. No. 120.
[786] Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 145, Cat. No. 154; 179-178, Cat. No. 174; 101-102, Cat. No. 101; 175, Cat. No. 169.
[787] Ibid., 105-106, Cat. No. 106; 113-114, Cat. No. 118; 115-116, Cat. No. 122.
[788] Ibid., 116-117, Cat. No. 123; 151-152, Cat. No. 147; 111, Cat. No. 113; 187-188, Cat. No. 205.

participate in the town management can also be identified as rich, influential burghers from the urban elite. This pattern does not display any significant shifts within the period between 1541 and 1700, and it is also confirmed by the analysis of those memorials that have been lost and are known only from the grave inventories.

Sighişoara

In Sighişoara, unlike in Sibiu, no grave inventory survived from the time before the funeral monuments were disturbed. The series of the preserved pieces displays a similar social pattern of commemoration to that in Sibiu: most of the subjects belonged to the leading elite of the town.

Town leadership in Sighişoara was structured similarly to that in Sibiu. Though the town administration and the individual careers have not been researched yet as deeply as in the case of Sibiu, it seems that leaders of the town built up their career line similarly, stepping upward from one office to the other. A characteristic difference is, however, that here one became a royal judge before becoming mayor, while in Sibiu it worked the opposite way.[789] This was the path followed by four men among the subjects: Michael Hegyesch as well as his son, Andreas, Servatius Viener, and Paulus Roth.[790] Two mayors named Stephan Mann appeared in these offices around the mid-seventeenth century; the one who died in 1647 received a portrait memorial.[791] Altogether twenty-six mayors of Sighişoara can be identified in the period, and five of them appear on the preserved funeral monuments, plus the above-mentioned Georg Jüngling in Sibiu (Cat. No. 257).

Three of the thirty-three royal judges are represented by their memorials (excluding those who proceeded to the seat of the mayor afterwards, so whose memorial was counted there): Thomas Gros, Michael Grell, and Stephan Göbbel.[792] The latter was commemorated, together with his wife, on the ledger of his father-in-law, Servatius Viener, who was also royal judge and then mayor of the town. Catharina Göbbel was the wife of Andreas Göbbel, royal judge then mayor (Cat. No. 286). The tomb of Michael Revel seat judge was recorded in the nineteenth century, but it has been lost by now.[793]

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[789] The data were taken from Anonym, "Verzeichniß der Schäßburger Burgermeister und Königsrichter," 316-319.
[790] Cat. No. 287, 276, and 282
[791] Cat. No. 278. The younger one (probably his son) moved from the chair of the mayor to that of the royal judge; see Anonym, "Verzeichniß der Schäßburger Burgermeister und Königsrichter," 318.
[792] Cat. No. 284, 272, and 276
[793] Melzer, "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg," 113.

The subjects of the remaining ten memorials also came from the town elite. Paul and Catharina Roth were children of Johann Roth, mayor in Sibiu, who was the brother of the mayor of Sighişoara, Paul Roth. Mathias Göltner was steward in the town. Stephan Kreuzer, another Stephan Mann, and Gerg Bret with his son were all members of the council. The tailor Georg Heltner came from a family which held held leading offices for generations, though it seems that Georg was an exception. Stephanus Stamp tailor was the son-in-law of royal judge Stephan Göbbel, so he also came from the circle of the elite.[794]

Based on the fragmentary text and the image, a tomb was set up for a scribe of the town.[795] Martinus was probably a priest, since he is called the guard of the secrets of the faith in the inscription. If so, he is the only representative of the clergy in Sighişoara. Pancratius was a surgeon and physician, Andreas Nenchen was a weaver, and the position or profession of a subject with the initials "SW" is unknown.[796]

The overview shows that all those subjects whose social standing could be identified, belonged to the top layer of the burghers in Sighişoara. As, however, one cannot reconstruct how many funeral monuments were lost and who were the subjects of those, it is not clear to what extent this surviving sample is representative concerning the social patterns of monumental commemoration in the town.

Mediaş

In Mediaş, all the eight surviving memorials represent members of the town leadership and the clergy: four and four ledgers respectively. Simon Zacharias, Petrus Gotterbarmet, and Andreas Fleischer or Gräf followed one another in the mayor's office from 1607 to 1620.[797] The fourth memorial is damaged; the fragmentary inscription tells us that the subject was a royal judge, but I was not able to identify him. By comparison, at least thirty mayors are known to have died between 1541 and 1700, and there are still some gaps in the line.[798] The fact that the tomb inscription of mayor Georg Cseh (d. 1579) was recorded in the early nineteenth century, suggests that there must have been at least some more memorials in the church.[799] Interestingly,

[794] Cat. No. 282, 279, 273, 277, 290, 280, and 281
[795] The tomb was previously attributed to a "musician", see Melzer, "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg," 96-97. However, the image depicts a literary person, and the Latin term *musicus* refers to a poet, a man of letters here. The fragmentary border inscription specifies the subject as *[scr]iba urbi*, the scribe of the town.
[796] Cat. No. 275, 289, 285, 288, and 274
[797] Cat. No. 170, 167, 171
[798] Anonym, "Die Bürgermeister von Mediasch" *Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift* 7, no. 2-3 (1801): 94-109, 177-188.
[799] Ibid., 105.

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the surviving stones were set up within twenty years except for the ledger of pastor Christian Schaeseus (d. 1585, Cat. No. 164).

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Braşov

Among the 41 funeral monuments that have been preserved in Braşov, 22 were created in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and even some of these were modified in the eighteenth century. I could identify a total of 53 subjects from the principality period. Taking into consideration that most of the funeral monuments were destroyed by the fire in 1689, this set is clearly not representative for the commemoration patterns. Wilhelm Kamner transcribed the inscription of 30 more memorials in 1866, and there were 12 among these that referred to someone who died at the time of the principality.[800] However, it does not mean that all the twelve stones were set up in that period, since some of those preserved memorials that commemorate seventeenth-century subjects were clearly made in the eighteenth century, presumably to replace the ledgers that had been destroyed by the fire.

Eighteenth-century memorials referring to a seventeenth-century subject attest that the town elite tried to re-construct the memory of those ancestors whose funeral monuments probably vanished in the fire. Michael Hermann, town judge was portrayed on a ledger together with Bartholomäus Seuler, who was also a judge, and his wife was a descendant of Hermann, but this portrayal was already made in the eighteenth century.[801] The ledger was a tribute to Hermann, but by connecting to him, also pointed out the prominent rank of the Seuler family within the town (Figure 18). Simon Albelius had a similar double portrait ledger with Marcus Fronius who was his grandson, and both were pastors in Braşov (Figure 17). The three members of the Drauth family on their common portrait memorial all served as councilors, stewards, then as town judges in the seventeenth century. Their memorial was possibly commissioned by Georg Drauth, who was also a judge in Braşov in the 1710s (Figure 19).[802] The inscription of an eighteenth-century ledger says that it was set up by Paul Neidel for a priest called Martin Harnung who was his grandfather.[803] These individuals "re-commemorated" in the eighteenth century were all members of the town leadership, and their descendants or successors in their office were apparently proud to include them into their own funeral monuments. In the following discussion, I will examine whether the ledgers which survived the fire show a similar social pattern or not.

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[800] Kamner's list was published by Gross, "Die Gräber in der Kronstadter Stadtpfarrkirche," 132-154.
[801] Kühlbrandt, *Die evangelische Stadtpfarrkirche A.B. in Kronstadt*, 67-68.
[802] On the office-holding members of the Drauth family, see Friedrich Stenner, *Die Beamten der Stadt Brassó (Kronstadt) von Anfang der Städtischen Verwaltung bis auf die Gegenwart*, Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen 7 (Braşov: Zeidner, 1916), 31-32.
[803] Ibid., 56. It is not clear how he was related to the two other subjects, pastor Peter Meder and town judge Cirill Greising, a nobleman whose coat of arms is represented on the ledger.

In Braşov, the highest office in the town leadership was that of the judge. The only funeral monument of a judge that survived from before the fire is the portrait ledger of Georg Chrestels now in the Lutheran Cemetery, who held the office from the 1660s (Cat. No. 62). The other funeral monument of a judge, a heraldic ledger, was created already after the fire, for Johann Mankesch, who died in 1699 (Cat. No. 45).

The steward in Braşov was responsible for the finances of the town.[804] The tailor Petrus Plecker served as the steward and treasurer (*questo*r) of Braşov,[805] but he is presented as senior councilor (*senator senior*) in his tomb inscription. Senior councilors were listed from 1560 among the office holders right after the judge and before the steward, so this was the second highest position in the town.[806] The ledger presently displays the coat of arms of Mathias Fronius from the eighteenth century, but it might have been a heraldic ledger even before it was renovated probably because of the damage done by the fire.

The town council in Braşov had sixteen members and not twelve as in other towns.[807] Simon Schobel was councilor and notary in the 1680s, as well as the deputy of the town at the diet (Cat. No. 48). His coat of arms and commemorative inscription might have also resulted from an eighteenth-century renovation in its present form. Jacob Schobel died three years later; he might be the same Jacob Shobel who was in the council in 1673.[808] Peter Honigschberger served as councilor in the 1650s (Cat. No. 49). These two latter council members appear only in a list of names on two ledgers respectively with their date of death, even without mentioning their position in the town. Anna Bartesch, listed on the same stone as Jacob Schobel, was the daughter of a councilor, Peter Bartesch.[809] Marta Mankeschin was the wife of Jacob Drauth, council member in 1631, when Marta died, but later he became judge and town delegate at the diet.[810] This ledger is even simpler than the previous one, bearing nothing else but a list of names and death dates, without any frame.

In addition to these, only a physician,[811] two priests and the wife of one more, and a school rector can be identified in terms of their office or profession.[812] A simple tailor's emblem

[804] Nussbächer, "Brassó és a Barcaság közigazgatása a koraújkor küszöbén," 171-172, 175.
[805] Stenner, *Die Beamten der Stadt Brassó*, 106.
[806] Nussbächer, "Brassó és a Barcaság közigazgatása a koraújkor küszöbén," 175.
[807] Ibid., 171-172. The city consisted of four quarters, and each sent four representatives to the council.
[808] Cat. No. 50. See Stenner, *Die Beamten der Stadt Brassó*, 130.
[809] He may either be the councilor who died in 1657, or the one who died in 1672. Ibid., 7. The latter's profession was goldsmith, and he was also *Shafferherr* or *procurator* in the town, whose task was to supervise the constructions. See Nussbächer, "Brassó és a Barcaság közigazgatása a koraújkor küszöbén," 175.
[810] Cat. No. 43. Stenner, *Die Beamten der Stadt Brassó*, 32.
[811] Constantin Fabritius (Cat. No. 41), see ibid., 37.
[812] Johann Plecker (Cat. No. 46), Petrus Gagesch (Cat. No. 55), Catharina Augustin (Cat. No. 49); and Johannes (Cat. No. 56)

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was carved on two ledgers.[813] I could not locate on the scale of ranks within the town the remaining 27 of the 53 subjects who died in the principality period.

Subjects of the lost memorials whose inscriptions were recorded by Kamner in the 1860s included 27 individuals who died between 1541 and 1700. One can find two more judges among them, the wife of a third one, a councilor, a notary, two school rectors, two town pastors, and one preacher. Two subjects held state positions: a councilor of the Prince and a general of the Emperor at the very end of the seventeenth century.[814]

To sum up, the surviving funeral monuments in Braşov display hardly any information about the deceased, and they do not represent specifically the town leaders' stratum, in contrast with Sibiu, Sighişoara, and Mediaş. Even where other sources allow us to identify the office of the deceased, it is often not indicated on the memorial—in this respect it is worth comparing it to Sibiu. The fact, however, that some members of the seventeenth-century elite were commemorated on eighteenth-century memorials, suggests that they probably had had funeral monuments even before, which fell victim to the fire. The new memorials are figural ledgers in several cases, and based on this, and on the single surviving sixteenth-century memorial of a judge, a portrait monument, it is not impossible that there was a series of figural monuments also in the seventeenth century commemorating the town elite.

Bistriţa

The number of preserved funeral monuments is much less, only eight in Bistriţa, which certainly does not allow one to draw any conclusions on the commemorative patterns. Three of these were set up for a council member each,[815] further three for a priest,[816] one displays a tailor's emblem and another emblem that consists of two hammers (Cat. No. 33), and the last one was decorated with the emblem of a furrier (Cat. No. 39).

Sebeş

The three funeral monuments that survived in Sebeş, were all set up for members of the town elite. Benedictus Iustus was a member of the council, then seat judge, and finally royal judge (Cat. No. 200). The second stone is too fragmentary to identify the subject, but the inscription

[813] Greg Schnell (Cat. No. 42), and one of the subjects in the list on Cat. No. 60.
[814] Gross, "Die Gräber in der Kronstadter Stadtpfarrkirche," 148-157.
[815] Andreas Conradus (Cat. No. 34), Thomas Kretschmer (Cat. No. 37), Andreas Amend with his wife (Cat. No. 38)
[816] Albertus Cerasinus (Cat. No. 32), unknown (Cat. No. 35), unknown (Cat. No. 36)

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tells the reader that Iustus was also a member of the council (Cat. No. 202). The third memorial is a ledger of a priest (Cat. No. 201).

Cluj

47 funeral monuments have been preserved from early modern Cluj. 28 are gravestones that originally marked graves in the Central or Házsongárd Cemetery, but most of these, 21 are housed now in the National History Museum of Transylvania, and probably six more whose provenance is unknown.[817] István Nagyajtai Kovács, Hillel Kohn and Gyula Zsakó, János Herepei, and Jolán Balogh recorded 117 additional funeral monuments, all of which have disappeared since then. They transcribed the inscriptions and in most cases, also identified the type, sometimes also providing details of the iconography.[818] These records increased by 198 the 48 subjects known from the cemetery, which makes the sample considerably broader.

Nine of the small memorials originally set into the town walls have been preserved.[819] They kept the memory of 18 people who were buried in the cemeteries located between the two ranges of the fortifications. Thanks to the drawings by István Nagyajtai Kovács, a further five memorial plaques are known.[820] Three ledgers were taken to the museum from today's Calvinist church in Mihail Kogălniceanu Street (in Hungarian, Farkas Street).[821] If all the preserved as well as lost but recorded funeral monuments are taken into consideration, the total number of subjects to deal with is 279, which can serve as a suitable sample to compare with Sibiu.

The town administration in Cluj was structured similarly to the Saxon towns, though there were also some differences in their operation. Its ethnically dual nature was an important characteristic of the Cluj society, and the Saxon and Hungarian communities both contributed to the governance of the town. In 1458, a system based on the principle of equal representation was officially established: the chief judge and the priest were elected in an annually rotating system from the Saxon and the Hungarian communities respectively, and the places in the council were also shared equally between the two communities.[822]

[817] One is a ledger, probably from a church, the rest were probably also collected in the Central Cemetery. Cat. No. 104 and Cat. No. 108-112, 114

[818] The manuscript of István Nagyajtai Kovács from 1849 was published by Kovács, "Unitárius nagyjaink sírjai a házsongárdi temetőben," 97-105; Kohn and Zsakó, "A kolozsvári házsongárdi temető sírkövei," 284-303, 331-340; Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 196.

[819] Five still in the wall, one transferred to the Central Cemetery, and three in the museum.

[820] Nagyajtai Kovács, "Vándorlások," 1–46, 49–55, 57–62, 65–72, 73–76; Nagyajtai Kovács, "Kolozsvári régiségek," 67-76.

[821] They were found during the excavations in 1911. I recently got information from Attila Weisz connected to the ongoing works on the church that there are some more in the lapidary of the church, but I did not have the chance yet to look at them.

[822] Edit Szegedi, "Sächsische Identität im Klausenburg des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 22, no. 1 (1999): 16; Flóra, "The Matter of Honour," 46-48.

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The role of the royal judge was much less influential here than in Sibiu. In contrast with Sibiu, this was not the peak of the career line of an individual, but a step back from the rank of the town judge.[823] The town judge and twelve councilors including the royal judge and the two stewards constituted the town council; the councilors were elected from among the hundreds *(centumviri)* here as well. In Cluj, the hundreds had more control over the operation of the town than in Sibiu: it was the legislative body which also ensured that the privileges and laws were respected, they appointed the office holders and decided about the diplomatic issues.[824] Its members were wealthy burghers, often guild masters, and they were elected for a lifetime from the administrative quarters and guilds.

Some prominent families in the town were represented in the town leadership and influenced the life of Cluj for several generations; they were also multiply linked by marriages.[825] These families are easy to identify among the subjects of funeral monuments. However, the situation is different concerning the office holding individuals, also due to the lack of comprehensive archontological research for the seventeenth century, and funeral monuments provide much less detail in this respect than in Sibiu.[826]

To start with the town judges, the tombstone of only one of them has survived: the coffin-shape tombstone of the goldsmith Gergely Bonczidai the elder in the Central Cemetery (Cat. No. 84). Three more were recorded but have been lost by now: two coffin-shape gravestones (of János Tolnai, furrier, and István Bácsi, book printer) and a coped stone (of Ambrus Gaszner, tailor). Borbála, wife of the judge Mihály Tóházi Ötves (goldsmith) was buried with her father according to the tomb inscription.[827] Borbála Tolnai was the first wife of royal judge János Linczig, and she received a common gravestone in the cemetery with her father, the town judge János Tolnai—unfortunately it has disappeared since Herepei documented it.[828]

The number of known council members' memorials is even less: Mihály Csiszár's tombstone was still seen by Herepei;[829] and only a few councilors' family members can be identified. Istók, son of János Nyírő had a small commemorative plaque in the city wall, as well

[823] Flóra, "The Matter of Honour," 209, 320.
[824] Ibid., 5, 16, 90-101.
[825] Ibid., 253-264.
[826] Ágnes Flóra prepared the archontology of urban leaders in Cluj between 1500 and 1600. See ibid., Appendix. However, there is no such dataset available for the following period. The results of János Herepei's archival research are also an essential secondary source: he investigated the background of the subject of each funeral monument he knew from the Central Cemetery, see Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*.
[827] Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 203-207, 220-225, 340-343, and 135-137.
[828] Ibid., 203-207.
[829] Ibid., 322-324.

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as Erzsébet, widow of János Keretszegi Ötves, and Márta Vicey, wife of Bálint Begreczi.[830] Both Nyírő and Keretszegi were goldsmiths, and they held the office of the steward in the town. In contrast with the system in Sibiu, stewards (or *dispensator*s) in Cluj were not elected from the council, but this was the first step to enter this administrative body.[831] From among the tombs lost from the Central Cemetery, one subject, Borbála Breibert was also the wife of a councilor.[832] The length of office-holding by individuals was in general, shorter in Cluj than in Sibiu, so the total number of councilors must have been higher in Cluj, but this is not reflected by their presence among the subjects.[833]

Moving on to the hundreds' council, none of its members can be identified among the subjects. The patron of a monument in the Calvinist church was also among the hundreds as well as the notary of the town: Martinus Literatus set up a memorial for his father, acting together with his mother, Catharina Bek according to the inscription, whose father was also in the town council (Cat. No. 80).

The list of office holders and their close relatives among the 246 known subjects ends here. Even if there are some town leaders in the seventeenth-century material whom I did not identify due to the lack of secondary sources, the pattern appears to be very different from that in Sibiu even at first sight. The circle can be broadened by identifying among the subjects those families from the elite who gave judges and council members for the town. The Seres family stands out in this respect. It was a wealthy clan with generations of stonecutters and goldsmiths, who not only participated in the town administration, but also accommodated the princes in their house more than once when they visited the city.[834] János Seres, whose ledger got to the museum from the Calvinist church, was a master of the stonecutter guild. Three children of István Seres had a common gravestone in the cemetery, whose grandfather was the judge of the town, and Herepei saw probably one more memorial from the same family.[835] The Bácsi family was represented with three gravestones, only one of which has been preserved.[836] The Fodor family also belonged to this circle (Cat. No. 96). The Vicey or Wicey family appears in the history of Kolozsvár from the 1520s, including several goldsmith guild masters and providing town judges. In addition to the above-mentioned Márta Vicey commemorated with a small

[830] Cat. No. 121, 81 and 83
[831] Flóra, "The Matter of Honour," 174.
[832] Kovács, "Unitárius nagyjaink sírjai a házsongárdi temetőben," 102.
[833] Flóra, "The Matter of Honour," 171-172.
[834] Herepei, *Bocskai Gábor egeresi síremléke és mestere*, 14-15; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 28-29, 44, 52, 80-83; Flóra, "The Matter of Honour," 418.
[835] Cat. No. 78, Cat. No. 97 and Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 313-315.
[836] Cat. No. 127. For the other two, see ibid., 126-129, 174-179.

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plaque in the city wall, Anna, wife of Gáspár Wiczey still has a gravestone in the cemetery. Anna came from another powerful family, the Filstich.[837]

Three priests' grave markers have survived,[838] and six more were still recorded in the Central Cemetery. As far as the rest of the town intelligentsia and their families are concerned, Kata Szalai was the wife of the college professor Mihály Szatmárnémethi, and the cemetery included the grave markers of one more professor, two school rectors, a teacher, two doctors, and the son of a pharmacist.[839] Educated "men of the letters", *literati* or *deák* often used this term even as their name, such as the above-mentioned patron of the memorial of his father, Martinus Literatus. Gergely Literatus was commemorated on an ashlar of the city wall, and two more *literati* and a couple of family members in the cemetery.[840]

Three stones marked the grave of noblemen in the cemetery, and the *literatus* Lukács Szőlősi, whose son's name is displayed in the city wall, also possessed a noble title.[841] Written sources confirm that noblemen were buried in the town: to cite just one example, the funeral of Simon Kemény, son of János Kemény took place in the parish church in 1688.[842] Noblemen have lived in Cluj since the Middle Ages, but with the advance of the Ottomans, more and more nobles sought asylum within the city walls, and finished their lives there. They were also interred in the public cemetery, similarly to the burghers, which is testified by the three above-mentioned gravestones and by nine more preserved only by the grave inventories.[843] The tombstone of the daughters of the vice-captain of Cluj, József Polyik, is a testimony of the time when Oradea was taken by the Ottomans and Cluj was turned into a frontier fortification (Cat. No. 100). Some people held offices outside Cluj, such as János Vajda, mine master of Abrud, and Borbála's father János Kolozsvári, *comes* of the Turda Chamber, whose tombs were documented in the cemetery.[844]

The items mentioned up to now still constitute only a small part of the known gravestones, so who were the subjects of the bulk of the material? More than 50 of the 117

[837] Cat. No. 83 and 120
[838] Cat. No.116, 119, and 127
[839] Cat. No. 103 and Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 107-109, 352-357, 385-391, ; Kovács, "Unitárius nagyjaink sírjai a házsongárdi temetőben," 98-99, 101.
[840] Cat. No. 80; Gaal, *Tört kövön és porladó kereszten*, 13; Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 64-66, 107-109, 232-235; Kovács, "Unitárius nagyjaink sírjai a házsongárdi temetőben," 98.
[841] József Polyik (Cat. No. 100), Erzsébet Mezgedi Vaida (Cat. No. 101), Márton Sobaser (Cat. No. 102); and Cat. No. 122
[842] "Unitárius halottak és temetések (1678-1691)" (Unitarian dead and burials, 1678-1691), in *Kincses Kolozsvár* (the "City of Treasures" Cluj), ed. István János Bálint (Budapest: Magvető, 1987), 106.
[843] Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 57-60, 172-173, 166-169, 191-193, 367-369, 370-373, 373-378, 381-383, 391-393, 405-407; Kovács, "Unitárius nagyjaink sírjai a házsongárdi temetőben," 98, 103.
[844] Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 64-66, 144-146.

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known stones from the Central Cemetery commemorated burghers who can be identified as craftsmen. Emblems on stones provide a clear reference to their profession. This is complemented by data from archival sources; for example, guild documents identify the father of Istvánka Berkenyesi as a master of the stonecutter guild, and the child's gravestone originating from the Calvinist Church displays even his stonecutter's mark.[845]

A large group of subjects was called by a surname that came from the name of a profession, such as Szabó (tailor), Eötvös or Ötvös (goldsmith), Tölcséres (funnel maker), Szíjgyártó (strap maker). It is not obvious, however, that these names also marked the profession of the individuals. Some name forms suggest that this was exactly the period when these kinds of surnames solidified, while it was still a custom to indicate the profession of the person when identifying him. For example, the name of János Szappanos Ötvös contains two professions: soap maker and goldsmith. He himself was a soap maker, and Ötvös, probably the profession of his father or grandfather, was used as a surname.[846] However, János Nyírő (shearer) worked already as a goldsmith (Cat. No. 121). Generally, according to the method developed by Herepei based on his archival research, in case there are two surnames, the one meaning a profession can be understood as the occupation of the individual.[847]

Tailors and goldsmiths appear in the highest number among the known subjects: fourteen tailors and ten goldsmiths or their close family members (spouses, children). These were the two most powerful professions in the town also represented by the largest number of office holders in the town leadership.[848] Gold and silver mines around Cluj contributed to the flourishing of the goldsmiths' guild and the elevation of its members into the town elite.[849] Five goldsmiths were commemorated on the city wall, and five in the cemetery, while all the tailors' grave markers are known from the cemetery.[850]

Furriers followed them in number with five memorials, none of which was preserved to-date. Butchers' memorials were more fortunate with two preserved gravestones of the three.[851] Two stonecutters and one mason represent the construction industry.[852] Two gravestones each kept the memory of millers, book binders, carpenters, strap makers, coopers, and potters respectively. Only one baker, blacksmith, funnel maker, cutler, weaver, cloth cutter,

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[845] Cat. No. 79, see Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 51-52.
[846] Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 61-63.
[847] On the same process of solidification of names in Târgu Mureş, see Pál-Antal, *Marosvásárhely története*, 81-83.
[848] Flóra, "The Matter of Honour," 167.
[849] See Flóra, *Prestige at Work*.
[850] For the surviving pieces, see Cat. No. 81, 84, 83, 97, 121, 123, 124 and Cat. No. 87, 88, 120.
[851] Cat. No. 93, 95
[852] Cat. No. 78, 79 and 86

tanner, shoemaker, and soap maker is known from their grave inscriptions. Merchants were among the three most powerful professions, but only five monuments can be identified, and even those only conditionally, since merchants did not have a unified emblem in contrast with the craftsmen's guilds, who themselves were often involved in large-scale trade.[853]

To sum up, the group of subjects is dominated by craftsmen, and even this relatively limited sample of the known memorials shows that their distribution reflects the power relations of the guilds within the town. Since the Saxon and the Hungarian community existed parallel in Cluj with carefully balanced rights and responsibilities in the town management and in the religious life of the community, it seems justified to examine how their commemoration patterns are related; whether they display any characteristic difference. The problem, however, starts with distinguishing the Saxon and the Hungarian subjects. The language of the inscriptions does not help: only one gravestone was created with a German text, and there was no more than one even among the documented but lost memorials.[854] All three funeral monuments from the Calvinist church have Latin inscription, but only six of the memorials from the cemetery, and two from the city wall. Consequently, it seems that the language of commemoration was predominantly Hungarian.

By broadening the sample with the documented but lost stones, the image appears to be a bit different, since 37 more Latin grave inscriptions were recorded in the cemetery. The use of Hungarian versus Latin was, however, clearly not decided based on the Hungarian or Saxon ethnicity of the deceased. What is more, neither do the name forms help to distinguish the two ethnic groups.[855] As an example, the daughters of Gerig Hembsch, a tailor with a Saxon name, were called on their tombstone Kata and Borka, with the Hungarian short forms of their names, in the context of a grave inscription in Hungarian (Cat. No. 87).

By the mid-sixteenth century, the majority of the population was Hungarian in Cluj, and there were of course many mixed marriages, mixed families in the town; most people were at least bilingual.[856] Besides Latin and German, Hungarian was increasingly used in the town administration in the second half of the sixteenth century, parallel with a similar shift in the state administration.[857] However, the Saxon community in Cluj insisted on using German as

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[853] Two of these are still available: Cat. No. 90 and 113.
[854] Cat. No. 118 and Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 411-412.
[855] Szegedi, "Sächsische Identität im Klausenburg des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts," 15.
[856] Ferenc Pozsony, "Szászok és magyarok a XVI. század végi Kolozsvárt" (Saxons and Hungarians in Cluj at the end of the sixteenth century), in *Kolozsvár 1000 éve. A 2000. október 13–14-én rendezett konferencia előadásai* (1000 years of Cluj. Papers presented at the conference on 13-14 October 2000), ed. Tibor Kálmán Dáné, et al. (Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület, 2001), 32.
[857] Katalin Szende, "Integration through Language: The Multilingual Character of Late Medieval Hungarian Towns," in *Segregation, Integration, Assimilation: Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of*

their liturgical language, and a story recorded in 1580 is especially relevant concerning their views on the language choice in another commemorative genre. That year, the town decided to place an inscription plaque commemorating the construction of one of the city gates, the text of which was formulated in Hungarian. The Saxons protested and required the town to have it inscribed also in German. The final decision was to use Latin, which was still applied in the town in festive publications.[858] The dominance of Hungarian inscriptions on funeral monuments is an important addition to our knowledge on the complex linguistic situation within the town.

Târgu Mureş

The government of the Székely town, Târgu Mureş was based on an elected council called *senatus*, which decided on every principal issue. It was composed of twenty-four members plus the notary. The council elected the judge and the six jurors, as well as a few other office holders. This system was transformed in 1672, when the council was turned into a *magistratus* consisting only of the judge, the notary and six jurors. They also established a forty's council that functioned similarly to the hundreds in the other cities.[859] Tailors and furriers had the most powerful gilds, they provided most of the town leaders.[860]

The gravestones preserved from the early modern Calvinist cemetery are probably no more than a small sample from the original ensemble, though no information was preserved on how wide-spread it was to mark the graves with stone memorials. Two of them were placed on the graves of two town judges: Mihály Nagy Szabó and Tamás Borsos.[861] Borsos also took part in state-level politics: he served as an envoy of the principality in Constantinople, and he was a judge of the Court of Justice of the Prince. It was also his achievement that the settlement received the rank of a free royal town.[862] His memorial is the only coffin-shape tombstone preserved from the period, though it was heavily re-carved in the nineteenth century due to the continuous respect paid to Borsos in the town.[863] The rest of the subjects include two *literati* or in Hungarian, *deák*, and the family name forms refer to a furrier and one more tailor, though

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Central and Eastern Europe, ed. Derek Keene, Balázs Nagy, and Katalin Szende (London: Routledge, 2009), 211.

[858] András Kiss, "A kolozsvári városi levéltár első levéltári segédlete" (The first finding aid in the municipal archives in Cluj), *Levéltári Közlemények* 66 (1995): 202-203.

[859] Pál-Antal, *Marosvásárhely története*, 63-66.

[860] Ibid., 83-91.

[861] Cat. No. 303 and 304

[862] Pál-Antal, *Marosvásárhely története*, 110.

[863] Lajos Kelemen, "A marosvásárhelyi református temető legrégibb sírkövei" (The oldest gravestones in the Calvinist cemetery in Târgu Mureș), in *Művészettörténeti tanulmányok* (Studies in art history), ed. Margit B. Nagy and Attila Szabó T. (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1977), 185-190.

similarly to Cluj, it is not clear whether these implied the profession or not.[864] The name of György Görög (meaning Greek), whose wife received one of the gravestones, also refers to his origin and profession. Several Greek or Balkan merchants settled in the town, coming from Walachia or the Ottoman territories, and they also got citizenship from the 1620s.[865] György Görög originated from such a family, but the text on the gravestone informs us about his profession, which was *deák*, so he might have worked in the administration. Four memorials from the cemetery had subjects of noble rank. In 1602, five noble families lived in the town, including Mihály Koncz.[866] From the second half of the sixteenth century, an increasing number of nobles bought a house there, and some burghers were also able to acquire nobility.[867]

Gravestones preserved from early modern Târgu Mureş were also set up to commemorate members of the town elite: the administrative leadership and the town intelligentsia, craftsmen probably from the most prosperous professions, and noblemen living in the town. In this respect, this Székely town shows no difference from the rest of the urban communities.

* * *

Memorials communicate differently about the position of the deceased within the urban community in various towns. In the *Königsboden*, they provided relatively detailed information on the offices held by the subjects or their close family members, while they were rather laconic in this respect in Braşov, Târgu Mureş, and Cluj. For the sake of the analysis, the information on the status of the subjects within the town could be complemented from other sources, though there is a difference between the representativeness of these concerning the specific towns. In the towns of the *Königsboden* and in Târgu Mureş, the known set of funeral monuments proved to be dominated by the administrative and the financial elite, while this is not the case in Braşov and Cluj.

In Sighişoara, Mediaş and Sebeş, the surviving sample is much smaller, and there is no source that would inform us about the original situation, but all the known memorials commemorated town leaders and town pastors or their family members, and such subjects dominate the preserved set of funeral monuments from Bistriţa too. The sample is very small from Târgu Mureş as well, composed of memorials for town leaders and members of the town

[864] György Görög (Cat. No. 296), Bálint Polgár with his sister, Judit (Cat. No. 300), István Egyedi Szőcs (Cat. No. 298), Katalin Virágh Szabó (Cat. No. 302)
[865] Cat. No. 296. Pál-Antal, *Marosvásárhely története*, 93.
[866] His wife and children: Cat. No. 301. See ibid., 94.
[867] Ibid., 98-101.

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intelligentsia, wealthy craftsmen and nobles living in the town. In Sibiu, Cluj, and Braşov, the results could be tested also on a larger circle of memorials that have not been preserved but their inscriptions have been recorded from the seventeenth to the first half of the twentieth century, so some information is available on their subjects. The earlier the inventory was made, the more relevant the information is concerning the original situation. This larger group displayed the same pattern in each case as the sample of the preserved funeral monuments. The image proved to be the most specific in Sibiu, since it is valid for the entire period and it is supported by a series of early grave inventories: the higher the office of a person was in the town, the more probable it was that his funeral monument was set up in the Lutheran church.

These observations bring forward a series of questions concerning the reasons behind the patterns. Does the difference between Cluj and Sibiu result from the fact that the bulk of the material comes from cemeteries in one case and from the main parish church in the other? Is it possible that the elite of Cluj also used the churches, just that their memorials did not survive there? Was there a public cemetery in Sibiu that could have had a similarly rich gravestone material as the one that survived in Cluj? A survey of burial sites in each town will follow later in this chapter.

The process of selection must be taken into consideration also when seeking to explain the domination of the elite among the subjects of the surviving series of funeral monuments in certain towns. Is it possible that in these towns, they preserved the memorials of their prominent personalities during the centuries, while more easily disposing of the others, gravestones of "common people"? Does Braşov represent a contrasting example in this respect, where the surviving sample resulted from a "natural" selection by the fire, and it was complemented with the retrospective memorials for individuals selected in the eighteenth century? The following sub-chapters will offer an analysis of how the subjects were presented on their funeral monuments, which features were chosen to characterize them and what were the means they used to communicate about these. This will also help us to understand which part of the present image resulted from conscious decision making by the senders of the monuments and which from various processes in the later phases of the history of the object groups, including the apparent hiatuses in the material.

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4.3.4. Subjects of funeral monuments in towns

Saxon towns in the Königsboden and Bistriţa

Most funeral monuments that survived in the Saxon towns were created in the memory of a single person, but it is not a rare phenomenon either that the inscriptions specify two or more

family members as subjects. 7 of the 19 funeral monuments preserved in Sighişoara are this kind of family memorial. Based on the relatively large sample from Sibiu, it seems that it was a less frequent phenomenon there: 15 preserved and 4 lost pieces among the 108 known items.

A married couple was the most frequent combination: on 8 monuments in Sibiu,[868] 2 in Sighişoara,[869] and on the only double portrait memorial in Bistriţa, that of the steward and councilor Andreas Amend and his wife, Catharina (Cat. No, 38). This is an outstanding example, since wives in general were only mentioned in the commemorative inscription. Dorothea Rhau, spouse of Sibiu's mayor Johann Roth, was, however, exceptionally dedicated a separate piece of poetry (Cat. No. 255).

Traces of changing the plans can be observed on a red marble ledger made in 1567 for Salome Ursula Hedwig, wife of August Hedwig royal judge in Sibiu. The position of the text indicating Augustin Hedwig's name on the left side of the border, organized into two lines in a small empty space, indicates that it was an *ad hoc* solution and not the part of the initial design (Cat. No. 234). In all the other cases, however, the joint representation of the couple on a single memorial was clearly in accordance with the original plan. Marriages meant an important social capital among the urban elite. Families united and transmitted their wealth and social prestige through well-chosen spouses, and the marriage policy of the elite connected the Transylvanian towns.[870] Good marriages helped a family to remain in the leading elite for many generations, and funeral monuments displayed in the parish church and seen regularly by the community served as a clear reminder of these, and thus confirmed the status of the family in the town.

In those cases where different generations of families were commemorated on the same stone, their death was in general relatively close in time.[871] There are, however, two exceptions, both in Sighişoara, where the choice of a belated joint commemoration had a special layer of meaning. Barbara Göbbel born Viener and his husband, Stephan Göbbel were buried into the grave of Barbara's father, Servatius Viener fifty years later and their commemorative inscription was carved secondarily on his ledger stone. Servatius Viener served as the royal judge and mayor in the town, and Göbbel was also elected as royal judge, so both are called

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[868] Johann and Sofia Rewel (Cat. No. 235), Peter Wolf pastor and his wife (Cat. No. 108), Lucas Enjetter seat judge with his wife and their son, who died in the following years (Cat. No. 247), Leonard Kirtscher and his wife, who also died with a year difference (Cat. No. 249), Gallus Lutsch and his wife (Cat. No. 254), Johann Roth and his wife (Cat. No. 255), Valentin Fleischer city captain and his wife (Cat. No. 264), Matthias Semriger and his wife (Cat. No. 266).
[869] "SW" and his wife, Elisabeth (Cat. No. 274), Martinus and Ursula (Cat. No. 289).
[870] Flóra, "The Matter of Honour," 253-264.
[871] Anna Miles and her newborn daughter (Sibiu, Cat. No. 238), Sophia Rewell and his father, Johann Rewell (Sibiu, Cat. No. 235), Paul Paulinus and his son, Johann (Sibiu, Cat. No. 213), Johann Bret and his father, Gerg (Sighişoara, Cat. No. 290).

pater patriate in the inscription as a clear emphasis on this connection (Cat. No. 276). Mayor Michael Hegyes and his son, Andreas, who followed his father in the mayor's seat, were also commemorated on a single ledger. The memorial displays only one date, 1576, but Andreas did not die before 1589.[872] He must have had the monument prepared still in his lifetime, not only to recall his father's memory but also to present his own prestige that he inherited as well as earned, as it is also implied by the text (Cat. No. 287).

It was not very frequent to join siblings on one memorial in the Saxon towns. The only example is Paul and Catharina Roth, children of the Sibiu mayor Johann Roth (Cat. No. 282).[873] It was even more unusual to involve generations that were not connected directly, and if they did so, they seem to have had a good reason for it. Christoph Greising, who was councilor and steward in Braşov, was buried in Sibiu. His funeral monument commemorated his grandfather, Christoph Ofner as well. Ofner was a *civis* in Sibiu according to the inscription, which justifies why Greising appears in the town (Cat. No. 262). Simon Zacharias, the eleventh mayor in Mediaş, was buried near his ancestor bearing the same name, who was the first mayor of the town, as the tomb inscription says.[874] By commemorating his ancestor on his own gravestone, the second Simon (or those who commissioned his memorial) emphasized his legitimacy and prominent descent (Cat. No. 170).

Some ledgers were complemented with commemorative inscriptions several decades after their primary installation, even without any relation between the secondary and the primary subject. The seat judge Matthias Ponsler's heraldic ledger from around 1573 bears even traces of multiple re-use. First the name and death date (1649) of Johann Schapert was added to the heraldic field. Then, in the 1690s, the name of Johann Wolbert and his two children was carved as a second border inscription (Cat. No. 228). The royal judge Johann Lulay's medieval red marble ledger was similarly actualized for a couple, Johann and Katharina Stenzel, also in 1649 (Cat. No. 260). The new inscription was placed on the largest inscription field, a *tabula ansata*.[875] Some empty space was found fifty years later in the main inscription field on the ledger of Martinus and his wife, Ursula in Sighişoara, so one more name was added with the

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[872] Melzer, "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg," 111.
[873] In Sibiu, the memorial of Margaretha and Johann Wohlgemuth, who also died as children, has been lost by now. Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 84, Cat. No, 49.
[874] Simon Pellio, in 1559; see Anonym, "Die Bürgermeister von Mediasch," 104. The town received the rank of free royal town in 1552.
[875] Árpád Mikó suggested that the funeral monument was ordered by Lulay himself about fifteen-twenty years before his death and was left unfinished, this is why the *tabula ansata* remained empty that time. Árpád Mikó, "Jagello-kori reneszánsz sírköveinkről" (On the Jagiellonian-period funeral monuments in Hungary), *Ars Hungarica* 14 (1986): 99-100.

formula "*Mole sub hac etiam recubat…*"—"also lies under this stone".[876] The secondary inscription "PR 1606" carved right onto the heraldic symbol on the memorial of Thomas Gros is a less evident case (Cat. No. 284).

In urban church interiors, space was the most limited element related to burial and commemoration; therefore, each vault and grave was re-used several times over the centuries. The document of the 1692 grave visitation in the parish church of Sibiu provides an explanation for this practice: it was prohibited to remove any inscription-bearing funeral monuments from their original place.[877] Consequently, if they buried further bodies into the same grave or vault, and they wished to leave a visible mark of this, they could either set up a memorial somewhere else nearby, or add the name to the ledger that had already been there.[878]

Braşov

Funeral monuments displayed in the Black Church in Braşov show an entirely different pattern in the number and relations of the subjects. Most of the 49 ledgers preserved the memory of at least two, but rather more individuals. The largest group of ledgers displays only a list of names with death dates. Seemingly unrelated people appear one after the other even with a relatively large time difference between their death, for example Türcken Hannes and the physician and philosopher Constantin Fabritius (1559 and 1669), or Hans Sadler with his family and a priest, Peter Gagesch (1630s-40s and 1660).[879] There is no information on whether the stones were moved above another grave, or whether all these people were buried in the same grave, but the fact that the previous names were preserved, supports the latter hypothesis. In contrast, the text about Martinus Filstich, his wife and their son was carved over the worn border inscription of an older tombstone, and in this case, they did not take care about keeping the original names (Cat. No. 60).

Some of the names on the same ledger seem to be related, even if there is a significant difference in time between the burials, such as Gerg and Sara Schnell, who were probably husband and wife, and the name of the latter was added 10 years later to the ledger.[880] Sometimes even new family tombs were created by continuing older tombstones. The

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[876] Sophia Schaferrin, wife of Johannes Schencker (Cat. No. 289)
[877] Albu, "Taxe de înmormântare în Sibiul," 265.
[878] On the related customs elsewhere in Europe, see Gregor Rohmann, "Dei Gräber der Hamburger: ein Sonderfall in der Geschichte?" in *Tod und Verklärung: Grabmalskultur in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Arne Karsten and Philipp Zitzlsperger (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004), 157-181; Anderson, "Der Tod als Statusbekräftigung. Epitaphien und Gräber einer schwedischen Stadtelite 1650-1770," 57.
[879] Cat. No. 41 and 55. For further examples, see Cat. No. 42, 43, 44, 61, and 257.
[880] Cat. No. 42. For further examples, see Cat. No. 44, 54

Hamarodner family was commemorated on the ledger of Marta Mankesch, wife of Jacob Draudt (d. 1631). Johann the elder and Johann the younger, father and son both died in 1660, and the wife of the latter in 1683; their names were added one by one (Cat. No. 43).[881] The inscriptions testify that this custom continued after the great fire in 1689 without any break: they kept on using the older stones in the eighteenth century, and started new ones as well.

The connection between the primary and secondary subjects was not always a family relationship, but in some cases, they held the same office in the town, just like in Sibiu. The tailor Petrus Plecker served as the steward and treasurer (*questo*r) of Braşov.[882] The ledger must have been damaged in the fire, since the border inscription was visibly reconstructed. Based on the script type, this happened at the same time when the coat of arms on the ledger was re-carved to that of Marcus Fronius, who was also steward and treasurer in Braşov. A third treasurer joined them more than a decade later, Christoph Neidel, whose commemorative inscription was also added to the stone (Cat. No. 46).[883]

In the case of this heraldic ledger, it was not part of the original plan to display such a list, but neither could these pieces escape the usual treatment of memorials in the town, even if the empty field to add further subjects was limited.[884] The memorial of Johann Mankesch town judge was, however, not continued; the inclusion of his sons' names who died earlier and outside Braşov was part of the original concept (Cat. No. 45). The other town judge's, Georg Chrestel's funeral monument is a unique piece in Braşov, since it is a portrait ledger, and it is the only seventeenth-century memorial that was not complemented later with a secondary subject (Cat. No. 62).

Cluj and Târgu Mureş

In the Central Cemetery, the majority of the memorials were set up for a single subject: 17 of the known 27, and about 60% of those documented earlier but lost by now. The rest in general commemorated two or three subjects, but it is rare to see as large groups as in Braşov. The longest list was displayed by one of the lost gravestones: a woman was buried with her two consecutive husbands and her children from both marriages, a total of eleven people.[885] One of the small plaques in the city wall recorded six people: Erzsébet, the wife of János Keretszegi

[881] Further examples: Cat. No. 50 and 56.
[882] Stenner, *Die Beamten der Stadt Brassó*, 106. One of Petrus Plecker's relatives (maybe his father), Johannes Plecker, former pastor in Râșnov, was also commemorated on the tombstone of his son.
[883] Ibid., 97.
[884] See also Cat. No. 47 and 48.
[885] Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 403-404.

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Ötvös with five more individuals whose name and relation to her was not specified (Cat. No. 81). Ledgers from the Calvinist church were created to commemorate one single person each.

In contrast with the Saxon towns, siblings were the most characteristic subjects on joint gravestones in Cluj, who generally died as children.[886] There is only one common gravestone of a husband and a wife, one of a mother and a daughter, and two of a father and a daughter respectively.[887] A memorial plaque in the city wall was created for a father and his grown-up daughters, one of whom had already been married (Cat. No. 125). The lost gravestones reflect some more variations—mother and son, father and son, grandfather and granddaughter, grandmother and grandchildren— but the pattern is basically the same. These were all primary subjects; it seems that adding secondary subjects to funeral monuments was not a widespread practice in early modern Cluj, though a couple of gravestones were re-used as late as in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[888]

Gravestones preserved from the cemetery in Târgu Mureş are not numerous enough to show any significant pattern. Their subjects include a married couple, two siblings, and probably a mother with two of her children.[889]

4.3.5. Gender and age patterns

Funeral monuments from the Saxon towns in the *Königsboden* show a significant difference from those in Cluj concerning the gender and the age distribution of the subjects. While grown-up men dominate the picture in the Saxon communities, the number of women and children is surprisingly high in Cluj. Braşov is located half-way between the two in this respect (see Table 4.5 and 4.6).

	Total number of subjects	Male	Female	Unknown	Female with a separate memorial
Sibiu	83	60	21	2	7
Sighişoara	28	21	7	-	1
Mediaş	8	7	1	-	1
Bistriţa	9	6	1	2	0
Sebeş	3	3	0	-	0
Braşov	51	30	18	3	0
Cluj	72	23	33	16	16

[886] Cat. No. 87, 91, 95, 96, 97, 100
[887] Cat. No. 83, Cat. No. 103, and Cat. No. 117, 125
[888] Cat. No. 120 re-used in 1773; Cat. No. 103 re-used in 1820.
[889] Cat. No. 304, Cat. No. 300, and Cat. No. 301. Tamás Borsos was probably also represented with his wife – who died three years later – on their coffin-shape grave marker, but the tomb has been heavily re-fashioned, so the information originates only from a nineteenth-century account (Cat. No. 304).

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Târgu Mureş	15	6	5	4	3

Table 4.5. Gender distribution among the subjects of stone memorials preserved from towns

In Sibiu, only about the quarter of the subjects was female, versus the 72% share of male subjects. If we broaden the sample with the lost but recorded pieces, the proportions are similar: 23% and 72%. Those seven women who were commemorated with their own funeral monument, were wives of three royal judges, two mayors, the sister-in-law of a mayor, and the wife of a town *secretarius*; the latter received a relatively simple ledger.[890] Among the lost memorials, 8 more were set up for a single woman, six of whom were married to town leaders or pastors, and two were wives of *concives*.[891]

In Sighişoara, 21 of the 28 subjects are male. The only female who had a separate memorial was the wife of royal judge and mayor—the patron of the funeral monument—who herself came from an old family of judges and mayors (Cat. No. 286). Funeral monuments in Mediaş commemorated a total of eight subjects, seven of which were men and only one woman, the wife of a pastor who later became the Saxon bishop (Cat. No. 165). The only woman appearing on the ledger stones in Bistriţa is the above-mentioned Catharina Amend who received a double portrait with her councilor husband (Cat. No. 38). All subjects are males in Sebeş, while in Braşov, 58% are men and 35% women, and none of the latter received a separate funeral monument.

In contrast with the Saxon towns, gender distribution is close to even among the surviving memorials from Cluj. What is more, it was not infrequent at all that a single woman or a woman with her child was the subject of a funeral monument. The image is similar in Târgu Mureş (see Table 4.5).[892] Complementing the picture in Cluj with the lost gravestones, 35% of the subjects are female and 41% are male. The image might be distorted by that 24% where there is no information about the gender; there are many children in this latter group. In the case of those surviving gravestones where the gender of children is known, there are twice as many girls as boys. However, the "control group" of lost but recorded memorials shows that this is just an accidental occurrence, since in this broadened sample there are slightly more boys than girls.

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[890] Cat. No. 226, 234, 269, 232, 238, 248, and 243
[891] Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 72-73, Cat. No. 66; 81-82, Cat. No. 76; 87-88, Cat. No. 84; 104, Cat. No. 104; 105-106, Cat. No. 106; 113, Cat. No. 111; 113-114, Cat. No. 118; 114, Cat. No. 119.
[892] Cat. No. 296, 301, 302

The number of children seems to be exceptionally high among those whose grave was marked with a stone in Cluj: more than 40%. The rate is similar, 41%, if including the lost memorials. Some of the children were mentioned with their names in the grave inscriptions, others only as the children, sons, or daughters of someone. However, they rarely received a separate funeral monument,[893] but they were most often commemorated on the same stone as their mother, father, or siblings.

	Total number of subjects	Children	Subjects whose age was indicated	Children among these (below 16)	Old people among these
Sibiu	83	4 or 5	22	0	15 (over 50) 6 (over 60)
Sighişoara	28	2	7	0	1 (over 55)
Mediaş	8	0	4	0	3 (over 55)
Bistriţa	9	0	2	0	2 (over 60)
Sebeş	3	0	1	?	?
Braşov	51	7	20	5	7 (over 55)
Cluj	72	31	21	13	11 (over 60)
Târgu Mureş	13	0	7	0	5 (over 50) 4 (over 60)

Table 4.6. Age distribution of subjects in towns

Age was not indicated on every gravestone, and those cases where it was, show an interesting pattern as it can be seen in Table 4.6, where the bench marks (16, 50, 55, and 60 years) were defined based on the clustering of the material. The age of mostly relatively old people—over fifty, or even sixty years—was included into the inscriptions in every town, which was complemented by a large group of children in Cluj, and a smaller one in Braşov. In Cluj, this trend is confirmed by the control sample of the lost memorials too: among the total 274 subjects, the age of 43 children and of 42 grown-ups was indicated in the inscription, and 11 of the 42 grown-ups was over sixty when he or she died. These aged people included three pastors, three judges, one councilor, and two widows. Two town judges were the oldest: Gergely Bonczidai died at the age of 81, and András Gaszner Szabó at the age of 73.[894]

The trend in Sibiu is similar: if broadening the circle with the lost memorials, 21 of 36 people presented with their age were over fifty when they passed away, and 10 were even over sixty. As far as the position of these people within the town is concerned, they were all but one

[893] Cat. No. 79, 88, 98, 121 (child?), 122 (child?)
[894] Cat. No. 84; the second stone was lost, see Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 340-343.

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at least councilors, and they were all males. The rest of the Saxon towns display the same picture, except for Sighişoara, and it is even more characteristic in the smaller samples. In Bistrita, the two individuals whose age was written on their ledger stone were 64 and 72 years old respectively.[895] In Mediaş, the age of four people was indicated, and three of them were over 55,[896] while in Braşov, about one third of people whose age at death was provided, reached this age.[897]

Though there is no information on the general demographic trends of how long people lived in the Transylvanian Principality, it seems that they put more emphasis everywhere on indicating the age at death when it was over 50, not to mention 60, especially if old age was connected with a respectable position in the town administration or church. Death was perceived as more natural with aging, and was closer to the concept of "good death" since the person was not struck unexpectedly by it, he or she had more time to prepare.[898] Old age indicated in the text could imply that the subject died this kind of "good death" and by this, the memorial invited its viewers to do their best to be similarly prepared. This function of funeral monuments will be discussed in the last chapter in some more detail.

As mentioned above, there is a striking difference in the share of children among the subjects between Cluj and the Saxon towns. While about 50% of the subjects whose age was presented were below sixteen in Cluj, in Sibiu only six children were commemorated in the Lutheran church including also the lost memorials. The lost ledger stone of Johann and Magdalena Wohlgemuth (3 days and 7 years old respectively), was the single piece set up only for children.[899] The relatively large sample in Braşov also included seven children,[900] but only one of them received a separate memorial in the form of a small stone in the pavement.[901] Many children were listed on the gravestone of their parents in Cluj as well, but 10 surviving monuments and 24 more among the lost pieces were set up only for children, often for two or three siblings. This phenomenon suggests that either children were perceived differently in the towns, or the function of funeral monuments and the commemoration of children in general differed.

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[895] Cat. No. 34 and 38.
[896] Cat. No. 166, 167, 168, and 169.
[897] Cat. No. 43, 45, 51, 53, 56, 60, and 62.
[898] See Shulamith Shahar, *Growing Old in the Middle Ages: Winter Clothes Us in Shadow and Pain* (London: Routledge, 2004).
[899] Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 84, Cat. No. 79. The rest are Cat. No. 213, 228, and 238.
[900] Cat. No. 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, and 57.
[901] Cat. No. 57; it cannot be excluded though that it is a fragment of an originally larger ledger stone that was cut into a regular shape.

4.3.6. Patrons of funeral monuments in towns

The custom concerning the indication of the patron on funeral monuments also differed in various towns. In Cluj, only two ledgers identify the commissioner, and both were set up in the Calvinist church. The stonecutter Máté Berkenyesi took care of the monument of his son, and Martinus was commemorated with a funeral monument by his widow and son.[902] In contrast, none of the stones preserved from the city wall or from the Central Cemetery display the identity of the commissioner, and only four among the lost pieces from these sites. The Latin inscription named the wife of the deceased as the patron in each case: of a schoolteacher, a priest, a physician, and of a man of unknown profession, all of whom passed away in the first four decades of the seventeenth century.[903]

In Sibiu, eighteen preserved funeral monuments indicate the person of the patron in the inscription, and three more among the lost ones. In most cases, it was the wife who ordered the funeral monument for her husband here as well.[904] Five husbands were indicated as patrons of their wife's funeral monuments,[905] and these cover almost each case when a woman received a separate memorial in the Sibiu parish church. In the rest of the cases, the children of the deceased acted as commissioners.[906] Laurentius Rosenauer appears in a special form on his father's ledger: the epitaph verse was written in his name. Only the heirs are mentioned on the ledger of Anna, wife of the steward Servatius Weidner.[907]

Local customs might have differed in Sighişoara from those in Sibiu based on the preserved sample, since relatively numerous patrons were indicated, on seven of the nineteen funeral monuments in the Mountain Church. One can even identify trends within some families. Johann Roth, mayor of Sibiu and probably the brother of Paul Roth, mayor of Sighişoara, was the father of Paul and Catherina Roth who died at an early age.[908] The ledger was made six and seven years after the death of Paul and Catherina, respectively.[909] Their uncle, Paul Roth died in 1618, and the ledger names his wife and his children as the patrons of his memorial. The two ledgers were ordered from the same workshop in Sibiu, as well as a third one, probably again commissioned by Johann Roth. The subject was another Johann Roth, who died in 1556, the

[902] Cat. No. 79 and 80.
[903] Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 107-109, 130-130; Kovács, "Unitárius nagyjaink sírjai a házsongárdi temetőben," 97-98.
[904] Cat. No. 221, 239, 266 and Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 51, Cat. No. 46, 216, Cat. No. 243.
[905] Cat. No. 232, 243, 248, 269.
[906] The children of Servatius Weidner (Cat. No. 231), and of Michael Agnethler (Cat. No. 220), the son and brother of Andreas List (Cat. No. 214).
[907] Cat. No. 212 and Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 81-81, Cat. No. 76.
[908] Cat. No. 282; Melzer, "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg," 103-104.
[909] The parish register preserved the date of their death. See ibid.

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ancestor of the major and predecessor in his office.[910] A pair of ledgers attest that two sisters also turned to the same workshop, that of Elias Nicolai, for the funeral monument of their husbands.[911] The wife was the patron in two more cases, while the husband, Andreas Goebel mayor set up a ledger for his wife, Catharina Bulkesch.[912] In contrast with the relatively numerous patrons named in Sighişoara, none was indicated in Mediaş, and neither in Braşov. A small stone slab in the Black Church, which might also be a fragment, bears only a brief inscription informing that Pál Bánfi redeemed the grave of someone in 1691 (Cat. No. 59).

In Târgu Mureş, two of the nine pieces identify the commissioner, one originally from the Calvinist church, and one from the cemetery, the latter commemorating a nobleman.[913] One of the few funeral monuments in Sebeş also defines the wife as the patron: the widow of Martin Clausenberger (Cat. No. 201).

To sum up, what the funeral monuments reveal about the patterns of patronage, in the Saxon towns is that there were almost twice as many male commissioners indicated on the memorials as female ones. This still implies that women acted relatively frequently as patrons if compared to their appearance as subjects of memorials, but they ordered stones exclusively for their husbands. In contrast, men set up memorials for their wives, parents, and children as well. The role of women in commissioning gravestones seems to be similar also in Cluj and Târgu Mureş, but there, in the public cemeteries, it was quite exceptional to inform the visitors about the person who took care of the preparation and placement of the grave marker. The few ledgers taken to the museum from the Calvinist church in Cluj demonstrate that this was not the case when the dead were interred in a church interior. The reason for giving up the custom of indicating the patron of the memorial might be connected to the change in the spatial context of the burial and commemoration: in a cemetery, the visitors did not see the complete set of gravestones as they entered, but they probably walked to specific graves, mostly those of their own dead. The audience of the gravestones shifted from the entire churchgoing community towards the family, so the role of the stones in the social display of patronage must have decreased.

4.3.7. The spatial context of funeral monuments in towns

[910] Cat. No. 283 and 250
[911] Cat. No. 280 and 281
[912] Cat. No. 275 and 284; Cat. No. 286. The seventh one, Stephan Kreuzer' memorial was set up by the *relicti*, that is, those who were left behind, who were grieving him (Cat. No. 273).
[913] Cat. No. 303 and 299.

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Funeral monuments from the principality period have been preserved from two types of sites: churches and public cemeteries. In this respect, there is a clear division within the material: from the Saxon towns, funeral monuments originate from churches almost without exception, while from Cluj and Târgu Mureş, it is dominated by gravestones from public graveyards. This phenomenon does not mean, however, that these were the only burial sites in these towns respectively. What was the role and perception of these burial sites within the commemorative customs in the towns, and how did the spatial context affect the outlook and the meaning of funeral monuments?

The Saxon towns

Funeral monuments from the Saxon towns survived overwhelmingly from the interiors, but the Saxons also used churchyards and graveyards for burials. The interior and the churchyard of the parish church in Sibiu was used for burials from the earliest phase of the building, the second half of the twelfth century, until the end of the sixteenth century.[914] Archaeologists documented 1833 medieval graves, but they estimated that the total number of burials was at least 5000.[915] Not much is known, however, about how they marked the graves in the churchyard, since a single stone has been registered from a cemetery, and even this one originated probably from the church interior.[916]

Due to the plague and the overcrowded cemeteries, the town magistrate of Sibiu ordered in 1554 that townspeople should be buried outside the city wall, and two cemeteries were established there. The first one was opened in 1554, on the eastern side of the town, and a new gate was established leading there, the Gate of the Dead. The second cemetery was created in 1603, on the northern side, due to a new wave of epidemics.[917] The right of burial in the church was reserved for the members of the council, the hundreds, and the clergy.[918] In this light, it is

[914] Marcu Istrate, *Sacru şi profan*, 55.
[915] The excavations took place in 2005 and 2006. Ibid., 14, 68-70; Daniela Marcu Istrate, *Sibiu. Piaţa Huet. Monografie arheologică 1* (Sibiu, Huet Square: and archaeological monograph, vol. 1) (Alba Iulia: Editura ALTIP, 2007), 90-91. Some chapels were also built in the churchyard during the Middle Ages. For a detailed analysis of the cemetery, see Daniela Marcu Istrate, Mihai Constantinescu, and Andrei Soficaru, *The medieval cemetery from Sibiu (Hermannstadt) Huet Square. Archaeology, anthropology, history*, Tübinger Forschungen zur historischen Archäologie 6 (Tübingen: Verlag Dr. Faustus, 2015).
[916] The memorial of Agatha Jung from 1567 was found in 1900, when the square around the Lutheran parish church in Sibiu, the area of the former churchyard, was levelled (Cat. No. 226). See Schiller, "Ein Grabsteinfund auf dem Huetplatz," 85-87, 93. It is a regular ledger stone like those in the church. Ioan Albu suggested that one more fragment now in the museum, from the ledger of an unknown woman, might have also come from the churchyard (Cat. No. 208). Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 74-75, Cat. No. 68.
[917] Harald Roth, *Hermannstadt. Kleine Geschichte einer Stadt in Siebenbürgen* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2006), 71, 88.
[918] Soterius, "Cibinium. Historia pleraque de Cibino tractatus," Sibiu: Bibliothek des Brukenthalmuseums, Ms.26, 46., quoted by Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, xxv; Albu, "Taxe de înmormântare în Sibiul," 263.

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not surprising that the funeral monuments represent the town elite. The funeral monuments, as well as another order issued by the council in 1581, suggests that the regulation was not respected and others were also buried in the church; consequently, they determined the sum one was obliged to pay for it: six forints if the family brought a funeral monument and eight forints if they did not, so the town had to take care of a slab closing the grave. By the end of the seventeenth century, the price of setting up a funeral monument was nine forints, while a burial in the cemetery costed only one forint.[919]

The parish church was not the only burial site in Sibiu that was equipped with gravestones, even if the rest were probably incomparable to that in their scale. A modest ledger from 1574 commemorating a member of the Tanners' Guild was unearthed in the Hospital Church, which was erected in the thirteenth century.[920] The decree of the council from 1581 regulated the price of burial in one of the former monastic churches as well, either the church of the former Dominican monastery or the Saint Elisabeth Church of the Minorites. Burial there was cheaper, two forints, in case the family provided the ledger. In the Hospital church, it was three or six forints depending on who took care of the stone. [921] These prices demonstrate that the parish church had the largest prestige as burial site, but also that they set up funeral monuments elsewhere too, even if as simple ledgers as the one from the Hospital church.

In medieval Sighişoara, the Dominican church was the place of burial preferred by the wealthy burgers in the Middle Ages, to ensure the prayers of the monastic community for their souls.[922] However, the excavations revealed that the oldest cemetery was situated at the medieval parish church called Mountain Church erected in the twelfth century. The cemetery was in use from the beginnings to the seventeenth century. The excavations brought to surface more than 700 graves, including several inside the church.[923] After the Reformation of the town in the 1540s, the former Dominican church was turned into parish church, and the Mountain Church served only as a funerary site.[924] The monuments testify that members of the town elite

[919] Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, xxvi; Albu, "Taxe de înmormântare în Sibiul," 264.
[920] Cat. No. 207; See Petre Beşliu Munteanu, *Spitalul medieval din Sibiu* (The medieval hospital in Sibiu) (Sibiu: Honterus, 2008). On the medieval churches in Sibiu, see Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, xxi-xxii.
[921] Albu, "Taxe de înmormântare în Sibiul," 264.
[922] Maria Lupescu Makó, "Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval Sigişoara (Segesvár, Schässburg)," *Oameni şi moartea în societatea românească. Caiete de antropologie istorică* 3, no. 5-6 (2004): 98.
[923] The excavations took place between 1998 and 2001, and they were supervised by Daniela Marcu Istrate. For the reports, see the web site *Archaeological Excavations in Romania 1983-2012*, http://cronica.cimec.ro/selen.asp (last accessed 28 November, 2016) and Corina Popa, ed. *Denkmaltopographie Siebenbürgen. Stadt Schäßburg* Topografia monumentelor din Transilvania. Municipiul Sighişoara 4.1 (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag GmbH, Editura Rheinland, 2002), 91-101.
[924] It might have housed also the morning liturgy of the students of the nearby school. The liturgical role of the church was resumed after 1776. See Melzer, "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg," 91.

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were buried here, though the exact location of the ledgers—and the specific graves—cannot be reconstructed. It was of course more expensive to have a grave in the church than outside, four forints versus twenty-five denars to one forint.[925] The Lutheran cemetery was founded at its present location, west from the church, in the eighteenth century, but there were other burial sites in the town in the Early Modern Period too, for example, near the leprosy hospital.[926]

In Saschis, a Gothic parish church was built between 1493 and 1525, right before the Reformation, and a new cemetery was established around the building.[927] The few graves excavated inside the church— e.g. one in the axis of the nave in front of the altar—suggest that the elite of the community was buried there,[928] which is confirmed by the presence of funeral monuments, even if there is no information on their original location within the church. Even less is known about the churches in Mediaş and Bistriţa as early modern burial sites and the original place of memorials there.

The source situation is more favorable in Braşov. The Black Church, the medieval parish church dedicated to the Holy Virgin Mary, was built from the last quarter of the fourteenth century until the mid-fifteenth century.[929] The cemetery pre-dated this church, and it was continuously used until the end of the eighteenth century. An especially large number of graves was established in the Early Modern Period.[930] A regulation from 1723 implies that there might have been gravestones in the churchyard too, but no gravestones were found from before the eighteenth century.[931] The same applies to the other early modern funerary sites known from Braşov, for example, the one revealed by the excavation in and around the medieval Saint Martin church.[932]

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[925] Ibid. There is a crypt under the choir but its dating is uncertain. Roland Melzer stated, without specifying his sources, that it was established in the mid-seventeenth century.
[926] Popa, *Denkmaltopographie Siebenbürgen. Stadt Schäßburg* 112-113.
[927] Daniela Marcu Istrate, "Biserica evanghelică din Saschiz, jud. Mureş. Cercetări arheologice (I)" (The Lutheran Church in Saschiz, Mureş County. Archaeological research, part 1), *Materiale şi cercetări arheologica (serie nouă)* 7 (2011): 115-151.
[928] Ibid., 123; walled vaults can be seen in the church on 131, 143 and a crypt on 149.
[929] Various details were added also in the first half of the sixteenth century. Daniela Marcu Istrate, *Redescoperirea trecutului medieval al Braşovului: Curtea Bisericii Negre / Unearthing the Medieval Past of Braşov: The Black Church Yard* (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2015), 25, 108-148; Ágnes Bálint, "Biserica Neagră din Brașov. Noi propuneri privind cronologia și contextul construcției" (The Black Church in Brasov. New proposals on the chronology and context of construction), *Ars Transsilvaniae* 19 (2009): 5-18.
[930] Excavations carried out around the Black Church in 2011-2013 covered the entire territory of the churchyard cemetery, though only with trial trenches, but even these affected about 1400 burials. See Marcu Istrate, *Curtea Bisericii Negre*. The archaeologists observed grave clusters that they interpreted as family burial sites, see ibid., 165-173.
[931] Ibid.
[932] Fourty-one graves were found in the church from the seventeenth and eighteenth century, and a ledger stone of a priest from 1719. Daniela Marcu Istrate, *Biserica Evanghelică 'Sfântul Martin' Braşov. Arheologie, arhitectură, restaurare. Catalog de expoziţie / Evangelische Kirche 'Martinsberg' Kronstadt. Archäologie, Architektur, Restaurarierung. Austellungscatalog* (Braşov: Asociația Culturală Hieronymus, 2012).

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No excavation results are available from inside the Black Church, and the information in written sources applies for the conditions after the Great Fire, in the eighteenth century. A church order from 1713 determined the sum the locals as well as outsiders had to pay for a burial in or near the church, with or without a monument: it was ten times more expensive in the church than outside.[933] A grave visitation from 1746 says that previously only the council members and the hundreds could be buried in the church, but they could not retain this practice, so they changed the regulation.[934]

Braşov and Sibiu are the only Saxon towns where sources preserved information on the order of burial and the arrangement of funeral monuments inside the church. In Braşov, the grave visitation described that graves were arranged in thirty rows. Pastors had an exceptionally large vault in front of the altar covered by a stone slab that could be moved by two bronze rings, and another one in the middle of the second row, where Simon Albelius and Marcus Fronius were buried, whose common memorial survived from the eighteenth century (Figure 17).[935] Seventeenth-century judges were in the second row in front of the altar, including Georg Chrestel and Johann Mankesch, so this was the original place of their funeral monuments.[936]

The grave inventory suggests that places were designated based on the office and occupation of the deceased. Inscriptions on the tombstones attest, however, that family ties also affected the choice of the burial place. The same principle determined the seating order of the living members of the community in the church, during the liturgy. Some of the seats were reserved for office holders (council members, pastors, schoolteachers), some for the guilds, and the rest could be paid off by wealthy families from the elite, even around the pulpit, the focus of the liturgy. These families, such as the Filstich, Drauth, Schobel, Plecker, Closius, Fronius, are all represented on the funeral monuments. As demonstrated by Ágnes Bálint Ziegler, it was a matter of negotiation where certain families and professions had their seats in the church, and their spatial location expressed their place in the urban community.[937] She also pointed out a second means of demonstrating and negotiating status in the church space: donations of church furniture, which displayed the symbols and coats of arms of the donors.[938] The topography of burials can be added as a third element, and funeral monuments ensured that it was visible in the church space. According to an early-eighteenth-century source, the ledgers were covered

[933] Gross, "Die Gräber in der Kronstadter Stadtpfarrkirche," 134.
[934] Ibid., 133-134.
[935] Ibid., 135.
[936] Cat. No. 62 and 45. The grave of the latter was opened during the renovations in 1925. See ibid., 140-146.
[937] Ziegler Bálint, "A brassói evangélikus főtemplom," 133.
[938] Ibid., 217.

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with carpets, which is an interesting information concerning the visibility of the inscriptions and images,[939] so the communication value of the memorials. This suggests that the topography of graves was probably a part of common knowledge in the community.

In Sibiu, Ioan Albu reconstructed the location of specific graves within the parish church based on the documentation of a grave visitation carried out in 1692.[940] The choir seems to have been reserved primarily for the town pastors, royal judges, and mayors, but not all of them were buried there. Some of the town leaders and priests had their graves in the western hall called *Ferula*, others in the nave or the aisles. Guilds had their own pews in the church, and their graves were close to those, but many guild members used their family graves instead.[941] The burials—and funeral monuments— of certain powerful families clustered at distinct locations, such as the Haller family in the northern transept, the Lutsch family in the northern aisle, the Schelker family in the western ending of the nave, and the Miles family at the western wall of the *Ferula*.[942] The picture must have been quite varied with all the funeral monuments inserted into the floor, and wherever the visitors of the church walked, they were introduced to the offices, family connections and qualities of the deceased members of the town elite. The effect was multiplied by groups of ledgers repeating the heraldry of the same family. In 1690, the council allowed its members to put epitaphs in the churches after they approved the text, so soon large stucco epitaphs were placed on the wall of the nave.[943]

Funeral monuments preserved from the early modern Saxon urban communities were almost exclusively set up in churches that counted as the most prestigious burial location within the town, and this rank was reflected also by the pricing. This meant a considerable financial investment, but in exchange, the memorials were acknowledged by the entire community during the weekly liturgy. Based on what is known about the topography of graves from the excavations and documents, places in the choir were reserved for priests and the main leaders of the town (royal judges, town judges or mayors) everywhere. In addition to the office or profession, family affiliation was also a principal factor when they designated the grave of an individual both in Braşov and in Sibiu. Funeral monuments gave visibility to affiliations and

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[939] Ibid., 162-163.
[940] The grave visitation was published by Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 330-340. Ioan Albu complemented the information with eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sources to reconstruct the order of the graves. See ibid., xxvi, xxix-xxxiii; Albu, "Taxe de înmormântare în Sibiul," 264-265.
[941] Prominent patrician families had their own chapels in the fifteenth century, such as the Hecht, the Lutsch, and the Haller. Albu, "Iconografia monumentului funerar," 51.
[942] Albu, "Contribuţii," 10.
[943] Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, xxv.

connections, and, by creating a context for each other, strengthened the position of the group, be it a family, the town leadership, or a guild.[944]

Cluj and Târgu Mureş

In Cluj, only a few memorials have been preserved from a church interior, namely the present-day Calvinist, former Franciscan, church on M. Kogălniceanu (Farkas) Street. The Franciscan church and monastery founded by King Matthias Corvinus was built after 1486.[945] The monks received further pious donations too, both from burghers and from nobles who wished to be buried there, which is also testified by the medieval funeral monuments found in the church.[946] The town adhered to the Reformation in the 1540s, and the monks were soon expelled. In 1574, the council designated the yard as a public cemetery. The church was also used for burial as testified by the ledger stone of the stone cutter János Seres from 1579 (Cat. No. 78). In the same year, the senate handed over the monastery to the Jesuit order on the command of the Prince.[947] This would have provided the Catholics in the town with a burial site, but the Jesuits considered it problematic, since the churchyard was small, and burial within the church was prohibited by their regulation.[948] In 1582, they banned any interment inside the church, making only a few exceptions. Among these, *Dominus* Martinus, whose ledger stone has been preserved, was mentioned by name.[949]

The Jesuits were expelled first by the Diet in 1588,[950] then, in 1603, for good and all by the Unitarian townspeople.[951] The Prince gave the church to the Calvinist community in 1622.[952] A few monuments testify that there were funerals in the church even in the stormy decades, such as the one set up by another stonecutter for his son in 1595.[953] During the

[944] On the aspect of visibility and location of funeral monuments in medieval towns, see Ingo Herklotz, "Grabmalsstiftungen und städtische Öffentlichkeit im spätmittelalterlichen Italien," in *Materielle Kultur und religiöse Stiftung im Mittelalter. Viertes internationales Round-Table-Gespräch des Instituts für Mittelalterliche Realienkunde Österreichs*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990), 233-271.
[945] Elek Jakab, *Oklevéltár Kolozsvár története első kötetéhez* (Archival documents to the first volume on the history of Cluj), vol. 1 (Buda: Magyar Királyi Egyetemi Könyvnyomda, 1870), 272.
[946] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 70. For the funeral monument, see also Imre Sándor, "A kolozsvári Farkas utcai templom régi sírkövei" (Ancient tombstones from the church in Farkas/Mihail Kogălniceanu Street), *Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából* 4 (1913): 199.
[947] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 117. The monastery was soon renovated for a newly established college. See also Entz, "A Farkas utcai templom," 16.
[948] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 117.
[949] Cat. No. 80, ibid., 118.
[950] Entz, "A Farkas utcai templom," 16.
[951] Ibid., 16-18.
[952] He also took care of its renovation between 1638 and 1643. Ibid., 18-20.
[953] Cat. No. 79. The ledger of Anna Sera from 1597 was published with a photograph by Jolán Balogh from the museum collection, but I could not find it there. Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 52, fig. 188.

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excavations in 1910-11, several graves were found in the church from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including those of nobles.[954] About 120 funerary flags and reports on paper and textile dating from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries have been exhibited in the church, originating from funerals that took place there.[955]

Sources testify that other churches in the town were also used as burial sites since the Middle Ages, most notably the Gothic parish church in the main square.[956] Documents even mention some funeral monuments marking the graves, for example in the "Small Church", the Saint James Church standing in the main square next to the parish church. The town commissioned two men to restore some ledger stones in the pavement here in 1585,[957] and in 1598, a mason was paid for fixing a stone atop a burial vault.[958] Suburbs of Cluj as well as the hospitals had their own churches, and these were all accompanied by cemeteries used in the Early Modern Period too.[959]

By the second half of the sixteenth century, however, they ran out of space in these cemeteries. The plague striking the town regularly in these decades just increased the problem.[960] The town leadership tried to find a solution, and in 1564, they applied to the Prince for the yard of the former Franciscan monastery to turn it into a public cemetery.[961] This, however, did not solve the problem on the long run, so in 1573, a section of the yard between the two city walls was designated as communal burial site.[962] The burials were marked with small memorials carved on the ashlars of the wall, forty-three of which were recorded in the nineteenth century.[963] The earliest inscriptions date from 1574, so from after the official opening of the cemetery.[964] As I concluded in the previous part of the chapter, people who were buried between the city walls and were commemorated on the wall were wealthy members of

[954] Entz, "A Farkas utcai templom," 28. A research project started recently that examines the church from various aspects, but I have not encountered its results yet.
[955] András Kovács, "A Farkas utcai templom címerei" (Coat of arms in the church in Farkas [Mihail Kogălniceanu] Street), in *A kolozsvári Farkas utcai templom címerei* (Coat of arms in the church in Farkas [Mihail Kogălniceanu] Street in Cluj) (Budapest-Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Balassi-Polis, 1996), 39-50.
[956] Flóra, "The Matter of Honour," 289-292. referring to the sixteenth-century *Instructio Campanatoris.* Jolán Balogh listed a few mentions and fragments of funeral monuments there, but their dating is unclear. Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 189.
[957] Szabó T., *Erdélyi Magyar Szótörténeti Tár*, vol. 7, 228.
[958] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 75.
[959] Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 19, 34.
[960] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 196.
[961] Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 20.
[962] Ibid.; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 196.
[963] By Ferenc Jánosi, see Jakab, *Kolozsvár története. Második kötet*, 224-225. See also Nagyajtai Kovács, "Vándorlások." Nagyajtai Kovács, "Kolozsvári régiségek." See also Cat. No. 81-83, 122-127
[964] The stone displaying 1554 is an exception (Cat. No. 81). This, as I argued in *Chapter 2*, 97-98, probably does not mark the year of its creation.

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the town elite. Since this area was still not spacious enough, the council prohibited burials there in 1586, and it seems that after this, it was used only exceptionally if at all.[965]

As a solution for the cemetery crisis, the council founded a cemetery outside the city walls in 1585, on the southern side of the town.[966] This was the precedent for what is known today as Central Cemetery, *Cimiterul Central* in Romanian or *Házsongárdi temető* in Hungarian. The earliest graves were established in the northern zone of the graveyard, but it was extended by the first decades of the seventeenth century, and the territory has remained nearly the same since then.[967] The council designated a cemetery guard who supervised the order of the graves, and they permitted the population to set up gravestones.[968] The earliest stones that have been recorded, from 1585 and 1586, did not survive; the first preserved object dates from 1599.[969]

The town leadership declared that the Central Cemetery was open for all, regardless of their wealth and ethnic or religious affiliation, and they allowed everyone to set up a gravestone as well.[970] Still, scholarship has assumed that mostly the less wealthy were buried here. This view probably roots in the work of the late sixteenth- – early seventeenth-century historian István Szamosközy, who called it "the cemetery of the poor".[971] A closer look at the social status of the subjects proved, however, that this image does not correspond with reality. Even if this cheap option was available for the less affluent, town leaders and members of wealthy families were also interred in the cemetery, as well as nobles. The presentation of the cemetery

[965] In the nineteenth century, some memorials were seen on the wall, of three nobles charged with conspiracy and executed in Cluj in 1594, and afterwards buried in the moat. See the accounts by Sándor Bölöni Farkas, referred by Kerny, "A kolozsvári múzeum középkori kőtára," 71, footnote 11. The last memorial on the wall bears the date 1607, but since it was found detached from the wall, its original context is unclear (Cat. No. 83). István Nagyajtai referred to some information he heard on similar inscriptions, though he emphasized that he was not able to check the validity of those. Based on this, the number of memorials, 42, ossified in the scholarly literature. See Jakab, *Kolozsvár története. Második kötet*, 224-225; Mihály, "Monumente," 126. The ideas about the length of the period when this cemetery was used also vary. The authors of a recent volume wrote that people were buried there "from the beginning" meaning the early fifteenth century, when the wall was built. Lőwy, Demeter V., and Asztalos, *Kőbe írt Kolozsvár*, 46. According to Dezső Szabó, probably relying on Nagyajtai, it was used from the end of the fifteenth century. Szabó, "Unitárius sírok a kolozsvári házsongárdi temetőben," 190-202. According to János Herepei, the magistrate re-opened the graveyard in 1602. Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 24; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 196-197.

[966] Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 20; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 196-197.

[967] Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 21.

[968] Ibid., 23.

[969] Ibid., 36-43. Cat. No. 118

[970] Ibid., 23.

[971] János Herepei quoting from István Szamosközy's historical work interpreted it as a testimony of how the graveyard was only gradually accepted by the higher strata of the town, and in the sixteenth century used only by the poor. He considered the gravestone of the judge Bonczidai as probably the sign of the first burial of a member of the urban elite. Ibid., 27. Jolán Balogh hypothesized the same, that it was a cemetery for the poor, about the area between the city walls. Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 52.

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by István Szamosközy might reflect that extramural burial was perceived differently by an outsider from how it was seen within the town.

Burial in and near the churches remained a custom in Cluj even after the opening of public graveyards, and even if it was not for free.[972] In the late sixteenth century, a grave in a church costed ten forints, plus twenty-five denars for repairing the pavement, so this was the price without a ledger stone.[973] Burials in churches all over the town were finally prohibited by the council in 1602.[974] However, the churchyards were still used, sometimes even that of the parish church.[975] Townspeople in the early modern Cluj could choose between diverse types of burial sites, even if the town management promoted the new public cemeteries. It was still seen as a privilege to get a burial in a church, especially among the Catholics, but apparently, people were ready to pay for it from other denominations as well. However, there is no other information—besides the few preserved ledgers—on how frequent it was to mark the graves with memorials in the interiors.

As I concluded in the previous sub-chapter, the administrative elite of the town is relatively weakly represented among the known memorials compared to Sibiu. Since most of these monuments originate from the public cemeteries, the absence of the town management can imply that they preferred the church interiors, the same way as in Sibiu, and they did not have memorials there or the memorials did not survive. There is another possible explanation, since there are some gravestones that testify that the town management followed their official directives at least in a certain respect. The rest of the elite might have also been there in the cemeteries with their gravestones, which simply did not survive until the nineteenth century when the first stone inventories were made. Since less wealthy people could also afford to set up a simple headstone in the public cemetery, members of the town management might have constituted only a smaller group among subjects, which would correspond to their share in the surviving material. This more probable explanation would imply that the original number of grave markers must have been quite high.

Gravestones preserved from the public graveyard in Târgu Mureş suggest that also the town elite used it as its burial site; in fact, this is how the whole cemetery started. According to the chronicle of Ferenc Nagy Szabó, master of the tailor's guild, he set up a gravestone for his son on his own land, and he demolished the fence when the town purchased the surrounding

[972] Kohn and Zsakó, "A kolozsvári házsongárdi temető sírkövei," 285.
[973] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 196-197.
[974] Ibid.
[975] Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 19, 34. and a coin from a grave next to the former Franciscan church in M. Kogălniceanu (Farkas) Street dated the burial to 1696.

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areas for a public cemetery.[976] The graveyard was situated on the northeastern side of the city, and established almost immediately after Târgu Mureş gained the rank of a royal free town in 1616. It was soon takenover by the Calvinist Church.[977] Little is known about any other burial site in the town. The Franciscan church and monastery in the castle was managed by the town after the monks were expelled by the Lutherans in 1556. There were burials inside the church and in the churchyard too, but they were destroyed in the eighteenth century when the church was renovated.[978] The ledger of Mihály Nagy Szabó, now set up in the cemetery, was originally in the church according to tradition.[979]

Conclusions

There was a difference in the prestige of burial sites in towns as it is reflected by the prices everywhere. Church interiors were the most prestigious environment, similarly to the Middle Ages, and townspeople maintained a hierarchy of places even there. Sources from Braşov and Sibiu show that the clergy and the town leadership had unquestionable rights in the Saxon towns, but the guilds and families negotiated for the good places, since it expressed—also confirmed and strengthened—their status in the town. Funeral monuments made this status visible, as well as the social affiliations of the individuals; in Sibiu and Sighişoara visibility in these terms seems to have been more important than in Braşov. In the rest of the towns, the sample preserved from church interiors is too small to draw any conclusions.

Memorials efficiently communicated and strengthened the social status of families or professional groups within the urban communities by creating a visual context for each other in the same space, sometimes with still recognizable cross-references, and heraldry itself served as such a visual reference. This is a way to interpret the message of sets of memorials for several generations of urban clans. The marriage strategy of the Saxon urban elite, their pedigree of wealth and power was literarily cut in stone on their funeral monuments displayed in the parish church, the most important communal space in the town. At the same time, this strategy must

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[976] "Borsos Sebestyén krónikája," 122.
[977] Kelemen, "A marosvásárhelyi református temető," 185.
[978] From the Franciscan church, only the funeral monument of Mihály Apafi (1470) is known and two stones with plough emblems from the first half of the sixteenth century. Pál-Antal, *Marosvásárhely története*, 37-38.
[979] The identification is displayed on an information panel fixed above the stone in the cemetery. Lajos Kelemen published a description of Nagy Szabó's memorial in 1909 together with what was still visible from the inscriptions. The size of the ledger does not correspond though to Kelemen's description, and he could not make out the heraldic image, while it is clear now. The stone was restored in 1983 according to the information on site, but still there is a bit of uncertainty about its identification with what Kelemen saw. See Kelemen, "A marosvásárhelyi református temető," 185-186.

have influenced the preservation pattern of memorials as well, and due to this, it might influence our perception of the power relations within the urban elite.

In the parish church, funeral monuments were visible for the entire community who visited the liturgical service, and this also affected in a certain extent the churchyards, especially that of the parish church.[980] Public cemeteries were, however, different in this respect, since they were situated on the margins of the settlements, and people went there only for funerals or to visit certain graves, as a deliberate act of commemoration. Consequently, grave markers there were much less efficient in presenting and confirming social status towards the community. Those members of the town elite in Cluj who chose the new cemetery as their burial site, basically gave up this opportunity of self-representation, and, as it will be seen in the following sub-chapter, this influenced the form and complexity of the funeral monuments as well. Instead, as it was presented in *Chapter 2*, the Central Cemetery became a place of collective memories with time. Further research can find out when this process started and what was the relation of the early modern community to their cemetery in this respect.

In contrast to Cluj, in Braşov and Sibiu the town management did not oppose burials in church interiors. While in Braşov, they used also the churchyard until the end of the eighteenth century, so most of the dead remained much closer to the communal space, in Sibiu they ceased to use the yard of the parish church in the late sixteenth century. There the choice was between the interior of the parish church and the public cemetery or the less frequented churchyards. This meant a significant gap between these two groups concerning their social visibility after their death, and this gap was even broadened by the numerous and relatively complex funeral monuments in the church.

4.3.8. Acquisition of memorials for burghers

In *Chapter 3*, I presented the frameworks of funeral monument production as I could reconstruct them based on the available written sources and the examination of the preserved objects. I could identify workshops in Cluj, Sibiu, Braşov, and Sighişoara that operated in certain periods within the one-and-a-half century of the principality, and I have demonstrated that they did not only work for their own town but their products were transported, and sometimes not even only to the closest settlements. Stonecutters in towns created funeral monuments also for commissioners from among the nobility, and most of them were not specialized only for memorials but also worked at constructions in the towns, for nobles, and for the Prince.

[980] In Cluj, for example, they used the churchyard for public events, such as the election of the judge. Flóra, "The Matter of Honour," 289-293.

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The most productive workshops were localized in Cluj and Sibiu, where the number of the surviving memorials is the highest. It is a question which is the cause and which is the consequence in this case: whether the image of large workshops is due to the abundance of sources or there was indeed a more intense demand from the market in these two towns. The fact that the products can be identified also outside their own settlement suggests that in these two towns, the offer and demand mutually stimulated each other, especially in certain decades characterized by a boom in the number of known objects.

In Sibiu, it seems that before the 1580s, simple heraldic ledgers were available locally,[981] and those who wanted something more complex, turned to workshops outside the town. This circle with specific wishes consisted of the royal judges and their families. The bronze ledger of Peter Haller was made in Nuremberg; it is without parallel in Transylvania with regard to its quality, and probably also its price (Figure 118). The wall plaque commemorating Margaretha Haller belonged to a type that was quite widespread west of Transylvania, but it has no analogy in its own context (Cat. No. 225). The red marble ledger of Salome Ursula Hedwig was a conservative piece, but made outside Transylvania, similarly to the red marble ledgers of the predecessors of her husband, royal judge August Hedwig, in his office (Cat. No. 234). The ledger of mayor Simon Miles was probably also acquired from outside Sibiu, since both its ornamentation and its composition are more complex than the local ledgers, and its closest analogies can be found in the circle of the court in Alba Iulia (Cat. No. 233).

This ledger seems to have served as a model for the local masters, who, from the 1580s, started to produce ledgers that were more complex in their decoration than the local products before.[982] This pattern can be observed later too: any funeral monument imported into the town that displayed a good-quality stone carving and new compositional and ornamental elements was copied by local masters. Such trend-setting pieces were the ledgers of royal judge Johann Waida, mayor Paul Ludovicus, and royal judge Koloman Gotzmeister.[983] Not every town leader's memorial was, however, made outside the town; for example, two mayors after Waida (or those who set up their memorials) were satisfied with locally made versions of Waida's ledger.[984] This type was multiplied for the entire Saxon market by the workshop that operated in Sibiu in the 1610s-1620s.

[981] See Cat. No. 226, 227, 228, 229, 231, 235, 236.
[982] Cat. No. 232, 238, 239, 244.
[983] Cat. No. 218, 217, and 219
[984] Cat. No. 213 and 247

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From the 1630s, most royal judges and mayors were commemorated with monuments produced in Sibiu, first in the workshop of Elias Nicolai—workshop here is meant in the sense that it was presented in *Chapter 3*—and then, from the 1660s, by Sigismund Möss. The continuous connection of the elite with the western European territories is testified by the bronze ledger of Michael Lutsch that he himself ordered probably from Augsburg still in his lifetime, in 1632,[985] as well as at least some of the alabaster epitaphs.[986] The cases of Elias Nicolai and Sigismund Möss demonstrate that local production was not only influenced by new models, but also by new masters arriving to the town. This might have happened also around 1580, when the strap- and scrollwork ornament spread in Sibiu, probably from the direction of Alba Iulia. Later Elias Nicolai too arrived at the court first, then settled down in Sibiu and became a guild member there, and Sigismund Möss as well came from outside Transylvania.

It seems that from the first decades of the seventeenth century, stonecutters operating in the town were increasingly able to adapt to the wishes of their market, even of the town elite. Still, simple heraldic stones were also produced all during the period, by less skilled stonecutters, without any ornamental frame, usually executed in a poor quality.[987] Those masters, however, who dominated the market, were able to develop forms, ornamental styles, and iconography that were suitable, "good enough" for the local requirements of prestige representation, even if they were not very skilled sculptors and worked in a relatively poor material; what is more, they also established the standards in other Saxon towns.

This happened in Sighişoara, where the activity of a local workshop could be identified from the 1580s to around 1600, which produced five of the nineteen preserved ledgers.[988] However, after 1610, funeral monuments were purchased from Sibiu,[989] and later three more also from the workshop of Elias Nicolai.[990] Sibiu was the exclusive source of the preserved funeral monuments in Mediaş too, from the 1610s. As far as Bistriţa is concerned, one can only hypothesize at this point that the ledgers came from local workshops, while in Sebeş, the material is too fragmentary to say anything about their sources.

In Braşov, the trend of modest ledgers with only plain inscriptions starting from the 1580s suggests that they were all produced locally. From the end of the seventeenth century,

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[985] Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 145-147, Cat. No. 155.
[986] The alabaster works in Transylvania require further research. On the production and European market of early modern alabaster carvings, see Lipińska, "'Ein tafell von Alabaster zu Antorff bestellen': Southern Netherlandish Alabaster Sculpture in Central Europe," 231-258.
[987] See for example Cat. No. 233, 240, 243, and 261
[988] Cat. No. 275, 284, 285, 289, and 290
[989] Cat. No. 272, 273, 274, 283, and 284
[990] Cat. No. 278, 280, and 281

stonecutters were employed in the town for the reconstruction of the Black Church after the fire, and probably they were the ones who provided the elite with funeral monuments as well.[991] Only one memorial survived that was clearly imported from Sibiu: the figural ledger of judge Georg Chrestels, from the workshop of Sigismund Möss (Cat. No. 62).

In Cluj, no imported funeral monuments can be identified among the preserved pieces, all seem to have been produced locally. Based on the sources presented in *Chapter 3*, there was a sizeable number of stonecutters operating in Cluj. Only a few sixteenth-century ledgers can be connected to them from the town itself, but funeral monuments of nobles testify that it was not an exceptional type among their products. The establishment of public cemeteries and their general acceptance by the townspeople opened a new segment on the market, and from the beginning of the seventeenth century, many simple gravestones were carved in Cluj for the public cemeteries and for the churchyards of the nearby area (Gilău, Turea, Sic, etc.). Stonecutters in Cluj also provided those gravestones that survived from the cemetery in Târgu Mureş, which is testified by the narration in the chronicle of Ferenc Nagy Szabó too.[992]

4.3.9. The type, form, and iconography of funeral monuments in towns

A term that is crucial from the previous section is "good enough": stonecutters had to offer those forms that were considered effective by the main segment of their market in communicating the proper message about them. Based on the surviving funeral monuments, this segment was clearly the elite in the Saxon towns of the *Königsboden*, while somewhat broader in Cluj. The main class and the types of the memorials were partly determined by the spatial context: whether a church interior or a graveyard. Memorials in cemeteries were set up right on the grave, while in churches, it was not necessarily the case; some memorials, especially those on the wall could be further from the bodily remains. The plaques in the city wall of Cluj are a special case in this respect: they belonged to a cemetery but were set on the wall. The burial could be right underneath but also in any other part of the cemetery.

As concluded above, memorials in the churches addressed a broader public, the whole community, while in the cemetery, visitors were attached to specific graves. The second part of this sub-chapter will examine how various layers in the town used these basic types of funeral

[991] Ziegler Bálint, "A brassói evangélikus főtemplom," 188-191.
[992] *Die 7 january hozattam egy ormos koporsó-kővet Kolosvárról tizenhét forinton, melyet hogy haza hozának, az én temető-kertemben letétetem* (On 7 January I had a coffin-shaped gravestone bought from Cluj for 12 forints, which, as it arrived, I had installed in my burial garden). "Borsos Sebestyén krónikája," 122. According to the narration, the entire cemetery was established with the installation of this gravestone on the private land of Nagy Szabó, as when the town purchased the surrounding areas for a graveyard, he demolished the fence around his private plot.

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monuments to present themselves, and how this influenced the visual and written message, the iconography and the inscriptions of the tombs.

Types and forms

Ledgers constituted the dominant type of funeral monuments in the Saxon towns, and those preserved from the Calvinist church in Cluj and in Târgu Mureş are also ledgers.[993] They displayed a broad variation in their size, with a length between 110 and 220 cm, and a width of 65-115 cm. The memorial of a child, Istvánka Berkenyesi is unusual concerning its proportions and composition: it is smaller and narrower than the average ledgers, and the inscription runs parallel with the long sides (Cat. No. 79). This arrangement is not unique, though all the other examples were set up for nobles.[994]

Wall memorials are much less frequent than ledgers. Two stone plaques in Sibiu designed to be fixed on the wall have already been discussed in *Chapter 2*: the memorial of Margaretha Haller born Budai, and of the French Legate Leodegar de Montagnac.[995] Though stone epitaphs, mostly like the one for Margaretha Haller, depicting the deceased kneeling in front of the crucified Christ, were the most popular types in the Western Hungarian towns in the period,[996] it seems that they did not spread at all in Transylvania. Epitaphs made of wood and alabaster and painted in colors became popular from the 1630s among the Saxon elite, but they did not replace ledgers for a while, just complemented them in the same church interior. The form of the memorials in the fortification wall of Cluj was determined by their location, since only the surface of the ashlars was carved into the shape of a small plaque. Four of the known pieces were shaped like *tabula ansatae*, the rest were only plain inscription panels.[997]

Ioan Albu identified the fragments of the monument of Valentin Fleischer, town captain in Sibiu and his wife as those of a tomb chest. It is a very unusual piece, since this is the only known tomb chest that commemorated a burgher and not a nobleman; even Andreas, their son

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[993] Cat. No. 78-80. One more ledger is housed in the Transylvanian History Museum in Cluj, the original site of which is unknown (Cat. No. 104). In Târgu Mureş: Cat. No. 303

[994] Its closest analogy – though displaying also a border inscription – is the memorial of another child, László Mikola from Someşeni, which was made six years later also in Cluj (Cat. No. 105). The other examples were made for adults: for János Kun (Căluşeri, Cat. No. 69) also in Cluj, and for Tamás and Damokos Domokos (Cernat, Cat. No. 73) in Braşov.

[995] Cat. No. 225 and 230

[996] Mikó, "Késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékek," 626. See also Mikó and Pálffy, "A pozsonyi Szent Márton-templom késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékei (16-17. század)," 107-172.

[997] Cat. No. 81, 82, 121, 126

and the patron of the monument received nobility only six years after the captain's death, in 1669.[998]

The rest of the funeral monuments preserved from towns, from the cemeteries in Târgu Mureş and Cluj, were either headstones—mostly coped stones—or coffin-shape gravestones. Coffin-shape stones are not that numerous, only six survived from the Central Cemetery and two more in the museum with unknown provenance, but these were probably also saved from the cemetery.[999] Among those memorials that were inventoried in the cemetery in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, twenty-three more were described as coffin-shape stones and sixty-seven as coped stones. Based on this difference, it seems reasonable to suppose that coffin-shape stones were associated with a special status in the town.

Subjects of the surviving coffin-shape stones include a town judge, two priests, a nobleman, a woman from a wealthy family, and four unknown children. Broadening the circle with the stones lost by now, their subjects were two more judges, two bishops, two priests, two noblemen, and a councilor, but also craftsmen, and even children. Almost every judge received a coffin-shape stone,[1000] and five of the nine priests in Cluj and nearby, so this might be a valid, even if not general pattern.[1001]

The remaining bulk of the memorials from the two graveyards are simple headstones or coped stones, and they display no difference in size or quality based on the age, gender, social status, office, or profession of the deceased. In general, they were about 35-65 cm wide, and the height depended on how deep they were dug into the earth; children did not have smaller headstones either. The length of the text inscribed on the stones displayed some variation, and those with a longer text stood out more from the grave, for example the gravestone of bishop Péter Kovásznai (Cat. No. 116).

Iconography

Stone memorials in towns can be classified into three basic groups: those with only an inscription, heraldic funeral monuments, and those displaying the portrait of the deceased. This

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[998] Cat. No. 264. See Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 190-191, Cat. No. 209. One more memorial was presented by Albu as a tomb chest, but it is lost by now, of mayor Michael Lutsch (d. 1632). This case would be even more interesting, since Lutsch has a surviving bronze ledger that was probably made still in his lifetime. Ibid., Cat. No. 156, 147-148. The date of death and age were inserted later into the border inscription. Albu called the bronze memorial as "epitaph", but based on its size and representations, it corresponds to the ledger type.
[999] Cat. No. 84, 85, 91, 113, 119, 120, and Cat. No. 112, 114.
[1000] Ambrus Gaszner Szabó, had a coped stone, see Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 340-343.
[1001] Cat. No. 120 and 269 are the preserved pieces. Bishop Péter Kovásznai had a coped stone, see Cat. No. 116.

grouping refers only to the main field, but figures were included into the ornaments as well. I will also deal with that element, partly here and partly in *Chapter 5*.

There are only two memorials for burghers in Transylvania where the main image is built on a narrative scene, and both depict the Resurrection of Christ. They are both in Sibiu, and they were made in the same workshop.[1002] Biblical scenes or visual representations of theological teachings were popular images mostly on epitaphs in the western Protestant areas, but it seems that they were not adopted in Transylvania in a commemorative context.[1003]

Figural monuments

Portrait memorials of burghers, most precisely laypeople in the towns appeared in Transylvania in this period; there is no such example from the Middle Ages from the entire Kingdom of Hungary. Two types of figural representations can be distinguished: portrait ledgers with a life-size effigy of the deceased, and figures appearing in a smaller scale. Thirty-four portrait ledgers survived from the principality-period towns, and each from among the Saxon. Most of them were set up for members of the clergy or their family members, but a few also for laypeople, members of the administrative elite. Six of the latter were preserved in Sibiu, one in Sighişoara, one in Bistriţa, and one in Braşov. All but one—a double portrait of a married couple in Bistriţa (Cat. No. 38)—were produced by stonecutters in Sibiu.

The earliest portrait ledger of a layperson was set up in Sibiu, for mayor Johann Bayer Junior (d. 1592). The next one followed more than thirty-five years later, for Georg Jüngling, mayor of Sighisoara (d. 1629, Cat. No. 257). Both display the half figure of the deceased in the upper third of the slab, his coat of arms in the middle, and the lower part of the ledger is occupied by an inscription plaque. Johann Bayer's figure was fitted into a shell-shape niche, and Georg Jüngling appears under an arch held by pilasters, with two cherubim in the spandrels. The ledger of the royal judge Valentin Franck displays the same composition (d. 1648) as the latter, only the pilasters were omitted from below the arch (Cat. No. 257). A series of full-figure memorials started from 1639, including the monuments of royal judge Valentin Seraphin (d. 1639), Stephan Mann, mayor of Sighisoara (d. 1647), and royal judges Andreas Fleischer (d. 1676), and Matthias Semriger (d. 1680).[1004] The memorial of Georg Chrestels belongs to the same type, since it was purchased from Sibiu for the chief judge of Braşov (d. 1672, Cat. No. 62).

[1002] Cat. No. 222 and 263. One was complemented with the coat of arms of Michael Schwartz, while the other one remained unfinished.
[1003] See Cieślak, *Tod und Gedenken*; Harasimowicz, *Kunst als Glaubensbekenntnis*.
[1004] Cat. No. 258, 278, 265, and 266.

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All the preserved figural ledgers were set up for town leaders, royal judges, judges, or mayors. In Braşov, some of the memorials that were produced in the eighteenth century for members of the seventeenth-century town elite are also figural ledgers, which suggests that there might have been similar pieces destroyed by the fire. Seventeenth-century pieces from Sibiu were produced by the workshops that created the figural memorials of the clergy. Since the latter constitute the majority of the examples, I will analyze the patterns and models of production in the next subchapter focusing on the clergy.

Royal judges commemorated with figural memorials from the 1630s to the 1670s were depicted as the guardians of faith and justice, with a bible and the scepter of judge, Georg Jüngling even with the sword of justice and a balance in the crest of his coat of arms (Cat. No. 241). They were often represented with a cloth in their hand as if lying on their catafalque.[1005] Some of them hold a pair of gloves as a sign of good manners and elegance.[1006] The clock on the portrait memorial of Georg Crestels is a reference to the transience of life, similarly to the hourglass on Matthias Semriger's representation, but also to the culture and lifestyle of the Saxon urban elite.[1007] Full figure portraits clearly build on the painted portraits of Saxon magistrates in their composition and iconography, communicating a similar image about the magistrates but in a different spatial context and "cut in stone" for future generations as well (Figure 136).[1008]

Small-scale portrait representations of the deceased on their memorials were not very frequent either, and those which occur in the Saxon towns are each unique in their context. The wall plaque commemorating Margaretha Haller has been mentioned in this respect, since it belongs to a type that was wide-spread west of Transylvania, but it is the single example there.[1009] The lady was depicted with her two daughters and two sons kneeling in a prayer in front of the crucified Christ. The representation of Georg Heltner and his family by Elias Nicolai's workshop belongs to the same visual tradition. Here there is no crucifix, but the prayer they say appears above their heads.[1010] The closest analogy to this composition is another

[1005] See Enikő Buzási, "17th Century. Catafalque paintings in Hungary," *Acta Historiae Artium* 21 (1975): 87-124.
[1006] Cat. No. 241 and 258.
[1007] Cat. No. 62 and 266
[1008] On portrait painting in the Saxon towns, see Radu Popica et al., *Portretele Patriciatului Săsesc din Braşov. Un capitol de Artă Transilvăneă / Bildnisse s chsischer Patrizier aus Kronstadt. Ein Kapitel siebenb rgischer Kunst* (Braşov: Editura Muzeului de Artă Braşov, 2013).
[1009] Cat. No. 225. In towns in Habsburg Hungary, this was the most frequent type; see Mikó, "Késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékek," 626-630.
[1010] Cat. No. 280. Text: *Auff dein gros Martr Sterben Und Leydn Komn wir o Herr zu dir bescheydn*. – "We are convinced that we are going to you, oh, our Lord, due to your great martyr death and sufferings."

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isolated piece, on the alabaster epitaph of Margareta Glockner, on which the lady lies on her catafalque, and her children kneel nearby (Cat. No. 269).

The bust-portrait of a man and a woman in prayer, presumably the deceased and his wife occupies the upper quarter of Michael Hellwig's ledger (Cat. No. 244). The man holds a book, the Bible in his hands. The inscription does not mention Hellwig's wife as a subject, neither as the patron of the memorial. Her presence is similar to that of the praying figures on the kneeling family scenes: it is not clear whether they are also subjects of the commemoration or invite the audience to join them in the commemorative act.

The portrait is combined with a different iconographic tradition, the "Putto with the Death Head" on the ledger of a "man of letters" in Sighişoara (Cat. No. 244). This iconography came to the funerary art from the world of emblems, and pointed at the transience of earthly life by contrasting the image of a youth with that of a skull.[1011] Variations of this image appear in the ornamentation on many of the funeral monuments, which I will examine in *Chapter 5*. On this ledger, however, the portrait of the deceased was replaced for the putto. He holds a pen in his hand, the symbol of his profession, but this proud representation of his earthly career is contrasted with the skull, a warning for the transience of all this in the face of death. The epitaph verse plays with the same contrast.

The ledger commemorating the son and daughter of Johann Roth, mayor of Sibiu, displays the full-figure image of the two children in a small size, occupying less than the third of the ledger (Cat. No. 282). They are depicted standing under two arches, wearing the full attire of the Saxon elite characteristic for their sex. The girl holds a flower, a symbol of the transience of earthly beauty, and a cloth in her hand, and the male figure a book and another object. The arches refer to the heaven, where the epitaph verse pictures the children.

The group of figural funeral monuments of laypeople from the Saxon towns ends here, but three more pieces survived from Cluj that belong to a characteristic type. They are all coped stones set up on children's graves, and their upper part displays a full-figure frontal image of the subjects in a small size. Borbála, daughter of András Gritti appears in a wreath, where in general a heraldic motif was displayed on funeral monuments (d. 1622, Cat. No. 88). The two daughters of György Tömösvári on a second stone, and the two daughters and a son of István Széczi Seres on a third one, appear without any wreath (Cat. No. 95 and 97, both marked with the year 1646). The girls hold flower in their hands, while the boy is represented with a book.

[1011] See Janson, "The Putto with the Death's Head," 423-449.

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This type of image always appeared on gravestones of children. Herepei knew from the seventeenth century about one more with one figure, two with two figures, and two with three figures respectively, as well as a few examples from the eighteenth century.[1012] Due to the schematic character of the figures, he connected them to the ethnographic *fejfa* (or *kopjafa*), a carved wooden pile on the grave that was the symbolic representation of a person (Figure 6). According to Herepei, the stonecutters consciously chose to represent the figures like this because they connected with the ancient tradition.[1013] In my opinion, however, these figures originate from the representation of human figures in heraldry. They appear on the gravestones at the usual place of heraldic images, in a matching size, and in one case, it is even surrounded by a wreath. There are human figures in urban heraldry also in the Saxon towns, and non-human images, mostly simple symbols, were depicted similarly on heraldic gravestones in Cluj, without a shield; I will discuss these in the forthcoming section. Consequently, these gravestones also belong to the group of heraldic memorials, displaying a symbol that was suitable to the children.

Heraldic funeral monuments in towns

The most popular type of image on funeral monuments in towns was heraldry. Many of the memorials displayed only heraldry besides the text, and figural monuments were also often equipped with a coat of arms.

Heraldry means a range of different things in a sixteenth–seventeenth-century urban context, and something radically different from noble heraldry. All types of burgers' heraldry were rooted in the Middle Ages, since by the end of the thirteenth century, craftsmen and burghers in Europe regularly used coats of arms. Many of these were invented for a certain occasion, for example, when someone was elected for a public office. Until the seventeenth century, it was not unusual that various generations in burgher families used different coats of arms, though several families in the elite of the towns established their hereditary heraldry.[1014]

Burghers' tombstones with heraldic representations were widespread in the towns of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary from the mid-fourteenth century. The first known examples displayed the shield hanging on a cross. Following the trend that started in the court and spreading also among the nobility, crosses disappeared in the second half of the fourteenth century, and the coat of arms with helmet and crest filled the entire central field, surrounded by

[1012] Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 255-256.
[1013] Ibid., 255.
[1014] Donald Lindsay Galbreath, *Manuel du blason* (Lausanne: Spes, 1977), 50-53.

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a border inscription. The type remained the same in the fifteenth century, just the representation became larger and more elaborate.[1015] The red marble ledgers of Georg Hecht (d. 1496; Figure 9) and Nicolaus Proll (d. 1499; Figure 10) in the Sibiu parish church belong to this type.[1016]

The forms of the details, the script type as well as the composition were modernized by the Renaissance stone carving workshops, first in Esztergom and Buda, around 1500. Following the Italian models, they created spatial illusion—with relative success—by depicting the shield hanging on a ring with a laurel wreath around.[1017] This composition was kept in a simplified form during the sixteenth and seventeenth century: a shield with or without a wreath on the upper part of the ledger complemented with an inscription on the lower part. The composition appeared in Sibiu with the red marble ledger of royal judge Johann Lulay, though there the tabula ansata was left empty and it was filled only 130 years later.[1018]

Coats of arms displayed on ledgers for burghers in Transylvania from the mid-sixteenth century were composed with diverse types of images. Some were based on signs resembling craftsmen's signs created of the initials of a person, others represented professional emblems that were variations of the guild emblems, or allegories building on the name or virtues of the owner, and several elements were also drawn from the noble heraldry. Some burghers received real coats of arms with nobility from the ruler, and this was carved on their funeral monument.[1019] Burgher families used their heraldry also in their life, not just in their death: it was displayed on their stamps or on the façade of their houses, as, for example, on those of mayor Johann Waida and mayor Johann Reusner in Sibiu.[1020]

Merchants and craftsmen, such as stonecutters, goldsmiths, tinsmiths, potters, blacksmiths, woodworkers, and even bakers had used geometric signs to mark their products since the Middle Ages with personal marks that often included their initials.[1021] Funeral monuments from the time of the principality display similarly composed signs, and even those

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[1015] Lívia Varga and Pál Lővei, "Funerary Art in Medieval Hungary," *Acta Historiae Artium* 35 (1990-1992): 115-126, 144; Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 470-477.
[1016] Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 21-23, Cat. No. 18, and 26-27, Cat. No. 21.
[1017] Varga and Lővei, "Funerary Art in Medieval Hungary," 143-147; Mikó, "Jagello-kori reneszánsz sírköveinkről."
[1018] Cat. No. 260; Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 38-39, Cat. No. 30.
[1019] Albu, "Iconografia monumentului funerar," 48-49.
[1020] Cat. No. 218 and 216, see Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 108 and 156.
[1021] Csaba Csorba collected a large sample of these from the medieval and early modern Kingdom of Hungary including Transylvania. Csaba Csorba, "Tulajdonjegyek, mesterjegyek, polgári címerek a középkorban" (Possession signs, craftsmen's signs, burghers' costs of arms in the Middle Ages), *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 13-14 (1975): 143-189. See also Iván Bertényi, *Magyar címertan* (Hungarian heraldry) (Budapest: Osiris, 2003), 111-112.

for members of the leading elite of towns. In Sibiu, it was a relatively rare type,[1022] but in Mediaş, all three town leaders were presented with this type of heraldry on their memorials.[1023] The ledger of János Seres, stonecutter in Cluj, displays his stonecutter's mark in the coat of arms (Cat. No. 78). Sometimes simply the initials were carved into the shield, such as for Benedictus Iustus royal judge in Sebeş, and for four children in Cluj.[1024]

Symbols of professions were the most popular images in burghers' heraldry based on the testimony of funeral monuments. They are especially wide-spread in Sighişoara and Cluj, while less characteristic for Sibiu compared to the total number of known memorials.[1025] Tailors were presented with a pair of scissors in Sibiu, Sighişoara, and in Cluj,[1026] where professional symbols were applied on the gravestones of the family members of craftsmen as well.[1027] Shearers used a different type of tool. Catharina Goebel's husband was a shearer in Sighişoara,[1028] and shearers appear on two and two ledgers in Bistriţa, and Braşov respectively.[1029] Weavers did not have a single symbol. Shuttles appear in the coat of arms of Erzsébet Farnasi in Cluj and on the ledger of Andreas Nenchen in Sighişoara. In Sibiu, in the coat of arms of Michael Hellwig, a piece of cloth is held by a winged figurine. Georg Tuchmacher was also a weaver in Braşov as it is also suggested by his surname. His ledger displays a raising card, another characteristic tool of the profession.[1030] A boot displayed on ledger in Sibiu shows that the subject was a cobbler.[1031]

Furriers are easy to recognize based on their coat of arms with a mantle made of thirty stoat skins, in Sibiu, Sighişoara, Târgu Mureş, and in Bistriţa.[1032] A hand holding a meat cleaver was the common element in the coat of arms of butchers, such as the councilor Paul Paulinus

[1022] Agatha Jung was the wife of the royal judge of Miercurea Sibiului, later priest (Cat. No. 226); Michael Heidel, a *civis* (Cat. No. 236).
[1023] Petrus Gotterbarmet mayor (Cat. No. 167), royal judge Bauman (Cat. No. 168), and Simon Zacharias mayor (Cat. No. 170).
[1024] Cat. No. 200 and 91
[1025] Dorin-Ioan Rus has researched guild symbols in Transylvania, and he collected the display of such symbols on funeral monuments from Sibiu and Sighişoara. Dorin-Ioan Rus, "Emblems in the funerary imagery on the tombstones of Transylvanian guilds," *Brukenthal. Acta Musei* 5, no. 1 (2010): 161-171. See also Friedrich Karl Azzola, "Handwerkszeichen auf der Grabplatte eines Steinmetzen und Werkmeisters. Eine spätmittelalterliche, inschriftlose Grabplatte in der deutsch-evangelischen Stadtpfarrkirche zu Mühlbach in Siebenbürgen" *Steinmetz + Bildhauer* 99, no. 5 (1983): 372-378.
[1026] Leonhard Kirtscher (Cat. No. 249), Georg Jüngling (Cat. No. 257); Stephanus Kreuzer (Cat. No. 273), Georgius Heltner (Cat. No. 280), Stephanus Stamp (Cat. No. 281); Mátyás Hyncz (Cat. No. 89).
[1027] The daughters of Gerig Hembsch (Cat. No. 87) and of András Gritti (Cat. No. 88).
[1028] Cat. No. 246.
[1029] Cat. No. 34 and 33; Cat. No. 42 and Cat. No. 60.
[1030] Cat. No. 92 and 288; Cat. No. 244; Cat. No. 54.
[1031] Cat. No. 261.
[1032] Cat. No. 240, Cat. No. 279, Cat. No. 298, Cat. No. 39.

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in Sibiu, the wife of István Baczy in Cluj, and Andreas Fleischer alias Gräf, mayor of Mediaş.[1033] In the latter case, the symbol is complemented with an ox head.

Burghers' coats of arms built on a symbol of their occupation are especially frequent among the surviving memorials from Sighişoara. Both Michael Grell and Thomas Gros were tinsmiths as it is presented with a tin cup on the shield on their ledgers. Pancratius H. was a physician, and his coat of arms displays a bottle flanked by a spoon and a pestle.[1034] In Cluj, not just craftsmen created such kind of heraldic devices. Erzsébet Füzesi was the wife of a merchant, and a hand holding a balance appears on her gravestone. The Fodor siblings had a peasant father as it is attested by the image of a plow and hoe in the shield that is crowned with three spikes.[1035]

The image in the coat of arms of Lucas Löw, seat judge in Sibiu, plays both with his name and his profession, since it represents a lion holding a ring indicating that he was a goldsmith. Stephan Mann, mayor of Sighişoara had a similarly complex personal heraldry. The coat of arms on his memorial represents a man—a visual pun built on his name, Mann—holding a sword, a reference to his office, and a ring, symbol of his profession.[1036]

Other town leaders also included a reference to their office into their heraldry. Georg Jüngling, mayor of Sighişoara had a tailor's emblem on the shield of his coat of arms, but the crest represented Justitia, and he was portrayed with a large sword in his hand. Valentin Fleischer, city captain of Sibiu, had an arm holding a mace on his memorial, while Mihály Nagy Szabó, judge of Târgu Mureş had a hand holding a scepter.[1037] Gallus Lutsch, mayor of Sibiu put on his coat of arms a man walking in a cedar forest with a scroll and a scepter in the hand and sword on the side, and the same heraldry was used on the bronze ledger of Michael Lutsch, Gallus' successor in the mayor's seat.[1038] Two *literati*, men of letters probably working in the town administration were represented by a human figure holding a pen, one in Sibiu and one in Sighişoara.[1039]

Coat of arms with occupational emblems were often personalized with the initials of the deceased. Another way to create a personal heraldry was to build the image on the name. The lion on the coat of arms of Lucas Löw and the man on that of Stephan Mann were such allegories combined with the professional symbols. Servatius Weidner was represented by a willow,

[1033] Cat. No. 213, Cat. No. 93, Cat. No. 171
[1034] Cat. No. 272, 284, and 285.
[1035] Cat. No. 90 and 96.
[1036] Cat. No. 210, Cat. No. 278.
[1037] Cat. No. 257, 264, and 303.
[1038] Cat. No. 254 and Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 145-146, Cat. No. 155.
[1039] Cat. No. 221 and 275.

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which is also a popular motif in death iconography. Flowers on the gravestone of Katalin Virágh Szabó can also be connected to her surname (*virág* means flower), though a hand holding flowers was a popular motif in urban heraldry.[1040]

Flowers were a widespread symbol of the transience of life, referring especially to premature death. On the ledger of the young Istvánka Berkenyesi in Cluj two flowers grow from a heart depicted on the shield (Cat. No. 79). A hand holding flowers, however, seems to have been a symbol connected to female subjects both in Cluj and in the Saxon towns. Dorothea Lutsch received a ledger in the Sibiu parish church, which did not display her or her husband's family heraldry, but a hand with roses. Peter Wolf pastor had his portrait holding a book on his ledger, but there is a wreath with a hand holding three flowers underneath. The inscription names his wife too as the subject of the memorial, so the second image probably stands for her.[1041] In Cluj, it was a popular motif on gravestones.[1042] Erzsébet Farnasi was the wife of a weaver, Lőrinc Ghriti, so she was presented with combination of a shuttle and a hand with lilies. In Turea, the only surviving gravestone was set up for the husband, mother-in-law and children of Zsófia Salattya. The hand in the emblem holds a book that stands for the husband who was a priest, and flowers that refer to the woman.[1043]

Symbols in burghers' coats of arms sometimes referred to a moral quality that characterized the deceased. The appearance of oak in the heraldry of Christoph Ofner is even explained in the epitaph verse: he was as strong as an oak in face of sins and weaknesses. Since he came from Braşov to Sibiu, the oak grows from a crown, symbol of Braşov. The anchor was a widely-used symbol of firm faith; it appears in the coat of arms of his grandson, Christoph Greising.[1044] The heraldry of mayor Blasius Rhau was built on a complex symbolism referring to the name, profession and office of the deceased. It includes an image of St. Blasius who was also the patron saint of weavers, and the crest displays a figure with a scepter in the hand.[1045] The meaning of the lion and pelican in the coat of arms of Kolomann Gotzmeister is also elaborated in moral terms by his epitaph verse.[1046]

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[1040] Cat. No. 231, 302.
[1041] Cat. No. 79 and 248.
[1042] Cat. No. 92, 99, and Herepei listed several pieces that have been lost by now. See Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 121-122. Herepei included the gravestone Mátyás Hincz too, but there the hand holds a pair of scissors and probably one flower grows from that, so it is a tailor's emblem. The rest of the gravestones included at least one female subject.
[1043] Cat. No. 92 and 245.
[1044] Cat. No. 229 and 262.
[1045] Cat. No. 239. Ioan Albu analyzed the iconography in detail, see Albu, "Contribuţii," 17; Albu, "Iconografia monumentului funerar," 55; Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, xliv-xlv.
[1046] Cat. No. 219.

Elements of burghers' coats of arms were also adopted from noble heraldry[1047]—such as animal or human figures—, for example by the Bayer and the Franck families that provided Sibiu with several town leaders.[1048] Funeral monuments for members of the same family show that the coat of arms was often used by several generations, and the same symbol was used by several families, such as the anchor by the Greising and the Glockner or Clockner family.[1049] The heraldry of the Roth family from Sibiu displayed a religious symbol, a pelican feeding its nestlings, though sometimes with some variations,[1050] as well as that of Paul Ludovicus in Sibiu, Thomas Kretschmer in Bistriţa, and Andreas Bernhard and Georg Chrestel in Braşov.[1051] The coat of arms of the Miles family represented a swan with a wreath around the neck and a ring in the beak.[1052] Finally, some had "real" coats of arms, donated by the ruler with a noble title, such as of the notary Johann Rewel, Koloman Gotzmeister, and Andreas Fleischer, the latter both royal judges in Sibiu.[1053]

Elements deriving from the coat of arms of the nobility are characteristic in Sibiu and Braşov, but they do not appear anywhere else. In Mediaş, geometric signs created from the initials were the most characteristic motif in the coat of arms, while in Sighişoara and Bistriţa the occupations' symbols, as well as in Cluj, where simple allegorical motifs were also popular. Occupational symbols were used in every town, and religious as well as moral allegories were frequently applied in Sibiu as well.

Sibiu followed the models set by the nobility by displaying the full heraldry in most of the cases: the motif was put on a shield with a helmet, crest, and mantling. The full set appeared in Braşov as well, on three late seventeenth-century ledgers.[1054] In Sighişoara, the only cases where it was applied were the two memorials for members of the Roth family, who came from Sibiu.[1055] In Mediaş, the single ledger on which the shield was equipped with helmet, crest, and mantling is that of the royal judge called Baumann who came from Vienna according to the inscription (Cat. No. 168). In Cluj, only nobles who were buried in the town received memorials

[1047] "Naturalistic" representations of human figures, animals, and plants were characteristic for the heraldry of even the medieval Hungary, which distinguished it from the western European traditions. See Berténi, *Magyar címertan*, 34-42.
[1048] Cat. No. 241, 247 and Cat. No. 259, 269.
[1049] Cat. No. 233 and 269.
[1050] Cat. No. 255 and 250 in Sibiu; Cat. No. 282 and 283 in Sighişoara; the latter is a variation; the bird is holding a book.
[1051] Cat. No. 217, 37, 47, and 62.
[1052] Cat. No. 232, 233, 238.
[1053] Cat. No. 235, 219, and 265. The Gotzmeister family used a different heraldry before Koloman Gotzmeister received nobility.
[1054] Cat. No. 45, 47, and 48.
[1055] Cat. No. 282 and 283.

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with all heraldic components. Here even the shield was often omitted, and the symbol was surrounded by a wreath in the best case. This was a popular solution in Târgu Mureş and Sighişoara as well. The shape of the shield changed with time according to the ruling trends.[1056]

Though the motives of urban heraldry were in general similar in all Transylvanian towns, heraldic display clearly played the most important part in Sibiu, where they created the most sophisticated visual allegories often interlinked with the textual elements on the memorial, and the form was generally a combination of shield, helmet, crest, and mantling. The source might be the heraldic representation of the nobility or, more probably, the ledgers of their late medieval royal judges in the church. Heraldry was, however, an important means of communication about the deceased in all the other towns as well. They applied it to present the status of the subject within the urban community defined through his occupation and offices, moral qualities—or rather moral ideals—, age, gender, and, in case of women, their position defined by the profession and occupation of their husband or father.

Burghers' coats of arms were put on ledgers, headstones, and coffin-shaped stones, as well as on the single tomb chest known from urban context. Gravestones—both coped stones and simple headstones— often survived in a fragmentary state, so the heraldry might just be lost.[1057] The most popular composition of the ledgers displayed the heraldry on the upper part, and an inscription field on the lower part. Most of the heraldic ledgers were framed with a border inscription.[1058] In Sighişoara, funeral monuments created in the local workshop in the last two decades of the sixteenth century also conform to this scheme, only the images occupy some less space on the upper part. A rare variation is when the coat of arms is on the lower part and the inscription is above.[1059] The composition of heraldic ledgers transformed in the late seventeenth century showing some Baroque influences: the fields displaying the coat of arms and the texts became smaller, with rounded, mostly oval frames surrounded by tendril motifs, and the rest of the surface was filled with ornaments.[1060] In Bistriţa, most of the ledgers have a unique composition, with the image occupying almost the entire surface or the opposite: smaller images than usual.[1061] Ledgers displaying the occupational symbol of the deceased in Braşov

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[1056] Ioan Albu collected the most popular forms on the Saxon funeral monuments. See Albu, "Iconografia monumentului funerar," 50.
[1057] Fragments with only text: Cat. No. 84, 85, 94, 98, 108, 109, 111, and 112
[1058] Exceptions are the memorial of Albert Huet in Sibiu (Cat. No. 251), and a few very simply executed ledgers: Cat. No. 207, 243, 223, and 261.
[1059] In Sibiu, Cat. No. 214, and maybe 237, see Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 89-90, Cat. No. 87. In Sighişoara, Cat. No. 286.
[1060] See Cat. No. 45, 46 in Braşov, and Cat. No. 221 in Sibiu.
[1061] Cat. No. 33 and Cat. No. 35, 36. Cat. No. 34 and 39 conformed to the most widespread compositional type.

were simply a variation of those bearing only inscription, the small image was just inserted between the lines.[1062]

Funeral monuments without images

All memorials surviving in the *Königsboden* were equipped with some kind of image,[1063] but this was not the case in Braşov and Cluj. In Braşov, fourteen of the twenty-two ledgers bear no image, only inscription. Some of these display only short statements of the death of various individuals,[1064] mostly in a mixed language of German and Latin. About half of the ledgers without any image were provided with a border inscription, though without any real border, since the surface of the slabs is totally flat. These border inscriptions are short paraphrases from the Bible, with one exception in German, and often put in rhymes.[1065] Two ledgers preserved in the neighboring Hărman belong to the same type.[1066]

The small plaques in the city wall of Cluj displayed only a short statement starting with a "here lies" formula, except for the son of a man of letters, Lukács Szőlősi Literatus, who was also called noble in the inscription, and also received a Latin epitaph verse (Cat. No. 122).[1067] From the Central Cemetery, three grave markers were, however, surely designed without any image, and two coped stones from the cemetery in Târgu Mureş belong to the same type.[1068] Most of these inscriptions simply present the subjects, but the coffin-shape stone of town judge Gergely Bonczidai displays an epitaph verse in Latin.

4.3.10. Inscriptions

Texts seem to be the most straightforward way of communicating about the dead, since it included specific information the senders of the monument wanted to convey about him or her, such as the name, date of death, and data on the social or family status. Inscriptions, however, contribute several other ways to the image formed by the viewer on the subject. The quality of the text as well as the shaping of the letters, the style of the script all say something about the social and cultural environment of the deceased. It could range from a simple "here lies" to a piece of Humanist poetry praising the subject, carved with hastily formed letters or elaborate

[1062] Cat. No. 42, 54, 60.
[1063] The only exception is a priest, Michael Conradus, see Cat. No. 198.
[1064] Cat. No. 43, 51, 52, 53, 56, 57, and 59.
[1065] Cat. No. 41, 44, 49, 50, 55, 58 in German, and Cat. No. 61 in Latin
[1066] Cat. No. 155 and 159.
[1067] There is only one more Latin inscription among those from the fortifications (Martinus Schinder, Cat. No. 82), the rest were formulated in Hungarian.
[1068] Cat. No. 84, 117 and 118; Cat. No. 296, 301, and 300; the latter one more was decorated with two cherubim in the upper corners.

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fonts, and the complexity of the text did not even always correspond to the visual complexity of the memorial. Here I will briefly summarize how inscriptions were used to present the subject, what were the main forms of texts, and which are the most conspicuous patterns in the sample. Since a detailed literary and epigraphic analysis would add too much to the volume of this work, I am leaving those for a subsequent project.

Inscriptions appeared on a few characteristic parts of the funeral monuments. The most wide-spread solution on ledgers as well as on tomb chests was to carve a commemorative text, which included the most important facts about the deceased, on the border, and an epitaph verse was carved into the inscription field in the central part of the memorial. More than 50% of the funeral monuments set up for burghers displayed an epitaph verse, which was in Latin with three exceptions: a German poem in Sibiu and two in Sighişoara.[1069] Most of the Latin verses can also be encountered in these two towns complemented with Mediaş, while only one in Braşov and two in Bistriţa. Heraldic and half-figure memorials were equipped with an inscription plaque, usually on their lower half, which was suitable to display the epitaph verse, so those members of the urban elite who chose a full-figure representation, gave up this opportunity. Only one full-figure ledger was provided with an epitaph verse, that of Stephan Mann in Sighişoara, where the border was duplicated to create space for the text (Cat. No. 278). This solution, to arrange the epitaph verse on the border, seems to be characteristic for Sighişoara, where it can be observed on heraldic and figural ledgers as well, and occasionally they applied it also in Bistriţa and Sebeş.[1070]

The custom of carving epitaph verses on memorials can be detected in Cluj as well, and not even only on the ledger stones set up in the Calvinist church, but also in the cemetery, and even in Hungarian, both on coffin-shape gravestones and on coped stones, though it seems to be more characteristic for the former. Only one of the memorial plaques on the city wall displayed a poem, which was created in the memory of a nobleman's son.[1071]

Epitaph verses were built on various themes connected to the deceased: moral qualities, achievements in his life, as well as on religious themes contrasting the earthly life and the afterlife. The first Humanist epitaph verses in the Kingdom of Hungary were written in the second half of the fifteenth century.[1072] In the Transylvanian towns, the earliest known example

[1069] Cat. No. 267, 288, and 290.
[1070] Cat. No. 279, maybe 286, and 289. Bistriţa: Cat. No. 37; Sebeş: Cat. No. 302.
[1071] Calvinist church: Cat. No. 78 and 81; cemetery: Cat. No. 84, 85, and 114; Cat. No. 108 and 109; in Hungarian: Cat. No. 96; city wall: Cat. No. 122.
[1072] Árpád Mikó, "Két világ határán. (Janus Pannonius, Garázda Péter és Megyericsei János síremléke)" (At the frontier between two worlds, Funeral monuments of Janus Pannonius, Péter Garázda, and János Megyericsei), *Ars Hungarica* 11 (1983): 49-75.

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carved on a funeral monument is about Andreas List in Sibiu (d. 1561), set up by his brother, who was bishop of Győr and chancellor of King Ferdinand of Habsburg (Cat. No. 214). The next example still comes from the same circle of Sibiu elite families with strong connections to the west (Margaretha Haller, d. 1566; Cat. No. 225), but after that, from around the 1570s, it became a wide-spread solution. Epitaph verses published in print or painted on paper or canvas for the funeral are better known in scholarship, especially those written in Hungarian.[1073] Members of the Saxon intellectual elite also wrote pieces belonging to the popular genre of epitaphs, a number of which were not inscribed in stone but published in collections.[1074] Funeral monuments are an important source for literary history, and Transylvanian monuments are almost completely undiscovered in this respect. Many of them have not even be transcribed before, though they enrich the literary corpus of early modern epitaph verses with 74 pieces written on the death of laypeople within the towns.[1075]

Commemorative inscriptions on the borders of ledger stones and tomb chests informing the reader about the name, official position, family status, hometown of the subject, and the date, were also mostly written in Latin, only three German examples are found in Sibu.[1076] In Braşov, they put this kind of information into the main field in most of the cases, and including much less data, generally focusing only on the name and the date. They mostly used German or German mixed with Latin formulae. In Sibiu and Sighişoara, however, they kept Latin even if the main field of the ledgers displayed a commemorative text and not an epitaph verse.[1077] Hungarian was the dominant language in the cemeteries in Cluj and Târgu Mureş, as it was discussed above in more details. The text was often relatively long on the side panels of the coped stones and coffin-shape stones from these graveyards, providing more details about the family status of the deceased, (wife, child of someone), and expressing the loss of the bereaved as well as their faith in the afterlife.[1078]

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[1073] See Granasztóiné Győrffy and Kiss, "Epitáfium."; Szentirmai, *A XVII. századi magyar nyelvű halotti költészet teljeskörű, sokszempontú gépi nyilvántartása*.
[1074] Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, xxxix.
[1075] As an example for a literary analysis of epitaph verses on a funeral monument from the same period, in Eastern Hungary, see Géza Szentmártoni Szabó, ""Márványkőben metszett írás kopik, vészhet" (Nevezetes verssorok Ecsedi Báthory István nyírbátori tumbáján)" ("Script carved into marble can be worn, lost." Famous lines of poetry on the tomb chest of István Báthory of Ecsed in Nyírbátor), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 115, no. 2 (2011): 235-245.
[1076] Cat. No. 257, 261, and 267
[1077] Sibiu: Cat. No. 225, 234, 243, 260, 264, 265, and 266 (with one exception in German, Cat. No. 244); Sighişoara: Cat. No. 274 and 284. The first German inscription was preserved from 1567, on the ledger of Salome Ursula Hedvig in Sibiu (Cat. No. 234).
[1078] See, e.g. Cat. No. 87 ("…leaving behind a bitterness in the heart") , 88, 89, 90, 97 ("… for whom, Lord, give resurrection to the eternal life"), Cat. No. 98 ("… for whom, God, give joyful resurrection on the last day")

The third type of texts carved on funeral monument comprised quotations or paraphrases from the Bible. It was a custom in and nearby Brasov to put a biblical paraphrase on the border of the ledgers, mostly in German, and rarely in Latin.[1079] Biblical texts were mostly cited in German in Sibiu as well, though there are also a few examples for Latin versions, and one Hungarian example can be detected in Cluj.[1080] Short biblical paraphrases as well as mottos were often carved on the architectural frame of the memorial—mostly in Sibiu—as well as on small scrolls within the heraldry or some other image.[1081]

To sum up, inscriptions on funeral monuments could range from simply indicating the name and the date to pieces of highly sophisticated poetry. In Sibiu, high-ranking people from the town management were typically commemorated with a fairly complex text, and the same is true for Sighişoara, where most of the tombs display long inscriptions with epitaph verses. Here most of the subjects came from the town elite. In contrast with the towns in the *Königsboden*, inscriptions were simple and short in Brasov; this was one of the reasons why it was so difficult to distinguish the status of the subjects within the town. In Cluj and Târgu Mureş, some of the gravestones from the cemetery bear an epitaph verse in Latin, but the trend clearly shifted towards the vernacular and towards simple commemorative texts that express grief and trust in the redemption with some basic formulae. This solution got the closest to the modern concepts of grave inscriptions.

* * *

As a result of the analysis of urban funeral monuments from the point of view of the subjects and patrons and their choices concerning the space, type, form, images, and texts, the outlines of three major circles were drawn, distinguished by some characteristic trends: Sibiu with Sighişoara and Mediaş in the *Königsboden* (even if there are differences between the towns even there), Braşov, and Cluj with Târgu Mureş. The rest of the Saxon towns preserved too few memorials to interpret along these features. The sample could be broadened with some grave inventories from Sibiu, Cluj, and Braşov from the seventeenth to the first half of the twentieth century.

The vast majority of memorials from the *Königsboden* were set up to commemorate the town leaders or their close family members. (The second large group of subjects in towns, the clergy will be discussed in the following sub-chapter.) A detailed examination of the positions

[1079] German: Cat. No. 41, 42, 44, 49, 50, 55, 60, 61, and 155; Latin: Cat. No. 58, and 159
[1080] German: Cat. No. 227, 234, 257, 261, and 290; Latin: Cat. No. 207, 266, and 287. Cluj: Cat. No. 120
[1081] See Cat. No. 215, 218, 222, 263, 265, and 278; Cat. No. 45 and 321.

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held by the subjects showed that the higher a person got in his career, the more probable it was that he received a funeral monument in the town parish church. As participation in the town leadership was correlated with the financial status, these were also the wealthiest members of the community. The rest of the subjects also came from the circle of these wealthy families, even if they themselves did not hold any office. Most of the subjects had a separate memorial, but if not, married couples were the most frequent combination. Marriage was an important capital in the urban elite, so commemoration was combined with a display of family networks. This is also manifest in the patterns of indicating the patron: most often it was the spouse. Some of the women appeared as subjects or commissioners of memorials for their husbands, but the scene was clearly male-dominated.

In Braşov, most of the funeral monuments were destroyed by the fire in 1689, and the surviving pieces display very little information on the subjects compared to the other Saxon towns. Still, about half of them can be identified as members of the town-leading elite. There is, however, a group of eighteenth-century monuments referring to seventeenth-century subjects from the same circle, which suggests that they might have had a memorial also before the fire. The known funeral monuments were produced locally in Braşov, but a single figural ledger imported from Sibiu suggests that the practice was not uniform in his respect.

Commissioners turned to the local workshops in Sibiu and Sighişoara as well in the first half of the period, only the wealthiest town leaders ordered their memorials from outside Transylvania. This trend changed in the first decades of the seventeenth century, when masters working in Sibiu apparently came up with solutions that satisfied the local elite. The impact of a few good-quality imported pieces as models for the local production can, however, be detected all during the period. Sibiu also provided to the towns in the *Königsboden*, and even as far as Braşov, setting the trend among the Saxon urban elite.

In Sibiu and Mediaş, the place of funeral monuments was the parish church, while in Sighişoara, the former parish church was designated for burials. These were the most prestigious burial locations within the towns, and, where it is known, this rank was reflected also by the pricing. Places in the choir were reserved for priests as well as for the judges and mayors. In addition to the office, professional and family ties also mattered when designating the grave of an individual, so that of the place of a funeral monuments, which made visible all these connections and affiliations for the community attending the church. This worked in a comparable manner in Braşov as well, though the aspect of visibility got less emphasis there: funeral monuments were simpler, communicated less information on the subject, and there was also a custom to cover them with carpets. While in Braşov, they used also the churchyard until

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the end of the eighteenth century, in Sibiu they ceased to use it in the late sixteenth century. Since space was limited in the parish churches, burial was strictly regulated, and they used the graves more than once, which is also reflected by the secondary subjects of the memorials. This complied with the urban customs elsewhere in Europe, while the most characteristic memorial forms show some difference.

The form of stone epitaphs displaying the deceased kneeling in front of the crucified Christ, which was the most popular version in Central Europe in the period, is represented by a single example in Transylvania, only painted epitaphs made of wood and alabaster became popular from the 1630s among the Saxon elite. Ledgers dominated the picture everywhere in the Transylvanian churches, mostly decorated with urban heraldry built on craftsmen's signs and symbols, allegories, or elements taken from the nobles' coats of arms. Though the motives of urban heraldry were in general similar in all Transylvanian towns with a slight preference to one version or another, heraldic display was clearly attributed a more important role in Sibiu, where they created sophisticated visual allegories interlinked with the inscriptions, and built also on the traditions of noble heraldry. The models in respect were probably the ledgers of their late medieval royal judges in the church. They often commemorated the town leaders with heraldic ledgers in the principality period as well, but all the known figural ledgers were set up for judges and mayors, besides those depicting members of the clergy. The image was complemented with a commemorative inscription, and—except for the full-figure ledgers—a Humanistic epitaph verse, mostly in Latin. In the *Königsboden*, they provided relatively detailed information on the offices held by the subjects or their close family members, while they were rather short-spoken in this respect in Braşov, and the epitaph verse was not a customary element there.

Braşov is distinguished from the rest of the Saxon towns by a specific form of funeral monuments: ledger stones displaying nothing else but lists of names and maybe a biblical paraphrase in German running on the border. The subjects often do not seem to have been related to each other at all. The memorials that were produced in the eighteenth century for seventeenth-century town leaders are, however, figural ledgers, which, together with the single seventeenth-century piece, suggest that there might have been similar pieces destroyed by the fire. The texts were often written in a mixture of German and Latin, and this shift towards the vernacular, as well as the modest outlook of the memorials, positions the customs in Braşov somewhere between those in Cluj and in Sibiu.

While Saxon towns introduced strict regulations on burials in the church, which were softened due to the influence of the actual practice, the town management in Cluj ended up

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entirely rejecting the custom. Though a few ledgers are known from the later Calvinist church, most of the memorials originate from the public cemeteries between the two city walls and outside the town. The main class and the type of the memorials was determined by the spatial context: small plaques on the ashlars of the wall and headstones or coffin-shape stones from the cemetery. The latter types characterize the Calvinist Cemetery in Târgu Mureş as well. Memorials in the cemeteries were decorated with simple urban heraldry, if at all. Local masters provided the market in Cluj and nearby, and they provided Târgu Mureş too.

In Cluj, the families from among the town elite do appear among the subjects, but hardly anyone from the members of the town leadership, they constitute less than 5% of all subjects. The group of subjects is dominated by craftsmen, and, in contrast with the Saxon towns, nobles living within the walls are also represented both in Cluj and in Târgu Mureş. It was not infrequent to have more than one subject, and most often these were siblings, often infants or children, sometimes also with a parent. In this respect, there is a big contrast between Cluj and Sibiu where hardly any children appear on the memorials, while Braşov is somewhere half way between the two. However, the trend to mark old age on funeral monuments can be detected in every town. In Cluj, the form or decoration of the tombs did not differ, no matter if they were set up for a child or a judge.

Another characteristic difference between the three areas concerns the indication of the patrons. They quite frequently included the patron into the inscription in the *Königsboden*, but hardly ever in Braşov and Cluj. In Braşov, most of the ledgers from before the fire did not belong to a single person, so neither did they provide an opportunity to patrons for a personal display. In Cluj, the reason for giving up the custom of indicating the patron of the memorial might be connected to the change in the spatial context of the burial and commemoration: in a cemetery, visitors did not see the complete set of gravestones as they entered, but they probably walked to specific graves, mostly those of their own dead. The audience of the gravestones shifted from the entire churchgoing community towards the family, so the role of the stones in the social display of patronage must have decreased. This also explains the phenomenon that demands toward the tomb makers were apparently not very high, even on behalf of those members of the elite who appear among the subjects. Grave markers were not too expensive, and the whole market became more “democratic”, complying with the idea of the public cemetery. All these observations support the idea that the missing part of the Cluj elite must have followed the regulations, and most of them were probably also interred there in the cemetery. Their share among the surviving subjects probably reflects their share among the original subjects, which would imply that several hundreds of gravestones were lost from the

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Central Cemetery before the first surveys in the early twentieth century, also due to the competition between the distinct ethnic and religious communities using the graveyard. In Târgu Mureş, the small surviving sample partly resulted from a conscious selection by the single—Hungarian, Calvinist—community of the cemetery, who preserved and renovated the memorials of their prominent early modern town leaders. The same conscious efforts can be recognized in Sibiu, which has always had a special status among the Saxon towns. This status clearly influenced the early modern customs of commemorations as well as the later history of the memorials. In Braşov, this continuity was interrupted by the fire in 1698, and, though there were some conscious efforts in the eighteenth century to revive the traditions, the overall picture is much less concise than in Sibiu.

Funeral monuments in the church meant a considerable financial investment, but in exchange, the memorials were acknowledged by the entire community during the weekly liturgy and this also affected in a certain extent the churchyards, especially that of the parish church. The Saxon elite paid a high price for remaining visible through their social status and relations presented by the arrangement of the space, the forms, images, and texts. Public cemeteries were, however, situated on the margins of the settlements, and people went there only for funerals or to visit certain graves, as a deliberate act of commemoration. Burghers in Cluj, apparently including the elite, chose to give up public social display at their burial sites. Consequently, their grave markers were much less efficient in presenting and confirming social status towards the community, but they shifted towards the sphere of private commemoration, displaying private loss and faith in the salvation of their beloved.

4.4. Funeral monuments of the clergy

4.4.1. The clergy in the principality

A series of fourteenth and fifteenth-century bishop's gravestones are on display in the floor of the Alba Iulia cathedral, the see of the medieval bishopric.[1082] The most recent one, and the earliest piece in my catalog, commemorated Bishop Johannes Statileo, who died in 1542 (Cat. No. 16). After this, the properties of the bishopric were taken over by the ruler of the new Transylvanian state.[1083] Parallel with this, the Protestant Reformation reached Transylvania,

[1082] Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 469-470.
[1083] In 1553, Ferdinand of Habsburg appointed Pál Bornemisza as Catholic bishop, but he had to leave the country in a year, and the episcopal palace became again the princely residence. There was a second attempt to restore the bishopric between 1598 and 1604, by the appointment of Demeter Náprágyi. Keul, *Early Modern Religious Communities*, 87-88, 178-179.

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and the organization of religious life became more and more complex. Though the Diet recognized Catholicism and there were some Catholics, primarily among the nobility and the Székely, the only member of the Catholic clergy whose memorial survived from between 1540 and 1700 is Bishop Statileo. Jesuits and Franciscans provided sites for the burial and funeral monuments of the Catholics, but no monk's funeral monument is known. In contrast, the entire spectrum of Protestant clergy is represented by their memorials. This spectrum broadened with time as various branches of the religious reform appeared and became institutionalized in Transylvania.

The Lutheran Church was organized soon after the new theological ideas reached the region. The provostship of Sibiu and the Burzenland chapter had been exempt from the bishopric since the Middle Ages, which made it easier for the Saxon University to opt for the Lutheran orientation on behalf of the entire community.[1084] This happened in 1544, after the largest Saxon towns one by one turned towards Lutheran teachings, and they were followed also by Cluj in 1551. The synod of Transylvanian Lutherans elected Paul Wiener, pastor in Sibiu, as their first bishop called superintendent, and from that time on, the synod had exclusive rights to decide on the person of the superintendents.[1085] After Wiener's death, however, two pastors were elected parallel as his successor: Matthias Hebler in Sibiu (Cat. No. 227) and Ferenc Dávid (in German, Franz Hertel) from Cluj. Finally, the general synod of Saxon and Hungarian Lutherans decided in 1557 to establish a separate, Hungarian Lutheran superintendence headed by Dávid.[1086]

Two years later Dávid resigned, since he had turned towards the ideas of the Swiss Reform by that time, which had reached Transylvania from Eastern Hungary, mostly from the town of Debrecen. They were called Sacramentalists, since the major difference in their view compared to the Lutherans was that they denied the real presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist. Sacramentalist ideas were accepted by the synod in 1559, and in 1664, one more new Transylvanian church was founded, this time a Calvinist one.[1087] Calvinist synods established their own church hierarchy from the 1560s. Congregations in Transylvania and in the Partium

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[1084] See Konrad Gündisch, "Die "Geistliche Universität" der Sächsischen-Kirchengemeinden im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert," in *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur in Siebenbürgen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Volker Leppin and Urlich A. Wien (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005), 105-114.
[1085] Keul, *Early Modern Religious Communities*, 26, 63-73, 75, 78-79, 86-87.
[1086] Ibid., 89-90, 96. Thomas Bomelius (Cat. No. 292) (council secretary of the *Nationsuniversität*) was sent to Wittenberg to have the text of the Consensus reviewed by Melanchton. The decree on religious affairs was passed in March 1558 by the Diet at Turda.
[1087] Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, 11-12, 244; Keul, *Early Modern Religious Communities*, 73-77, 96-98.

were organized into two provinces, both headed by a respective superintendent and broken up to districts.[1088]

The Calvinist church had mostly Hungarian members, but some of the leaders were originally Saxons, for example Dávid himself, and not all Hungarians became Calvinists.[1089] Priests could preach their own views, and the faithful could choose which priest to follow. Since a single community could include adherents of more than one church, the Diet ordered that the church buildings should be used by the denomination that constituted the local majority, but they also had to provide a building for the minority. Landowners as well had to respect the confessional choice of the community when introducing a priest.[1090]

The process of Transylvanian church formation did not stop here. Influenced by some foreign Antitrinitarian thinkers in the court of the Prince, Dávid started to preach along these lines from 1565. The ideas were quickly accepted in towns (first in Cluj), by members of the nobility, and they also attracted the ruler himself, John Sigismund.[1091] The Transylvanian Hungarian superintendence adopted an Antitrinitarian creed. However, the new Prince, István Báthory, intended to put an end to the multiplication of religions at this point, and the Diet banned all further theological innovations in 1572. The structure and doctrines of the Antitrinitarian church became standardized from the late 1570s, after Dávid was imprisoned for acting against the ban, and a new superintendent was elected.[1092]

The clergy of the three Protestant churches represented varying positions on the theological spectrum; the crystallization of the dogmas took a long time and was not without challenges in either case. The religious preferences of the actual princes influenced to a great extent the status of the various churches.[1093] The acceptance of Antitrinitarianism in

[1088] Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, 17-19; Edit Szegedi, "The Reformation in Transylvania. New Denominational Identities," in *The History of Transylvania. Vol. 2: From 1541 to 1711*, ed. Ioan -Aurel Pop, Thomas Nägler, and András Magyari (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Academiei Române, 2005), 234.
[1089] Szegedi, "Sächsische Identität im Klausenburg des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts," 19.
[1090] Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, 16-17, 110-111, 141; Keul, *Early Modern Religious Communities*, 111.
[1091] Edit Szegedi, "Die Reformation in Klausenburg," in *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur in Siebenbürgen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Volker Leppin and Ulrich A. Wien (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005), 86-87.
[1092] Balázs, *Early Transylvanian Antitrinitarianism*; Keul, *Early Modern Religious Communities*, 106-110, 121-122, 248.
[1093] This issue has been broadly discussed by scholarship under the term "confessionalization." For a brief summary in the context, see Wolfgang Reinhard, "Was ist katholische Konfessionalisierung?" in *Katholische Konfessionalisierung: wissenschaftliches Symposion der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum und des Vereins r Reformationsgeschichte 1993*, ed. Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling, Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 198 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1995), 419-452; Maria Crăciun, "Superstition and Religious Differences in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Transylvania," in *Frontiers of Faith. Religious Exchange and the Constitution of Religious Identities 1400-1750*, ed. Eszter Andor and István György Tóth (Budapest - Strasbourg: Central European University, European Science Foundation, 2001), 214-215.

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Transylvania was largely due to the support of John Sigismund. The Báthory princes were Catholic, so they did everything in their power to re-establish Catholicism. Prince Gábor Bethlen and Györgi Rákóczi I were supporters of the Reformed church, whose social power increased considerably by the first half of the seventeenth century. In 1629, the Reformed clergy was even ennobled as a group,[1094] and the Saxon Lutheran pastors were also able to get exemption from the tithe.[1095] The position of the Saxon Lutheran church was closely tied to that of the entire Saxon University, their religion was a crucial element in the identity and integrity of the Saxon nation.

The officially accepted churches were called Catholic (or Roman), Lutheran, Calvinist, and Arian by the late sixteenth century; later the latter two were named Reformed and Unitarian respectively.[1096] In addition to these, Orthodoxy had also been present in Transylvania since the Middle Ages, mostly among the Romanian population, and the freedom of worship applied to them as well, but no funeral monument of any Orthodox priest has survived.[1097] There is one more group that has to be mentioned here: theologians outside the recognized religions. The ban of the Diet on any further religious innovation in 1572 targeted primarily the non-adorationist theologians who had appeared in Transylvania by that time. Still, their ideas attracted some nobles, who took certain radical thinkers under their own protection. This happened to Jacob Palaeologus, who found asylum in the court of János Gerendi in the 1570s, and whose daughter died there as testified by her surviving funeral monument (Cat. No. 21).[1098] Paleologus was originally a Dominican monk from the island of Chios and considered himself a descendant of the Byzantine emperors. Since he was repeatedly charged by the Inquisition from 1557, he sought asylum first in Prague, then in Cracow. He established contacts with the Transylvanian Antitrinitarian movement already that time, and his stays in Transylvania were documented between 1572 and 1575, mostly in Cluj and Alţâna. The latter was the estate of János Gerendi, an Antitrinitarian noblemen and supporter of Paleologus, and, as the tomb inscription says, this is where his daughter, Despina was born and died.

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[1094] Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, 39-42.
[1095] Nägler, *Marktort und Bischofssitz Birthälm in Siebenbürgen*, 539-541.
[1096] Keul, *Early Modern Religious Communities*, 122, footnote 113.
[1097] Radu Mârza, "Die orthodoxe Kirche der Rumänen aus Siebenbürgen: Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur in Siebenbürgen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Volker Leppin and Urlich A. Wien (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005), 179-190; Keul, *Early Modern Religious Communities*, 188-196. By the mid-seventeenth century, there were several Romanian Reformed communities, but the majority remained Orthodox.
[1098] On Palaeologus in Transylvania, see Balázs, *Early Transylvanian Antitrinitarianism*; Gündisch, "Zum siebenbürgischen Aufenthalt des Jacobus Palaeologus," 71-79.

4.4.2. Funeral monuments of the clergy in Transylvania

Since the clergy is treated here as a social layer from the point of view of commemorative practices, memorials of their wives and children members are also counted in this group, which thus includes 61 funeral monuments. These were set up for 55 priests from the sixteenth and seventeenth century and 23 family members of priests. 48 of the 55 priests were Lutherans, three and probably one more Calvinists (or less likely Antitrinitarian),[1099] two Antitrinitarians,[1100] and only one Catholic, bishop Johannes Statileo (Cat. No. 16). Three more memorials were set up for family members of Calvinist priests and five more for Lutheran family members.[1101] The above-mentioned Despina, daughter of Jacob Paleologus also belongs here, though her father was situated outside the official church structures.

As Chart 4.7 shows, the Lutheran clergy is overrepresented among the surviving funeral monuments compared to the other denominations. Even if we include those known funeral monuments of priests that have already been lost, it does not change the picture considerably. In Cluj, there were seven more priests' gravestones in the Central Cemetery lost by now, five of which were Antitrinitarian. In Sibiu, there were six more Lutheran priests among the subjects and three more family members. Unfortunately, the relatively low number of preserved funeral monuments does not allow to examine any changes in the trends.

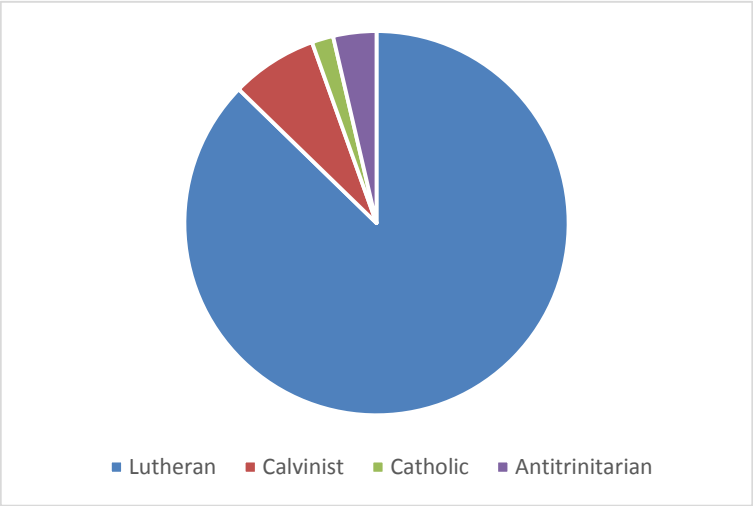

Chart 4.7. Denominational distribution of priests on the surviving memorials

Though most of the priests were commemorated with a separate funeral monument, there were some exceptions. Martinus Rosalerus and Peter Wolf appeared together with their wives; in the

[1099] Cat. No. 116, 140, 271, 309
[1100] Cat. No. 119, 127
[1101] Cat. No. 103, 151, and 270; Cat. No. 49, 55, 133, 157, and 165

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case of the latter she was the first wife who had passed away before. Johann Plecker died in the same year as his father, Peter, and a common ledger was set up for them. Daniel Klein was commemorated with a separate memorial, but almost a decade later they added his grandson bearing the same name as a secondary subject.[1102]

Priests were also added as secondary subjects to earlier funeral monuments. In Bratei and Prejmer, they re-used an older priest's memorial. In Cluj, a mid-seventeenth-century Unitarian priest's tomb was used for another priest two decades later; unfortunately, this stone has been lost by now.[1103] This custom continued into the eighteenth and nineteenth century as well, for example, in Hârman, where the ledger of Andreas Schoppelius (d. 1694) was complemented in 1733 with the name of another priest called Franciscus. The family memorial of a Calvinist or Antitrinitarian priest in Turea with his mother and children, bears the secondary text *IT NYUGSZIK T. T. BERECZKI JANOS UR 1852* ("Here lies the respectable pastor, sir János Bereczki 1852").[1104]

The memorials they re-used were not even always from among the ranks of the clergy: Petrus Gagesch (d. 1660) was pastor in Râșnov, and after he was buried in Braşov, he was commemorated on an earlier ledger of the Sadler family. The ledger of Anna, wife of Michael May, pastor in Cristian, displays the life-size portrait of the lady, but even this did not bother those who added a commemorative text about the pastor Marcus Franciscus in 1719.[1105] Priests' funeral monuments were also complemented with secondary names from outside the clergy. This kind of secondary use was especially frequent in and nearby Braşov; the trend in this respect does not differ from that among the burghers in general.[1106]

Anna May's ledger leads to the memorials of priests' family members. Including this one, three funeral monuments were set up for a priest's wife: two are figural ledgers from a Lutheran context and one is a coped stone from a cemetery nearby Cluj.[1107] A ledger in Braşov also starts with the name of a pastor's wife, but it was continued listing some other subjects who may or may have not been related to Catharina Augustin (d. 1660). In Cluj, Kata Szalai, wife of the Calvinist priest Mihály Szatmárnémethi was commemorated with her child (both d. 1697), and the rear side of the coped stone was used secondarily in 1820.[1108] Two memorials testify that they set up separate funeral monuments for children also among the clergy, though

[1102] Saschiz, Cat. No. 197; Sibiu, Cat. No. 245; Braşov, Cat. No. 46; Sibiu, Cat. No. 256
[1103] Cat. No. 63 and 178; Kovács, "Unitárius nagyjaink sírjai a házsongárdi temetőben," 101.
[1104] Cat. No. 156 and 309
[1105] Cat. No. 55 and 133
[1106] Cat. No. 46, 49, 157
[1107] Cat. No. 133 and 165; Cat. No. 151
[1108] Cat. No. 49; Cat. No. 103

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both are exceptional cases in a certain respect. One is the above-mentioned Despina Paleologa, the other one is the three daughters of a Calvinist bishop, Gáspár Tiszabecsi who probably died in the same year, 1678, since only one date appears on their common coped stone.[1109]

4.4.3. Office, social status, and age

Each accepted religion was headed by bishops who were called superintendents in the Protestant churches. As mentioned above, the Catholic Church did not have a bishop in Transylvania after the death of Johann Statileo, whose funeral monument closes a series of medieval bishopric memorials in Alba Iulia.[1110]

From the 1560s, the Reformed church hierarchy of administration was established by their synods. Congregations were organized into local districts headed by elected archdeacons or seniors (*esperes*), and the districts formed church regions or provinces (*egyházkerület*) led by superintendents. The Transylvanian Reformed Province incorporated nine districts, while the Partium region belonged to the Eastern Tisza Province with fourteen districts by the early seventeenth century, together with the eastern area of the Kingdom of Hungary.[1111] No funeral monument of the bishops of this latter province survived in the territory of the principality. In the Transylvanian Province, sixteen Calvinist bishops served before 1700, and the funeral monuments of three have been preserved.[1112]

None of the fourteen Antitrinitarian bishops' funeral monuments has survived, though two of them were still seen in the Central Cemetery in Cluj in the first part of the twentieth century.[1113] Sámuel Járai, whose coffin-shape gravestone is in the same cemetery, was archdeacon of Kolozs and Doboka County. The coped stone of Andreas Lachovius was taken also from there to the Unitarian church in Cluj.[1114] Lachovius (or Andrzej Lachowski) was a Polish Antitrinitarian priest who took his community from Lusławice to Transylvania seeking

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[1109] Cat. No. 21 and 270
[1110] Cat. No. 16.
[1111] Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, 17-19.
[1112] Péter Kovásznai, Cat. No. 116; Sándor András Tordai, Cat. No.140; Gáspár Tiszabecsi, Cat. No. 271 as well as his three daughters, Cat. No. 270. For a complete list of bishops, see György Jakubinyi, ed. *României katolikus, erdélyi protestáns és izraelita vallási archontológia* (A Romanian Catholic, Transylvanian Protestant, and Israelite religious anthology) (Cluj-Napoca: Verbum, 2010), 131-132.
[1113] Pál Csanádi and Boldizsár Nagysolymosi Koncz; see János Herepei, "Csanádi Pál, az unitárius püspök, orvos és egy régi gyökerű temetkezési szokásunk" (Pál Csanádi Pál, Unitarian bishop, physician, and an ancient funerary custom), *Keresztény Magvető* 91, no. 3 (1985): 152-162; Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 193-202; Kovács, "Unitárius nagyjaink sírjai a házsongárdi temetőben," 102. For a complete list of the bishops, see Jakubinyi, *României katolikus, erdélyi protestáns és izraelita vallási archontológia*, 137-138.
[1114] Cat. No. 119; Cat. No. 127

asylum after their religious practice was banned in their home country.[1115] Lachovius was soon elected as school rector in Cluj and he was buried in the Central Cemetery after his death.

Lutheran bishops' memorials survived at a much higher rate: nine of the sixteen bishops' who served before 1700.[1116] An important change took place in 1572, when Lucas Unglerus, the pastor in Biertan was elected as superintendent, and from that time on, the center of the superintendence was in Biertan and not in Sibiu. This resulted in a series of Lutheran bishops' monuments set up in Biertan.[1117] In addition, four deans' funeral monuments have been preserved. Deans headed the deaneries (*Dekanate*, *esperesség*), units in which Lutheran congregations were organized.[1118] Most of the subjects from among the ranks of the Lutheran clergy were, however, pastors in towns and villages. They generally served at more than one settlement during their career, sometimes even at an entire range of them, which were often not even situated in the same region within Transylvania.

Priests came from various social layers. Bishop Cristian Barth was the son of a tenant peasant,[1119] Christian Schaeseaus' father was judge in Mediaş.[1120] The father of Petrus Fronius was a lawyer who held various town offices in Brasov,[1121] and the father of Franz Salicaeus, Servatius Weidner was steward in Sibiu.[1122] Clerical dynasties were not unusual either. The Antitrinitarian Sámuel Járai's father himself was an Antitrinitarian priest.[1123] Matthias Hebler was also son of another Lutheran pastor, Andreas Hebler.[1124] Children of some families of clerics entered the town elite, such as the son of Georg Glockner, who was a member of the town council, and his son became the mayor in 1754. The pastor's daughter married the royal judge Valentin Frank.[1125]

[1115] Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 383-385; Norbert Rácz, "Otthonra lelni a hitben. Rövid emlékezés Lachovius Andrásra (1627–1691) és az Erdélyben letelepedett lengyel unitáriusokra" (Finding home in faith. A brief commemoration of András Lachovius and the Polish Unitarians who settled in Transylvania), *Unitárius Közlöny* 24 (84), no. 3 (1990): 11-13.
[1116] Cat. No. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 227. For the full list of bishops, see Seivert, "Skizze der Superintendenten," 1-35.
[1117] Cat. No. 25-31; Lucas Unglerus: Cat. No. 29
[1118] Michael Conradus and Martinus Rosalerus were deans in Saschiz (Cat. No. 197-198). Thomas Bomelius was Dean of the Sibiu Chapter (Cat. No. 292). Franz Salicaeus Dean General, he brought the Reformation to Biertan (Cat. No. 24). See Gustav Gündisch, "Franz Salicäus. Ein Beitrag zur Reformationsgeschichte Siebenbürgens" in *Geschichtswirklichkeit und Glaubensbewährung. Festschrift für Bischof D. Dr. h. c. Friedrich Müller*, ed. Franklin Clark Fry (Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagwerk, 1967), 204-219.
[1119] Cat. No. 27; see Salzer, *Der königl. freie Markt Birthälm*, 402; Nägler, *Marktort und Bischofssitz Birthälm in Siebenbürgen*, 541.
[1120] Cat. No. 164; see Szabó and Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban*, 34.
[1121] Cat. No. 178; see ibid., 227.
[1122] Cat. No. 24; see ibid., 52.
[1123] Cat. No. 119; see Gaal, *Tört kövön és porladó kereszten*, 93.
[1124] Cat. No. 227; see Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 6-67, Cat. No. 62.
[1125] Cat. No. 223; see ibid., 195-196, cat. No. 212. and 229-230, Cat. No. 260.

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The most characteristic feature that distinguished this layer within the Transylvanian society was their education: they constituted the absolute majority of those who attended foreign universities, since peregrination was not widespread among the Transylvanian nobility. The layer of intellectuals, even intellectual families, was a new phenomenon after the Reformation. The dominant ethnic group among the Transylvanian university students was the Saxons, who constituted more than 57%, meaning 1653 students in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[1126] While in the Middle Ages, the main targets were Prague, Vienna, and Cracow, students chose from a broader range of institutions from the sixteenth century: they visited 55 universities or academies before 1700. However, still 30% went to Wittenberg, especially the Lutheran Saxons. Other popular destinations were Franeker, Leiden, Vienna, Frankfurt an der Oder, Königsberg, Toruń, Heidelberg, Utrecht, Strasburg, Leipzig, Cracow, Jena, and Göttingen. Typically, they attended no more than one university due to their limited financial means, though there were some exceptions.[1127] Most of the university students came from the towns, and most of them continued their career as teachers, physicians, administrative officers, or priests.[1128]

Several priests are known for their literary activity as well, even among the subjects of the funeral monuments. The epitaph verse on the memorial of Georg Melas presents him as a poet. His name appears on the gravestone of Agatha Jung and on that of the priest Petrus Calopeus, where he might have been the author of the texts (in the latter case maybe also the patron). Probably he wrote the grave poetry of his own wife as well.[1129] Christian Schaeseaus and Thomas Bordan are also known for their literary works.[1130] Schaeseaus was called *poeta laureatus* on his ledger, and the epitaph verse also refers to his activity as an author. Simon Kirscher compiled a diary, Thomas Bomelius a law collection.[1131]

[1126] Sándor Tonk and Miklós Szabó, "Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a középkor és a kora újkor folyamán" (Transylvanians attending universities in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period), in *Régi és új peregrináció. Magyarok külföldön és külföldiek Magyarországon (A III. nemzetközi Hungarológiai Kongresszuson – Szeged 1991. augusztus 12–16. – elhangzott előadások)* (Old and new peregrination. Hungarians abroad and foreigners in Hungary. Papers presented at the 3rd International Congress in Hungarology in Szeged on August 12-16 1991), ed. Imre Békési (Budapest, Szeged: Nemzetközi Magyar Filológiai Társaság, 1993), 497-498; see also Sándor Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a középkorban* (Transylvanians attending universities in the Middle Ages) (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1979).
[1127] E.g. Cat. No. 27, 116, 224, 256, and 271
[1128] Tonk and Szabó, "Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a középkor és a kora újkor folyamán," For the database, see Szabó and Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban*. See also Sándor Tonk, "Siebenbürgische Studenten an den ausländischen Universitäten" in *Beiträge zur siebenbürgische Schulgeschichte*, ed. Walter König (Cologne - Weimar - Vienna: Böhlau, 1996), 113-125.
[1129] Cat. No. 242; 226, and 149; see Roth, *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik*, 126; Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 59, 73.
[1130] Cat. No. 291, 164.
[1131] Cat. No. 166, 292.

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The funeral monument of 34 of the 55 priests indicates their age at death. 28 of these were over fifty years old, and 12 even over sixty, which suggests here as well—similarly to the burghers—that they attributed a special significance to old age. This is sometimes explicitly formulated in the inscriptions. Bishop Lucas Unglerus lived seventy-four years, and "his life showed him as a worthy man, his long lifespan as even worthier."[1132] The same element appears twice on the memorial of Zacharias Weirauch, who was seventy-nine at his death: "This is a tomb rendered venerable by the teaching, the old age, and the piety of the man…" on which he is called "the very old shepherd of the flock of the faithful church of Christ" in the epitaph verse.[1133] The inscription on Johann Teutsch's memorial says that "he was found worthy to live up to a Nestorian old age."[1134]

4.4.4. The place of commemoration

As it is testified by the funeral monuments, priests in general were buried at the last place of their service, though there are also some exceptions among the Lutheran clergy. The series of ledgers in Sibiu contains several memorials set up for priests who did not serve in Sibiu at all or who ended their career somewhere else. Georg Glockner was a preacher in Sibiu, but later became a pastor in Șura Mare and Slimnic, Petrus Molnar served in Șelimbăr and Cisnădie, Georgius Hann also in Șelimbăr, and Daniel Klein in Cristian.[1135] Another priest called Georgius also has a memorial in Sibiu, where he probably did not serve at all.[1136] The phenomenon was not unique for Sibiu among the large urban centers: for example, the name of Petrus Gagesch, who was pastor in Râșnov and died in Rotbav according to the inscription, was carved on the ledger of the Sadler family in Braşov (Cat. No. 55). Family members of priests were buried where the priest served at the time of their death. Barbara Theilesius died when his husband was in Mediaş. Since Georg Theilesius became a bishop later, he himself was buried

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[1132] *DIGNVS ERAT VITA LONGO DIGNISSIMVS AEVO NEC POTVIT LACHESIS, VIM SVPERARE TRVCIS*. Cat. No. 29

[1133] *TUMBA VIRI DOCTRINA CANIC[IE] PIETATEQ(VE) VENERANDA CLARISS(IMI) D(OMINI) ZACHARIAE WEIRAVCH PASTORIS EC[CCLE(SIAE) BIRTHALBENS(IS); DECREPITVS IACET HIC CVSTOS GREGIS ECCE FIDELIS CHRISTI*. Cat. No. 30

[1134] *NESTORIOS DIGNVS VIVERE POSSE DIES*. Cat. No. 40

[1135] Cat. No. 223, 252, 253 and 256

[1136] He was not listed by Johann Seivert, "Die Pfarrer des Hermannstädtischen Kapitels seit 1327 bis auf unsere Zeiten," *Siebenbürgische Provinzialblätter* 2-3 (1807-1808): 103-113. Several represented by funerary monuments now lost were not active in Sibiu: Lucas Löw from Câlnic, Michael Mallen from Cincșor, Stephan Waldhuten from Cisnădie (he was Dean of the Sibiu Chapter), Georg Klein from Nou Săsesc, Georg Lang also from Cisnădie, Samuel Schnitzler from Nou Săsesc (his father was Jakob Schnitzler, pastor in Sibiu). See Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, Cat. No. 86, 88-89; Cat. No. 115, 112; Cat. No. 121, 115; Cat. No. 126, 118-119; Cat. No. 137, 128-129; Cat. No. 147,138; Cat. No. 261,231-232; Cat. No. 261, 231-232.

in Biertan, and his funeral monument is still there, but he arranged to set up a memorial for his late wife in the Lutheran parish church in Mediaş.[1137]

The parish church in Sibiu clearly had a prestige as a burial site for the Lutheran clergy, even if the memorials of the Lutheran bishops were not there, except for one, Mathias Hebler, who served before the bishopric was moved to Biertan in 1572 (Cat. No. 227). Hebler's follower, Lucas Unglerus died in 1600, and his ledger is the first in a series of bishops' monuments in Biertan which were originally situated in the floor, in the choir of the church.[1138]

There is rarely any information on the original location of priests' monuments within the church, but where it can be traced back, it was usually inserted into the floor in the choir.[1139] This arrangement is rooted in the medieval "sacred topography" of the church space, which will be presented in more detail in the next chapter. In Braşov, the deceased pastors were placed in a large vault in front of the altar covered by a stone slab that could be moved by two bronze rings. As it was recorded in the nineteenth century, when a pastor died, they removed the remains of his predecessor and placed it into another grave in the church. There was a pastors' grave also in the middle of the second row from the altar, including Simon Albelius and Marcus Fronius, so this was probably covered with their common memorial from the eighteenth century (Figure 17). Eighteenth-century pastors were buried in the third row of graves as well.[1140] In Sibiu, pastors were buried not only in the choir but also in the western space of the church called *Ferula*, and in the late seventeenth century, some memorials were recorded in the nave and in the aisles as well.[1141] The ledger of Franz Salicaeus, pastor of Biertan who introduced the religious reform there, was also found the nave, in front of the northern entrance, and not in the choir with the bishops' monuments.[1142]

It is a characteristic phenomenon that all non-Lutheran Protestant priests in Transylvania, even bishops, were buried and commemorated outside church buildings, in churchyards and public cemeteries, based on the type of their funeral monuments. The only exception was the Calvinist bishop Sándor András Tordai, whose sixteenth-century ledger originates from the medieval Calvinist church in Deva (Cat. No. 140). Since the Calvinist bishopric had no fixed center, no such series of bishops' memorials evolved as in Biertan.

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[1137] Cat. No. 26 and 165
[1138] Cat. No. 25-31. See Müller, "Die evangelische Kirche in Birthälm," 208, 213.
[1139] Cat. No. 291-292 in Slimnic, see Roth, *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik*, 85. Cat. No. 150 in Dobârca, see Halaváts, "Úti jegyzetek," 220.
[1140] Gross, "Die Gräber in der Kronstadter Stadtpfarrkirche," 133-135.
[1141] Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 330-340. Ioan Albu complemented the information with eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sources to reconstruct the order of the graves. See ibid., xxvi, xxix-xxxiii; Albu, "Taxe de înmormântare în Sibiul," 264-265.
[1142] Müller, "Die evangelische Kirche in Birthälm," 208; Salzer, *Der königl. freie Markt Birthälm*, 388.

Funeral monuments of Antitrinitarian and Calvinist priests all survived at their last place of service, which is only Cluj in the case of the first group, where all known priests' gravestones stood in the Central Cemetery. Bishop Gáspár Tiszabecsi had his grave in the churchyard in Sic, and he had a coped stone installed there for his three daughters as well. The remaining two gravestones for clergy or their family members were found in the churchyard in Turea and Gilău respectively.[1143]

This difference in the typical location of Lutheran and Calvinist or Antitrinitarian funeral monuments can serve as an explanation for the enormous difference in their survival rate, though the question remains the same as in the case of the patterns observed in the commemoration of the town elite. Does the difference between the numbers in Cluj and Saxon towns, that is, between an Antitrinitarian-Calvinist and Lutheran context result from the fact that the bulk of the material comes from cemeteries in one case and from the main parish church in the other? Is it possible that the clergy in Cluj also used the churches just their memorials did not survive? Since the difference in the number of priests' monuments is even more dramatic than in the case of burghers in general, it is worth to examine whether religious considerations played any part in the formation of the picture, which will be done in *Chapter 5*.

4.4.5. Patrons of the funeral monuments

The phenomenon that fourteen memorials from the ranks of the clergy identify the person who set them up, suggests that this act was considered an important one in this layer. This statement stands mostly for the Lutherans, since eleven of these inscriptions were displayed in a Lutheran environment. Ten funeral monuments indicating the patron commemorate priests and four were set up for family members of priests.

It was their wife who most often took care of the pastors' memorials, sometimes acting together with their children.[1144] Martinus Rosalerus and Bishop Christian Barth had their own funeral monument prepared still in their lifetime as it is stated in the inscription.[1145] The heirs of Johann, pastor in Bratei did not have a new monument made but they added only an inscription to an old ledger of an earlier priest. Also an heir, Royal Judge Albert Huet was indicated as the patron of the memorial of Georg Melas.[1146] Three pastors appear in the inscriptions on the other side, as patrons of funeral monuments, commemorating their wife (Anna May and Barbara Theilesius) or daughters (of the Reformed Bishop Gáspár

[1143] Cat. No. 270 and 271; Cat. No. 309 and 151
[1144] Cat. No. 25, 31, 149, 180, 201, and 309
[1145] Cat. No. 27 and 197
[1146] Cat. No. 63; Cat. No. 242

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Tiszabecsi).[1147] The radical theologian in asylum, Jacob Paleologus, together with his wife, Eufrosyna set up the memorial of their daughter, grieving for the eagerly expected Despina as it is expressed in the unusually emotional text (Cat. No. 21).

4.4.6. Form and iconography

Most of the memorials from the context of the clergy are ledger stones, 53 of the total 61. The types show a pattern that corresponds to the denominational boundaries: all monuments set up for Lutheran priests and their family members are ledgers, and there is only one ledger from a Calvinist or Antitrinitarian context, that of Bishop Sándor András Tordai (d.1579, Cat. No. 140). This is also the singular memorial of a non-Lutheran, Protestant clergyman from the sixteenth century. The rest, from the seventeenth century, are all coped stones (six, also including female family members) and coffin-shape gravestones (seven).[1148]

Figural memorials

Portrait ledgers seem to be a characteristic form among the Transylvanian clergy. The only memorial of a Catholic priest, Bishop Johannes Statileo is a full-figure portrait ledger, on which he appears in low relief, holding a crozier (Cat. No. 16). Seven full-figure representations of Lutheran priests have survived, three of whom were bishops and four were pastors.[1149] Most of these date from a relatively brief period, between 1638 and 1653, only one was made earlier, and one later.[1150] Portrait ledgers before this period mostly represented the half figure of the deceased, sixteen such pieces have been preserved. All the subjects were members of the Lutheran clergy, three bishops and eleven pastors, complemented with two wives of Lutheran pastors.

The first two portrait memorials, those of Bishop Statileo and Albertus Cerasinus, followed the medieval trend of figural priests' monuments (Cat. No. 16 and 32). Among the Transylvanian clergy, mostly bishops had figural ledgers starting from the mid-fourteenth century, such as the series in the Alba Iulia cathedral. Figural tombs appeared some later among the lower clergy.[1151] Two ledgers survived in Sighişoara from the first half of the sixteenth

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[1147] Cat. No. 133, 165, and 270
[1148] Cat. No. 103, 116, 127, 151, 270, and 309; Cat. No. 119 and 271
[1149] Cat. No. 16, 26, 27, 28, 32, 74, 76, and 148
[1150] Albertus Cerasinus, d. 1564 (Cat. No. 32) and Christian Haasz, d. 1686 (Cat. No. 28)
[1151] Varga and Lővei, "Funerary Art in Medieval Hungary," 131-132, 154; Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 463, 469.

century, both displaying the figure of a priest raising two books in their hands.[1152] The first half-figure image was on the memorial of Petrus Calopeus (d. 1569) who was represented in a rectangular frame, with two oblong ornaments that constitute a niche above his head (Cat. No. 149). The next ledger that follows in time, that of Franciscus Elisius (d. 1592), more precisely, its compositional models help to interpret this ornament as a garland (Cat. No. 181).

The models of half-figure memorials were the epitaphs of northern humanists, a new type that appeared in the first third of the sixteenth century in Vienna. These were the first memorials in early modern Central Europe that did not display any religious imagery but the portrait of the deceased surrounded by elements that refer to his personality and intellectual activity.[1153] The first such epitaphs commemorated the scholar and poet Conrad Celtes (d. 1508) in St. Stephen's Church. The epitaph displayed an architectural and ornamental structure (also bearing the inscriptions) that symbolizes a cathedra, above which the small figure of the scholar appears as if he were delivering a lecture for his audience (Figure 138). The elements of the composition originated from the Roman Antiquity, but misunderstood and re-interpreted; the epitaph did not have a single model, it is an entirely new composition building also on medieval representations of teaching.

Celtes had a memorial made for himself in another media as well, in woodcut, by Hans Burgkmair in 1507. This was created to be sent to scholars and academics among whom he wished to have his memory preserved. Here the portrait occupies most of the space, and Celtes is surrounded by the attributes of a poet (Figure 139).[1154] The upper part of the funeral monument set up for Franciscus Elisius in the Transylvanian Richis clearly follows the composition of this woodcut with the semicircular arch around the figure and scrolls twisted around the arch (Cat. No. 181). The figure is similarly turned left, but all the attributes of the poet were eliminated, as well as the references to the antique literature from the text. Elisius holds a book and a chalice, a symbol of his profession, and the text is exclusively religious, focusing on the eternal life of the Blessed. Since the book is paired with a chalice, it probably refers to the Bible, and not to the subject's own writings as in the case of Celtes. Still, the choice of the model was probably not a coincidence. Through the woodcut memorial, Celtes remained

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[1152] Clemens Baccalaureus (d. 1500) and Stephanus Kalmus (d. 1528). See Melzer, "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg," 106-107,110.
[1153] Ilse E. Friese, "Die Humanisten-Epitaphien im Dom von St. Stephan und die Anfänge der Renaissance-Skulptur in Wien," *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 44 (1989): 53-77.
[1154] Ute Verstegen, "Die Grabdenkmäler der humanistischen Gelehrten - Antikenrezeption im Norden," in *Wege zur Renaissance: Beobachtungen zu den Anfängen neuzeitlicher Kunstauffassung im Rheinland und in den Nachbargebieten um 1500*, ed. Norbert Nussbaum, Claudia Euskirchen, and Stephan Hoppe (Cologne: SH-Verlag, 2003), 291-296.

a part of the discourse within the Humanist scholarly society even after his death: at least three of his disciples used the woodcut as models for their own funeral monument, displaying their own intellectual achievements.[1155] Though in the case of Elisius, the excellence of the deceased was presented in the field of religion, the choice of compositional model might have been a conscious expression of belonging to the same international circle of Humanist scholars. Elisius was educated in Tübingen, his brother attended foreign universities as well,[1156] and perhaps also the unnamed heirs who were indicated in the inscription of the memorial as the patrons.

In the 1590s, a new form of half-figure ledgers appeared in Transylvania, with the monument of pastor Georg Melas (d. 1592, Cat. No. 242), where the portrait was placed in a shell-shaped niche. Another example dates from the same year, the subject of which is not a clergyman, but Johann Bayer, Mayor of Sibiu (Cat. No. 241). The rest of the ledgers with a shell-shape niche were, however, all set up for priests.[1157] The above-mentioned two examples from 1592 were clearly made in two different workshops, but all the others made around 1600-1611, for bishops in Biertan and pastors in Sibiu, display so much resemblance that they are clearly products of the same workshop.

This shell-shape niche motif also originates from the Classical Antiquity, and appeared on the epitaph of Johannes Cuspinian also in the St. Stephen Church in Vienna (Figure 140). Cuspinian was a Humanist scholar and a medical doctor, a disciple of Celtes, who died in 1529. His red marble epitaph is based on Celtes' memorial, but it is different in many respects. Cuspinian, unlike Celtes, was represented in a triple niche with his two consecutive wives and he looks at the observer, with his hands also crossed on a pile of books, his own works.[1158] This latter motif appears on some of the Transylvanian ledgers as well, but the hands of these priests hold only one book that can refer more to the Bible and not to their own literary works.[1159] On Cuspinian's epitaph, an inscription plaque appears beneath the half figure, which was enlarged when adapted to the ledgers. The bottom third part of the composition, the representation of the doctor's family, was eliminated in most of the Transylvanian cases. The only exception is the ledger of Petrus Lupinus (Wolf), where a heraldic motif symbolizing his deceased wife was placed under the inscription plaque (Cat. No. 245). These ledgers are of course quite distant from the Viennese epitaph made six or seven decades before. It is a question how the model

[1155] Ibid., 295.
[1156] Szabó and Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban*, 54.
[1157] Cat. No. 29, 31, 246, 252, and 253
[1158] Verstegen, "Die Grabdenkmäler der humanistischen Gelehrten - Antikenrezeption im Norden," 296-298.
[1159] Cat. No. 31, 242, 245

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reached Transylvania: whether the stone cutter saw the original or some derivates, or through graphic pages that were circulated, as in the case of the Celtes memorial.

These Transylvanian monuments were all ledgers adapting elements of the Humanistic epitaph type, a memorial fixed onto the church wall with proportions that are different from those of a ledger. Transylvania was not the only place where this transformation took place; these epitaph types were widely influential in Europe, and they were simplified and developed locally, in combination with the traditional medieval priests' monuments.[1160] Since the same masters made tombs for the town elite as well, the representational types were adapted for the secular subjects; some examples have already been presented in the relevant part of this chapter.

The workshop dominating the field of funeral monument production in Sibiu in the 1620s—the one characterized by rich ornamental frames incorporating small animal figures—also produced half-figure memorials for priests, adapted to its own style (Cat. No. 30 and 166). The group of portrait ledgers that follows in time, from the 1620s and early 1630s, is connected by their composition, but they also display as many differences as similarities. Michael Oltard, an unknown priest in Mediaş, and Thomas Bordan were all represented under an arch where the spandrels were filled with cherubim heads, holding a Bible, and with another Bible as well as a chalice placed on the top of the consoles or pilasters supporting the arch. In this case, as Maria Crăciun suggested, the book in the hand might also signal the academic education of the deceased, that he was a member of the Humanist intelligentsia.[1161] Probably there is no single correct interpretation in this case, since on the portrait of Franciscus Elisius, both the bible and the chalice were represented in his hands, so the book can refer to the academic education as well as to the priests' profession (Cat. No. 181). The same stands for the garment in which the priests are depicted: they wear the general black magisters' coat and sometimes also a biretta on their head.[1162] Lutheran priests everywhere wore the black robe that referred to their education, and the synod in 1574 prescribed that they should perform the service in an attire "nigro colore, potius utantus, humilitatis signo".[1163]

[1160] For similar examples in Sweden, see Anderson, "Der Tod als Statusbekräftigung. Epitaphien und Gräber einer schwedischen Stadtelite 1650-1770," 47-70.
[1161] Maria Crăciun suggested this about the memorial of Michael Oltard (Cat. No. 203), but the same can be observed on other memorials too, such as Cat. No. 74, 76, 169, and 291. See Maria Crăciun, "Ritual şi recuzită: practica liturgică luterană din Transilvania modernităţii timpurii (secolele XVI-XVII)" (Ritual and Props: Lutheran liturgical practice in early modern Transylvania, sixteenth-seventeenth centuries), *Ars Transsilvaniae*, no. 24 (2014): 149.
[1162] Cat. No. 242 and 245. Where the painting survived, the garment was black: Cat. No. 26, 27, 28, 30, 146, 180, and 203
[1163] Maria Crăciun, "Art, religious diversity and confessional identity in early-modern Transylvania," in *Living with Religious Diversity in Early-Modern Europe*, ed. C. Scott Dixon, Dagmar Freist, and Mark Greengrass (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 149.

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The above-mentioned group of priests' ledgers displays the figure under an arch supported by pilasters or consoles. The arch on pilasters also appeared on Cuspinian's epitaph, as well as on the more rigid representation on the epitaph of Johannes Aventinus in Regensburg (d. 1534; Figure 141), which followed both the woodcut memorial of Celtes and the Cuspinian epitaph as its model. The figures of the two mourning putti sitting on the parapet clearly originate from the latter. As a widespread solution, the mourning putti sitting on the parapet on the Aventinus memorial were turned into cherubim on the Transylvanian ledgers and moved to the upper corners above the arch, also echoing the genii on the woodcut memorial of Konrad Celtes. The ledger of Georg Jüngling, Mayor of Sighişoara displays the same composition, but with the attributes of his own office.[1164]

The memorial that closes this series of half-figure portraits of priests, that of Georg Pelz, is again closer to the models in Vienna, with the figure slightly turned towards the left under the arcade (d. 1638, Cat. No. 180). Pelz is clearly represented alive, while in the rest of the cases, it is not clear whether the priest is teaching with the bible in the hand or lying on his deathbed. In some cases, the eyes were represented open (e.g. Cat. No. 29), but most often it cannot be decided whether it is the eyeballs or the eyelids what we see, since the pupil could also be marked with paint. Still, especially from the 1620s, it seems that the priests were portrayed on their ledgers with closed eyes, after their death, even if their head was framed by an arcade. Barbara Theilesius, wife of Georg Theilesius, later Saxon bishop, was even depicted under an arch, but with her head on a pillow, wearing a characteristic headgear and cloak, with flowers in the hand.[1165]

The same ambiguity of representation characterizes the full-figure portraits of priests that started from the late 1630s, and were produced in the workshop of Elias Nicolai or have been connected to him by the scholarship.[1166] These effigies look similar to the more rigid version of half-figure portraits: the bearded portrait of the priests appears frontally, usually under an arch, with cherubim in the upper corners. They wear the usual long garment and hold a book, sometimes also a cloth in their hand.[1167] Christian Barth, uniquely, was depicted with a huge anchor in his other hand, a symbol of firm faith (Cat. No. 27).

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[1164] Cat. No. 203, 169, 291, and 257
[1165] Cat. No. 165. Fifty years later, the figure of Christian Haasz was provided with a pillow under his head instead of an arcade (Cat. No. 28). The arch has an interpretation that it was originally the representation of a canopy above the bier during the funeral, so in this case, it does not contradict the idea of a lying dead figure with a pillow under the head. See Andrew Butterfield, "Social Structure and the Typology of Funerary Monuments in Early Renaissance Florence" *Res* 26 (1994): 47-70.
[1166] Cat. No. 26, 27, 74, 76, and 148
[1167] Cat. No. 26, 74, 76, 148, and 150

The memorial of Andreas Czeky, also from the 1680s, can be interpreted both as a half-figure and as a full-figure memorial, since two putti hold an inscription panel in front of the priest covering the lower half of his body (Cat. No. 150). Its compositional model was clearly the woodcut memorial of Konrad Celtes, with the two putti in the two lower corners and the genii holding a laurel wreath above his head, but its master also built on the previous series of local priests' monuments.

The two priests' wives with portrait ledgers, the above-mentioned Barbara Theilesius and Anna May, represent rare examples of women with this form of memorial (Cat. No 165, 134). Both ledgers follow the same composition as the half-figure male monuments, and they both preserved traces of paint. The polychrome painting on the portraits contributed to their liveliness—if it is correct to use such term for the representation of the dead—, they were clearly intended to be the likeness of the deceased. This was also phrased on the portrait ledger of Johann Hutter: *Illius Effigies haec, marmor ossa recondit*—"That is his likeness, the marble conceals the bones" (Cat. No. 76)

The memorial of Despina Paleologa, daughter of Jacob Paleologus is also a figural monument, but its form is unique in Transylvania (Cat. No. 21). It displays the swaddled infant in a vegetal environment, and, as presented in *Chapter 3*, its closest analogies are situated in Poland. Since Paleologus came to Transylvania from Cracow, he probably brought the idea to set up such a memorial for his infant daughter from there.

Heraldic monuments

Though the heraldic ledgers of the clergy follow the same compositional models as those of the burghers, their number is much lower compared to the portrait memorials: only twenty pieces. They almost all come from the Lutheran clergy, the only exception is the singular sixteenth-century funeral monument of a Calvinist or Antitrinitarian priest, Bishop Sándor András Tordai in Deva (Cat. No. 140). The next non-Lutheran memorial that follows in time was set up in the 1640s for the Antitrinitarian archdeacon Sámuel Járai, and it is a coffin-shape gravestone (Cat. No. 149). From that time on, all the surviving Calvinist or Antitrinitarian memorials are coped stones and coffin-shape stones, and, since all survived around Cluj, they correspond to the local practice that could be observed in and nearby the town and was presented in the previous part of this chapter.

In contrast, all heraldic memorials of the Lutheran clergy belong to the ledger form. Coats of arms appear in the composition of half- and full-figure ledgers too, in front of the figure or above the shoulders. The heraldry displays the symbols of priests' profession in most

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cases. A book referring to the Bible, but, as discussed above, sometimes probably also to the education of the priest, was the most popular image in every denomination. The heraldry either displayed only the book or a hand holding the book.[1168]

In the heraldic device of Lutheran priests, the book was almost always combined with another symbol of their profession, the chalice; the theological significance of this phenomenon will be explained in the next chapter.[1169] A third liturgical object, the censer, also appears in the symbolic heraldry.[1170] Another group of motives consists of religious symbols, such as the pelican feeding its nestlings or the Agnus Dei.[1171] The Agnus Dei was not only characteristic for the Lutheran context, but it was also applied on the gravestone of the Antitrinitarian Sámuel Járai.[1172] The dove with olive branch was also a popular religious symbol among the Lutherans, which in one case, appears together with Noah's ark.[1173]

Priests, similarly to laypeople in towns, could build their heraldic device also on a personal emblem referring to their name, for example Martinus Rosalerus on roses combined with a heart, Johannes Hutter on a hat with his initials, and Matthias Hebler on roses with his initials.[1174] Roses, however, usually served to symbolize female family members: the wife of Peter Wolf and Zsófia Salattya on her husband's memorial.[1175] Similarly to burghers, priests also used elements from the real heraldry of the nobility: a bird with a ring or horseshoe in its beak, a griffin, or human figures.[1176] The form of the heraldic device was also borrowed from the nobility in some cases, displaying the full heraldry with crest, but exclusively in a Lutheran context.[1177] The heraldry of Calvinist and Antitrinitarian priests was almost always restricted to the representation of a book, and they did not apply any shield underneath, only a wreath around it in the best case. In contrast, funeral monuments of the Lutheran priests displayed heraldic symbols with or without a shield or in a wreath.

Calvinist and Antitrinitarian memorials did not display any additional ornament or symbol besides the simple heraldry, unlike those of the Lutheran priests. The ornaments on the latter were similar motives as in the symbolic heraldry, such as Noah's dove, grape,[1178] but most popularly the chalice and the bible. The latter two were generally depicted on the top of the

[1168] Cat. No. 127, 140, and 271; Cat. No. 270, 274, and 309.
[1169] Cat. No. 35, 36, 40, 63, and 92; the only exception is the memorial of Thomas Bomelius (Cat. No. 292).
[1170] Cat. No. 30
[1171] Cat. No. 25 and 256
[1172] Lutheran examples: Cat. No. 133 and 160; Antitrinitarian: Cat. No. 129.
[1173] Cat. No. 29, 246, 252, 253 and Cat. No. 224
[1174] Cat. No.1 97, 227, and 76.
[1175] Cat. No. 245 and 309
[1176] Cat. No. 46,103, 164, 178, and 172; Cat. No. 26; Cat. No. 32 and 223
[1177] Cat. No. 46, 118, 176, and 223
[1178] Cat. No. 291; Cat. No. 169, in heraldry: Cat. No. 24

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pilasters supporting the arcade, near the head of the priests' portraits, but it could also appear on a heraldic ledger, in a similar position.[1179] Similarly, the Holy Dove was regularly represented above the head of the effigies as well as above the coats of arms.[1180] The pelican feeding its nestlings was also often included into the decoration running around the heraldic and inscription panels, as well as the figure of a phoenix.[1181] Motives belonging to the *vanitas* iconography, death heads, snakes, the "putto with death head" scene represented on the frame of the inscription panels, all warned about the brevity of life and the unavoidable death.[1182]

In Braşov and the nearby area, priests and their family members appear on ledgers that display only inscription, lists of names of the deceased.[1183] These examples also correspond to the local urban form of commemorating the dead.

4.4.7. Text and image

In addition to the usual data, the name, age, and profession, there are some characteristic types of information by which priests were presented by the inscription on funeral monuments, and there seems to be no difference between the denominations in this respect. The inscriptions often inform on the number of years the subject served as a clergyman, either in the commemorative text or in the epitaph verse.[1184] Sometimes they listed also all the places where the priest served,[1185] but even more often they informed the visitors about his place of origin.[1186]

The inscription could also present the role the priest fulfilled in his church. This can be their official status, such as of the Calvinist bishop Péter Kovásznai: "bishop of the church of the orthodox (Calvinist) brothers in Transylvania, in Kolozs County and Kalotaszeg region."[1187] Franciscus Saliceus and Albertus Cerasinus were presented as the reformers of their respective cities: the first "started to spread the right teaching" in Biertan,[1188] while the second was the one "through whom God restored the pure teachings of his Word" in Bistriţa.[1189] Georg

[1179] Cat. No. 28, 74, 76, 169, 203, and 291; Cat. No. 197. Cat. No. 201 is fragmentary but the chalice is still visible.
[1180] Cat. No. 26, 74, and 169; Cat. No. 160, 178, and 197
[1181] Cat. No. 178 and 180, in heraldry: Cat. No. 28 and 74; Cat. No. 169
[1182] Cat. No. 150, 169, 172, 180, 223, and 256
[1183] Cat. No. 51 156, 158, and 198; Cat. No. 49 and 157 for a priest's wife
[1184] In the commemorative text: Cat. No. 26, 74, 148, 150, 156, 160, 180, 181, 197, 198, 199, 203, and 291; in the epitaph verse: Cat. No. 30, 40, and 119.
[1185] E.g. Cat. No. 25 and 150.
[1186] Cat. No. 26 and 76 (in the epitaph verse), 148, 172, 180, and 291. About Petrus Calopeus, the verse tells that he was born in Zlatna but he grew up in Braşov (Cat. No. 149).
[1187] *ECCLESIARVM ORTHODOXARVM IN TRANSYLVANIA EPISCOPVS FRATRVM IN COMITATV KOLOS AC TRACTV KALOTA SZEG* (Cat. No. 116)
[1188] *QVI PRIOR HIC CEP(I)T SPARGERE DOGMA BONVM* (Cat. No. 24)
[1189] *PER QVEM DEVS HAC BENEDICTVS IN VR[BE] RESTITUIT VERBI DOGMATA PVRA SVI* (Cat. No. 32)

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Theilesius was "eager and awe inspiring in spreading Luther's teaching."[1190] Bishop Christian Barth was presented as *firma columna*, firm pillar of his church in the text carved on his funeral monument, which was commissioned by himself still in his lifetime, so, together with some references on his doctrinal correctness, it can be interpreted as a personal credo in front of his contemporaries and the future generations. The iconography with the huge anchor, symbol of firm faith held by the bishop also contributes to the same message (Cat. No. 27). The doctrinal correctness of the pastor was emphasized on the memorial of Paul Whonner as well.[1191]

The above-mentioned monument of Christian Barth is not the only one to convey its message through the interplay of image and text. The whole text on the ledger of Zacharias Weirauch puts the emphasis on his old age and the length of his service as a priest. This service was described through the image of incense offer ("thus iovae"), and the depiction of a liturgical incense burner in his symbolic heraldry corresponds to this image (Cat. No. 30). Christian Schaesaeus received the Poeta Laureata title from the prince, which was pointed out in his epitaph verse, and the laurel wreath appears in his heraldry (Cat. No. 164). Epitaph verses often played with an image or quality evoked by the name of the subject: Petrus Lupinus was not a wolf in his life, but the opposite, a shepherd of the faithful; Christian Barth was Christian both in his name and in deed; Petrus Calopeus followed the Apostle Peter in his vocation; Petrus Rihelius founded his life on rock similarly to his name.[1192] Sara, wife of Martinus Rosalerus, was presented as a white rose in the text, and the rose is the main motif in their heraldry as well.[1193]

The connection between sculpted portrait, heraldry, and text, and the relation of all these to the deceased is discussed by the epitaph verse on the ledger of Franciscus Graefius (Cat. No. 25). The poet contrasted the sculpted image of the face with the mental image presented by the verse and determined the latter as the real image. However, the ledger does not display the priest's portrait but a symbolic heraldry composed of the Bible, a chalice with the host, a bunch of grape, and a pelican feeding the nestlings. Thus, the sculpted image also refers to Graefius' mental qualities, and projects an "image of piety", an "image of faith," interplaying with the poetry.[1194]

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[1190] *FERVIDUS ET GRAVIS DOCUIT QVI DOGMA LUTHERI* (Cat. No. 26)
[1191] *Contegit hoc Saxum clarum pietate Whonerum Qvi cultor Verae Religionis erat*. – "This stone covers Whonner famous for his piety who was a follower of the true faith." (Cat. No. 74)
[1192] Cat. No. 254, 27, 149, and 227
[1193] Cat. No. 197
[1194] *VIS ERGO PRISCAE SPECIMEN PIETATIS AVITAE VIS FIDEI FORMA(M), HVNC RESPICE CVNCTA VIDES* – "Whether you want to see an image of piety which he inherited from his ancestors or you want to see the image of his faith, look at him and you will see it all."

* * *

Almost 90% of the priests whose monument survived were Lutherans, so the analysis can tell more about this group, but the lack of memorials is also a useful information in the case of the other denominations concerning the specific context. There is no more monument of any Catholic priest after Johannes Statileo, since there was no bishopric in Transylvania, and the memorials of missionaries did not survive. Compared to the total number of Lutheran bishops, quite many of their memorials are known. Though there are not too numerous funeral monuments preserved from among the Calvinists and Antitrinitrians in general, the share of bishops is quite high among these too. However, this is far less compared to the total number of acting bishops in the period than among the Lutherans. There was no difference between the general outlook of the monuments of church leaders and simple pastors in any of the denominations, and not even from those of the family members of priests.

Most of the priests were commemorated on a separate funeral monument, but there were some exceptions in the towns, where they re-used priests' memorials or added priests as secondary subjects. Priests were generally buried at the same sites as the town elite. There was no significant difference between their memorials and those of regular burghers either, neither in the Lutheran towns, nor in the Calvinist-Antitrinitarian Cluj and nearby. The only characteristic feature is that figural memorials were more popular among the clergy, even two examples of priests' wives have been preserved. Half-figure ledgers characteristic for the Lutheran clergy evolved based on the model of some Humanists' epitaphs in Vienna, but the compositions and motifs were adapted to the ledger form. In contrast with the Humanist memorials, their religious merits were emphasized about the subjects: their doctrinal correctness, firm faith, tireless service of their flock. The emphasis on old age also belongs to this group of values, since it was seen as the proof of the subjects' merits. However, through the models they chose, as well as sometimes also in the text, their memorials communicated that the deceased belonged to the international "club" of the Humanistic intellectuals. Education was a distinguishing feature of the clergy, and it was greatly emphasized by how they were represented on their memorials, especially on those of the Lutherans. They appear as members of the elite, and funeral monuments defined academic education as the feature that made them members of the elite.[1195]

[1195] On Transylvanian Lutheran synods as assemblies giving place for Humanist discussions of the learned intelligntsia, see Ludwig Binder, "Theologie und Bekenntnis auf Synoden der evang. sächsischen Kirche 1545-1578," in *Reformation, Pietismus, Spiritualität. Beiträge zur siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kirchengeschichte*, ed. Urlich A. Wien, Siebenbürgisches Archiv 41 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2011), 45-47.

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The pattern displayed by the type of memorials corresponds to the denominational boundaries: ledgers among the Lutherans versus coffin-shape or coped gravestones among the rest of the Protestant denominations. The reason lies in the difference between the characteristic place of the burial: church interiors versus cemeteries. In the case of clergy, this distinguishing phenomenon can be observed outside the large urban centers as well. Lutheran pastors were commemorated in churches where they served, while Calvinists and Antitrinitarians in the churchyards. Sibiu—and maybe Braşov—was an exception, where members of the clergy were buried and highlighted by their memorials even if they did not serve there. The parish churches in these two towns were clearly two prestigious burial sites of the Lutheran clergy. Biertan was the sea of the Lutheran bishopric, so a series of bishops' monuments were set up there, which has also been preserved in a significant percentage. Since, however, the Calvinist and Antitrinitarian churches had no fixed centers, no such series evolved there.

In Biertan, the series of funeral monuments commemorating the individual bishops was later turned to some kind of Pantheon of the Lutheran Saxon church open for the visitors, as presented in *Chapter 2*. This contributed to an image of the Saxon church as a powerful and well-organized institution, together with the fortified churches they inherited from the Middle Ages that convey a similar image. The other two Protestant churches did not leave behind such visual sources from the same period when they took shape. The Saxon side had different ideas about how to preserve the memory of its clergy and what kind of image to present to the future, and this strategy proved to be efficient with time.

4.5. Funeral monuments of the nobility

4.5.1. The nobility in Transylvania

Transylvanian nobility owning estates in the Partium, in the seven Transylvanian counties and in the Székely Land, consisted of about 350-400 families by the end of the sixteenth century. These families possessed equal privileges, but their economic status, power, and prestige varied. Some of them had lands in the territory of Habsburg Hungary as well, and it was not unusual that nobles, even families, moved within and between these two states that evolved in the territory of the former, medieval Kingdom of Hungary. These territories were connected by ancient family ties as well as by several newly arranged marriages.[1196]

[1196] See Ionut Costea, "Social Structures" in *The History of Transylvania. Vol. 2: From 1541 to 1711*, ed. Ioan - Aurel Pop, Thomas Nägler, and András Magyari (2005), 200-203, 209-210.

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The main source of income for noble families was their landed property inherited from generation to generation. Lands and serfs' villages clustered around the residence of the family, which was also the economic center of the estate. Most of the landed properties in Transylvania were fragmented, they did not cover large continuous territories. Most of the nobility owned dispersed pieces of land, and they had several small residences. On the other hand, villages were often possessed by more than one noble family, so there were two or more residences in one settlement.[1197] This had a consequence on the patterns of burial sites as well: Transylvanian noble families did not have a single burial place, but their members were interred at various bodies of their estates. The Haller family serves as a good example: their funeral monuments survived in Sibiu, Albeşti and Sânpaul.[1198] On the other hand, various estate owning families used the local village church for generations as their burial sites. This is reflected by the series of funeral monuments, for example, in Fântânele.[1199]

The Princes possessed by far the largest estates in the Transylvanian Principality; their lands served as the basis for their power, and they themselves often came from the wealthiest families.[1200] Some other aristocratic families also exceeded in their wealth and position the rest of the Transylvanian nobility, though it is often emphasized by historiography that even these were relatively poor compared to the aristocracy in Habsburg Hungary. Historical overviews present various lists of the most influential and wealthiest aristocratic families.[1201] From the point of view of this work, almost all of these families are connected by the fact that they are represented among the subjects of the known funeral monuments. The Bánffy and Csáky boasted medieval origins.[1202] The Gyerőffy, Apafi, Mikola, Kendi, and Bethlen of Bethlen families had local roots, while the Pekry, Kamuthy, Kornis, Haller, and Rhédey families moved to Transylvania in the sixteenth century.[1203] The Bethlen of Iktár, Wesselényi and Zólyomi families had most of their estates in the Partium.[1204] These clans formed a close circle interconnected by numerous marriages.

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[1197] Ibid., 207-208.
[1198] Cat. No. 77 and 185-195.
[1199] Cat. No. 305, 306, 307, and 308.
[1200] Klára Papp, "Nemesi társadalom az erdélyi fejedelemségben" (Noble society in the Transylvanian Principality), *Korunk*, no. 3 (2013): 35-36.
[1201] László Makkai and Zoltán Szász, eds., *History of Transylvania. Volume 2. From 1606 to 1830*, Social Science Monographs (Boulder, Colorado: Atlantic Research and Publications, Inc., 2002), 162-164; Costea, "Social Structures," 209-210; Papp, "Nemesi társadalom az erdélyi fejedelemségben," 36-39.
[1202] Cat. No. 2 and 134.
[1203] Cat. No. 7, 66, 71, 72, 105, 115, 130, 131, 132, 135, 142, 143, 163, 173, 185-194, 293, and 294.
[1204] Cat. No. 67 and 182.

4.5.2. Nobles as subjects of funeral monuments

94 of the 314 funeral monuments in the catalog commemorated members of the nobility who owned estates in the Partium, in the seven Transylvanian counties, and in the Székely areas, meaning at least 130 individuals.[1205] Still, it was relatively infrequent in this layer to commemorate more than one person on a tomb, since no more than 17 monuments represented two to six people respectively. No obvious secondary burials were marked; memorials seem to have been considered as finished for good and all when they were set up, they did not continue or complement them afterwards.[1206]

Those people who received a common memorial, were always close relatives whose death was either very close in time,[1207] or the death of a family member served as an opportunity to commemorate those who passed away some time before.[1208] Though matrimonial alliances were an important means to retain and increase the status of the Transylvanian noble families, surprisingly it is relatively infrequent to see spouses represented jointly in their death: there are only two such cases.[1209]

Parent and son or daughter is the most frequent type of family relationship represented on funeral monuments.[1210] All these memorials indicate the year when the parent died, but they do not provide any clue to find out how the death of the children was related to that in time. The only exception is the inscription on ledger of Katalin Bajomi, which says that her son died a few days before her. Siblings seem to have received a common memorial if their death occurred close in time. A single funeral monument commemorated a pair of grown-up brothers: Tamás and Domokos Damokos, who died together a violent death.[1211]

The Apafi tomb chest is a unique piece of family memorial (Cat. No. 66). It was set up on the occasion of the father's and the eldest son's death. However, in addition three infant brothers were also commemorated on the tomb chest who had probably passed away some years

[1205] Six are too fragmentary to determine the number of subjects, so I calculated with at least one person.
[1206] Still, on some of the monuments one can observe a type of secondary inscriptions which is difficult to distinguish from *hic fuit* graffiti, displaying only the initials and a date, probably the date of death; e.g. "RCA 1641" on the ledger of Michael Basti (d. 1586; Cat. No. 276). The tomb chest of Zsófia Patócsy (d. 1583) is covered with inscriptions that seem to be graffiti, including initials with date from the seventeenth century (Cat. No. 64). The meaning of "TB Ao 1616" on the ledger stone of Gábor Bocskai (d. 1573,) is unclear (Cat. No. 1).
[1207] E.g. Cat. No. 73, 100, 139, and 153
[1208] E.g. Cat. No. 128 and 77.
[1209] Gábor Haller and Ilona Bocskai (Cat. No. 77); György Bethlen probably with his wife, Klára Thoroczkay (Cat. No. 132).
[1210] János Gyerőfi with his son, Zsigmond (Cat. No. 72), Zsuzsanna Kamuthy with her two daughters (Cat. No. 131), Barbara Váradi with her son and three daughters (Cat. No. 153), Ilona Szemere with her son and two daughters (Cat. No. 308), Borbála Daniel with her son, daughter, and grandson (Cat. No. 313).
[1211] Katain Bajomi: Cat. No. 139; János and István Jerzeniczky (Cat. No. 152). Krisztina Polyik and her siblings (Cat. No. 100). The Damokos brothers: Cat. No. 73

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before. The wife and mother, Borbála Petki had the tomb created, and her date of death and the second strophe of her epitaph verse was added twenty years later, but in accordance with the original intention of the patron.[1212]

The relative infrequency of shared funeral monument among the nobility shows an interesting contrast with the testimony of the last wills. In case the testators specified their intentions concerning their final resting place, they almost always did it by referring to the grave of a family member. György Melith of Bribir ordered to have a vault built for him next to the burial of his brother, and to move the corpses of his mother and sister into that vault.[1213] Ferenc Geszti asked for a common vault made for him and his mother, Zsófia Sulyok, who had died three years earlier. A ledger bearing the name of Zsófia Sulyok survived in Deva, but it is a question whether it had covered her first grave or it was made for this common grave, without mentioning the son, Ferenc Geszti; and ultimately, whether the will of Geszti was respected at all (Cat. No. 141).[1214]

Some testaments provide an image of an even more nuanced arrangement. Anna Pilényi (Pilinyi) asked to create a grave for her body under her seat in the church, as the one in which her husband and two children had rested was too small to accommodate her.[1215] Ferenc Rhédei asked that a new vault would be made for him in Sâniob, and his children already resting in the same church would be moved there as well.[1216] Zsigmond Lónyai previously specified the church in Vásárosnamény (today in Hungary) as his burial place where his parents and siblings had been interred, but now he choose the church in Mediești Aurit where his wife had already been buried.[1217] All these examples reflect that family members were frequently joint in the same vault, even if the funeral monuments suggest a different picture. It appears that not everybody's name was marked on the grave; consequently, the function of funeral monuments must have been considered more than simply showing where someone was buried.

Wealth and position

In this section, I will examine, which layers of the nobility are represented among the subjects of the funeral monuments. Looking at the offices held by the individuals is an effective way to

[1212] Mérai, "Apafi György síremléke," 3-26.
[1213] 1572-73, Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 2*, 93-95, 196. See also the last will of Zsigmond Bálintitt from 1687: Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet és háztartás*, vol. 2, 339-340.
[1214] 1593, Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 2*, 36, 151-157, 188; Horn, "Testamentele maghiare din Transilvania premodernă," 117.
[1215] 1616, Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet és háztartás*, vol. 2, 229-230; Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3*, 70-72, 249.
[1216] 1621, Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3*, 12-14, 80-83, 251.
[1217] Ibid., 177-190, 266.

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measure the rank of a family within the Transylvanian nobility. Various state and court positions were combined in the career of individuals, parallel or one after another, and career paths followed characteristic patterns. These positions indicate the actual status of the family, as titles, rank, honors were not inheritable. However, several aristocratic families were repeatedly represented in the highest governmental positions, in the closest circles of the Prince, and in the leadership of the counties. The information I will present does not originate exclusively from the funeral monuments, but I will also build on the results of the existing genealogical and archontological literature.[1218]

Members of over eighty families appear in the lists of the principality's dignitaries composed by scholars based on various sources.[1219] These were also the wealthiest families, that is, the possessors of the largest estates, and they were connected into a complicated but relatively narrow network through marriages. The middle and lesser nobility provided those who served in the lower ranking state offices, who participated in the management of fiscal estates or operated at the level of the counties.[1220] The lowest layer of the nobility, whose land did not exceed the size of a peasant's plot, or who only possessed the title without any land, are not represented among the subjects of the funeral monuments.[1221] The Székely nobility also provided holders of similar state and court offices as the county nobility, and the leading positions in the Székely Land—those of the seat captains and seat judges as well as the military leaders of the entire Székely nation—were not always held by Székely nobles.

The Transylvanian aristocracy

Though only two funeral monuments of Trasylvanian rulers have survived, the tomb chests of Queen Isabelle and John Sigismund, and some fragments of the seventeenth-century wall memorials imported for Prince Gábor Bethlen and Prince György Rákóczi, they were not the only ones who were commemorated this way. Árpád Mikó collected data on the lost funeral monuments of princes, and I will also discuss the issue in more details when I examine the

[1218] Makkai and Szász, *History of Transylvania. Volume 2. From 1606 to 1830*, 164. Information on what kind of offices certain individuals held is mostly based on Nagy, *Magyarország családai*; Miklós Lázár, *Erdély főispánjai (1540-1711). Külön lenyomat a Századok 1887—1889-ki folyamaiból* (County heads in Transylvania, 1540-1711. Offprint from the Századok periodical) (Budapest: Az Atheneum R. Társ. Könyvnyomdája, 1889); Trócsányi, *Erdély központi kormányzata*. This was complemented with information from the inscriptions on the funeral monuments. The data in these works are not complete, there might be individuals who held further positions even among the subjects of the memorials, but the amount of information is enough to carry out a meaningful analysis.
[1219] See Costea, "Social Structures," 206.
[1220] Ibid., 210-211.
[1221] On this layer, see ibid., 211.

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choices made concerning their burial sites.[1222] The top layer of the nobility was composed of families whose members occupied the highest governmental offices, in the chancellery and in the economic and military leadership of the state. They provided members of the Privy Council or Princely Council, who assisted the Prince in governing, but only with advisory rights.[1223] County leaders—the *főispán* or lord lieutenant of the counties—also came from among these aristocrats who were closest to the Prince. When examining the status of the subjects of funeral monuments based on the offices they or their immediate family members (husband, parents) held, it turns out that more than 70% of monuments from the nobility—at least sixty-eight memorials—came from the ranks of the topmost layer of aristocrats, that is, the subjects or their close family members held the highest state and court offices, as well as leading positions in the counties.

County leaders were nominated by the Prince, but were also powerful individuals in the noble county they headed. Sometimes the same family provided the holder of the post for several generations. For example, the two János Gyerőfi, whose funeral monuments survived in Căpuşu Mic, were both *főispán* of Kolozs (Cluj) County, the Hallers were that of Küküllő (Târnava) County, and György Apafi held the same position, following the footsteps of his father.[1224]

Holders of the most important governmental and state positions or their immediate family members are well represented among the subjects of the known funeral monuments. Chancellors headed the administrative organization through which the Prince acted in financial and military issues as well as in foreign affairs;[1225] three noble ladies among the subjects were wives of chancellors.[1226] The minor chancellery was dealing with jurisdiction, headed by the prothonotary (*ítélőmester*), who was judge of the Princely Court of Justice (*Tabula*) as well.[1227] The head of the latter was in general also the head of the diet, appointed by the Prince. The son-in-law, probable patron of the funeral monument of Krisztina Harinnai, Mihály Tholdalagi held this latter position, as well as István Haller, Ákos Barcsai (whose first wife is among the subjects), Zsigmond Bánffy, and György Lázár.[1228] Many of the assessors of the *Tabula* started

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[1222] Cat. No. 5, 6, and 17; Mikó, "Báthory István király," 119-126.
[1223] Trócsányi, *Erdély központi kormányzata*, 19-21.
[1224] Cat. No. 71 and 72; Cat. No. 77 and 192; Cat. No. 66
[1225] Trócsányi, *Erdély központi kormányzata*, 181.
[1226] Cat. No. 23, 134, and 135
[1227] Trócsányi, *Erdély központi kormányzata*, 246.
[1228] Cat. No. 68, 192, 129, 2, and 144.

their career from a lower position, sometimes from the ranks of the lesser nobility.[1229] Mihály Tholdalagi held this position too, as well as János Petki, Tamás Nemes, and Tamás Borsos.[1230]

The state treasury was led by the treasurer or groom of the chamber (*főkomornik*), who also came from among the aristocrats.[1231] They are represented among the subjects of funeral monuments by János Gyerőfi (also comes of Kolozs County and chief captain of Gherla,), the wife of János Petki, Kata Kornis (also captain and royal judge of Udvarhelyszék [Odorheiu Seat], chancellor, chief comes of Doboka [Dăbâca] County, general of the Székely [*Székely generális*]), the wife of István Kamuthy , and János Haller (also *főispán* of Torda [Turda] County).[1232] The tithe was secularized in the principality, rented out, and collected for the state by the tithe leaseholder (*tizedfőárendátor*).[1233] This position was held by Boldizsár Wesselényi, who was *főispán* of Doboka County as well.[1234]

The military leadership of the state was also provided by the most important families. The commander of the permanent army of the Prince (*ország generálisa*) and the captain of the armies of the court (*udvari főkapitány*) were among the most prominent state positions. The former office was held by István Báthory, son-in-law of Zsófia Patócsi and patron of her tomb chest (also *főispán* of Kraszna [Crasna] County, chief captain of Oradea and councilor of the Prince). The latter function was performed by Ferenc Geszthy, son of Zsófia Sulyok and Ferenc Rhédei (also *főispán* of Bihar [Bihor] County, councilor of the Prince, assessor of the Princely Court of Justice).[1235]

Offices in the princely court were maybe the most important means to increase the financial status and prestige of a noble family, and were often combined with the above mentioned administrative or military offices. Members of the aristocracy received titles that were related to certain court positions, some of which did not cover any actual function, but they were only received by trusted people of the Prince.[1236] Ferenc Bethlen was head of the princely court (*főudvarmester*; his two wives are among the subjects),[1237] Gáspár Szövérdi was the deputy of the head (*aludvarmester*),[1238] Mátyás Huszár, husband of Krisztina Harinnai was

[1229] Trócsányi identified 110 assessors, half of whom came from aristocratic families, the rest from the county nobility. Trócsányi, *Erdély központi kormányzata*, 361.
[1230] Cat. No. 195, Cat. No. 205, Cat. No. 304
[1231] Trócsányi, *Erdély központi kormányzata*, 320.
[1232] Cat. No. 72, Cat. No. 135, Cat. No. 190, Cat. No. 191 and 193.
[1233] Trócsányi, *Erdély központi kormányzata*, 325.
[1234] Cat. No. 67
[1235] Cat. No. 64, Cat. No. 141, Cat. No. 173. The source of these data are the funeral monuments; they are not listed by Trócsányi, see Trócsányi, *Erdély központi kormányzata*, 239, 337.
[1236] Costea, "Social Structures," 206-207.
[1237] Cat. No. 131 and 234
[1238] Cat. No. 145; Trócsányi, *Erdély központi kormányzata*, 391-393.

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in charge of supplying the princely court (*főétekfogó*), master of the horse (*főlovászmester*), and he was also chief judge then captain of Marosszék (Mureş Seat) and Udvarhelyszék, *főispán* of Küküllő then of Torda County, assessor of the Princely Court of Justice as well as councilor.[1239]

Diplomats were also recruited from among these families. They were sent as legates to Constantinople and to the Pasha of Buda as well as to the Habsburg court. Zsigmond Bánffy went as the legate of the Prince to Constantinople and Buda,[1240] similarly to György Apafi, György Sükösd, János Gáspár Szövérdy,[1241] and István Haller while János Haller visited Vienna.[1242] Tamás Borsos was also the legate of the Prince in Constantinople, even though he was not from the ranks of the aristocracy but the chief judge of Târgu Mureş.[1243]

Some of these positions—e.g. chancellor, assessor in the Court of Justice—required special knowledge, so these aristocrats had acquired proper education before (e.g. Kelemen Mikes, who was also a councilor, comes of Fehér County, captain of Háromszék [Three Seats], general of the Székely). Administrative offices held due to their education and specialized knowledge offered an opportunity for individuals to rise into the aristocracy, even to the ranks of the Prince's councilors (e.g. for the Székely noble György Lázár). It required at least two generations for a family to be incorporated into the aristocracy and this was also manifest in the state positions they acquired.[1244]

The lower layers of the nobility

Middle and lesser nobility are represented by no more than a few stone memorials. Some gravestones belonging to the families of individuals who took part in the management of fiscal estates survived from the churchyard in Gilău, nearby Cluj.[1245] Michael Basti was called *familiaris aulae* in the inscription of his ledger in Prejmer. Familiars were sometimes ennobled due to their service in the courts of members of the leading elite, or noblemen of modest status could acquire wealth and positions this way.[1246]

Only one funeral monument's subject represented the holders of lower state offices: Benedek Cseffei was the scribe of the minor chancellery. Though Zsolt Trócsányi identified

[1239] Cat. No. 68; ibid., 393.
[1240] Cat. No. 2; Lázár, *Erdély főispánjai*, 20-21.
[1241] Cat. No. 66, 107, 145 (see Trócsányi, *Erdély központi kormányzata*, 392.), Cat. No. 192
[1242] Cat. No. 191; see Lázár, *Erdély főispánjai*, 124-125.
[1243] Cat. No. 304; see also Vencel Bíró, *Erdély követei a Portán* (Transylvanian legates at the Ottoman Porte) (Cluj: Minerva Irodalmi és Nyomdai Műintézet Részvénytársaság, 1921).
[1244] Kelemen Mikes: Cat. No. 295; György Lázár: Cat. No. 144. See Trócsányi, *Erdély központi kormányzata*, 407-410.
[1245] Cat. No. 152, 153, and 154
[1246] Cat. No. 177. See Costea, "Social Structures," 211-213. It is not clear which of these applied to Michael Basti since nothing else is known about him.

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450 names in this position during the entire period of the principality, Cseffei is the only one known from a funeral monument.[1247] These officers in general came from families without any considerable landed property, and none of them ended up in any high governmental or court position. Benedek Cseffei exceeded within this group due to his marriage: Kata Petki was the cousin of Mihály Petki, captain of Udvarhelyszék.[1248]

* * *

More than seventy percent of the total surviving memorials from the nobility came from the circle of those who held the top governmental and court positions as well as the leadership of the counties. Still, many members of this layer known from the archontological research are missing from among the tombs. As an example, from among the 215 members of the Princely Council listed by Trócsányi, only fifteen are represented (plus one more who was not included by him but is presented as councilor on his memorial), and further four (plus two) through their family members.

These numbers suggest that it was mostly the highest layer of the nobility who invested in funeral monuments—which would conform to their financial status—, and it was infrequent even among this layer to employ this means of commemoration. Of course, the picture is distorted by the fact that many memorials might have been lost since the principality period. Funeral monuments are rarely mentioned in last wills and other types of written sources either. This might confirm the impression that setting up stone memorials was not widespread, but it might also result from conventions concerning what to include into the last wills, since they could also take care of the funeral monuments in another way, for example, through oral instructions.

4.5.3. Gender and age patterns

Most of the noble subjects' gender could be determined: in 118 of the 130 cases.[1249] 60% of these were male and 40% female, which seems to be a significant difference even at first site. When taking a closer look, the difference proves to be even more pronounced: 48% of the memorials were set up for one single man, while only 26% for one single woman. The overwhelming majority of these females belonged to the circle of the aristocratic families: their spouse or son held a leading state or court position or was the head of a county.

[1247] Cat. No. 136; Trócsányi, *Erdély központi kormányzata*, 201-202, 360-374.
[1248] Cat. No. 137
[1249] Six funeral monuments are too fragmentary, so the information was lost (Cat. No. 8, 20, 115, 130, 162, 183), and it was not provided at all concerning six infants (Cat. No. 66, 154, and 301).

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The age of 57 of the 130 noble subjects was marked on their memorials.[1250] Three people were over seventy when they passed away, which must have been an exceptionally long life in the period.[1251] János Kun was the oldest, he was already seventy-five when, still in his lifetime, he had his own funeral monument prepared (Cat. No. 69). As Chart 4.8 shows, age was more frequently indicated among old people than in mature adulthood, so the trend is similar to what was observed in the towns and among the clergy.

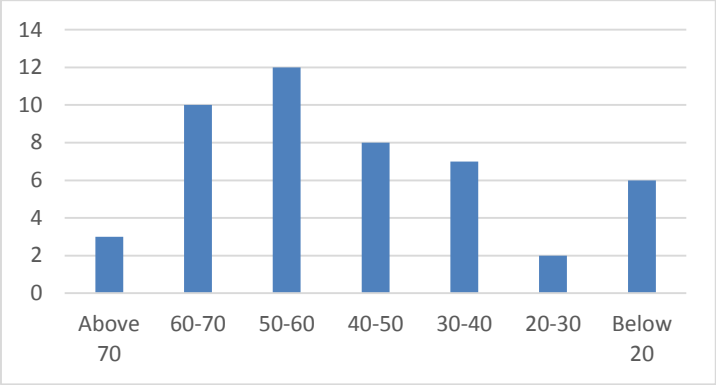

Chart 4.8. Distribution of age indicated on funeral monuments of the nobility

There is another group that seems to exceed in its number: children and young people in their teens. The oldest child whose age was marked on a funeral monument was thirteen, and a total of twenty children were represented on tombstones. About twelve more it was not stated explicitly that the deceased was a child, but the formulation of the text implies that he or she was perceived to have died at an early age.[1252]

Noble youth did not possess full rights up to the age of sixteen in the case of girls and to the age of twenty-four among the boys. They could theoretically be married from the age of about fourteen and eighteen respectively, though in general it happened at least four years later.[1253] The end of childhood might have been perceived differently in various spheres of life, as it is also attested by funeral monuments. Gábor Bocskai was twenty-one, so legally not fully

[1250] It might have been indicated in further 34 cases but the stone survived in a fragmentary state.
[1251] On life-expectancies and the perception of aging in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance period, see Shahar, *Growing Old in the Middle Ages*.
[1252] Zsigmond, son of János Gyerőfi (Cat. No. 72), the son of Katalin Bajomi Katalin (Cat. No. 139), the son and three daughters of Barbara Váradi, wife of Mátyás Veres (Cat. No. 153) were indicated on the memorial of the father and mother respectively. Zsuzsanna Kamuthy was only 18 herself when she died, so her daughters mentioned in the text can be calculated among the children. The Jerzeniczky siblings are said to have died *in tenere aetate*, at a young age (Cat. No. 152). It is also the formulation that implies a child in the case of László Mikola (Cat. No. 294).
[1253] Katalin Péter, "Some Preliminaries by Way of Introduction," in *Beloved Children: History of Childhood in Hungary in the Early Modern Age*, ed. Katalin Péter (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001), 11-12.

adult when he died, but he had already inherited the family estate after his father's death.[1254] He was commemorated by a funeral monument in the choir of the parish church at the estate where the family had built its new residence (Cat. No. 1). The Apafi tomb chest displays a clear difference between the perception of the young Apafi children and the nineteen-year-old Gergely Apafi. The latter was dedicated a separate panel on the tomb chest, similarly to her mother, while the three infant brothers were commemorated in a group (Cat. No. 66).

They rarely dedicated a separate stone memorial for children, but they were mostly commemorated together with at least one of the parents, most often with their mother.[1255] Five funeral monuments were set up for a single child respectively. Four of these children belonged to the most prominent families in Transylvania and their loss represented a serious break in the fabric of their own social layer. Miklós Báthory was son of Kristóf Báthory, voivode of Transylvania, and nephew of Prince István Báthory. Mária Apafi was daughter of Prince Mihály Apafi. László Mikola's ledger was put near the one of his grandfather, vice voivode of Transylvania, and there is one more stone from the same church in the same family, for another child called László who died at the age of seven.[1256]

The dimensions of children's memorials are in general a bit smaller than of those for adults, and they all represent the family coat of arms; figural representations of children were in general very rare. The image of two little brothers are depicted on the Apafi tomb chest praying at the catafalque of the third, which belongs to a visual topos popular in the period. Borbála Daniel was depicted with her son, daughter, and grandson, whose figures are all smaller than hers, perhaps referring to the relations within the family.[1257] Based on the low number of surviving children's monuments, it seems that it was not a widespread practice even among the aristocrats to keep their children's memory in this form, in contrast with, for example, Poland.[1258] However, a group of gravestones indicates that there were also some local variations in the customs. Relatively numerous children appear on tombstones in and nearby Cluj, from the lower sphere of the nobility.[1259] This conforms to the customs in Cluj itself, so it might be explained with an influence coming from the burghers and their tomb making workshops.

[1254] Ildikó Horn, "Bocskai István a Báthoryak udvarában" (István Bocskai in the court of the Báthorys), *Publicationes Universitatis Miskolcinensis. Sectio Philosophica* 13, no. 2 (2008): 48.
[1255] With both parents: Cat. No. 66 and 128; with the father: Cat. No. 72; with the mother: Cat. No. 131, 139, 153, 308, and 313 – the latter also with a grandchild.
[1256] Cat. No. 3; Cat. No. 143; Cat. No. 294 and 105. In contrast with these, the fifth child's memorial did not come from the top layer of aristocracy, but it was created for a thirteen-year-old girl, Anna, daughter of István Szűcs (Stephanus Pellionis) of Taplóca, probably from the ranks of the lower nobility in the eastern part of the Székely lands (Cat. No. 75). It is a low-quality, provincial tombstone probably produced locally.
[1257] Cat. No. 66 and 313
[1258] See Łabno, *Commemorating the Polish Renaissance Child*.
[1259] Cat. No. 100, and Cat. No. 152, 153, 154 in Gilău

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The fact that it was not so frequent to set up a memorial for children does not imply that newborns, infants, and children in general were not valued within the families and their death was not considered as serious loss.[1260] It was, however, more a personal issue, a family matter. Among the nobility, funeral monuments do not seem to have been a socially accepted form to express personal loss and bereavement. The motivation for creating the memorial in general was formulated in the inscriptions as keeping the memory, paying honor or respect.[1261] Sometimes it was combined with an expression of love, but besides these formulae, it was rare to include any textual formulae that would reflect the emotions of the patron towards the deceased.[1262] Funeral monuments of the nobility in general did not serve for a verbal display of emotions, and it is true for those of children as well. Still, terms used to describe their early age suggest that the society found childhood death a staggering event: they write about a *filiola* or *filius carissimus*, who passed away in *tenere aetate*.[1263] The social gap left by very young children was, however, relatively small, except for the above-mentioned cases when a wealthy family lost their potential heir. Children's social role was in the future— they are called *optima* or *maxima spes* in the text, the highest hope of their parents.[1264] Their funeral monuments also express a belief in the salvation of innocent children, and tell in positive terms about the fate of the infants who are in a better place now.

4.5.4. Patrons of funeral monuments

Noblemen and noblewomen might have had their own memorials prepared during their lifetime, but based on the testimony of sources, this was probably not a very frequent case. The only funeral monument where the inscription tells about such an arrangement among the nobility is the ledger of the seventy-five-year-old János Kun (Cat. No. 69.). The memorial of Ilona Szemere, wife of György Ugrai was probably set up in her lifetime as well, with a piece of poetry enumerating her virtues, and it was to be complemented with the date of death after she had passed away. This did not happen, but a new commemorative text was carved onto the

[1260] On the perception of children's death in the period, see Katalin Péter, "The First Ten Years of Life," in *Beloved Children. History of Aristocratic Childhood in Hungary in the Early Modern Age*, ed. Katalin Péter (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001), 82-89.
[1261] *Maradékimnak emlékezetire* ("as memory for my descendants")– Cat. No. 69; *recordat* – Cat. No 107; *in perpetuam memoriam* – Cat. No. 131; *honorem et felicem memoriam* – Cat. No. 304; or as a testimony of a gratefuly soul: *exiguum gratae mentis* – Cat. No. 142.
[1262] *Honoris et amoris* – Cat. No. 66; *perpetui amoris atque observanciae* – Cat. No. 64; *amores* – Cat. No. 190. The most popular adjective was "most beloved" – *charissimu*s (Cat. No. 66, 77, 128, 131, 142, 163 in the form of *chara*: Cat. No. 293, 294, 304). A more elaborate formula was *marito eheu desideratissimo filioque suavissiomo* – "for the most longed husband and sweetest son, to express her marital and maternal love" – *affectum suum coniugalem et maternum* (Cat. No. 66).
[1263] Cat. No. 128; Cat. No. 294 and 318; Cat. No. 152
[1264] Cat. No. 308 and 332

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border, which mentioned her three children as well and named her husband as the patron of the memorial (Cat. No. 308).

Who ordered then, in general, the funeral monuments and gave instructions to the stonecutters? What was their relation to the deceased? What do funeral monuments communicate about them, their role, influence and motivations? Nobles expressed their wishes about their final resting place in their last will even if they did not take any steps during their lifetime in this respect, but not too many documents include the request of the testator about a funeral monument. László Brinyi left a certain sum for his ledger stone (*koporsókő*).[1265] Krisztina Bethlen asked for setting up two ledgers, one for her son and one for herself, the quality depending on the sum that can be designated for that purpose.[1266] János Sasa asked for a carved stone cover for his vault bearing his name and coat of arms so that his corpse would not be disturbed by anyone or anything.[1267]

Very few testaments contain more specific instructions for the executors and even less for the future tomb maker. Farkas Kovacsóczy asked his friend, the Italian architect Simone Genga to take care of his funeral monument.[1268] In a second testament written a year later, he did not mention Genga anymore, but formulated the text he wished to have carved on his tomb.[1269] Zsigmond Kékedi instructed his brother on the material and form of his future funeral monument: it was supposed to be made of red marble and in the form of a *statua* that is, with a figural representation.[1270] Zsigmond Lónyai intended to have his own memorial still in his lifetime, but in case he had not succeeded in doing it, he left money to the executors for taking care of it. As he wrote, he did not mind whether it was carved of marble or just of "stone from Cluj" that is, simple limestone, it should, however, list all the honorable offices he held, for the memory of his lineage.[1271] He also explained why: so that his corpse will not be thrown out for the lack of information but the posterity will know who rests there, since the world is changing and memory fades away with time.

The wishes of the testators were not always put in writing, there must have been some oral arrangements as well. The widow of György Sükösd, Erzsébet Borsovai informed their

[1265] 1590, Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 2*, 139-143, 185.
[1266] 1656, Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3*, 204-208, 265-266.
[1267] 1585, Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 2*, 130-131.
[1268] 1590, Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 304. On Simone Genga, most recently, see Gianluca Masi, "Novi documenti riguardanti la presenza di Simone Genga in Transilvania," *Istros* 18 (2012): 335-358.
[1269] *Volffgangus Kouachoczy iaceo hic cum mei. Quis fuerim si bene quid egi scient posteri.* – "I, Volffgangus (Farkas) Kovacsóczy lie here with my family. Those who come after me will know who I was and what (if any!) good I did." 1591; Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 2*, 37, 143-146, 194-195; Horn, "Testamentele maghiare din Transilvania premodernă," 117. English translation by me.
[1270] 1638, Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3*, 124-128, 259-260.
[1271] *…viselt becsületes tisztjeit ... a nemzetének emlékezetére.* 1648, ibid., 177-190, 266.

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acquaintances in the invitation to the funeral that it will take place "… here in the church in Nagyteremi, as he himself ordained by the word of his mouth."[1272] István Bethlen wrote in his testament that he would give oral information on his requested burial site, and he left a certain sum for a carved stone memorial.[1273]

Executors of the testaments were family members of the testators or were chosen from their close social circles. It was their task to realize the instructions also with respect to the funeral monument, but in most of the cases, there is no way to verify any more whether they did so. The testament of Ferenc Rhédei is an exception in this respect. He requested a tombstone from Cluj, which would have probably meant a limestone ledger (*koporsókő*), but what survived in Sâniob is a red marble tomb chest imported from Upper Hungary.[1274] In this case, the executors clearly made a much larger investment in the memorial than it was intended by the testator. However, as far as most funeral monuments are concerned, there is no written testimony that they were set up for the direct wishes of the subject. The most informative source on the conditions of creating the memorials are the objects themselves.

Twenty-six tombstones of nobles indicate the patron, most often the spouse or the children of the deceased.[1275] Eight widowed wives were mentioned,[1276] but only two husbands.[1277] However, the inscriptions mention more noblemen (nine) than women (only two) who set up funeral monuments for their parents.[1278] Two sons-in-law acted as the patrons, and interestingly, these are the only full-figure portraits of noblewomen.[1279]

Tomb inscriptions suggest that the activity of female and male patrons displayed a significantly different pattern. Eight out of ten female patrons set up memorials for their husbands and 20% for their parents, while the proportion is exactly the opposite in the case of

[1272] *…itt az nagy-teremi templumba, a hol maga élőszájával meghatta*. Lajos Kelemen, "1631. máj. 12. Nagyteremi Sükösd György temetési meghívója" (Invitation for the funeral of György Sükösd of Nagyteremi, May 12, 1631), *Genealógiai Füzetek* (1904): 76. English translation by me.
[1273] 1645, Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet és háztartás*, vol. 2, 199.
[1274] 1621, Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3*, 12-14, 80-83, 251. See Cat. No. 173.
[1275] In one case (Cat. No. 163) it was written on another stone slab displayed in the same church interior.
[1276] Cat. No. 65, 66, 71, 107, 136, 146, 306, and 307
[1277] Cat. No. 190 and 308 – the latter also included the children
[1278] Katalin Wesselényi, wife of Ferenc Kornis for her deceased father, Boldizsár Wesselényi (Cat. No. 67); Borbála Petki, wife of György Apafi for her mother, Kata Kornis (Cat. No. 135, 66); Farkas and Ferenc Kendi for their mother, Borbála Homonnai (Cat. No. 173); Gábor Haller was re-united in his death with his first wife, Ilona Bocskai, by their three sons, István, György and Zsigmond (Cat. No. 77); Ferenc Petrichevich-Horváth set up a common ledger for his father and mother, as well as his daughter (Cat. No. 128); the son of Tamás Borsos, István for both of his parents (Cat. No. 304); Imre Lázár for his father (Cat. No. 144); Ferenc Mikola for his father (Cat. No. 293), and his son (Cat. No. 294. The inscription on a fragmented tomb from the Alba Iulia cathedral says that it was set up by Franciscus (probably Kendi) for his father (Cat. No. 19); the ledger of Erzsébet Mikola was set up by his son, who was probably János Gyerőfi (Cat. No. 142).
[1279] Ferenc Báthori, the nephew of the Prince and Polish King, István Bárhori set up the tomb chest of his mother-in-law, Zsófia Patócsi (Cat. No. 67), and probably Mihály Tholdalagi took care of the portrait ledger of Krisztina Harinnai, since he was the main patron of the monastery where she was buried (Cat. No. 68).

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male patrons, most of whom were presented as the curators of their parents' tombs. This pattern is similar to what was observed in towns, only the total number of female noble patrons is hardly behind that of the male ones. However, about three quarters of the memorials do not indicate the patron, so husbands and parents must have been responsible for the arrangement of their wives' and children's funeral monuments in many more cases. As the following three case studies show, the analysis of the context can help to understand why in specific cases the act of patronage might have been communicated on a funeral monument.

Patronage as family tradition – the Mikola and Gyerőfi families

In a group of funeral monuments around Cluj dating from the late 1550s to the second decade of the seventeenth century, each stone displays the name of the patron. They belong to three families—the Gyerőfi, the Mikola and the Kemény—originating from the same mid-thirteenth century lineage.[1280] They were re-connected by several marriages, and represented themselves by a common heraldry, variations of which appear on their tombstones in Dumbrava, Căpuşu Mic and Someşeni.[1281]

The medieval church in Someşeni was renovated in the 1530s by László Mikola, vice voivode of Transylvania, who was the first member in the family to hold important state offices.[1282] The keystone of the Gothic choir bears the Mikola coat of arms.[1283] Some years later, the vice voivode sponsored the renovation of the church in Căpuşu Mic, where an inscription in stone names him as the patron.[1284] His funeral monument was set up in the church of Someşeni in 1557, by his son, Ferenc Mikola according to the inscription (Cat. No. 293). Two years later, Ferenc had a second monument created into the same interior, for his own son, who was also called László (Cat. No. 294).[1285] The two ledgers clearly made in the same

[1280] Nagy, *Magyarország családai*, vol. 4, 466.
[1281] The first two settlements belonged to the estates of the Gyerőfi family, while Someşeni was an important Mikola estate (though also the Gyerőfi had possessions there). Dezső Csánki, "Kolozsvármegye birtokállapotai a 15. században" (The state of possessions in Kolozs County in the fifteenth century), *Erdélyi Múzeum* 7 (29), no. 5 (1912): 312-314. Sources from the 1460-80s refer to two manor houses of the two families. Géza Entz, *Erdély építészete a 14-16. században* (Architecture in Transylvania from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries) (Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 1996), 143, 205, 445-446.
[1282] Trócsányi, *Erdély központi kormányzata*, 31.
[1283] Balogh, *Az erdélyi renaissance*, 194-195; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 329.
[1284] Entz, *Erdély építészete a 14-16. században*, 195.
[1285] The text on the funeral monuments*: [F]RANCISC[VS] MAIOR NATV FILIVS PATRI CHARISSIMO POSVIT ANNO DOM[INI] 1557* ("The eldest son, Franciscus [Ferenc] set this up for his most beloved father in the year of the Lord 1557.") and *FRANCISCVS MIKOLA LADISLAO PATRIS LADISLAI NEPOTI FILIO CHARISSIMO POSVIT 1559* ("Franciscus [Ferenc] Mikola set [this] up for Ladislaus [László], his most beloved son, grandson of his father, Ladislaus [László], 1559"). It is clear from the formulation that the ledgers do not display the date of the death, but the year when they were created: 1557 and 1559, since the vice voivode died in 1554. See Horn, *ndérország útvesztői*, 76.

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workshop display the same structure, with a broad band as a border bearing the dedication inscription. Through these inscriptions, Ferenc was presented as a patron in the church interior, similarly to his father.

At least three more funeral monuments were set up in the Someşeni church in the same half-a-century, all kept in the National History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj now. Two fragments have been connected by researchers to the wife of vice voivode László Mikola, Anna Kemény, which belong to two separate slabs (Figure 142).[1286] A third stone of unknown provenance has never even been identified as a fragment of a funeral monument (Cat. No. 115).[1287] The Latin text says that it was the tombstone of a man, and the fragment "MIKOL" suggests that he was also a member of the Mikola family. The style of the script dates it to the late sixteenth century, so a possible subject might be the above-mentioned Ferenc Mikola.

The last funeral monument from Someşeni was set up for a third László Mikola, and was also decorated with the family coat of arms (Cat. No. 105).[1288] This László died as a child in 1601. The inscription says that he was the son of a certain Pál Mikola, and the tombstone was set up by his brother, János.[1289] The ledger displays clear references to the context in the Someşeni church and the family tradition of acting as patrons of funeral monuments. The text starts with evoking "the young and the old of the Mikola" who rest in the church, then connects to them the patron and the subject of this monument.[1290]

Erzsébet Mikola, daughter of the vice voivode, was buried in the church of Dumbrava. The text on her ledger says that it was set up by their son, János Gyerőfi, in 1575 (Cat. No. 142). The common funeral monument of János Gyerőfi and his son, in this case a tomb chest or a ledger protruding from the floor level, has also survived, in the church of Căpuşu Mic (Cat. No. 72).[1291] There is another memorial, a ledger with an articulated border, for another János

[1286] The two pieces have been repeatedly described as parts of the same funeral monument; see János Eszterházy, "A szamosfalvi egyház" (The church in Someşeni), *Archaelogiai Közlemények* 7, New Series 5 (1868): 146-149; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 330-331 and figs 277-278. Most recently, Mihály, "Monumente," 332-333. (The author refers to a third, lost piece of the same tombstone.) The two, indeed very similar pieces, however, do not match. A possible explanation can be that the first one commemorated Anna Kemény, and on the second one, her name appears as that of the patron. As far as the dating is concerned, Anna Kemény died before 1549, since in that year, they already mention the second wife of László Mikola. Horn, *Tündérország útvesztői*, 76. Eszterházy dated the inscription to the last decades of the sixteenth century, while Jolán Balogh to the mid-sixteenth century, Melinda Mihály to the beginning of the sixteenth century.

[1287] The fragment of a 21 cm thick stone slab appears in the catalog by Melinda Mihály, but only as a stone with inscription; and without any interpretation of the inscription. Mihály, "Monumente," 253.

[1288] It was taken to the museum from the Bornemisza castle in Someşeni, but originally it was probably also in the church. See ibid., 333-334.

[1289] Neither of them has appeared before in the Mikola genealogy, their relation to Ferenc is unknown. For the genealogy, see Nagy, *Magyarország családai*, vol. 7, 486-487.

[1290] *MICOLIDV(M) HIC SITA SVNT PVBES IVVENISQ(VE) | SENEXQ(QVE)*

[1291] Erzsébet was married to Gáspár Gyerőfi. The son of János was called Zsigmond on the memorial, but no such name appears in the family tree in Nagy, *Magyarország családai*, vol. 4, 466-467. The date on this stone

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Gyerőfi in the same church; the text names his wife, Erzsébet Bornemisza as the patron (Cat. No. 71).[1292]

Members of the three interconnected, Mikola, Kemény, and Gyerőfi families found it important to present themselves as patrons of funeral monuments. The tradition might go back to the patron of church reconstructions—and perhaps also of the funeral monument for his wife—László Mikola, with whom the family emerged into the highest ranks of the Transylvanian society. The text on the third László's monument in Someşeni shows that the family memory attributed great significance to their common burial site. Monuments set up in a series communicated the prestige of the individual, but also of the entire family. The inscription shows that the family was aware of this and consciously used this means. Children were clearly attributed a key role in this series, as two separate memorials were made for them, which were otherwise rare among the ranks of the Transylvanian nobility.

Displaying social status through a funeral monument – the Haller brothers as patrons

The tomb chest of Gábor Haller (d. 1608) and his wife, Ilona Bocskai is also housed today in the National History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj (Cat. No. 77). It was originally set up in Albeşti, in the medieval Franciscan church. The monastery was dissolved and destroyed in 1556, and the church was taken over by the Protestants. The tomb chest was situated in the middle of the church, with the inscription-bearing short side towards the altar.[1293] It was decorated with the coat of arms and commemorative inscription of the husband on the top, and those of the wife on the sides. The inscription says that Ilona Bocskai died earlier than her husband, but her body was transferred to a common grave after his death, and covered by the tomb chest. The dedication inscription is also on the top, on a *tabula ansata*, and names their three sons, István, György, and Zsigmond Haller as patrons of the monument.

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had long been read as 1613, but János Gyerőfi's wife was mentioned as a widow in 1606, so it must be 1603. He was still alive in 1602. Lázár, *Erdély főispánjai*, 30-31. The memorial was built into the wall but the profiled edge is still visible.

[1292] This János, who died in 1619, comes from a different branch of the family. According to Iván Nagy, their great-great grandfather was the same, six generations before. Even if he did not place the individuals at the right place on the family tree, the level of relation might be correct. Miklós Lázár distinguished the career of the two János Gyerőfi, both of whom were active in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, based on which the subject of the two funeral monuments can be determined. This János Gyerőfi was *főispán* of Kolozs County, councilor, head of the Court of Justice of the Prince, captain of Gherla in 1615. He was still alive in May 1618. Lázár, *Erdély főispánjai*, 30-31, 36-37.

[1293] Mihály, "Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület középkori és kora újkori kőtára," 143, 165; Mihály, "Monumente," 295-296. Mihály refers to Entz, "Card catalogue." In 1848, the tomb was taken back to the church from the Haller Castle, so as to keep it safe, but the humidity damaged the material, so in 1910, the church (with the agreement of the Haller descendants) sold the tomb chest to the museum.

Members of the Haller family were wealthy patricians in Nuremberg, who sent their representative to Buda in the fifteenth century to expand their trade network.[1294] Peter, from the next generation, built up an extremely successful career already further to the east, in Transylvania: became mayor, then royal judge in Sibiu, and held important state offices as councilor and administrator of the state revenue under King Ferdinand of Habsburg. He received some estates for his services, which included Albeşti. Peter Haller chose his first wife from the elite of the Saxon towns, but when he widowed, he re-married from the ranks of the aristocracy.[1295]

His son and heir, Gábor moved to Albeşti in the late 1580s to live the life of the Transylvanian aristocrats. He married Ilona Bocskai, sister of Prince István Bocskai and sister-in-law of King István Báthory. Thus, he entered the closest court circles, and held some important governmental and court offices as well: he became *főispán*, councilor, treasurer, captain of Făgăraş, and extended the family fortune by estate donations from various princes.[1296]

Ilona Bocskai passed away in 1597, and ten years later Haller married for the second time.[1297] He died in a year, and his three sons born from his first marriage took care of the burial site. While their grandfather was buried in an urban space, in the church of Sibiu,[1298] their father had his final resting place on his own noble estate, in the church he had supported as a patron. The funeral monument was also chosen to conform with the traditions of the aristocracy: it was a tomb chest. The remains of their mother, whose person represented an important social shift for the family, were moved to the same grave, and all the heraldic devices were carefully displayed on the tomb chest. The name of the three brothers as patrons of the memorial appear in this spatial, visual, and textual context, using every possible means to present them as offspring of aristocrats. The motto inscribed on the top of the tomb chest, under the coat of arms, conforms to these efforts: *Magnus labor est magnae custodia famae* – "Preserving an excellent reputation is tough work". The three Haller sons started to work on their own reputation by introducing themselves as patrons of a well-designed memorial site for their parents, presenting them and themselves as members of the Transylvanian aristocracy.

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[1294] András Kubinyi, "Die Nürnberger Haller in Ofen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Südosthandels im Spätmittelalter" *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 52 (1963-64): 80-128; Kubinyi, "A nürnbergi Hallerek Budán," 705-741.
[1295] Szabó, "Haller Gábor," 14-15.
[1296] Ibid., 16.
[1297] His second wife was Judit Bornemissza. Ibid.
[1298] He died in 1569. His funeral monument made of bronze was preserved in the Lutheran church in Sibiu (Figure 118).

Patronage for the self: the monumental complex of István Haller in Sânpaul

One of the three brothers, István Haller did not leave for his descendants the task of establishing his burial site. The Sânpaul estate was acquired by his father, but he also contributed to the family fortune by his excellent marriage as well as from horse and cattle trade. He was indeed very wealthy in a Transylvanian context, and enjoyed an illustrious career too: he was *főispán* of Küküllő County, then member of the Princely Council, and the head of the Court of Justice of the Prince as well as of the Diet.[1299]

István Haller had his primary residence built in Sânpaul, from a sixteenth-century fortified *castellum*.[1300] In contrast with his father, he did not choose to be buried in the local parish church. In *Chapter 2*, I argued why I find it probable that the core of the complex called *Imola*, a tower surrounded by a rectangular wall was originally built in the seventeenth century, as the memorial of István Haller (Figure 73, Figure 74). This dating is supported by the letter written in 1652 by a member of the Nuremberg branch of the Haller family, who visited the castle of István Haller in Sânpaul. He described the memorial built by his host for himself as rather ostentatious, resembling a castle from a distance.[1301]

Haller's heraldic ledger is one of the eleven memorials from the Haller family built into the pillars of the tower. The earliest piece in the series commemorated his wife, Judit Kendi, and it must have been created in Haller's lifetime, before the construction of the tower complex.[1302] The re-use of a late-sixteenth-century doorframe with the coat of arms of the Kendi family as the entrance of the entire complex also supports the idea that the entire site was established and constructed by István Haller. The frame was presumably prepared for the castle in the village, which was owned by Ferenc Kendi between 1591 and 1594.[1303] István Haller's marriage with Judit Kendi and his brother's marriage with Krisztina Kendi gave them access to the valuable Kendi properties, but the Sânpaul castle did not come with the marriages. It had been confiscated earlier from the Kendi by the Prince, and donated to the father of the Hallers, so their ownership was repeatedly challenged by the Kendi heirs. Thus, István Haller had a good reason to emphasize his own relation to the Kendi by displaying the heraldry of his wives'

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[1299] Szabó, "Haller Gábor," 91.
[1300] On the castle construction by István Haller, see Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 315; Szabó, "Haller Gábor," 87, footnote 372. Kovács, *Késő reneszánsz építészet* 130. He did some constructions in Albeşti too, see Szabó, "Haller Gábor," 87-90.
[1301] See note 286 in *Chapter 2*.
[1302] Cat. No. 192 and 188. The early dating of Judit Kendi's memorial is confirmed by a close analogy concerning the decoration (the two cherub heads in the upper corners): a headstone from the Calvinist cemetery of the nearby Tîrgu Mureş bearing the date of 1636 (Cat. No. 300).
[1303] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 315; Márton and Kimpián, *Kerelőszentpál. Haller kastély*, 13.

family. At the same time, the *spolium* at the entrance of the memorial complex commemorated her deceased wife as well.[1304] This looks even more interesting considering that in 1639 Haller was already engaged to another wealthy widow, Annamária Barkóczi.[1305]

There is no doubt that István Haller chose the best spot for the burial site from the point of view of visibility. It stands on a hill that is situated along one of the most important roads in the Transylvanian Basin, on the left side of the Mureş River, and it can be seen from a long distance. His German relative explains the choice of the site at Sânpaul and the castle form of the memorial building by reference to the tyrannical and self-obsessed nature of István Haller, and this characterization of Haller is echoed by other sources too.[1306] However, taking a closer look at the two Haller memorial sites, the one in Albeşti and the other one in Sânpaul, they are alike concerning the way they were used to display and negotiate Haller's (and in the first case also his brothers') financial and social status. The first one in Albeşti emphasized and thus, reinforced the ties between Gábor Haller and his first wife as well as her family, while the one in Sânpaul did the same with István Haller and the family of his first wife.

4.5.5. Burial sites and the spatial context of memorials

These three case studies show that the siting of the memorial contributed significantly to the message of the funeral monument. The site in this sense covers the broader geographical context, so the choice of the estate or the settlement, the designation of the building, the position—and visibility—of the funeral monument in the interior, and whether there had already been any other funeral monuments there.

Last wills suggest that there were four significant factors that influenced the decision about the burial site. The first one is family ties: most testators specified their final resting place by referring to the grave of a family member. The second one is the location of their residence, where noble families also acted as patrons of the local parish churches. The third crucial element was state positions and offices: for example, when István Bocskai was elected as prince, he found it necessary to change his last will and designate the court church in Alba Iulia as his burial place instead of his family estate.[1307] The testament of János Debreczeni Baráth from

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[1304] Horn, *ndérország útvesztői*, 135, footnote 127; Szabó, "Haller Gábor," 17-18. The elements of the disproportionate gate structure with the pilasters and the pediment point at the first half of the seventeenth century as well, though the curved sides might refer to an eighteenth-century interference.
[1305] Szabó, "Haller Gábor," 92. Annamária Barkóczi asked in her last will in 1658 to be buried in the church of Cluj-Mănăştur. Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3*, 209-213, 268-269.
[1306] Szabó, "Haller Gábor," 85-86.
[1307] For his first testament from 1595, see Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet és háztartás*, vol. 2, 116; Horn, "Testamentele maghiare din Transilvania premodernă," 117. For his second testament from 1606, see "Bocskai István végrendelete. Részlet", (The last will of István Bocskai. A detail), in *Erdély öröksége. Erdélyi emlékírók*

1623 also gives an idea about his priorities. He was one of the four guards (*requisitor*) of the secularized archives in the former bishopric chapter in Alba Iulia. Since he held a key to the court church, he requested to be buried in its interior, in front of the sacristy door, referring to a traditional right of the chapter members. However, if it did not work, he requested to be buried in the churchyard, next to his wife and daughter, and to have some kind of little shelter (*hajlék*) built above the grave.[1308] Official status was clearly a priority over family ties in both cases.

The fourth decisive element was religion, as it is attested by the last will of Annamária Barkóczi, second wife and widow of István Haller, who wished to be buried in the monastic church of Cluj-Mănăștur.[1309] István's brother, Zsigmond Haller requested a burial in his new burial chapel built in Albeşti, in the former Franciscan monastery, since he wished to have a place where they can celebrate the Holy Sacrament for his soul.[1310]

Last wills testify that people made a conscious and careful decision concerning their burial place which reflected their priorities along the above mentioned four lines. However, not everyone's burial place was marked with a funeral monument. Setting up a funeral monument was a different kind of decision, since the stone did not only mark the earthly remains but it was also a publicly visible manifestation of the choice made about the burial site. A stone memorial communicated a range of priorities, positions, affiliations, and ties that determined the selection of the burial site. Benedek Cseffei, for example, came from a lower layer of the nobility where apparently, it was not that usual to mark the graves with funeral monuments. He was not able to attain a significant state office, not higher than the scribes in the minor chancellery (Cat. No. 136). It was his marriage that contributed to further raising his status, by which he became associated with the Petki family, one of the most important landowners in the Székely area since the fifteenth century.[1311] They named themselves after their Dârjiu estate (Petki of Derzs), and they had a burial site in the local parish church, where Cseffei's funeral

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Erdélyről III. Tűzpróba 1603–1613 (vol. 3. Ordeal of fire 1603–1613 Transylvania's heritage. Memoire authors from Transylvania), ed. László Makkai and László Cs. Szabó (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1941), 114-120.

[1308] From 1623, see Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3*, 88-92, 252-253.

[1309] From 1658, see ibid., 209-213, 268-269.

[1310] The Haller family converted to Protestantism and had the monastery demolished in 1556, but the church was still in use; the tomb chest of the Antitrinitarian Gábor Haller and his wife was set up there by their three sons. Ibid., 93-97, 253. Tüdős dated the last will to 1626, but András Péter Szabó argued that Haller died already around 1625. He referred to a testament from 1623, but it is not clear whether this was the same testament. Szabó, "Haller Gábor," 18, 22. According to an account, his common funeral monument with his wife was discovered in 1870 in the castle of Beclean where Zsigmond resided, so apparently, the funeral and commemoration did not happen according to the arrangement in this last will. See Kádár, *Szolnok-Dobokavármegye monographiája*, vol. 7, 182. http://mek.niif.hu/04700/04755/html/potkotet/33.html (accessed 27 July 2017). The inscription says that he died at the age of thirty, which also means that he must have died in 1625.

[1311] Benkő, *A középkori Székelyföld*, 202-204.

monument was also set up.[1312] The shift in Cseffei's status was expressed by the choice of his burial site at the estate center of his wife's family, and this choice was communicated visually by the funeral monument. Without that, much fewer people would have known that Cseffei became a member of the Petki family, but this way even a twenty-first-century visitor can be informed about it.

Family ties and estates

Most funeral monuments for nobles were installed in the parish church of a village or town where the family owned a landed property as well as a residence, a castle, or a manor house. Often several generations of noble families used the parish church in the center of their estate as their burial site, and in some cases, this custom was also presented through funeral monuments. The series of memorials for the Mikola family in Someşeni communicate such a practice, and previously I argued that it can be connected to a family tradition of creating a visual display of patronage. Family burial sites were marked multiply with stone memorials in Căluşeri by the Kun family[1313], in Căpuşu Mic by the Gyerőfi family,[1314] in Comlod by the Petrichevich-Horváth family,[1315] in Criș by the Bethlen family,[1316] in Dârjiu by the Petki family,[1317] in Pericei by the Báthori family,[1318] and in Tileagd by the Telegdi family.[1319]

Those interred and commemorated with a funeral monument in the church often acted as patrons, builders of the church in their lifetime, such as the above mentioned László Mikola, as well as Gábor and István Haller. István Telegdi sponsored some constructions in the church of Tileagd.[1320] János Gáspár of Szövérd had a new painted wooden ceiling made for the choir in Fântânele.[1321] Ferenc Rhédei received the Sâniob property from Zsigmond Rákóczi in 1607,

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[1312] In addition to Cseffei, funeral monuments that survived there commemorated the above-mentioned seat captain Mihály Petki, (Cat. No. 137), and an infant daughter of Borbála Petki, whose relation on the family tree to Mihály Petki is unknown (Cat. No.138). The fourth funeral monument was set up for Kata Kornis, wife of János Petki treasurer, captain and royal judge of Odorheiu Seat, chancellor, főispán of Doboka County, general of the Székely (Cat. No. 135).
[1313] Cat. No. 69 and 70. In the nineteenth century, the memorial of at least one more family member was seen among the church ruins. Orbán, *Székelyföld* http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/165.html (accessed 15 October 2017).
[1314] Cat. No. 71-72
[1315] Cat. No. 128 and 129
[1316] Cat. No. 130, 131, 132, and 209
[1317] Cat. No. 135, 136, 137, and 138
[1318] Cat. No. 174 and 175
[1319] Cat. No. 305, and 306
[1320] Emődi, "A Telegdi család," 177.
[1321] Cat. No. 145. Lajos Kelemen, "Mennyezet- és karzatfestmények a XVII. századból" (Painted wooden ceilings and galleries from the seventeenth century), in *Művészettörténeti tanulmányok I* (vol. 1 Studies in art history), ed. Margit B. Nagy and Attila Szabó T. (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1977), 43-50; József Lángi and Ferenc Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek és festett faberendezések I* (Wall paintings and painted wooden furniture in Transylvania, vol. 1) (Budapest: Állami Műemlékhelyreállítási és Restaurálási Központ, 2002), 42-43.

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including an abandoned medieval monastery used as fortification. Rhédei started to reconstruct the fortifications and the residence, and renovated the church of the old monastery.[1322]

Several funeral monuments were set up on an estate newly acquired by the family, usually for the first family member who became the owner. The new owners started to re-construct or construct a residence, and almost as a rule, they also contributed to the renovation of the local parish church. This act can be interpreted as entering the history of the settlement by leaving their mark on the most important communal building, and a funeral monument set up in the same parish church is also a strong visual sign of the family's presence. Memorials of Gábor Haller, Ferenc Rhédey, and János Gáspár all fit into this pattern, as well as three late sixteenth-century heraldic ledger stones housed in the Lutheran church in Vingard.[1323] All three bear rather worn inscriptions, only some details are legible. One was set up for Katalin Keserű, and the initials SK 1567 were recorded from another one, which can refer to István (Stephanus) Keserű, brother of Katalin (Cat. No. 311 and 312).[1324] They were both children of Mihály Keserű, who received Vingard from János Szapolyai in 1532. The church was constructed by the Geréb family called "of Vingard" who possessed most of the estate in the fourteenth and fifteenth century.[1325] The Geréb family was among the most prominent ones in Transylvania in the second half of the fifteenth century, providing, for example, a palatine (Péter) and a bishop (László).[1326] Several architectural details display their heraldry inside and on the façade of the building. István Keserű died between 1565 and 1570, and the estate was inherited by his son and his widow.[1327] His and his sister's funeral monuments are the visible testimonies of the Keserű family's ownership in Vingárd and of their burials in the church.

The ledger stone of Gábor Bocskai in the Calvinist church of Aghireş testifies of a similar story (Cat. No. 1). Gábor's father received the estate before or in 1570 from John Sigismund as a reward for his support.[1328] He soon passed away and Gábor became the head of

[1322] Cat. No. 173. Originally an eleventh-century Benedictine monastery stood there, which was given to the Pauline order in the late fifteenth century. The monks were chased away after the Reformation, in the 1550s. Mikó, "A szentjobbi monostor és vár," 260-263.
[1323] They were seen in the choir, in front of the altar, still in the early twentieth century, but the text was hardly legible already by that time. Halaváts, "Úti jegyzetek," 211.
[1324] The third ledger commemorated a mother who died at the age of 39 but whose name I could not read out due to the poor light conditions (Cat. No. 310).
[1325] Halaváts, "Úti jegyzetek," 211; Gustav Gündisch, Harald Krasser, and Theobald Streitfeld, "Dominium, Kirche und Burg von Weingartkirchen" in *Studien zur Siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Gustav Gündisch, et al., Siebenbürgisches Archiv. Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Dritte Folge 13 (1976), 185-186.
[1326] Nagy, *Magyarország családai*, vol. 4, 367-369.
[1327] Gündisch, Krasser, and Streitfeld, "Dominium, Kirche und Burg von Weingartkirchen," 185-186; Kovács, "Date privind viaţa Zamfirei," 349-350.
[1328] András Szabó, "Az ismeretlen kismarjai Bocskai család" (The unknown Bocskai of Kismarja family), *Publicationes Universitatis Miskolcinensis. Sectio Philosophica* 13, no. 2 (2008): 167-185. According to János

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the family; he inherited Aghireş with the Renaissance residence under construction.[1329] His ledger stone testifies that he as well died soon, at the age of 21, in 1573.[1330] The father, György Bocskai was buried in Kismarja, the core estate of the family located outside the Transylvanian borders, in the Kingdom of Hungary.[1331] However, Gábor was buried at the new estate, marked with a ledger produced in Cluj.[1332] It is a modest piece carved of local sandstone; the most ambitious part is the inscription, which placed Gábor Bocskai into the context of the family's legend of origin.[1333] The patron of the funeral monument must have been either his mother (if not in case she was still alive) or his siblings, two of whom elevated the family into the highest ranks of the Transylvanian nobility.[1334] Erzsébet Bocskai married Kristóf Báthory, captain of Oradea, later governor of Transylvania and the brother of Prince István Báthory. Their brother, István Bocskai, later became the Prince of Transylvania. István returned in 1576 from the Vienna court, and he was emancipated as the new head of the family,[1335] so theoretically he could also have a voice concerning the funeral monument. Whoever was the patron, he or she displayed a "signature" of the family in the parish church of their new estate by setting up there a memorial for their young head, as well as for the mythical genealogy of the family.

Setting a funeral monument into a specific spatial context could also emphasize a claim for legitimacy in the possession of an estate. A series of three seventeenth-century ledgers in the church of Fântânele can be read in such a context. The surface of the earliest piece is badly worn, but based on a nineteenth-century reading of the inscription, it was set up for János Lázár by his wife, Kata Sapharit (Cat. No. 146).[1336] From the second half of the sixteenth century, one

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Herepei, Bocskai received the estate in 1570. Herepei, *Bocskai Gábor egeresi síremléke és mestere*, 16. According to the information published by András Kovács, the castle was already under construction in 1569. The main entrance was provided with an inscription from 1572. András Kovács, "Szabályos alaprajzú, olaszbástyás várkastélyok Erdélyben" (Trace Italienne castles with regular groundplan and four bastions in Transylvania), in *Művelődéstörténeti Tanulmányok 2* (vol. 2 Studies in cultural history), ed. Elek Csetri, Zsigmond Jakó, and Sándor Tonk (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1980), 79; Kovács, *Késő reneszánsz építészet*, 85-86.

[1329] Horn, "Bocskai István a Báthoryak udvarában," 47-48. György Bocskai passed away in the summer of 1570; see Szabó, "Az ismeretlen kismarjai Bocskai család," 172.

[1330] Herepei reconstructed the year on the ledger to 1573, which can be accepted. Herepei, *Bocskai Gábor egeresi síremléke és mestere*. See also Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 221-222, 256-257. The number indicating his age at death has been damaged. Herepei reconstructed it as XIX, but it does not fit to the remaining place, "I" was the last digit, so it could only be XXI.

[1331] István Bocskai wrote in his first testament in 1595 that he had a vault ("koporsó") built for his parents in Kismarja. Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet és háztartás*, vol. 2, 16; Horn, "Testamentele maghiare din Transilvania premodernă," 117; Szabó, "Az ismeretlen kismarjai Bocskai család," 169.

[1332] The ledger stone was marked by János Seres who died in 1579. His funeral monument also survived (Cat. No 78). See Herepei, *Bocskai Gábor egeresi síremléke és mestere*.

[1333] The history of the sons of Simon from the clan of Micz Ban was put down by István Szamosközy, chronicler of Prince István Bocskai in 1604. Ibid., with further references.

[1334] The above-mentioned Ilona Bocskai, wife of Gábor Haller was also their sister (Cat. No. 77).

[1335] Szabó, "Az ismeretlen kismarjai Bocskai család," 172-173.

[1336] Orbán Balázs erroneously wrote about Cristina Sapharit as wife of Imre Lázár. Orbán, *Székelyföld* http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/152.html (accessed 27 July 2017).

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of the branches in the Lázár family started to name itself after their estate in Gyulakuta, the Hungarian name of Fântânele, where they owned a residence, and where János Lázár was buried in the parish church. The widow, Kata Sapharit married János Gáspár of Szövérd, a nobleman from a lower ranking family, whose funeral monument is also found now in the wall of the same church (Cat. No. 145). By the marriage, János Gáspár also received a share in the estate, which was challenged by the Lázár family, so it took some time for Gáspár to be able to take the possession. [1337] The transaction with the estate caused a serious legal conflict even later, between the heirs of Lázár and Gáspár. The funeral monument of János Gáspár in the church, next to the tomb of János Lázár, can be interpreted in this context—especially if we knew who set it up, which we don't –: he is presented in the line of the legitimate estate owners.[1338]

These case studies all demonstrate that the actual financial and power status of the family determined the choices of burial sites for specific family members, and probably also influenced the decision to mark their grave with a funeral monument. The pattern observed among the surviving memorials suggests that newly acquired estates, where the family "moved in" also with its burials, were often provided with funeral monuments that inform the contemporaries and the future generations about the presence of the new owners.

Religion

The choices of the Haller family members reflect the fact that religious affiliation mattered when nobles decided upon their burial sites. This was, however, not a decisive factor for all nobles. The Calvinist Bethlen, for example, kept on using the parish church in their main estate in Criş, though it was operated by Lutherans conforming to the denomination of the local Saxon population of the village.[1339] The parish church of the Lutheran Saxons in Matei also housed funeral monuments of the local estate owners.[1340] The Calvinist Kendefi family similarly used the church of the Lutheran community in Vingard for their burials even if there was another small Refomed church in the village. However, as it was mentioned above, the Lutheran church had served for the display of patronage for the local land owners since the Middle Ages, so the

[1337] Szabó, "Haller Gábor," 103-104, 106. János Gáspár also built a manor house in the village.
[1338] It is a question, however, whether his body was ever interred there, as according to the inscription, he died in Walachia, during his journey as a legate to the Ottoman Porte. See ibid., 103-104. The third seventeenth-century ledger in the church was set up for György Lázár, son of János Lázár junior, and the participant of the above-mentioned law suit on behalf of the Lázár family, by his son, Imre; (Cat. No. 144), see ibid., 225. There are also some memorials for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century members of the Lázár family.
[1339] Cat. No. 130, 131, 132, and 209.
[1340] The settlement was still inhabited by Lutheran Saxons in the mid-seventeenth century. The Haller family who owned the estate after the Kendi settled Calvinist Hungarians there in the early eighteenth century. See Kádár, *Szolnok-Dobokavármegye monographiája*, vol. 5, 148-149.
http://mek.oszk.hu/04700/04755/html/292.html (accessed 15 October, 2017)

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Kendefi family continued this tradition in the late seventeenth century.[1341] Still, it seems that these families represented rather an exception than a rule in this respect, and nobles in general tried to find a final resting place that was in accordance with their chosen denomination. This was especially characteristic for the Catholic nobility, for whom the sacred burial site and the regular liturgy had a foremost importance, but for whom it was quite difficult to find a proper place due to the weak position of the Catholic Church in the principality.

The decisions of the Diet clearly favored the Protestant denominations most of the times, and the Catholic Church was the only one that did not have a bishop in Transylvania. By the 1570s, Catholic religious life was basically restricted to the estates of Catholic noblemen and the Székely Land. Recent research in the latter region has revealed that some chapels known in the area were erected as pious foundations and burial sites for nobles in the Early Modern Period.[1342] A chapel with a quatrefoil ground plan in Odorheiu Secuiesc was probably built in the second half of the sixteenth century by a Catholic noble for burials of his family.[1343] The above-mentioned testament of Zsigmond Haller also provides an example for a burial chapel foundation, and if my interpretation of the Sânpaul structure is correct, the burial site of his brother, the Catholic István Haller can be considered as a third one. When the Catholic Zsigmond Kornis died, his brother had him buried in the chapel erected by himself on his estate in Câmpani de Pomezeu, near the earthly remains of his wife, in accordance with his last will.[1344] For Catholics, a chapel could serve as a solution in case the nearby parish church was Protestant, since their burial required consecrated ground. Monasteries offered another option, but their situation was also problematic in the principality period.

Noblemen supported monasteries with pious donations for the sake of their own and their families' soul, and such bequests are regular motives in their last wills.[1345] Monasteries in Transylvania were dispersed at an early stage of the Reformation, either by the towns or by the Protestant noblemen whose land gave place to the complex. Still, Catholic noblemen did their best to re-establish and support monastic life in the principality.

Jesuits were invited by Prince, later King István Báthori, but they were driven out by the Protestant estates soon after his death. They returned in 1595, but their position weakened

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[1341] Gündisch, Krasser, and Streitfeld, "Dominium, Kirche und Burg von Weingartkirchen," 190-191.
[1342] Benkő, *A középkori Székelyföld*, 138-151.
[1343] András Sófalvi, "A székelyudvarhelyi Jézus Szíve kápolna" (The Sacred Heart Chapel in Odorheiu Secuiesc), *Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából* (2013): 75-94. The chapel was long regarded as a medieval building due to its archaic architectural forms.
[1344] T. Orgona, "A göncruszkai Kornisok. Két generáció túlélési stratégiái az erdélyi elitben (1546 k. –1648)," 187, 223-224.
[1345] On the question in general, based on the case of the Dominican Friary in Sighişoara, see Lupescu Makó, "Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval Sigişoara (Segesvár, Schässburg)."

with the rule of Calvinist princes from the beginning of the seventeenth century, and in 1653, they had to leave for good and all.[1346] The former Dominican church in Alba Iulia was given to the Jesuits by István Báthori in 1580, and in 1583 he had the funeral monument of his brother, Prince Kristóf Bátori set up there.[1347] The only funeral monument that survived from a Jesuit site is the ledger of György Nápolyi (d. 1642) from Cluj-Mănăștur, originally set into the floor of the church choir, in front of the altar.[1348] The church was partly a ruin in that period, but it was still handled by the Jesuits, and they used it for special occasions including some nobles' funerals.[1349]

From the second third of the seventeenth century, Franciscan monasteries served as burial sites for an increasing number of the Catholic nobility. Transylvania was declared as a missionary territory for the Catholic Church by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith founded in 1622. The first Franciscan missionaries arrived from Bosnia to the courts of Catholic aristocrats. By 1636, they could acquire land for their church and monastery in Călugăreni with the support of Mihály Tholdalagi, councilor of the Prince, captain of Mureş Seat, as well as chair of the Diet.[1350] The only condition set up by Tholdalagi was that he could be buried in the crypt of the church, and this possibility would be available for other Catholic noblemen too.[1351]

Probably it was Tholdalagi who took care of the memorial for his mother-in-law, Krisztina Harinnai, a figural ledger found in the church pavement in front of a side altar (Cat. No. 68). Another funeral monument survived in the church, of Katalin Kovacsóczy, wife of

[1346] They could return only at the end of the seventeenth century, when the Habsburgs took over Transylvania. Antal Molnár, *Lehetetlen ldetés? Jezsuiták Erdélyben és Felső-Magyarországon a 16-17. században* (Mission impossible? Jesuites in Transylvania and Upper Hungary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2009), 23-26. See also Endre Veress, *Az erdélyi jezsuiták levelezése a Báthoryak korából* (Correspondence of the Transylvanian Jesuits from the time of the Báthory princes), Fontes Rerum Transsylvanicarum 1 (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1911).

[1347] By the mid-seventeenth century, the church was in a very bad state of conservation, and the memorial of Báthori disappeared sometime in the following hundred years. The church was finally demolished in the late nineteenth century. Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 61-63, 100-101; Mikó, "Báthory István király," 119-120.

[1348] Cat. No. 65. Eszterházy, "A kolozsmonostori apátság és egyházi maradványainak leírása," 107.

[1349] See also Péter Sas, *A kolozsmonostori bencés apátsági, majd Nagyboldogasszony-templom* (The Benedictine abbey church later dedicated to the Assumption of Mary in Cluj-Mănăștur) (Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca): Verbum, 2010); András Kovács, "A kolozsmonostori római-katolikus Kálvária-templom" (The Roman Catholic Calvary Church in Cluj-Mănăștur), in *Épületek emlékezete - Nevezetes épületek Erdélyben* (Memory of buildings - Famous buildings in Transylvania) (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2007), 65-80.

[1350] István György Tóth, "Missziók és misszionáriusok az Erdélyi Fejedelemségben" (Missions and missionaries in the Transylvanian Principality), *Publicationes Universitatis Miskolciensis. Sectio Philosophica* 13, no. 3 (2008): 405-415.

[1351] Emődi, "A mikházai kolostortemplom helyreállítása," 385-392.

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György Bálintitt of Tövis.[1352] His son, Zsigmond Bálintitt wrote in his testament that he also wished to be buried here, in the grave of his father.[1353] The ledger of Boldizsár Wesselényi, commissioned by his daughter, Katalin Wesselényi, wife of Ferenc Kornis according to the inscription, is found in the crypt now (Cat. No. 67). These funeral monuments were all set up in the first church erected right after the Franciscans settled in Călugăreni. Since, however, the complex was entirely rebuilt already in the second half of the century,[1354] there is no information on their original position within the church.

The Franciscan monastery in Miercurea Ciuc was founded in the fifteenth century, and it survived with the help of a few monks even in those decades when monastic orders were otherwise not tolerated in Transylvania. Several Catholic noblemen supported the monastery and their school, especially after it was burnt down in 1661. The Mikes family had been their generous patrons since the Middle Ages. Kelemen Mikes was one of the pillars of the Catholic faith in his time, though this was not without any challenges and conflicts under the rule of the Reformed princes, György Rákóczi II and Mihály Apafi. Still, as captain of Háromszék, he was among the most powerful aristocrats, whose funeral ceremony in 1687 was attended by the entire Transylvanian elite, no matter what was their religion.[1355] He was buried in the former Saint Michael Chapel that he himself and his brother had built to the northern side of the Gothic church. The memorial of Kelemen Mikes is now fixed on the northern wall in the porch of the church, but originally it might have covered his vault in the chapel.[1356]

A monastery foundation, and a funeral monument within, came from a specific, Greek Orthodox and ethnically Romanian segment of the Hungarian noble nation (Cat. No. 179). The Orthodox monastery in Prislop was built or re-built by Zamfira, daughter of Moise (Moses) Viovode of Walachia not long before her death in 1580.[1357] Zamfira's first husband was István Keserű, whose burial in the Lutheran church in Vingard was discussed above (Cat. No. 311). Three years later, the widow married the Antitrinitarian Stanislaw Nisowski, secret councilor,

[1352] I was not able to see this funeral monument, since it was covered with a carpet, so it is not included into my catalog. See ibid.
[1353] Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet és háztartás*, vol. 2, 339-340.
[1354] Emődi, "A mikházai kolostortemplom helyreállítása."
[1355] Kinga Tüdős S., "A csíksomlyói végtisztesség. A székelyek generálisa, I. Mikes Kelemen végrendelete és temetése (1685-1687)" (The last honorary sevice in Șumuleu Ciuc. The last will and funeral of Kelemen Mikes I, General of the Székelys [1685-1687]), *Acta Siculica* (2008): 295-308.
[1356] Several Mikes family members were interred there before the chapel was demolished in 1810, when the church underwent a major reconstruction. Ibid., 304. Kinga Tüdős interpreted the memorial as an epitaph that would have been fixed on the wall of the chapel, but the design and the size of the stone slab corresponds to those of the ledgers in general. However, her hypothesis is justified in the sense that in the late 1680s epitaphs became increasingly popular among the Transylvanian elite.
[1357] Kovács, "Date privind viaţa Zamfirei," 353-354. Secondary literature in general dates the church from the fifteenth century, but András Kovács does not exclude that it was entirely built by Zamfira.

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diplomat, and cup bearer of John Sigismund, who came from Poland with Queen Isabelle.[1358] Zamfira was widowed once again, and she had a third husband too, Pál Márkházi, but that marriage was dissolved.[1359] Zamfira chose her burial place based on her own, Greek Orthodox denomination, and her heraldic ledger now set against the wall at the entrance of the small church narrates the story of her family origins, her first two marriages, but neglects the third, unsuccessful one. The monument was probably erected by her son, János Keserű, later the comes (*főispán*) of Fehér County.[1360]

Princes and officers: in service of the state and the court

State and court positions held by noblemen also influenced the choice of their burial site and thus, their representation by their memorials, from members of the lower nobility in state service to the aristocracy closely associated with the court and commemorated in the court church in Alba Iulia. Funeral monuments of lower ranking officers in the service of the Prince constitute a smaller group. Gilău was the center of a princely estate, and fiscal officers staying here and their family members were buried in the local church and churchyard as testified by their gravestones.[1361]

The former (and present) cathedral in Alba Iulia served as a court church of the princes, and housed numerous graves, many of which were also marked with funeral monuments. Everyone buried there was somehow connected to the court, and it was clearly an honor to receive a final resting place in the church. The origin of this perception presumably goes back to the Middle Ages, when liturgical services in a bishopric cathedral provided an efficient mean of intercession for the soul, and funeral monuments reminded of the deceased to pray for. The level of visibility remained the same in the former cathedral even after the Reformation, since this was the main church of the court, the center of the state. A funeral monument here meant that the name of the deceased would be remembered, and a well-designed and good-quality memorial could highlight the person even in that spatial context and shape his or her image in the memory of the posterity.

The court church was primarily a burial site for the rulers and their families. Árpád Mikó, who collected the available data on funeral sites and monuments of the Transylvanian

[1358] Ildikó Horn, *Hit és hatalom. Az erdélyi unitárius nemesség 16. századi története* (Faith and Power. The sixteenth-century history of the Unitarian nobility in Transylvania) (Budapest: Balassi, 2009), 192-196.
[1359] Kovács, "Date privind viaţa Zamfirei," 350.
[1360] Ibid., 355.
[1361] Cat. No. 152, 153, and 154. See Herepei, *A kalotaszegi templomok, cintermek és temetők régi sírkövei*, 22-23.

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princes, concluded that they did not have a specific burial site. In his opinion, the Alba Iulia church was designated later as a pantheon of princes; it was perceived as this only in the mid-seventeenth century and only for a short while.[1362] However, in contrast with Mikó's statement, this perception was formulated already in 1606, in the last will of István Bocskai written after he became prince: "we order that the place of our burial be in Transylvania, in Alba Iulia, our beloved homeland, since princes from there used to be buried there from the very beginning." He changed his previous wish about his final resting place because princes were supposed to be buried in the court church.[1363]

Taking a closer look at the princes' fate and burial sites, it appears that Bocskai's perception was founded on an earlier tradition. Those princes who died when still on throne, and died a peaceful, that is, politically unproblematic death from the point of view of their successor, were indeed taken to the court church, where a proper funeral ceremony was organized for them, and most of them were also honored with a funeral monument. The line was started by János Szapolyai, who ordered a tomb chest for János Hunyadi, governor, voivode of Transylvania, and father of King Matthias Corvinus, who had been buried in the cathedral for his own wish after his death in 1456.[1364] It continued with Giorgio Martinuzzi, governor of Transylvania, whose memorial did not survive.[1365] The tomb chests of both Queen Isabelle and John Sigismund are still in the church; they were either commissioned by John Sigismund still in his lifetime or more probably by Prince István Báthory (Cat. No. 5-6). The latter was the patron of the funeral monument for his brother, Kristóf Báthory, who became Prince of Transylvania when István was elected as King of Poland. Kristóf's wish was to be buried in a Catholic church, so he was taken to the Jesuits, though still in Alba Iulia, and this is where his funeral monument was set up.[1366]

István Báthory died as King of Poland, so his grave and funeral monument are in Cracow, in the Wawel Cathedral.[1367] Zsigmond Báthory resigned from the throne, he died in

[1362] Mikó, "Gótika és barokk között," 27-29.
[1363] *...mi a mi teme nknek helyét rend k Erdéllyben Gyula-Fejérváratt mint szerelmes Hazánkban; minthogy az odavaló fejedelmek ott szoktak eleitől fogva temetkezni…* –"Bocskai István végrendelete," 120. (English translation by me)
[1364] Ritoók-Szalay, "Hunyadi János," 297-299.
[1365] Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 172; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 298. With further literature.
[1366] Mikó, "Báthory István király," 119-120. For the funeral ceremony, see Klára Jakó, "Adalék fejedelmeink temetkezésének kérdéséhez" (New data on the funerals of Transylvanian princes), in *Emlékkönyv Jakó Zsigmond születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára* (Memorial volume for the eightieth birthday of Zsigmond Jakó), ed. András Kovács, Gábor Sipos, and Sándor Tonk (Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1996), 194-205. However, his wife, Erzsébet Bocskai had her grave in the court church, as well as their son, Miklós (Cat. No. 3). See Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 213.
[1367] Stefan Kozakiewicz and Helena Kozakiewicz, *Renesans w Polsce* (Warsaw: Arkady), figs 180-183.

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Prague more than ten years later and was buried there. The Catholic cardinal András Báthory, who ruled for a brief period when Zsigmond resigned, was, however, buried in the court church after he was murdered, even though he had had a wall memorial set up for himself and his brother, Boldizsár, still in his lifetime (Figure 113).[1368] Michael the Brave, Prince of Wallachia organized his funeral, who took the Transylvanian throne from him for a brief time.[1369] Mózes Székely, who also ruled for less than a year, was also killed, and he did not receive a similar funeral. Having these predecessors in front of his eyes, Bocskai perceived the Alba Iulia church as the burial site for Transylvanian princes, and it was indeed, for those who died as a ruler and who received an honorable commemoration. The funerals of the two princes who followed Bocskai were also determined by special conditions. Zsigmond Rákóczi resigned, retreated to his estates in Hungary; he died and was buried there.[1370] Gábor Báthory was replaced by Gábor Bethlen on the throne on the order of the Ottoman Porte, and he was murdered by his enemies; consequently, he was not in a position to receive a proper funeral in Transylvania. His body was taken by his family to their estates in the Kingdom of Hungary, and even there it was Bethlen who ten years later organized a funeral ceremony for him.[1371]

The rule of Gábor Bethlen brought some stability to Transylvania. When he died, he had his funeral ceremony in the court church, and his and his first wife's funeral monuments were ordered from Poland.[1372] Catherine of Brandenburg, his second wife and his follower on the throne did not die in Transylvania; she went to Lower Saxony and later passed away there. Behlen's brother, István was, however placed near him in the court church.[1373] György Rákóczi I was the last prince of Transylvania who died under such conditions that allowed for his proper proper commemoration as a ruler (Cat. No. 17). Both he and his son, Zsigmond received wall memorials from Poland in the Alba Iulia church. His other son and successor, György Rákóczi II, however, died in a battle for his throne under politically problematic conditions, and his corpse was taken to the family estates in the Kingdom of Hungary, to Sárospatak.[1374] In the

[1368] See *Chapter 3*, 136.
[1369] Mikó, "Báthory István király," 122; Mikó, "Gótika és barokk között," 28; Jakó, "Adalék fejedelmeink temetkezésének kérdéséhez," 197.
[1370] On his tomb chest in Szerencs (Hungary), see Mikó, "Késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékek," 648.
[1371] Péter Szabó, "Báthory Gábor újratemetése" (The re-burial of Prince Gábor Báthory), in *Az Erdélyi Fejedelemség önképe* (The self-perception of the Transylvanian Principality), ed. Péter Szabó (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2011), 39-47.
[1372] The preparations of these memorials were discussed in detail in *Chapter 3,* 138-139.
[1373] Szabó, "Térszimbolika a gyulafehérvári főtemplomban," 24.
[1374] See Frigyes Svaby, "II. Rákóczi György temetése (1660)" (The funeral of Prince György Rákóczi II), *Történelmi Tár* (1880): 582; Éva Petrőczi, "Oratio politico-ecclesiastica, avagy Czeglédi István gyászbeszéde II. Rákóczi György fölött" (Funerary oration by István Czeglédi over the body of György Rákóczi II), in *Puritánia* (The land of Puritans), ed. Éva Petrőczi, Historia Litteraria 20 (Universitas, 2006), 136-143.

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meanwhile, Alba Iulia, together with the court church, was ravaged by the Ottoman Turkish armies, and the next years proved to be turbulent also concerning the possession of the princely power: Ferenc Rhédey resigned (and passed away ten years later), Ákos Barcsai and János Kemény died violent death in fights for the control over Transylvania; it is not even clear where they were buried. Mihály Apafi ruled almost thirty years from 1661, but by the time he died in 1690, Transylvania had lost its independence, and the uncertainty around the fate of the state and the throne did not favor the organization of a proper princely funeral. He was buried in Mălâncrav, at the family estate, next to his wife, and the ceremony was organized with a delay even there.[1375]

This overview demonstrates that the court church in Alba Iulia was considered as the proper burial site for the princes, and it was always a divergence from the normal order when someone who died while being on the throne did not receive a funeral ceremony there. The perception on whether someone deserved such a commemoration largely depended on the political situation and the views of the immediate successor of the deceased prince. The only exception was the case of Kristóf Báthory, who made his choice based on confessional reasons, but the selected site was still in Alba Iulia, just a Catholic church.

Funeral monuments as well as written sources testify that the court church remained a preferred burial site of the elite after the Middle Ages, in the principality period as well. Medieval stone memorials of clerics have survived from the fourteenth century, and noblemen made bequests for the cathedral expressing their wish to rest there, such as the above mentioned János Hunyadi. Graves have been excavated in the southern and northern transept as well as in the southern aisle, only eleven of which dated from the sixteenth and seventeenth century.[1376] Neither did funeral monuments have a more fortunate fate: no more than eighteen pieces survived from the principality period and twenty-two more are known from various sources. However, the identity of those resting in the vaults and graves in the church was probably indicated somehow in the interior in many more cases.

As opposed to churches located at the estates of noblemen, where everyone knew the land-owning family, people buried in the court church came from many places and many families. Since the religious relevance of using exactly this site—evoking prayers at the

[1375] Szádeczky, "Az Apafiak sírboltja és hamvai," 185-202; Dávid Csorba, Gyula Mikó, and István Szabadi, eds., *Apafi Mihály fejedelem temetése* (The funeral of Prince Mihály Apafi) (Budapest: Reciti, 2014), 18-23.
[1376] The rest were destroyed by eighteenth-century burials. The excavations took place between 1907 and 1912. See Béla Pósta, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház sírleletei* (Grave findings in the Alba Iulia cathedral) (Kolozsvár [Cluj]: Stief Jenő és Társa Könyvnyomdai Műintézete, 1918); Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 138.

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cathedral church of the episcopal see—was lost with the Reformation of the church,[1377] it was the opportunity for social display that attracted those who chose this place. Elaborate funeral ceremonies were one way to display the power and prestige of the deceased, but that was only a temporary display, and only some more permanent mark could exploit the potential of the site. This was not necessarily a stone memorial, since a funerary flag or wooden coat of arms served the same purpose. It is not clear whether Prince István Bocskai had a funeral monument or not, but it was recorded about his funeral ceremony that a funerary flag with a long piece of poetry was fixed above his grave.[1378] This was a general practice closing the funeral ceremonies of the nobility,[1379] and, though only stone memorials are the subject of this work, ephemeral objects that displayed the identity of those who were placed in the graves must be mentioned as well, so as to have a more complete image of the Alba Iulia court church as a site of commemoration.[1380] Still, stone memorials were aimed at long-term memory making, almost as parts of the architecture. They required a longer time to prepare, which was not always at disposal under the Transylvanian historical conditions. Setting up a funeral monument for someone could also serve as a political manifesto or rehabilitation, such as the tomb chest of Hunyadi by János Szapolyai (Figure 49, Figure 50).[1381]

The few and fragmentary funeral monuments known from the court church still reflect which layers of the Transylvanian elite were represented there. Tamás Varkoch was captain of Oradea and *főispán* of County Bihor (Cat. No. 4). János Giczi (d. 1589) was governor of Transylvania, but his memorial is only known from written sources,[1382] as well as the funeral monument of Tamás Borsai Nagy (d. 1676), councilor and state general.[1383] Chancellor Farkas Kovacsóczy wished to have a memorial (*memoria*) made, for which he also composed an inscription, but it is not known whether the stone was set up or not.[1384]

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[1377] The church had a brief Catholic period in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, when for example, it was chosen as the funerary site of Cardinal András Báthory and his brother, but afterwards, Prince Bocskai officially gave it to the Protestants.
[1378] See Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 141.
[1379] See Szabó, "A fegyverzet szerepe a főúri gyászszertartáson," 115-123. For the largest surviving collection of funerary flags in Transylvania, see Kovács, "A Farkas utcai templom címerei," 39-50.
[1380] Péter Szabó attempted to analyse the interior of the church as a space for a social display of power, but he only considered the funeral monuments of princes. See Szabó, "Térszimbolika a gyulafehérvári főtemplomban." Publishing funerary sermons in print had a similar effect, by providing a broader and longer-term visibility for the funerary ceremony.
[1381] See Ritoók-Szalay, "Hunyadi János," 297-299.
[1382] Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 173.
[1383] Bod, *Hungarus tymbaules*, 86.
[1384] Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 2*, 37, 143-146, (194-195); Horn, "Testamentele maghiare din Transilvania premodernă," 117.

A second group of subjects was constituted by various members of the princely court: an unidentified councilor of John Sigismund,[1385] David, master of the table, probably of Queen Isabelle,[1386] and Gabriel Literatus de Kolosvar, secretary of the Prince.[1387] Scholars in and around the court were also represented: Johannes Crispinus (d. 1655) who came to Transylvania to teach at the academy founded by Prince Gábor Bethlen,[1388] Johannes Baptista Musto, musician and composer (d. 1596),[1389] György Lencsés, the author of the first medical treatise in Hungarian (Cat. No. 9), and Ferenc Köpetzi (d. 1673), son of the physician János Köpetzi.[1390] Sándor Gyerőfi of Kiskapus (d. 1600) was 21 years old when he passed away, so he was probably one of those aristocrats who spent their youth in the court.[1391] Bálint Nyíresi (d. 1691) was priest in and nearby Alba Iulia.[1392]

* * *

Last wills attest that members of the nobility considered it a weighty decision to choose their final resting place. The most frequent choice was a church on their estates close to their residence, which had also been a target of their patronage in their lifetime. It was, however, a separate decision to mark the presence of their earthly remains with a funeral monument in the church space. In addition to the noble residences, parish churches were the architectural highlights in the landscape and the settlement, but they were also public spaces. Setting up a funeral monument meant leaving a permanent mark about the person and through him or her, the family. Thus, probably it is not a coincidence that several of the surviving funeral monuments in estate centers commemorated the first or second generation of new estate owners, and especially in those cases where the ownership was challenged by the contemporaries. One must keep in mind, however, that such cases were not infrequent in the principality, since it was easy for various families to get into the favor of one or another ruler and then fall out again, which was all manifest in the donation and confiscation of estates.

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[1385] Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 172.
[1386] Ibid., 173. With further literature.
[1387] Died in 1591, see Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 303-304, fig. 288.
[1388] Bod, *Hungarus tymbaules*, 82.
[1389] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 305-306.
[1390] Bod, *Hungarus tymbaules*, 105.
[1391] Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 173. He was from the same family as the two János Gyerőfi, (Cat. No. 71-72), but he is not represented on the reconstruction of the family tree by Iván Nagy. See Nagy, *Magyarország családai*, vol. 4, 466-467.
[1392] Bod, *Hungarus tymbaules*, 89. Only a few more names could be identified: wife of Bályoki Szénás Péter (d. 1649), see Szeredai, *Collectio*, 33. Johannes (Cat. No. 10), the Armenian Martinus (Cat. No. 15), Krisztina, wife of István and Erzsébet Tompai, wife of István Deák of Szatmárnémeti; for both, see Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 172. The rest of the memorials are so fragmentary that they cannot be connected to any individual.

From the first half of the seventeenth century, landowners did not always use the parish church as their burial site, even if this meant breaking with family tradition, but some of them decided to erect a funerary chapel on their estate. The chapel itself can be considered as a personal memorial, but in a few cases, there is evidence that a funeral monument was also set up in the interior. It is hard to imagine, however, that the name of the founder was not indicated in the other cases as well, even if in a less durable material.

Religion seems to have been the most important factor among the Catholics when choosing their burial site. Catholic noblemen were eager to support the few monasteries that were tolerated in the principality and the pious foundations combined with a funeral monument set up in a monastic church ensured that the deceased would be subject of prayers and liturgical commemoration. This was the most important consideration for Catholic noblemen; for Prince Kristóf Báthory it overwrote even the prestige of resting with his predecessors on the throne.

Funeral monuments in the Alba Iulia court church as well as last wills suggest that the honor of appearing in this space through a funeral ceremony and a memorial was often more important for individuals and families than their ties to the traditional burial sites on their own estates. Memorials set up in the court church communicated primarily about the office held in the court and about the relation of the subjects to the Prince.

4.5.6. Acquisition of memorials for the nobility

As the preserved pieces attest, noblemen rarely made any effort to transport the carved stone funeral monuments or even the raw material from a long distance, but in general turned to the geographically closest workshop, in Braşov,[1393] Sibiu[1394] or Cluj (Map 5).[1395] Funeral monuments were large and heavy to transport, so the patrons had to consider the price of the material and the stone cutting, the time factor, as well as the transportation costs. The quality of funeral monuments reflects what was perceived by them as "good enough", and in most cases, it seems that the products of the closest workshop fulfilled the requirements for this category.

Still, a few monuments were taken from Cluj quite far to the east, where Bistriţa, Sibiu or Braşov would have been easier to access.[1396] The reasons might have been connected to the established market relations within the patrons' social circles. These trends were changing with time: around 1580, the Petki family had their ledgers made in Cluj, but in the 1630s, Borbála

[1393] Cat. No. 22, 177, and 206
[1394] Cat. No. 23, 131, 135, 179 (?), and 209
[1395] Cat. No. 1, 69, 70, 71, 72, 115, 128, 136, 142, 144, 145, 146, and 163
[1396] e.g. Cat. No. 136, 137, and 163

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Petki already turned to the closer workshops in Sibiu for the memorials of her mother and husband,[1397] and so did the Bethlen family for their monuments to set up in Criş.[1398] From the sixteenth century, five ledgers of nobles survived that were purchased in the Saxon towns. Zamfira's monument was taken southwest from Sibiu, to Prislop (Cat. No. 179). A ledger stone that commemorated Benedek Geréb in Araci, and another one for Ferenc Daczó in Sfântu Gheorghe were probably purchased in Braşov, which was the closest town with stonecutters' workshops in both cases (Cat. No. 22 and 206). The same applies for the ledger of the Damokos brothers in Cernat (Cat. No. 73). The ledger stone of Michael Basti in Prejmer, a neighboring settlement to Braşov, is an even earlier example for the same composition (Cat. No. 177). The common feature of these subjects is that they were "outsiders" compared to the main group of the patrons, the aristocracy: Zamfira was Wallachian and Orthodox Christian, while the five noblemen belonged to the lower ranks of the nobility.

Another group of gravestones belonging to families of lower ranking state officers survived from the graveyard in Gilău, nearby Cluj.[1399] They were all produced in Cluj, where it was relatively easy to purchase them, which also explains why members of this social layer appear among the subjects of the memorials exactly in this region. Those, however, who opted for a better-quality carving, had to turn to stonecutters working in the princely court, who either came from the towns or from abroad. Ordering a funeral monument from abroad, from the workshop of a well-known master, for example in Poland, was an extremely costly enterprise for the Transylvanian elite, especially in the context of the average investment into a sandstone ledger carved in Cluj. Even among the princes only those thought about it whose rule was characterized by stability and a relative wealth of the country: the Polish King István Báthory, Gábor Bethlen and his brother as well as immediate successor, and the family of György Rákóczi I. It seems that only a few aristocrats could afford to turn even to workshops in Upper Hungary. Ferenc Rhédei was one of the wealthiest Transylvanian aristocrats in his time. Coming from Upper Hungary, he made a prosperous career in the service of subsequent Transylvanian princes: he was appointed as captain of Oradea, *főispán* of Bihar County, then state general; ha was also councilor and assessor of the Court of Justice of the Prince.[1400] His wife was Katalin Károlyi, sister-in-law of Prince Gábor Bethlen, who, after Rhédei's death, married István, the younger brother of the prince, who later himself became a prince. Even if

[1397] Cat. No. 136, 137 and Cat. No. 66, 135
[1398] Cat. No. 130 and 131; probably also Cat. No. 23 and 209 was produced in a Sibiu workshop, just a few decades later.
[1399] Cat. No. 152, 153, and 154
[1400] Trócsányi, *Erdély központi kormányzata*, 33.

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Rhédei himself wished in his last will only for a ledger stone (*koporsókő*) made in Cluj,[1401] his powerful relatives might have been involved into the ordering of his red marble memorial from Upper Hungary (Cat. No. 173).

Noblemen turned to workshops outside the Transylvanian Principality when they had some special desires concerning the funeral monuments, and some variations show that even local masters tried to come up to the expectations. Below I will look at the memorials in this respect: what kind of expectations they reflect on behalf of the nobles.

4.5.7. Social status of noblemen and the typology of their funeral monuments

The analysis of the social position of noble subjects showed that more than 70% belonged to the highest strata of the Transylvanian aristocracy. This is very surprising if one has a preliminary image about the type, form and quality of the stones, which apparently served to commemorate the most prominent members of the society. I will take a closer look at the funeral monuments of the nobility along the lines of the four-level typological classification, to see what kind of memorials they chose and how they used them in communicating their status.

Heraldic ledgers and heraldry on funeral monuments of the nobility

Ledgers are the most frequent type among the surviving memorials of the nobility as well: fifty-eight of the ninety-five pieces belong to this type. As I argued in *Chapter 2*, there is no information on their exact original setting, but they were probably inserted into the floor of the churches; some were even seen there in the nineteenth century.[1402] The overwhelming majority of the ledgers display only the coat of arms of the subject combined with some inscription, and this is true for the funeral monuments of the nobility in general: at least 75% display no other image but the heraldic device.[1403] Sometimes the coat of arms was accompanied by the name or the initials of the deceased,[1404] the meaning of which is revealed by those three cases where the coat of arms is personalized by explaining to whom it belongs: *insignia* or *arma insignia* and the name of the person.[1405]

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[1401] Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3*, 80-83.
[1402] Cat. No. 65, 131-132, 196, 311, and 312; for the references, see *Chapter 2*, 81, 83, 105, *Chapter 3*, 73-174.
[1403] 19 funeral monuments might have also displayed a coat of arms but these are too fragmentary to judge it, or in case of tomb chests, not all the panels survived (Cat. No. 8, 18, 19, 20, 115, 130, 134, 161, 174, 175, 182, 183, 185, 186, 204, and 305).
[1404] Cat. No. 67, 70, 77, 107, and 172
[1405] Cat. No. 2, 141, and 307

Only seven complete memorials lack the coat of arms of their noble subject.[1406] The ledger of the physician György Lencsés was carved with the emblem of his profession in place of his heraldry: a figure with a branch and the rod of Asclepius (Cat. No. 9). A memorial set up to commemorate the children of an officer at the princely estate of Gilău was also designed with an emblem, three flowers in a hand in the place of the coat of arms, surrounded by a wreath (Cat. No. 154). The other five pieces each have a female subject, and two displayed the IHS initials instead of the heraldic device, while two bear only inscription.[1407]

The ledger stone of Krisztina Harinnai represents the deceased in full figure, with a lion under her feet, without any heraldry (Cat. No. 68). On the back of the lion, there is the inscription *AVITA INSIGNIA POSTERITATI RELICTA* – "Ancestral insignia left for the generations to come". Here the same word, *insignia*, which was in other cases applied for the heraldic device, was used in the meaning of symbol, image, and for the figural image or more likely, the entire funeral monument. This short sentence says something about how the function of the monument was understood. It stood for the deceased as a symbol, as the monumental body, in the original meaning of *monumentum*: something that reminds the visitor of the dead and makes him/her to think about her. This interpretation is supported by the way the same term, *insignia* was used on the border of Borbála Daniel's ledger stone, replacing the word *monumentum* in the usual commemorative formula (Cat. No. 313).[1408] Here as well the term can refer to the coat of arms, to the effigy, but most likely to the entire funeral monument. In this respect, there was no difference between the function of figural and heraldic funeral monuments, since the coat of arms itself was also an *insignia*, a symbol representing the person and the family.[1409]

Though some funeral monuments in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary bore the sign of noble kindreds already from the mid-fourteenth century, it became widespread only in the next half-a-century among noblemen to display their full heraldry on the memorials including the shield, helmet with mantling, and crest.[1410] I have already shown when discussing burghers' memorials how the basic form of heraldic ledgers developed by the mid-sixteenth century: from the late fifteenth century, a modernized, Renaissance form was applied with the shield hanging

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[1406] The seventh is an inscription panel for János Haller, but it was combined with a second memorial displaying the coat of arms (Cat. No. 191 and 193).
[1407] Cat. No. 75, 101 and Cat. No. 138, 301.
[1408] *INSIGNIA SPECTABILIS AC GENEROSAE DOMINAE BARBARAE DANIEL…*
[1409] For the role of heraldry and portrait in the identification of the family and the individual in the Middle Ages, see Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 478-480.
[1410] Varga and Lővei, "Funerary Art in Medieval Hungary," 123; Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 470-477.

on a ring with a laurel wreath around.[1411] This was simplified in the following two centuries into a shield with or without a wreath on the upper part of the ledger and an inscription plaque on the lower part, with or without a border framing the entire slab. The material of the ledgers is simple sandstone or limestone. There were certainly some changes in style and decorative details during the decades ranging from the mid-sixteenth to the late seventeenth century, but the basic type and composition remained the same.

There is no difference between heraldic ledgers for male and female subjects, and age does not seem to have mattered either, except for the case of the above-mentioned smaller-size memorials for children. The material or quality of craftsmanship displayed only minor variation depending on the social status or financial means. Nobles around the court in Alba Iulia had access to more skilled stone carvers, which is reflected by the ledgers in the court church, while the lower nobility from the Székely Land purchased more simply executed stones in Braşov.[1412] Even the most prominent people chose rather modest heraldic ledgers, such as Prince Mihály Apafi for her daughter (Cat. No. 143). The ledger of György Nápolyi from Cluj-Mănăștur appears as an exceptional piece in several respects: it was made of a unique, pinkish stone, and decorated with an inlaid plaque of some other material (stone or metal?) which has been lost by now. This might have displayed the coat of arms, as the remaining part contains only a composition created of the initials and an Asclepius emblem.[1413]

The tops of heraldic tomb chests do not differ from the ledgers regarding their composition. The principal elements, the coat of arms and the text giving the name of the deceased, were put on the top.[1414] The only case where the side panels were also preserved is the tomb chest of Gábor Haller; here these are covered by the coat of arms and the commemorative inscription of his wife, Ilona Bocskai, and decorative motifs (Cat. No 77).

Coped stones and coffin-shaped stones produced in Cluj appear among the lower layers of the nobility: the officers at the Prince's estates and their family members and nobles living in Cluj and Târgu Mureş.[1415] The single coffin-shape gravestone east from these, that of Tamás Nemes, captain of Háromszék, was set up in Hăghig, 25 km north from Braşov (Cat. No. 205).

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[1411] Varga and Lővei, "Funerary Art in Medieval Hungary," 143-147; Mikó, "Jagello-kori reneszánsz sírköveinkről."
[1412] E.g. Cat. No. 3 and 9 versus Cat. No. 73, 206.
[1413] Cat. No. 65. János Eszterházy described the heraldic image on the ledger which is not visible now, so it could only be on the missing element. Eszterházy, "A kolozsmonostori apátság és egyházi maradványainak leírása," 107.
[1414] Cat. No. 72, 137, and 306
[1415] Cat. No. 152, 153 and Cat. No. 100, 101, 102, 297, 299, 301, 304.

Gravestones were also provided with a representation of the coat of arms of the subject.[1416] Coped stones and headstones marked graves in cemeteries, and not in church interiors, so the chances of their survival were weaker. Since based on the surviving examples, it seems that the middle and lower layer of the nobility appears among the subjects of these stones, this might explain why the highest strata dominate the preserved material.

Figural funeral monuments

The number of funeral monuments with a portrait representation of the subject is relatively high among the nobility compared to the entire material: nineteen, and all with a full-figure portrait. Only three of these are ledgers, the rest are tomb chests. Though they are not among the surviving monuments, the wall memorials imported from Poland for the princely families also displayed the sculpted image of the deceased. I have already presented two of the three ledgers, that of Borbála Daniel and her family, and of Krisztina Harinnai. The third one, a fragment of a slab in Sălard is so badly damaged that only the outline of a figure is preserved and the date 1570 (Cat. No. 183).[1417] The latter two representations are closer to those on the tops of tomb chests, though female figures are not very frequent on tomb chests either. Only two of the twenty known tomb chests display a female figure: Queen Isabelle (Cat. No. 6) and Zsófia Patócsi (Cat. No. 64).

The tomb chest was inherited from the Middle Ages as the most prestigious type of funeral monument of the nobility. Tomb chest with a figural effigy appeared by the twelfth century in the European courts as funeral monuments for both male and female members of the ruling families, and some fragments testify that the Kingdom of Hungary was in no delay in this respect. Still, Pál Lővei identified only one tomb chest from the entire medieval Hungary that survived in an (almost) complete form: that of János Hunyadi Jr (d. 1440) in the bishopric cathedral of Alba Iulia (Figure 47, Figure 48). The monument follows the fourteenth-century tradition of chivalric tomb chests which represent the effigy in a full armor suit.[1418]

Heraldic funeral monuments were considered the most suitable to represent the prestige of the aristocracy until the last third of fifteenth century, but from that time on, chivalric tomb chests were used among the highest ranks. *Barones* were depicted in full armor suit, in general

[1416] The exceptions are two female subjects, Erzsébet Mezgedi Vaida and Kata Kepe, wife of Mihály Koncz (Cat. No. 101 and 301)
[1417] Cat. No. 313, 68, and 183.
[1418] Varga and Lővei, "Funerary Art in Medieval Hungary," 134; Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 433-436, 442-443, 464-466. Its structure is unique among those known from medieval Hungary: it was not built from separate slabs but carved from one block of stone.

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resting their feet on a lion, dog, or dragon and holding their banderole, the latter representing that they belonged to a special group with the right to lead their own troops.[1419] In the Late Middle Ages, with the appearance of Humanism, tomb chests too were enriched with visual references to the life of the deceased—for example the effigy of the famous conqueror of Ottoman Turks, Pál Kinizsi was sculpted with a human figure, a conquered Turk under his feet—and the inscriptions too provided more biographical details.[1420] Such a visual reference, a battle scene against the Ottomans, was included into the iconography of the funeral monument of Governor János Hunyadi commissioned into the Alba Iulia cathedral by King János Szapolyai around 1533.[1421]

This type of chivalric tomb chest survived into the principality period basically in the same form among the memorials of the aristocracy, probably also due to the presence of the three Hunyadi monuments in the princely court church: two from the Middle Ages and one from 1533 (Figure 47, Figure 48). The images on the side panels of the memorials of Queen Isabelle and John Sigismund also refer to the virtues of the deceased, following the same kind of graphic models from German territories as the Hunyadi tomb chest (Cat. No. 5,6).[1422] These are general virtues characterizing good rulers: military virtues in the case of John Sigismund represented by a battle scene, and charity for Isabelle symbolized by the parable of the Good Samaritan. This is complemented by extensive heraldry, the royal insignia in both cases and an armor suit with lions, also symbols of the rulers' virtues worn by John Sigismund, whose feet rest on a breast-plate.

The quality of craftsmanship as well as of the material is much finer in the case of these two memorials than on the Hunyadi tomb chests. Some of the fragments from the stylistically related group of stone carvings in Alba Iulia also belonged to tomb chests,[1423] but, since all were side panels with inscription or ornaments, it cannot be determined whether these were heraldic or figural tomb chests.

Tomb chests from the principality period, however, generally represent a lower quality, closer to the level of the Hunyadi monuments, such as those in a group produced in the 1580s. Those subjects, who can be identified—Elek Báthori, Ferenc Báthori, and Tamás Zólyomi—came from prominent noble families, but apparently, none of them held any court or state

[1419] Varga and Lővei, "Funerary Art in Medieval Hungary," 149-152.
[1420] Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 436-437.
[1421] Ibid., 437; Ritoók-Szalay, "Hunyadi János," 297-299.
[1422] See *Chapter 3*, 144-147.
[1423] Cat. No. 7, 8, 20, Figure 57, Figure 58.

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position.[1424] They were all depicted in a full armor suit on the top of their tomb chest, resting their head on a pillow, wearing a helmet and holding a sword. Their coat of arms was probably displayed on the side panels, similarly to the tomb chest of Zsófia Patócsi from the same decade (Cat. No. 64).

The tradition of tomb chests continued in the seventeenth century. Still, it was probably not a very frequent choice, since only four pieces survived, each from a very different environment and after 1640, the type seems to have disappeared. The tombs of György Apafi and György Sükösd are the closest analogies in a certain respect (Cat. No. 66 and 107). They are connected by the unusual, semi-reclining pose of the figure originating from wall monuments in Poland, and by the representation of the virtues as well as the *memento mori* motives.[1425] The position of the two subjects within the ranks of the Transylvanian nobility differed: they were both legates of the Prince in Constantinople, but Apafi came from an old and powerful family, and he also held some important offices as councilor, assessor of the Court of Justice of the Prince, and head of Küküllő County. The death of Sükösd struck his family especially seriously since he died without any male heirs.[1426]

Both memorials were commissioned by the wife of the deceased. While Erzsébet Borsvai, the spouse of Sükösd chose a stonecutter in Cluj, Borbála Petki turned to the workshop of the Saxon Elias Nicolai in Sibiu. As a result, the Sükösd tomb chest is slightly more traditional, while the iconography of the Apafi monument is more complex, full of motifs characteristic for Elias' carvings for commissions from the Saxon environment. For example, the feet of Sükösd rest on a lion as it was customary in the Middle Ages, while Elias Nicolai created a playful image from the main element in the Apafi heraldry, the grape-wine, using a nearby altarpiece as the compositional model.[1427]

There are two more significant differences between the two tomb chests, one in their spatial position and one in their function. They were both set up to close the vault, but the Apafi tomb was a freestanding structure in a newly built burial chapel, while the Sükösd monument stood right next to the wall of the parish church. Consequently, a part of the heraldic display was placed on the wall on a stone panel above the Sükösd monument, while it was put on a wooden baldachin above the Apafi tomb chest.[1428] Concerning the function, the latter was a

[1424] Cat. No. 174, 175, and 182. Two subjects are unknown, one in Alba Iulia (Cat. No. 18) and one from Benic (Cat. No. 161).
[1425] See *Chapter 3.*
[1426] Kelemen, "Nagyteremi Sükösd György síremléke," 76.
[1427] See *Chapter 3*, 178.
[1428] See Mérai, "Apafi György síremléke," 3-26.

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family memorial representing also the children, with an iconography originating entirely from the Saxon environment that does not appear anywhere else among the nobility. To sum up, the two monuments are rooted in a similar concept, and the widow chose a local stonecutter in both cases, but the Apafi memorial has a more complex iconography and diverges from the noble traditions in many respects.

The top of the chivalric tomb chest of Kelemen Béldi from Budila is an even more conservative piece, very close to the sixteenth century compositions (Cat. No. 204). The preserved side panel displays an inscription, while the heraldry must have been presented on the other side panels. Béldi came from an old and prominent Székely family. He held some of the most important state positions as Captain of Háromszék, General of the Székely, and councilor of the Prince, thus, he could significantly increase the rank and fortune of his family.[1429] His memorial presents him as a military man, a hero, not only by the means of the text but also by the sculpted image. At the same time, the very conservative, almost medieval-like forms evoke associations about the ancient roots of Kelemen Béldi and his entire family including his two sons, who probably aspired to a similar career to that of their father.

Displaying continuity: funeral monuments of the Telegdi family

The case study of the Telegdi family also serves as an example for using certain forms to imply continuity, but in a different context and in a different quality. A red marble slab displaying a full-figure image of a man in armor suit was built into the wall of the choir in the parish church in Tileagd, the burial site of the Telegdi family since the Middle Ages (Cat. No. 305). The edge of the panel that is not visible now was articulated on the side, so presumably it was the top of a tomb chest.[1430] The figure differs from the previous examples concerning the type of the representation: it is in armor suit with a lion under the feet, but lifting a mace above his head with his right hand and resting his left hand on the sword on his waist. This pose is not a reclining but an active one, in contrast with the representations that follow the medieval tradition.

Scholarship has agreed that the stone carving can be dated to the 1560s, and, as presented in *Chapter 3*, it has been attributed to the workshop of Hieronimus Canavesi in Little Poland.[1431] The slab bears no inscription, but based on the dating, Tamás Emődi identified the

[1429] Balogh, *A székely nemesség kialakulásának folyamata*, 6.
[1430] Observation by Tamás Emődi, see Emődi, "A Telegdi család," 178.
[1431] Ibid., 179-181.

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subject as vice-voivode Miklós Telegdi, though this attribution is a bit complicated by the fact that in this case, the memorial was created about fifteen years after his death.[1432]

The tomb chest was set up in a space that already served to keep the memory of the family, since the funeral monument of István Telegdi had already been there. Members of the Telegdi family had fulfilled important secular and church positions already in the fourteenth century, but István Telegdi could make a significant shift, to the ranks of *barones*. He was vice-voivode of Transylvania from 1487 to 1498, and he was appointed as councilor of King Vladislaus II. He was treasurer of the Kingdom of Hungary and sent as a diplomat to several European courts. Finally, he was murdered in 1514 in a peasants' revolt.[1433] According to a charter from 1561, István Telegdi had the parish church rebuilt and re-furnished.[1434] He ordered the funeral monument for himself still in his lifetime from a workshop in Buda or Esztergom, and it was set up in the church, though was never completed with the date of death (Figure 143).[1435] The massive red marble ledger displays his coat of arms complemented with the emblem of the Saint Michael Order he was donated by Louis XII King of France: the figure of the saint raising his sword above his head with his right hand and holding the balance with the left.[1436]

It is not only the red marble material otherwise rare in Transylvania that connects the second monument attributed to Miklós Telegdi to this one. The pose of Miklós Telegdi conspicuously echoes the saint's figure on his father's ledger, though it also fits into a new Central European trend in tomb production.[1437] It is a clear visual reference and emphasis on

[1432] In a footnote, Emődi says though that based on the biographical data, the funeral monument could be set up for his cousin, Mihály Telegdi as well. See ibid., 178, 191, footnote 113. Miklós Telegdi appears in the documents from 1508. In 1530-31, he became vice-voivode under his brother-in-law, voivode István Báthori. Later he was army leader of Szapolyai, but he turned to the side of Ferdinand when John Sigismund was elected as king. The date of his death is uncertain, but before 1548. Ibid., 181.
[1433] Ibid., 191, footnote 191 with references.
[1434] It is not clear what exactly he built, but there are Renaissance elements in the church that can be connected to this period, also based on a dedication inscription form 1507. Ibid., 177.
[1435] Balogh, *Az erdélyi renaissance*, 271; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 327; Mikó, "Jagello-kori reneszánsz sírköveinkről," 97-98; Emődi, "A Telegdi család," 177; Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 99, 104-105.
[1436] Attila Bárány, "Les représentations de l'Ordre de Saint-Michel en Hongrie," in *Fehér Lovag. Tanulmányok Csernus Sándor 65. születésnapjára* (The White Knight. Papers for the 65th birthday of Sándor Csernus), ed. László Gálffy and János Sáringer (Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem, Középkori Egyetemes Történeti Tanszék, 2015).
[1437] Emődi, "A Telegdi család," 178; Géza Galavics, "A magyar királyi udvar és a későreneszánsz képzőművészet" (The Hungarian royal court and the late Renaissance art), in *Magyar reneszánsz udvari kultúra* (Renaissance court culture in Hungary), ed. Ágnes R. Várkonyi and Júlia Székely (Budapest: Gondolat, 1987), 228-248.

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continuity even if it did not result from copying the earlier tomb as a model, but from making a choice from what was available on the market concerning the quality, material, and form.[1438]

4.5.8. Inscriptions on the funeral monuments of the nobility

The quality of the text written on the funeral monument also shaped significantly the image transmitted about the subject. Heraldic ledgers of the nobility display a diversity in this respect; in fact, the character of the text is the most conspicuous difference between them.

Latin was employed as the language of the inscriptions on the overwhelming majority of the nobles' funeral monuments. The ledger of Gábor Bocskai from around 1573 displays the earliest Hungarian text, and it is even more significant since it is among the earliest Hungarian translations of a quotation from the Bible, Book of Revelations 14:13 (Cat. No. 1). The earliest known commemorative text in Hungarian was carved on the memorial of Judit Kendi, wife of István Haller (Cat. No. 188). Its closest stylistic analogy is a coped headstone from the cemetery in Tîrgu Mureș from 1636, which also displays a Hungarian inscription, and it was not a unique piece in the town in this respect, though the other two stones from the same years marked the graves of burghers and not nobles.[1439]

I already discussed in *Chapter 3* a second series of coped stones with Hungarian inscription preserved in Tîrgu Mureș from the late 1640s and around 1650, some of which were set up for noblemen living in the town, and some for burghers. The earliest one is the gravestone of Márton Koncz (d. 1648).[1440] They were produced in the same workshop in Cluj, as well as the ledgers in Căluşeri commemorating the nobleman János Kun and his wife, Zsófia Bercsényi from around 1647 that were also provided with Hungarian inscriptions (Cat. No. 69, and 70). It is a religious text about the belief in the salvation by Jesus on the ledger of Zsófia Bercsényi, and an unusual formulation on that of János Kun which reflects on his future funeral and grave, closing with a curse formula on those who would disturb his remains. The third memorial from the same group was produced before or around 1650, for the children of István Fábián (Cat.

[1438] A son, also Miklós, was left behind Miklós Telegdi, who was fourteen when his father died, and this might explain why the memorial was set up with a fifteen-year delay. Emődi hypothesized the contribution of Tamás Warkoch, captain of Oradea, guardian of Miklós Junior and István Báthori of Somlyó, nephew of Miklós Senior, later Prince of Transylvania as well. Miklós Junior did not have such a prominent political career as his father and grandfather, he is known as an eager patron of the Transylvanian Calvinism. Emődi, "A Telegdi család," 179. He was also commemorated in the same church, with a heraldic tomb chest set up by his wife (Cat. No. 306). Only fragments of the top survived with a piece of poetry. Jolán Balogh published photos of a few pieces of the side of the top too. János Emődi, "Telegdi sírkövek, emléktáblák" (Gravestones and memorial plaques of the Telegdi family), *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* (1997-1998 [1999]): 247-249; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 327 and fig. 268.
[1439] Cat. No. 300 and Cat. No. 301, 302.
[1440] Cat. No. 297, 298 and Cat. No. 299

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No. 154). It is also a ledger stone, today set up in the courtyard of the Reformed church in Gilău, but its original siting is unknown. The text is very fragmentary, but it seems to have been a commemorative formula with some biblical references. The use of Hungarian language was clearly connected to the producer side in these cases case, since these funeral monuments were commissioned from various social groups and various geographical regions in Transylvania.

The next cluster of funeral monuments for nobles that display a Hungarian inscription was produced some decades later, for female members of the Haller family, and they are all located in the *Imola* in Sânpaul.[1441] The model in this respect must have been the above-mentioned memorial of Judit Kendi. It seems that female members of the Haller family were commemorated in Hungarian, while for male members of the family Latin was used, though the type and iconography of the funeral monuments is similar. Consequently, in this case, it must have been the commissioner side who was responsible for choosing the language. János Haller is the only male who was commemorated by a long text in Hungarian, but he also had another funeral monument with the usual Latin texts (Cat. No. 191 and 193).

Texts were written on the border of the ledgers or of the tomb chest tops, in the main field of the ledgers and gravestones or on the side panels of the tomb chests or coffin-shaped gravestones. Sometimes they put additional short inscriptions, such as the name, the date or short mottos around the coat of arms or on a scroll in the image, and rarely also mottos or biblical quotes were carved on the architectural frame. However, the position and basic content of the inscriptions was rather standardized.

Border inscriptions most often contained the most important data on the deceased: the name, position, date of death and the age. Sometimes they included here also the information on the patron, and in a few cases the border inscription was restricted to the presentation of the patron.[1442] It was less typical to place a poem on the border,[1443] usually that was organized into the main central field of the monument. 32 monuments displayed such an epitaph verse, while the main field was filled with a commemorative text in 41 cases. The language of the poem was almost always Latin. Besides the already mentioned pieces on the gravestone of Márton Koncz in Tîrgu Mureș and János Haller in Sânpaul, they comprised a Hungarian poem about Borbála Daniel and her family members as well; the latter two dating from the very end of the seventeenth century.[1444]

[1441] Cat. No. 187, 189, and 194
[1442] Cat. No. 131, 146, 190, 293, and 294
[1443] See Cat. No. 145, and 206. On the ledger of Tamás Varkoch, the poetry started on the border and continued in the main field, and it presented all the information about the deceased as well (Cat. No. 4).
[1444] Cat. No. 193, 299, and 313

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The presence or lack of a poem in Latin seems to mark a difference in the quality of funeral monuments even if they were all made of the same modest material and based on a modest design. Generally, it does not appear on the gravestones of members of the lower nobility, though there were also some prominent personalities of high social status whose monument did not display poetry,[1445] but this was not the typical case. Notably, half of those 39 monuments where the lack of the epitaph verse is surely not due to the fragmentary state of preservation of the stone, was set up for women, and only nine of the known 35 poems were written about women.[1446] Funerary poetry was a popular genre also among the nobility, and beside the surface of the funeral monument, there were many other forms to display it: on paper, textile or wood connected to the grave, or independent from it, in a published form.[1447]

* * *

The identification of the subjects from among the nobility proved that most of them, more than 70%, belonged to the topmost layer of aristocrats, that is, the subjects or their close family members were county leaders or held the highest state and court offices. Still, this is only a minority among this layer; many aristocrats known from the genealogical and archontological research do not appear at all on the tombs. Middle and lesser nobility are represented by no more than a few monuments. Funeral monuments are rarely mentioned in last wills and other types of written sources either. All these suggest that it was not a widespread custom among the nobility to set up funeral monuments.

Among those nobles, age-at-death was more frequently indicated than in towns, but the trend is similar: they tended to emphasize old age by doing so. The second large group with age-at-death was children and young people in their teens, though they do not appear in an especially high number among the subjects outside the area of Cluj, and mostly do it with their parents and siblings. Only a few memorials were dedicated to a single child, and these all belonged to the most prominent families in Transylvania. The same holds for women: though 40% of the subjects were female, only those from among the aristocracy received a separate memorial, and many women were commemorated jointly with someone else. Generally, however, it was not very frequent to commemorate more than one noble person on one stone, and if this was done, the subjects were always close relatives, mostly parent and son or daughter.

[1445] E.g. János Gyerőfi (Cat. No. 71), László Mikola (Cat. No. 105), Kozma Petrichevich-Horváth (Cat. No. 128), Kelemen Mikes (Cat. No. 295).
[1446] Cat. No. 129, 135, 139, 142, 143, 179, 190, 308, and 313
[1447] Contemporaries did not even distinguish between these, which is manifest in the volumes by Péter Bod, who often does not even mark whether he saw a poem on a funeral monument, on a funerary flag or in printed form. See Bod, *Hungarus tymbaules*.

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This presents an interesting contrast with the testimony of the last wills, in which testators often designated a common family vault as their resting place, so apparently, they did not display everybody's name at the grave.

Last wills suggest that there were four significant factors that influenced the decision about the burial site. The first one is the above-mentioned family ties: most often it was the grave of a family member that served as reference. The second one is the location of the residence, where noble families also acted as the patron of the local parish churches. This was an especially conspicuous motif in the case of those memorials which were set up on an estate that was newly acquired by the family. As the case studies demonstrated, establishing such a tradition could also support a claim for legitimacy in the possession. The third factor was state positions and offices, and the cases studies suggest that this was often a priority even over family ties. The most characteristic example is the Alba Iulia cathedral, which was perceived as the proper burial site for the princes as well as for members of their court. The forth element that influences the choice of space was religion. This was especially influential among the Catholic nobility, who built chapels and supported monasteries to ensure the future prayers for their soul. Erecting funerary chapels became a trend from the second third of the seventeenth century, and the buildings themselves can be considered as personal memorials.

The choice of the burial place reflected the priorities of the testators along these four lines, but it was not always marked with a stone funeral monument. A stone memorial gave a long-term visibility to the choice made about the burial site, embodied a range of priorities, positions, affiliations, and ties based on which it the decision was made. Still, it seems that noblemen generally did not make large efforts when ordering the funeral monuments, but turned to a workshop that was relatively close and which could produce a piece that could adequately fulfil the functions. Only a few memorials can be identified as imported pieces, the rest were made in Cluj, Braşov, and Sibiu, or by stonecutters working at the constructions of the princes' court. It appears as an interesting feature of the market that noblemen seem to have had a traditional preference towards Cluj among the towns, even if it was not the closest possible resource and even if they could have acquired better-quality stone carvings elsewhere and with no more effort.

Nobles rarely expressed their wishes about any funeral monument in their testaments, and in these cases, the executors of the will must have taken care of the memorial. Some more than the quarter of the preserved stones indicate the patron, who were most often the children and in some cases, the widowed wife. While the number of female and male patrons almost equaled, the pattern of their activity displays a significant difference: most of the women set up

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memorials for their husbands and much less for their parents, while men were mostly represented as patrons of funeral monuments for their parents and rarely for their wives. The case studies of the Mikola and Haller family demonstrated how male aristocrats presented themselves as patrons of funeral monuments to display and thus, confirm their status, and how this phenomenon was especially characteristic for certain families. The Mikola as well as the Telegdi family also serve as a clear example to illustrate how they emphasized the continuity of the lineage and status by replicating an earlier monument's design.

Funeral monuments of the Transylvanian nobility suggest that they did not demand innovative artistic products from the stonecutters but rather the knowledge and respect of the traditions, which they could all find in the local workshops.[1448] Even if they imported funeral monuments from outside Transylvania, they chose forms which somehow fit to the traditions, such as some old-fashioned chivalric tomb chests or, in the case of the Telegdi family, a modern representational type that echoed in some respect an older tomb of a prominent family member already at the site (Cat. No. 305). The only exceptions are the wall monuments of the princes, which were modern forms ordered from fashionable Central European workshops, but even in this case they quickly established a tradition following the model of the memorial commissioned by King István Báthory for his brother, both concerning the type and the workshops they chose in Poland.

The nobility, however, did not follow the example of the rulers, and they did not adapt wall monuments. Ledgers are the most frequent type among them, and 75% display no other image but the heraldic device. The wording of the inscriptions suggests that the coat of arms, the figure, as well as the entire monument was perceived as a symbol of the person, the monumental body.[1449] There is no difference between the ledgers based on gender or age, only the children's ledgers were made in a smaller size. Ledgers of the middle and lower nobility were more simply executed, but most subjects from these layers are represented by gravestones from cemeteries. The survival chances of these coped stones and headstones were weaker since they were less protected than memorials in the church interiors. If it was a general phenomenon to create the graves of middle and lower nobles in the churchyards, that might explain why the aristocracy dominates the preserved material.

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[1448] For an interpretation of this conservative attitude in England, see Llewellyn, *The Art of Death*, 125; Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, 305. The author refers to Huntington and Metcalf, *Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual*.
[1449] See Llewellyn, *The Art of Death*, 46-53, 101-109.

Funeral monuments with a portrait representation of the subject were relatively popular among the nobility in the context of the entire material: every fifth memorial was decorated with the image of the deceased. Only three of these are ledgers, the rest are tomb chests, a form almost exclusively characteristic for the nobility. It was inherited from the Middle Ages as the most prestigious type of funeral monument of this social layer, which is manifest in a series of chivalric tomb chests in Transylvania that continued up to the 1640s. These tomb chests repeated standardized forms to suggest continuity and strength, even if some of the stone cutters complemented the form with a somewhat diverse iconography rooted in their own education and background.

The text carved on funeral monument, its amount and character also added significantly to the image they communicated about the subject. Latin was used as the language of the inscriptions; vernacular appeared only in two clusters. The first one consists of ledgers made in the same workshop in Cluj, whose urban analogies are found in Cluj and Târgu Mureş, all bearing texts in Hungarian. In this case, clearly the producer side was responsible for the choice of the language. The other cluster, memorials in the Haller family, suggests the opposite, since these stones with Hungarian inscriptions were all created to commemorate women but with some difference in time.

In contrast with the towns, it was more frequent to put a commemorative text into the main field than an epitaph verse among the nobility; the latter was almost always composed in Latin. The presence or lack of a poem in Latin seems to mark a difference in the quality of funeral monuments even if they were all made of the same modest material and based on a modest design. Generally, it does not appear on the memorials for members of the lower nobility, and less frequently on those for women, though not even everyone among the most prominent noblemen received an epitaph verse cut in stone on his grave. Epitaph verses were, however, not prepared for exclusively this purpose. They were published in a printed form, as well as painted on paper, wood, or canvas and distributed at the funeral as well as hung above the grave on an epitaph panel or a funerary flag. Stone funeral monuments constituted only a part of the visual display around the burial, not mentioning the surrounding rituals. A complex analysis of the Transylvanian nobles' culture of commemoration would be the subject of a following project, but this analysis of the choices made about their funeral monuments is an essential part in it.

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Conclusions

The known funeral monuments were set up for members of three major social groups: the nobility, the burghers, and the clergy. An in-depth investigation into the status of the subjects demonstrated that the uppermost layer is far overrepresented among the subjects even within these privileged groups, with a few characteristic exceptions. More than 70% of the nobles on the memorials belonged to the top layer of aristocrats, that is, the subjects or their close family members were county leaders or held the highest state and court offices. Middle and lesser nobility are represented by no more than a few monuments. The gender distribution displays a slight shift towards men. However, many women were commemorated jointly with their children, and only those from among the aristocracy received a separate memorial. The few children who were dedicated a separate memorial also belonged to the most prominent families in Transylvania.

The Saxon towns in the *Königsboden* display a similar image: the vast majority of memorials were set up to commemorate the town leaders—majors, judges—and their close family members. The clergy also constituted a significant group of the subjects. Generally, the higher a person got in his career, the more probable it is that he is there among those who received a funeral monument. Since only wealthy people could afford to take these unpaid offices, the subjects were also from among the most affluent people in the towns. In Sibiu, these results are confirmed by the analysis of gravestone inventories from the late seventeenth to the nineteenth century that include relatively numerous pieces lost by now.

The social distribution of subjects shows a different picture in Braşov, where about half of them can be identified as members of the town-leading elite. It is impossible to find out whether this image reflects the original pattern, since an unknown number of funeral monuments was destroyed in a fire in 1689, and the first grave inventories survived from more than a century later. However, a group of eighteenth-century monuments set up to evoke the memory of seventeenth-century town leaders and pastors suggests that these people might have had a memorial also before the fire.

Though the inventories of funeral monuments lost by now from Cluj triple the number of known pieces, these lists were compiled relatively late, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, so the original number might have been even ten times more than the surviving series—it is impossible to find it out anymore. Here families from among the town elite do appear among the subjects, but hardly anyone from among the actual town leaders. The group

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of subjects is dominated by craftsmen, and, in contrast with the Saxon towns, nobles living within the walls, who are also represented in the Székely town, Târgu Mureş.

More than half of the known priests' memorials were also set up in the Saxon towns and Cluj. Their "elite", the bishops are also well-represented, but the characteristic dividing line runs between the denominations: almost 90% of the priests whose monument survived were Lutherans, while Catholic, Antitrinitarian, and Calvinist pastors added only a total of 10%. Priests also belonged to a privileged group, but it was their education that raised them into the elite, which was greatly emphasized by the way they were represented on their memorials.

Gender and age distribution displays significantly different patterns in various towns. There is, however, one feature that connects them, and which was especially characteristic for the nobility and the clergy, in all regions of Transylvania: if someone died at an old age, it was very probably indicated on his or her memorial, since old age was perceived as a proof for a life of merits and a good death. In the *Königsboden*, this was more frequent among men, since it was a male-dominated scene even compared to the nobility: only a quarter of the subjects are women, who were rarely dedicated a separate memorial.

There were twice as many men as women among the subjects in Braşov, they were equaled in Târgu Mureş, and women outnumbered men in Cluj. There it was not infrequent at all that a single woman or a mother with her child received an own funeral monument. The high number of children is another characteristic phenomenon in Cluj, though they were most often commemorated on the same stone as their mother, father, or siblings. This can be observed also among the lower nobility around Cluj, whose funeral monuments were made in the town and look exactly like those for burghers. In contrast, there are hardly any children on the memorials in Sibiu, while Braşov is somewhere half way between the two in this respect as well. The customs among the clergy corresponded to those in the closest town, Braşov, Sibiu, or Cluj.

The characteristic difference between the social patterns of the subjects in the *Königsboden* and in and nearby Cluj is connected to a difference in the type of the burial sites. In and around Cluj, memorials originate from cemeteries and not from church interiors. The town magistrate of Cluj prohibited burial in the churches, and they established public cemeteries open for everyone regardless their rank or wealth. Though a few ledgers are known from the later Calvinist church, most of the memorials originate from the two public cemeteries, the one between the two city walls and the other one outside the town. The main class and the type of the monuments was determined by the spatial context: they created small memorial plaques onto the ashlars of the wall, and headstones or coffin-shape stones into the Central or Házsongárd Cemetery. The latter types characterize the Calvinist Cemetery in Târgu Mureş as

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well. The gravestones were equipped with a very simple decoration if at all, composed of urban heraldry, and even town leaders and bishops were satisfied with these solutions. Such grave markers were not too expensive, and their market seems to have become more democratic compared to the rest of Transylvania, complying with the idea of a public cemetery.

The magistrate found burial in the church problematic in the Saxon towns as well, but they did not prohibit it, just introduced some limitations, first based on status, then by demanding some payment. In Braşov, Sibiu, and Mediaş, the place of funeral monuments was the parish church, while in Sighişoara, they survived from the former parish church that was designated for burials. They used also other churches for burials as well as cemeteries in all these towns, but these were the most prestigious sites which was reflected also by the pricing. Since space was limited in the parish churches, they used the graves more than once, which is manifest in the secondary subjects added to the memorials. Still, in the *Königsboden*, most of the subjects had a separate memorial, but if not, married couples were the most frequent combination. Funeral monuments in Braşov did not serve for this kind of personal display: several individuals appear on a single ledger in the form of name lists, sometimes even seemingly unrelated people.

Funeral monuments in these churches are almost exclusively ledger stones which were set into the church floor. The graves in the choir were reserved for priests, judges, and mayors. The exact burial place of a person was designated based on the office, professional affiliation, and family ties, so funeral monuments visualized all these connections by their arrangement, for the community visiting weekly the church.

Funeral monuments of urban priests survived at the same sites as those of the town elite: Lutheran pastors from the church interiors, while Calvinist and Antitrinitarian clergy from the cemeteries. Priests—as well as their family members—were generally buried at the place of their service as reflected by their memorials, apart from a group of pastors whose funeral monument is in Sibiu though they did not serve there. Biertan was the sea of the Lutheran bishopric, so a series of bishops' monuments were set up there. Since, however, the Calvinist and Antitrinitarian churches had no fixed centers, no such series evolved—and survived—there.

Among the nobility, last wills suggest that there were four significant factors that influenced the decision about their burial site: family ties, the location of their residence, the offices they (or their close family members) held, and religion. Based on this, most of the funeral monuments were set up at their own estates, in the parish church, in the context of tombstones from the same family who customarily acted as patrons of the church. Testators often designated a common family vault as their resting place, but it was not very frequent to

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commemorate more than one person on a single stone. This contrast between the information in the two source types suggests that far not everybody's burial was marked with a stone.

The medieval cathedral in Alba Iulia was a preferred burial site for those nobles who served in the court, and it was perceived as the proper burial place for the princes. Funeral monuments set up there assured the long-term visibility of the subjects among the entire audience of the court church, and positioned him or her among the rulers' families. Still, religious considerations could overwrite such benefits, especially among the Catholics. Catholic nobles promoted the presence of monastic orders in Transylvania and supported the monasteries to have their burial places there, and thus ensure future prayers for their soul. Funerary chapels built from the seventeenth century were another solution, though the motivation was not always religious in this case.

Ledgers are the most frequent type among the nobility as well, and 75% were decorated with no other image but their heraldic device. They display no characteristic difference based on gender or age, only that children's ledgers were made in a smaller size. Ledgers of the middle and lower nobility were more simply executed, but the expectations were not very high in general, to such an extent that it is even surprising to learn that these simple stone carvings were set up for the uppermost layer within the society: members of the court and the county leaders.

Most of the ledgers dominating the picture everywhere in the Transylvanian urban churches were decorated with heraldry, built on craftsmen's signs and symbols, allegories, or elements taken from the nobles' coats of arms. Heraldic display was clearly attributed a more significant role in Sibiu, where they created sophisticated visual allegories interlinked with the inscriptions, and built also on the traditions of noble heraldry. Ledgers that survived the fire in Braşov suggest that heraldry had less significance there, since most of them display nothing else but lists of names and maybe a biblical paraphrase in German running on the border.

Priests' memorials fit into these general urban trends both in the Lutheran towns and in the Calvinist-Antitrinitarian Cluj and nearby, and their heraldry was built on professional and religious symbols. Church leaders did not receive better or more complex monuments than the regular pastors or even their family members in any denomination. The pattern displayed by the type of memorials corresponds to the denominational boundaries due to the characteristic burial sites in the respective towns: ledgers in the churches among the Lutherans versus coffin-shape or coped gravestones in the cemeteries among the rest of the Protestant denominations. In the case of clergy, this difference can be observed outside the large urban centers as well: Calvinist priests in the seventeenth century were commemorated with gravestones in the churchyard, while Lutheran priests with ledgers in the village church.

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Perhaps the only feature that distinguishes the customs of the clergy from those of the burghers is the popularity of figural memorials among the former, but this applies exclusively the Lutherans. The model of the half-figure ledgers characteristic for the Lutheran clergy originated from Vienna, from the circle of sixteenth-century Humanists, whose memory was preserved by Renaissance epitaphs. The compositions and motifs were adapted to the ledger form in Transylvania, and a few examples of such half-figure ledgers was produced also for some town leaders. However, among the latter, the representational type was soon replaced by full-figure ledgers of the royal judges and mayors, and only those, with their full regalia. Several examples were preserved in the *Königsboden*, and one piece even in Braşov. This latter, together with the figural ledgers that were produced in the eighteenth century for seventeenth-century town leaders, suggests that there might have been more similar pieces destroyed by the fire. These series, as well as those of priests, in addition to the prestige representation of individuals, also served as professional galleries referring to the entire Saxon nation, and costumes, objects as well as postures and facial types all plaid a key role in this. Figural memorials were not aimed to provide a faithful portrait of the deceased but an image of his social figure reflecting the ideal characteristics of someone in his position, such as just, learned, pious, or wise.[1450]

Funeral monuments displaying the full-figure portrait of the subject were relatively popular among the nobility. These are, however, mostly tomb chests, by which they remained faithful to a long medieval tradition. They were conservative also concerning the language: Latin remained dominant as the language of the inscriptions. They stuck to the Latin as the language of inscriptions in the otherwise German-speaking *Königsboden* as well, only a few ledgers display some German text. However, in Braşov, the commemorative texts were often written in a mixture of German and Latin.

The content of the inscriptions also followed distinct trends in these two Saxon areas. In the *Königsboden*, it contained relatively detailed information on the offices held by the subjects, which was often complemented with an epitaph verse, while they were mostly restricted to a name and date in Braşov with a "here lies" formula. Latin epitaph verses were especially characteristic for the clergy, and even some authors of such poetry appear among the subjects of funeral monuments. In contrast with the towns, among the nobility it was more frequent to put a commemorative text into the main field than a Latin epitaph verse, which informed about the rank, family relations, offices, and age of the subject. Typically, no poems

[1450] See Knöll, *Creating Academic Communities*, 186.

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were carved on the memorials for members of the lower nobility and less frequently on those of women, though not even everyone among the most prominent noblemen received an epitaph verse cut in stone on his grave.

Noblemen generally did not make any serious efforts when commissioning funeral monuments, but chose a workshop in a nearby town, which could produce a piece that displayed what they perceived as necessary and thus, was still "good enough" to fulfil its function. Only a few memorials can be identified as imported pieces, the rest were made in Cluj, Braşov, and Sibiu, or by stonecutters working at the constructions of the princes' court. Still, noblemen seem to have had a traditional preference towards Cluj in this respect, in which the common language and religion might have also played some role – the latter will be examined in the next chapter too. Funeral monuments of the Transylvanian nobility suggest that they did not expect innovative artistic products from the stonecutters but rather the knowledge and respect of the traditions, which they could all find in the local workshops. Even if they imported funeral monuments from outside Transylvania, they chose forms which somehow fitted to the traditions.

In general, local workshops provided most of the market: townspeople in Sibiu, Sighişoara, and Braşov also turned to some local masters in the first half of the period, and only the wealthiest town leaders ordered their memorials from outside Transylvania. This trend changed in the first decades of the seventeenth century, when the entire elite seem to have found what they wanted in Sibiu, whose workshops provided also the other towns in the *Königsboden*, and even as far as Braşov, setting the trend among the Saxon urban elite. A few good-quality imported pieces appeared, however, from time to time, and served as models for the local production. Local masters supplied the market in Cluj and nearby, as well as in Târgu Mureş and, as mentioned above, alsoin a broad circle of the nobility.

Only one memorial of a nobleman indicates that he himself turned to the workshop to order his own monument. There might have been other cases as well when it was not included into the inscription, since that was a specific act, representation of the self in another role besides the subject. More than one quarter of the preserved stones name the patron among the nobility, who were most often the children, and in some cases the widowed wife of the deceased. Noblewomen and noblemen were indicated as patrons in an equal number, but women set up memorials mostly for their spouses, while men most often for their parents and rarely for their wives. Male aristocrats presented themselves as patrons of funeral monuments to display and thus, confirm their status, which seem to have been an especially prevalent practice in certain families.

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In towns, the customs were different in this respect. They quite frequently included the patron—most often the spouse—into the inscription in the *Königsboden*, but hardly ever in Braşov and in Cluj. This shows a correlation with the visibility of the memorial. In the Saxon towns, the audience was the entire churchgoing community, even though a funeral monument there required some financial investment. Consequently, they made sure that the representation and the text was elaborate and informative, and the memorial efficiently presented the high status of the subject and his or her family. Braşov seems to have been an exception in this respect, since most of the surviving ledgers from before the fire did not belong to a single person, so neither did they provide an opportunity to patrons for a personal display. In addition, some late sources suggest that they were also covered with carpets. Based on the eighteenth-century retrospective memorials, however, it cannot be excluded that there were stones also there that were closer to the Sibiu model.

It was not customary to indicate the patron in Cluj either, and here this can be explained with the spatial context of the burials and the gravestones, which was moved to public cemeteries detached from the churches. The commemoration did not benefit anymore from the weekly church visits of the community, so only those saw the gravestones who went to the cemetery with this purpose. This affected the role of funeral monuments in the social display of the elite; at the same time, they became available for a much broader layer.[1451] The audience of a single gravestone shrunk into a smaller group, mostly the family, which resulted in a shift from public to private commemoration. This can also be captured in the simple grave inscriptions which started to express private loss or were limited to show a strong belief in the salvation, which leads to the topic of the next chapter: funeral monuments in the face of religious faith.

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[1451] On similar processes in Sweden and Norway that took place later, in the eighteenth century, see Anderson, "Der Tod als Statusbekräftigung. Epitaphien und Gräber einer schwedischen Stadtelite 1650-1770," 64-65.

CHAPTER 5. THE REFORMATION OF BURIAL IN TRANSYLVANIA[1452]

This chapter investigates how ideas changing with the Protestant Reformation in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Transylvania influenced the commemoration of the dead and how it is manifest in the production and installation of funeral monuments. I will also examine if it is possible to find—even subtle—differences in the way the religious reform affected the monuments set up in various confessional environments, or whether any dissimilarities or patterns can be explained with differences in the religious context.

The question is deliberately not formulated with reference to the religious views of the individual. Often there is no information on the confession of a specific subject or patron, but one can only speak about a certain denominational environment. In the towns, the magistrate made an official decision upon the religion they accepted. Lutheranism was first adopted by Braşov, in 1542, then, two years later, in all the other Saxon cities. Finally, the *Universitas Saxonum* extended the decision to their entire territory including the villages.[1453] Consequently, in the Saxon towns, funeral monuments were clearly set up in a Lutheran environment. In Cluj, also the magistrate decided upon the officially accepted, Antitrinitarian religion, since they appointed the so-called First Priest of the town, and from around 1570, no other priest was allowed to preach any other doctrine. Still, there remained some Catholics and representatives of other Protestant denominations in the town who secretly kept their religion.[1454] Their position changed with time due to the pressure coming from the state: first the Catholic István Báthory brought the Jesuit order into the town, then Calvinists strengthened due to the support of Pince Gábor Bethlen and György Rákóczi I, and from the 1630s-40s, they could also enter the ranks of the town leadership.[1455] Thus, the religious affiliation of the subject of a particular funeral monument in Cluj cannot be taken for granted in the sixteenth century, and it is even more difficult to find out in the seventeenth century. The later a memorial was produced, the less obvious it is that the subject was Antitrinitarian, but in this case, the religious landscape is not suitable for any quantitative analysis of the subjects or to focus on individual views; instead, one can analyze traditions of tomb-making within a dominantly Antitrinitarian-Calvinist

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[1452] Most of this chapter was published in Mérai, "Funeral Monuments from the Transylvanian Principality in the Face of the Reformation," 201-237.
[1453] Szegedi, "The Reformation in Transylvania," 230-231.
[1454] Szegedi, "Die Reformation in Klausenburg," 77-88.
[1455] See Gábor Sipos, "A kolozsvári református egyházközség a XVII. században" (The Reformed congregation in Cluj in the seventeenth century), in *Kolozsvár 1000 éve. A 2000. október 13–14-én rendezett konferencia előadásai* (1000 years of Cluj. Papers presented at the conference held on 13-14 October 2000), ed. Tibor Kálmán Dáné, et al. (Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület - Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület, 2001), 90-99; Szegedi, "Confessionalization," 242-249.

community. Antitrinitarian religion had an important role in Târgu Mureş as well in the 1570s, but it lost its support by the seventeenth century, and it became a Calvinist town.[1456]

The second factor that complicates the identification of a person's—thus, a funeral monument's—religious affiliation is that the religious views of people often changed during their lifetime, both among the ranks of the Transylvanian nobility and in some of the towns, especially in certain periods. From around the mid-sixteenth century, many nobles and intellectuals, starting from Catholicism, gradually adhered to more and more radical Protestant doctrines.[1457] Prince John Sigismund was a characteristic example for such a life course in terms of his religious interests. Later, from the last two decades of the century, the re-Catholicizing efforts of the Báthory princes resulted in an opposite trend, while in the seventeenth century, under the rule of Gábor Bethlen and the two Rákóczi princes, Calvinism proved to be the most successful branch among the nobility.[1458] The Eastern Orthodox Church was also a significant factor in the religious landscape of Transylvania, even if it is represented by only one funeral monument in the analyzed ensemble, set up for the daughter of a Viovode of Walachia who married into the Transylvanian nobility.[1459] Similarly, the Armenian population—mostly consisting of merchants—is made visible in this case by a single memorial.[1460]

As far as scholarship can follow the personal religious views of the social and intellectual elite both in the towns and among the nobility, it seems that in many cases, they did not correspond to any of the established religions, but local and personal theologies and philosophies formed, building on the dogmas of the accepted churches as well as on the ideas of radical thinkers who found refuge in Transylvania.[1461] The memorial of Despina Paleologa, daughter of Jacob Paleologus testifies of such a background, since it was set up in Alţina, on

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[1456] Pál-Antal, *Marosvásárhely története*, 107-108.
[1457] See Ildikó Horn, "Der ungarische Adel als Träger der Reformation in Siebenbürgen," in *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur in Siebenbürgen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Volker Leppin and Ulrich A. Wien (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2005), 165-178; Horn, *Hit és hatalom*; Szegedi, "The Reformation in Transylvania," ; Szegedi, "Confessionalization,"
[1458] Horn, "Der ungarische Adel," 165-178.
[1459] Cat. No. 311. On the Orthodox Church in the Transylvanian Principality, see Ovidiu Ghita, "The Orthodox Church of Transylvania (The 16th Century - the Second Half of the 17th Century)," in *The History of Transylvania. Vol. 2: From 1541 to 1711*, ed. Ioan-Aurel Pop, Thomas Nägler, and András Magyari (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Academiei Române, 2005), 257-270.
[1460] Cat. No. 15. The first settlement of a large group of Armenians into Transylvania has traditionally been connected to the year 1672, but Armenians lived there even before. On Armenians in the medieval and early modern Transylvania, see Daniel Blein, "Armenier in Siebenbürgen. Anmerkungen zur Identität einer 'kleinen Minderheit'" *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 21, no. 2 (1998): 148-152.
[1461] Horn, "Der ungarische Adel," ; Szegedi, "Confessionalization," 241-254.

the estate of the nobleman János Gerendi. Gerendi himself was a radical thinker and all Antitrinitarian theologians visiting Transylvania in his time were welcome in his court.[1462]

Based on all these, religious context as an analytical category means three different things in the three large social groups represented among the funeral monuments. In towns, customs in the Antitrinitarian-Calvinist Cluj and Târgu Mureş can be compared with those in the Lutheran environment of the Saxon towns.[1463] Concerning the nobility, one cannot speak about any general confessional environment, since they included Catholics, Calvinists, Lutherans, Antitrinitarians, and various theological positions were often shaping even over the same person's lifetime. In this case, the investigation targets the traces of individual motivations in the context of religion: whether it is possible to find the signs of any spatial, material, visual, or textual expression of those. The task is complicated by the fact that the information available on the religious views of specific subjects and patrons is quite limited. A third group of memorials where the issue of religion has a special relevance was set up for members of the clergy in various denominations. In these cases, it seems to be justified to expect an exact doctrinal expression of confessional belonging, since priests were the official representatives of their churches. However, the formation of the Protestant churches was a relatively long process in Transylvania, and theological debates were quite frequent even among the clergy.[1464] Here the analysis can address both issues: how were priests of various churches distinguished on their memorials, and whether one can capture any traces of any, more nuanced theological positions.

5.1. The reformation of death and the funerary ritual

Ideas about commemoration depend on and reflect the concepts of a society about death and the relation between the dead and the living, that is, the social experience of death. According to the definition developed in anthropology based on the practices of living and past societies, commemorative rituals were determined by and reflect the contemporary concepts about the relation of body and soul, the individual and the community, and between the community of

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[1462] Cat. No. 21; see Gündisch, "Zum siebenbürgischen Aufenthalt des Jacobus Palaeologus," 71-79; Antal Pirnát, "Gerendi János és Eössi András" (János Gerendi and András Eössi), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 74, no. 5-6 (1970): 680-684.

[1463] Stefanie Knöll suggested a similar comparative approach concerning the three cities characterized by different confessional environments, but in those cases, the religious landscape was less blurry. Knöll, *Creating Academic Communities*, 10.

[1464] Szegedi, "Confessionalization," 241-254; Edit Szegedi, "Naşterea şi formarea identităţii confesionale luterane în Transilvania: între exigenţe teologice şi constrângeri politice" (The birth and shaping of Lutheran confessional identity in Transylvania: between theological requirements and political constraints), *Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis, Series Historica* 6 (2009): 117-148.

the living and of the dead.[1465] Arnold Van Gennep directed the attention of scholarship towards the liminal period when the deceased occupies a transitional position between the community of the living and that of the dead. Van Gennep, and in his footsteps Victor Turner and Maurice Bloch defined the role of rituals in the context of this transition, analyzing how various contemporary societies developed their rituals to reconstruct and reinforce the social order shaken by death.[1466] Social historians of death investigated related attitudes in the past, building on these anthropological perspectives.[1467]

Opinions vary on whether Reformation brought any essential change concerning the human attitude towards death. Philippe Ariès did not see the Protestant Reform as the beginning of a distinct period in this respect, but pointed to the eighteenth century as a borderline.[1468] Pierre Chaunu reached a similar conclusion based on the analysis of a large corpus of sources from Paris.[1469] Otto Gerhard Oexle captured the transformation in the relation between the living and the dead through the changing concepts of *memoria*. He concluded that the process was completed by the late eighteenth – early nineteenth century, but started in the Late Middle Ages. He did not attribute a decisive role to the Reformation in this respect, but to the late medieval plague, when the mass-encounter with death essentially changed the attitude of people towards the end of life and the dead. Oexle interpreted the Reformist views as only one result of this transformation in the general approach towards death.[1470] The impact of the Reformation and of post-Reformation religious beliefs on death-related practices has been examined by a range of historians concerning various areas of Europe, embedded into the broader context of human attitude towards death.[1471]

Protestant Reformist thinkers expressed very clear ideas concerning the concepts and rituals around death, distinguishing themselves radically from what they defined as the

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[1465] Hertz, *Death and the Right Hand*.
[1466] Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*; Maurice Bloch and Jonathan P. Parry, *Death and the Regeneration of Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969).
[1467] As corner-stones in the field, see Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*; Ralph E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Gen ve: E. Droz, 1960); Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Croom Helm, 1984); Vovelle, *Mourir autrefois: attitudes collectives devant la mort aux XVIIe et XVIIIe s s*.
[1468] Ariés, *Western Attitudes toward Death*.
[1469] Chaunu, *La Mort à Paris*.
[1470] Oexle, "Die Gegenwart der Toten," 19-25, 65-69.
[1471] See, e.g. Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*; Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of the Ritual. An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany* (London: Routledge, 1997); Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead*; Vanessa Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500-1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

"Popish" perception and practice.[1472] Christian rituals were centered around the fate of the soul after death, and this was a field in which the Protestant theologians' views radically differed from those in the medieval—and later the Catholic—Church. In the Late Middle Ages, the living and the dead were all members of the same Christian community. The living could turn to the saintly departed for intercession, and they themselves could intercede for the souls of the dead suffering in the transitional state of the Purgatory, to shorten the time spent there with prayers and masses, and later also by paying indulgences. Reformers, however, eliminated this chance, since according to their position, only the faith in God's grace lead to salvation, and nothing else. There was neither need nor possibility for intercession any more, since the dead were only in the hand of God. The living could not influence their fate, neither by prayer nor by any act; the event of death separated the members of the community of the living from that of the dead. The concept of Purgatory, a doctrine that had existed since the twelfth century, was not accepted anymore.[1473] This affected the practices around death, their content, and all the related material culture, the function of which changed essentially. Some object types, forms, images became useless or even unacceptable according to the Reformist principles.

The influence of the Reformation on Christian death rituals has been studied extensively in various parts of Europe.[1474] Until the Reformation, Christian commemoration was centered around intercession, evoking prayers for the dead to assist their souls. With the loss of this possibility, the logical conclusion would have been to eliminate the entire funeral ritual too. Still, different views emerged concerning its necessity, and only the most radical abandoned it, such as the Calvinists in Geneva and the Anabaptists. Burial rituals were preserved in most of the Protestant denominations, since besides their intercessory function, they answered important needs in the social sphere as well. This social relevance was not a new phenomenon; it had characterized the commemorative rituals and the related material culture already in the Middle Ages, but this became the primary role with the Reformation. Commemoration was now directed exclusively towards the living. One of the main functions was to console and guide them by affirming their faith in the resurrection. This was specified in the first Church regulations after the reformation of the Saxon towns as well, which called for abandoning the

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[1472] Austra Reinis, *Reforming the Art of Dying: The Ars Moriendi in the German Reformation (1519-1528)*, St.Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).
[1473] Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead*, 22-39; Reinis, *Reforming the Art of Dying*, 2-5.
[1474] Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual*; David Cressy, "Death and the Social Order: The Funerary Preferences of Elizabethan Gentlemen" *Continuity and Change* 5 (1989): 99-119; Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*; Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of the Ritual*; Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead*; Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England*; Vanessa Harding, "Choices and Changes: Death, Burial and the English Reformation," in *The Archaeology of the Reformation 1480-1580*, ed. Roberta Gilchrist and David Gaimster (Leeds: Maney, 2003), 386-398. The following summary is based mostly on these works.

unnecessary rituals.[1475] Commemorative rituals and the related material culture also served to assist the living to prepare for their own good death, since firm faith at the end of life was essential concerning the fate of the soul. Death that caught the individual unprepared was considered as bad. In this respect, they built on the didactic potential of the virtuous life of the deceased.[1476] The third main field of emphasis has been defined on the model of the anthropological theories of Van Gennep and his followers: to display the honor of the dead, and by this, to emphasize and reinforce social norms and social order.[1477]

As said above, these were not entirely new aspects, since they can be detected among the medieval forms of commemoration as well. Analyses of the actual practice based on written, visual, and archaeological sources from all over the Protestant Europe have demonstrated that even if the new ideas about death, ritual, church space, and images were clearly formulated by theologians, the practice did not always go through similarly radical changes. Besides, historical processes and religious phenomena displayed significant regional differences. The whole image was characterized by continuities as well as discontinuities with the medieval traditions, and the changes were gradual, influenced by several factors that were not related directly to religious ideologies.[1478] For example, in accordance with the new theology, funeral sermons became the key element in the funeral ceremony, but several traditional elements were also kept, imbued with a new meaning. Motifs such as the participation of the poor or tolling the bells lost their relevance in accumulating merits for the afterlife or evoking prayers for the soul. Still, they survived even among the Protestant communities. Their new meanings and explanations were based on a set of social rationale, so now they served to ensure that the deceased was paid the proper honor conforming to his or her social status. These general trends characterizing the transformation of funerary ritual in the Protestant Europe have been identified in Hungary and Transylvania as well.[1479]

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[1475] Georg Daniel Teutsch, *Urkundenbuch der evangelischen Landeskirche A. B. in Siebenbürgen, vol. 2. Die Synodalverhandlungen der evangelischen Landeskirche A. B. in Siebenbürgen im Reformationsjahrhundert* (Hermannstadt [Sibiu]: Landeskonsistorium der ev. Landeskirche A. B. in Siebenbürgen, 1883), 35; in German: 70.

[1476] Llewellyn, *The Art of Death*, 28.

[1477] Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, 42-49; Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead*, 93-94, 104-106.

[1478] David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist, "History From Below: The Archaeology of the English Reformation 1480-1580," in *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480-1580*, ed. David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist (Leeds: Maney, 2003), 1-8; Berndt Hamm, "How innovative was the Reformation?" in *Arch ologie der Reformation: Studien zu den Auswirkungen des Konfessionswechsels auf die materielle Kultur*, ed. Carola Jäggi and Jörn Staecker, Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 104 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 26-43; Barbara Scholkmann, "Forschungsfragestellungen, Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer Archäologie der Reformation in Mitteleuropa," ibid., ed. Carola Jäggi and Jörn Staecker, Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 3-25.

[1479] Graham Murdock discussed the issue based on the study of Calvinist church visitations and funeral sermons. Graeme Murdock, "Death, prophecy and judgement in Transylvania," in *The Place of the Dead. Death and*

5.2. Burial sites after the Reformation

Protestant theology transformed the views on the proper place of interment. In the Middle Ages, the dead were placed to rest in the church and the churchyard, within the settlement and among the living, who could thus constantly support their souls with prayers. Even within the church, the preferred location of the burial was as close to the altar, the center of the liturgy, and the place of the holy relics of the saints as possible, so as to benefit from the intercession of the already departed members of the Christian community. The dead were also kept visible among the living by their memorials and marked burial sites, who could also contribute to the fate of their soul by their prayers, which explains why graves were organized along the entrance to the churches and in the nave.[1480]

After the Reformation, this sacred topography did not bear any meaning anymore; on the contrary, it offered a temptation for misinterpretation and inappropriate use.[1481] Thus, Luther argued for removing the burials from the center of the settlements to outside the city walls. Since the interment in and around the church was not considered as beneficial for the fate of the soul, and the location of the burial in general did not bring advantages or disadvantages, he suggested the use of extramural cemeteries for health reasons, supporting his arguments with some biblical examples too. According to his views, the shift of the resting place from the chaotic town centers to the peaceful areas outside also contributed to the dignity of graveyards.[1482]

The period was indeed characterized by the first general trend of removing the cemeteries from the center of the towns and the area of the church to outside the settlements. Views, however, differ concerning whether these changes resulted from the Reformation or took place as a part of a longer process, and the Reformist views were just one manifestation of a broader set of ideas behind it. Otto Gerhard Oexle pointed at the fact that the practice of interment in the church as well as the rituals related to burial and commemoration had repeatedly been perceived problematic and challenged already in the Middle Ages and also by the Counter-Reformation.[1483] He calls this process the de-socialization of the burial, referring to the dissolution of social bonds between the dead and the living. The process started at the

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Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe, ed. Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 206-223.

[1480] Binski, *Medieval Death*, 8-14, 72-84. Oexle, "Die Gegenwart der Toten," 72.

[1481] Margaret Aston, "Public Worship and Iconoclasm," in *The Archaeology of the Reformation 1480-1580*, ed. David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist (Leeds: Maney, 2003), 9-28; Vanessa Harding, "Choices and Changes: Death, Burial and the English Reformation," ibid., 387-388.

[1482] Oexle, "Die Gegenwart der Toten," 70. He quoted Luther's relevant paragraphs.

[1483] Ibid., 72.

time of the early Reformation, and progressed in the following centuries, ending with the centralized prohibition of burial around the churches in several European countries by the 1770s. This last phase can be captured in Transylvania too, a part of the Habsburg Empire that time, where it was related to the ideas of enlightened absolutism and took place in a Catholic context.[1484] Craig Koslofsky examined the trend of establishing public cemeteries outside the city gates in the sixteenth century all over Germany. The actual contemporary explanation was based on medical and hygienic considerations in face of the plague, but the process was in harmony with the Protestant theological views. He argued that the theological separation of the living from the dead by the denial of intercession went parallel with a spatial separation of the two, and the two processes mutually reinforced each other.[1485]

Attempts to remove the burial sites from the center of the settlement were made in the Transylvanian Principality as well, as it turned out from the previous chapter. The town magistrate of Sibiu ordered in 1554 that townspeople should be buried outside the city wall and established two public cemeteries there. They explained the step by referring to health-related considerations due to the plague and the churchyards overcrowded with corpses. Still, the hundreds, the council members, and the clergy were allowed to be buried in the parish church.[1486] This event also reflects that it was not the church anymore who decided upon the burial, but the town leadership had a voice in it, and they reserved some privileges for themselves in this respect. Even if they stopped burials in the parish churchyard at the end of the sixteenth century, the continuing use of some other burial sites in the city, such as the Hospital Church and a former monastic church shows that the old customs were powerful in the rest of the urban society as well.[1487]

In Braşov, the Reformation of the town did not affect the operation of the churchyard cemetery around the parish church. It was closed down only after the prohibition by the state authorities in the eighteenth century, and a Lutheran graveyard was established near the city gate in 1788.[1488] In Sighişoara and Saschiz, the Reformation clearly changed the funerary customs, but they found a transitional solution by moving out the burials from the town center

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[1484] The burial in the church was prohibited already in 1751. In 1772, Emperor Joseph II once again issued a prohibition of the burial in parish churches for healthcare considerations, and finally, in 1784, a court decree ordered the closure of all cemeteries within the settlements and the opening of new graveyards outside them. The establishment of grave monuments was also prohibited; they were approved only on the walls of the cemeteries. Ibid., 72-75.
[1485] Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead*, 46-77.
[1486] See *Chapter 4*, 241-242.
[1487] See note 923 in *Chapter 4*.
[1488] Gross, "Die Gräber in der Kronstadter Stadtpfarrkirche," 132-154; Kühlbrandt, *Die evangelische Stadtpfarrkirche A.B. in Kronstadt*.

and still keeping them in a church environment. In Saschis, even if they had just started to use their new churchyard cemetery around the newly built Late Gothic parish church, they closed it down after a few decades, in the mid-sixteenth century, as the Reformation reached the town.[1489] Though in this case, no written sources survived that would justify the move, it was clearly not related to the lack of space in the churchyard. The communal cemetery was located probably around the old Romanesque church after the Reformation, which was not used any more for any other regular liturgical practice. However, the grave vaults excavated inside the new, Gothic church, as well as the surviving funeral monuments indicate that the elite of the community kept on using the church interior for this purpose.[1490] In Sighişoara, they shifted the function of the parish church to the former Dominican church with the Reformation, and designated the former parish church and its churchyard for burials, which is located on the mountain, so some distance further from the main square.[1491] This churchyard was used from the twelfth century for burials, so the step was surely not aimed to solve an issue of an overcrowded cemetery, since they designated a cemetery that was already full of corpses. In this case, the funeral monuments from the church testify that the town elite also accepted this shift, though they kept on using the church interior. The Lutheran public cemetery was also founded here, west from the church, but already in the eighteenth century.[1492]

Burials were removed from the center of the town in the Calvinist and Antitrinitarian Târgu Mureş and Cluj as well. In Târgu Mureş, the cemetery of the parish was first moved to the yard of the former Franciscan church in the castle that was taken over by the town after 1556.[1493] Then the town magistrate established a public cemetery on the northeastern side of the city when they gained the rank of a royal free town in 1616, but it was soon taken over by the Calvinist church.[1494]

In Cluj, it was also the town magistrate who ordered the removal of burial sites from the town. In 1563, and later again in 1574, the town designated the churchyard of the former Franciscan church as a public cemetery, since the monks were expelled from the town in 1556, after the magistrate had officially embraced the Reformation, and the monastery was taken over

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[1489] This is suggested by the number and distribution of the graves excavated in the churchyard. See Marcu Istrate, "Biserica evanghelică din Saschiz," 115-151.
[1490] Ibid., 123; walled vaults can be seen in the church on 131, 143 and a crypt on 149. Cat. No. 196-198 are the memorials of three town pastors.
[1491] It might have housed also the morning liturgy of the students of the nearby school. The liturgical role of the church was resumed after 1776. See Melzer, "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg," 91.
[1492] Popa, *Denkmaltopographie Siebenbürgen. Stadt Schäßburg* 112-113.
[1493] Pál-Antal, *Marosvásárhely története*, 37-38.
[1494] Kelemen, "A marosvásárhelyi református temető," 185.

by the town.[1495] The explanation of the town leadership for moving the cemetery was that they did not like the fact that people were buried in the courtyard of the former Dominican monastery, which had been taken over and used by the Antitrinitarians.[1496] In this case, the motivation was to move the burials further from the liturgical space, but they still kept them in the environment of a church building, similarly to the above-mentioned Saxon examples. However, they went further, and moved the public cemetery first, in 1573, to the yard between the two city walls, then, in 1585, to the new public cemetery outside the walls. Similarly to Sibiu, they explained these steps with the health-related hazards of the plague and the churchyards overcrowded with burials.[1497]

Meanwhile, by 1579, the former Franciscan complex was returned to the Catholics, since Prince István Báthory donated it to the Jesuit order.[1498] This, however, did not solve the problem of those townspeople who retained the Catholic faith in spite of the official dominance of the Antitrinitarian denomination of the town, but who had no consecrated ground for their burials. In 1581, the head of the new province reported to the Jesuit General that local people used the church and the yard for burials, though it is both against the Jesuit constitution and some hygienic considerations.[1499] This letter demonstrates that the Jesuits expressed the same concerns about burial in and around the church as the Antitrinitarian magistrate of the town. The 1582 visitation finally prohibited the burial in the church except for some specific cases, and they allowed to use the yard until there should be a better solution.[1500] The Jesuits were expelled from the town in 1588, then re-invited in 1595; ultimately even the church and the monastery was destroyed in 1603 by their Antitrinitarian opponents.[1501] Two funeral monuments testify that townspeople kept on using even the church for burial in even this denominationally complicated period.[1502]

Churchyards were still operated as cemeteries in the suburbs, and only an extensive archaeological research of churches and churchyards in the town would reveal to what extent they were still used for burials of the townspeople from the late sixteenth century. The fact, however, that there are no more funeral monuments known from churches in the town, only

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[1495] Entz, "A Farkas utcai templom," 7-16.
[1496] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 117, 196.
[1497] Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei*, 20; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 196.
[1498] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 117.
[1499] Veress, *Az erdélyi jezsuiták levelezése a Báthoryak korából*, 192; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 117.
[1500] Veress, *Az erdélyi jezsuiták levelezése a Báthoryak korából*, 217. A certain Dominus Martinus was mentioned by name as an exceptional case, and this name is indicated in the inscription of a tomb monument that survived from the church (Cat. No. 80).
[1501] Cat. No. 79 and Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 118.
[1502] Ibid., 192 and fig. 188.

from the newly established public cemeteries, and that even the administrative elite appeared among these latter, suggest that the magistrate was successful in its efforts.

Based on the written and material evidence from the Saxon towns, it seems that the prestige of burial in the church did not change there.[1503] The medieval idea of the hierarchy of locations was preserved and also expressed in the prices of graves as discussed in the previous chapter, even if it was not related anymore to the liturgical commemoration aimed to intercede for the soul of the deceased. The regulations from Sibiu and Braşov demonstrate that the place of the grave within the church was adjusted to the individuals' place within the community, and the visibility of this hierarchy was assured by the installation of funeral monuments, as elsewhere in the Protestant urban sphere in Europe, where the floors and the walls of were often covered with funeral monuments.[1504] The hierarchy of places and its visual display could be preserved even if the communal cemetery was moved outside the wall, as it was demonstrated by the funeral monuments erected in the extramural graveyard of Leipzig.[1505] However, there are no traces of such a hierarchy of space in the new public cemeteries in Cluj. There the issue was complicated by the presence of different denominations who were competing also in terms of land for burial. The Central Cemetery was aimed to solve also this problem, since it was declared as open for all religions.

The Reformation of burial space was more radical in Cluj than in the Lutheran towns, which conforms to the tendencies characterizing the western Protestant territories, where the choice of the burial site and the patterns of setting up stone monuments generally reflect a more conservative attitude in the Lutheran urban communities than in those belonging to the rest of the Protestant denominations.[1506] However, it is a common element in the justification by the town magistrates for the establishment of public cemeteries, as well as by the Jesuit order for prohibiting burials in their own churchyard, that they all referred to hygienic considerations, which was typical motif in the period all over Europe.

Otherwise the views of Transylvanian Antitrinitarians on burial sites are not elaborated in any known written evidence. Synods of the Lutheran Church raised the issue first in the 1570s, but they only prescribed to keep the cemeteries and churchyards in order, to provide honorable funeral for the dead, and prohibited to bury there those who rejected the laws of the

[1503] See also Maria Crăciun, "The Construction of Sacred Space and the Confessional Identity of the Transylvanian Lutheran Community," in *Formierungen des konfessionellen Raumes in Ostmitteleuropa* ed. Evelin Wetter (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2008), 97-124.
[1504] Harding, "Choices and Changes," 388-389.
[1505] Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead*, 74.
[1506] Zerbe, "Memorialkunst im Wandel," 118.

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church in their life.[1507] The documents of the early Calvinist synods are, however, excellent expressions of the strict position of their church. Calvinist synods of Eastern Hungary and Transylvania can be dated from around 1562-1563, when the Sacramentarians—who, following Calvin, denied the real presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist—broke with the representatives of the Lutheran direction. They were eager to establish their own canons concerning burial, and their main aim was to distance themselves from the Catholic idolatrous practice as well as from the Lutherans who represented more traditional views in this respect.[1508] The first clear formulations can be found in the so-called Confession of Egervölgy issued in 1562, and in the documents of the 1567 Synod in Debrecen. These laid down that the dead should be buried properly outside the settlement, in a place that is fenced and can be locked, and which does not serve for other public events.[1509] The church must be kept free from burials to avoid scandalizing the weak (in their faith), since burying the dead into an enchanted, "Popish", Catholic ground was perceived as a reason for scandal. The text referred to the fact that Christ and the apostles were all buried outside the cities. The other reason to break with church interment was that preaching required a "clean" place that is, not contaminated with dead corpses, neither with any Popish chants.[1510]

Funeral monuments for the members of the Reformed clergy and their family members testify that they acted along the regulations where they could. Their gravestones all survived from outside the church buildings except for the earliest example, the ledger of Sándor András Tordai, superintendent of the Transylvanian Reformed church from 1577. The rest all date from the seventeenth century and were located either in churchyards of villages or in the public cemetery of Cluj. The two known gravestones of Antitrinitarian priests were also set up in the public cemetery.[1511]

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[1507] Formula pii consensus inter pastores ecclesiarum Saxonicarum inita in publica synodo Mediensi anno 1572, die 22 Junii, Articulus XXV. De sepulturis. See Georg Daniel Teutsch, *Urkundenbuch der evangelischen Landeskirche A. B. in Siebenbürgen*, vol. 2. *Die Synodalverhandlungen der evangelischen Landeskirche A. B. in Siebenbürgen im Reformationsjahrhundert* (Hermannstadt: Franz Michaelis, 1883), 172; Articuli in der Visitation fürzutragen 1577, XVI, see ibid., 208.

[1508] Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, 18. The statutes of the early Reformed synods were analyzed from the point of view of burials by Ida Bobrovszky, "A XVI. századi magyar református zsinatok végzéseinek művészeti vonatkozásai" (The art historical relevance of the statutes of Hungarian Reformed synods in the 16th century), *Ars Hungarica*, no. 1 (1976): 65-71; Zoltán Lörincz, *" .... die Bilder sind von uns genehmigt.... " Die Stellung der ungarischen Reformation zur Kunst und zur Architektur* (Stadtschlaining: Concentrum, 2002). The latter work was almost entirely built on the former.

[1509] Confession of Egervölgy, see Áron Kiss, *A XVI. században tartott magyar református zsinatok végzései* (The statutes of the Hungarian Reformed synods in the 16th century) (Budapest: Magyarországi Protestáns Egylet, 1882), 238-239.

[1510] *Articuli maiores LVIII* and the Hungarian Confession by Péter Méliusz Juhász, ibid., 554-555, 591-592.

[1511] Calvinist church in Deva, Cat. No. 141; from cemeteries: Cat. No. 117, 152, 268, 269, 306; Cat. No.120, 128.

Based on later developments, however, it seems that the medieval traditions concerning the hierarchy of burial place were so persistent in certain cases, that the Reformed church had to re-formulate their position. In 1646, the synod of the Reformed priests accepted the so-called Canons of Gelej, according to which people were to be buried outside the settlements, except for the patrons who had an ancient right to be interred in the churches and chapels. The same approach is reflected by the more nuanced instructions on the funeral ceremony: it should be accompanied by tolling the bells in the proper manner according to the social status of the dead, as well as by singing and preaching. The Canons made a distinction in this respect between the "middle sort" (either noble or not) and "more honorable" dead who deserved a different amount of bell tolling and sermons before and during the funeral ceremony. The second, more honorable layer consisted of the higher (and wealthier) strata of the nobility as well as of chief judges of the relatively large settlements and towns, while the high nobility and aristocracy with the major office holders received a special treatment.[1512] In this case, theological considerations were overshadowed by the customary expressions of social status, and by the mid-seventeenth century, the Reformed Church officially complied with the actual practice.

The overview of the burial sites of the nobility demonstrated that the bulk of this layer indeed claimed the right of church burial and the installation of a funeral monument in their memory in the interior, regardless of their denomination or religious views. The case studies showed that only Catholics prioritized religious considerations over the display of property, office, family ties, and other aspects of social status when choosing their burial site in monastic churches, whereas among the Protestants, it even happened that the noble patrons of the church on their estate were buried there though their religion did not correspond to that of the community, such as the Bethlen family in Criș, the Kendefi family in Vingard, or the Kendi family in Matei.[1513] In Alba Iulia, all Protestant denominations were found; it was the social prestige of the site that dominated.[1514]

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[1512] Canon No. LXXVI. On visiting and consoling the ill and those sentenced to death and on the burial of the dead. Áron Kiss, ed. *Egyházi kánonok, melyeket részint a magyarországi, részint az erdélyi régi kánonokból egybegyűjtött s a kor kívánatához képest több másokkal is bővített és kissé jobb rendbe szedett Geleji Katona István, az erdélyi igazhitű egyházak p spöke, 1649* (Church canons from old canons from Hungary and Transylvania, collected and updated by István Katona of Gelej, bishop of the Transylvanian churches of the true faith, 1649) (Kecskemét: Szatmári Református Egyházmegye, 1875), 39-41.

[1513] Cat. No. 131-32, Szádeczky, "Az Apafiak sírboltja és hamvai," 185-202; Cat. No. 313, Gündisch, Krasser, and Streitfeld, "Dominium, Kirche und Burg von Weingartkirchen," 190-191; Cat. No. 163, Kádár, *Szolnok-Dobokavármegye monographiája*, vol. 5, 148-149. http://mek.oszk.hu/04700/04755/html/292.html (accessed 15 October, 2017).

[1514] The church was operated by Catholics between 1595 and 1601, so there might have been Catholic burials too in these years. See András Szabó, "Antitrinitáriusok, reformátusok és jezsuiták Gyulafehérvárott, 1557–1588" (Antitrinitarians, Calvinists, and Jesuits in Alba Iulia, 1557-1588), *Erdélyi Múzeum* 77, no. 1 (2015): 42-50.

I also presented a new trend among the nobility from the first half of the seventeenth century, about which scholarship knows very little: the establishment of private burial chapels on their estates independent from the parish church, even outside the settlement. In some cases, this can be traced back to a confessional difference between the landowner and the local community, but not always, since chapels were built also if the proper denomination had a church in the settlement. The Catholic Zsigmond Haller wished to be buried in a chapel newly built by himself or the executor of his will, in the yard of the former Franciscan monastery destroyed in 1556 by the Protestant members of his family, who, however, kept on using the church. In this case, the main motivation of Haller was to have a regular liturgy held in the chapel for his soul.[1515] A small rectangular chapel with a tower was built for the Calvinist György Apafi and his family still in his lifetime on the hillside opposite to his castle and the medieval Lutheran church in Mălâncrav, where their tomb chest was also installed above the vault.[1516] András Kovács interpreted this act as the result of the solidification of distinct denominations over the seventeenth century: the landowner would have moved out from the Lutheran village church because of his Calvinist denomination.[1517]

There was no such situation in the background of case of the Calvinist Zsigmond Barcsai, *comes* of Middle Szolnok County and councilor of the prince, who wanted to be interred on his estate, Bârcea Mare, in the hillside, where a family member had already been buried, and he asked his wife to erect a chapel there.[1518] This implies that the first burial took place outside any established burial site. This is not the single reference to such a nonconformist solution. The Protestant—Antitrinitarian or Calvinist[1519]—János Sasa, captain of the infantry of the prince, wished to be buried on an island of the river Ampoi (in Hungarian, Ompoly), in the direction of the "hospital," which probably refers to the medieval Hospital of the Holy Spirit located somewhere in Alba Iulia. He wanted to have nothing else but a vault lined with stone and closed with a carved gravestone bearing his coat of arms, so as his body would not be disturbed by anybody or by the wind.[1520] According to the tradition, the Calvinist Cemetery in Târgu Mureş also started with such a grave on a private property marked with a gravestone.[1521] In contrast, in the sixteenth-century Lutheran church regulations, burial outside the cemetery

[1515] Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3*, 93-97.
[1516] Mérai, "Apafi György szarkofágja és sírkápolnája."; Mérai, "Apafi György síremléke," 3-26.
[1517] Kovács, "Apafi György almakereki sírkápolnájáról," 625-634.
[1518] In 1652; Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3*, 12, 193-196.
[1519] According to Ildikó Horn, János Sasa was interested in the Antitrinitarian dogmas, but his last will from 1585 refers to Benedek Ilosvai who was a Calvinist Dean. Horn, "Der ungarische Adel," 167; Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 2*, 130-131.
[1520] In 1585. Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 2*, 130-131.
[1521] "Borsos Sebestyén krónikája," 122.

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was considered as a punishment for deviation from the social norms, similarly to the customs in the Middle Ages.[1522] Still, the above examples show that, in contrast with the medieval situation, burial was not necessarily tied to the parish anymore, and, with the emergence of various confessions, the number of individually specific solutions increased.

Provisions for the funeral ceremony are a slightly more sensitive indicator of individual views among the nobility.[1523] Simplicity motivated by religious piety appears as an element both in Catholic and Protestant testaments. In most cases, however, the proper manner of the burial is also emphasized, which should be carried out without any unnecessary ostentation, but according to the social status of the deceased. A certain sum left for the poor and for the students participating at the ceremony as well as for the priests giving the sermons is a recurring motif regardless the denomination. Though it seems that these elements connect the Protestant and Catholic ceremonies, other sources testify that the contemporaries clearly perceived the denominational difference. Due to the confessionally heterogeneous nature of the Transylvanian nobility, where differences were not infrequent even among immediate family members, it was unavoidable for nobles to participate at ceremonies following various confessional principles. People problematized the participation in practices they considered as pagan or superstitious based on their own confessional standing. This was manifest in the concern expressed by the Lutheran Saxons when they were obliged to take part at the funeral ceremony of the Antitrinitarian Prince John Sigismund, or by the Protestant nobles who, due to their obligation based on their social status, could not avoid attending the funeral of the Catholic aristocrat Kelemen Mikes.[1524]

5.3. The problem of funeral monuments after the religious reform

Since the main ideologists of various trends of the Reformation were not concerned specifically with the applicability, form, and general appearance of the funeral monuments, these were mostly subject to local approaches based on the broader principles related to commemoration, church space, and the appropriateness of certain images and texts. The main problem with the medieval tombs was seen in their function: they called for prayer for the deceased, as it is often explicitly expressed by the *ora pro me*, "pray for me" inscriptions, as well as by the

[1522] Edit Szegedi, "Moartea, disciplina ecleziastică şi socială în mediile protestante din Transilvania (sec. XVI-XVIII)" in *Reprezentări ale morţii în Transilvania secolelor XVI-XX*, ed. Mihaela Grancea (Cluj-Napoca: Casa Cărţii de ştiinţă, 2005), 72.
[1523] The following summary is mostly based on the relevant paragraphs of last wills published in Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol.1. Hadviselő székelyek végrendeletei. Háromszék*; Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 2*; Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3*.
[1524] Horn, *Hit és hatalom*, 80; Tüdős S., "A csíksomlyói végtisztesség," 295-308.

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iconography. The appearance of medieval tombs was determined by their function concerning this salvific dimension.[1525] Reformed authorities recognized the danger of misinterpreting any funeral monument in this sense. For example, a statute issued by the council of Zurich in 1525 ordered to remove all the gravestones from the city within a month.[1526] Many tombs were destroyed during the sixteenth century in England as well, or, even if the tomb itself was kept, they removed those images and texts that could be interpreted as aimed to provoke an intercessory prayer.[1527]

However, post-Reformation England was also a place where they set up an enormous number of new funeral monuments; this was a period when tomb sculpture flourished with a range of new forms,[1528] and the same stands for most of the western European territories.[1529] Independent of the religious affiliation, spectacular sepulchral monuments were erected in the church naves and choirs, and it was an increasing trend to create large, complex, lavishly ornamented structures. Similarly to the funerary ritual, funeral monuments were not eliminated either after the Reformation, as they were essential part of the social practice of commemoration. The function of the monuments had to be re-interpreted along those functions of commemoration which were still considered adequate: they were to console the survivors, to instruct them on how to prepare for their own death by reminding them of their own mortality and by setting the deceased as moral examples, and to display the honor of the dead, thus, to re-confirm the social order. During a period characterized by a recurrent debate, theorists established a new justification for preserving and creating memorials, building their arguments on their social functions.[1530]

Another main line of criticism concerned funeral monuments as image bearing objects within the church space.[1531] Since funeral monuments belonged to the furnishing of the church interior, views about their acceptable form were largely determined by the position of different Protestant theologies on the applicability of images, especially in the spatial context of a church. Though Luther rejected the idea of endowing images and sculptures to acquire merit by God and earn salvation, as well as the adoration of images, he did not forbid possessing them as

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[1525] Binski, *Medieval Death*, 70-72; Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 52.
[1526] Scholkmann, "Forschungsfragestellungen, Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer Archäologie der Reformation in Mitteleuropa," 18-19.
[1527] Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship*, 4-39.
[1528] See Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*; Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England*, 10-11.
[1529] Staecker, "Die Reformation auf Gotland," 74.
[1530] See Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, 42-60, 259-306; Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England*, 71-96; Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship*.
[1531] Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, 251-259.

such. As for Luther, certain types of images were acceptable due to their didactic value in the propagation of the Gospel. In contrast, Zwingli, Bullinger, and Calvin disapproved all images in the church space and called for their removal, since they can provide an opportunity for idolatry.[1532] The cleansing of the churches from the images inherited from the Middle Ages was sometimes smooth, but sometimes it was manifest in an outburst of violent iconoclasm.[1533]

In addition to images, funeral monuments displayed commemorative as well as religious inscriptions. Calvinist and Lutheran views overlapped in their positive attitude towards the application of biblical inscriptions in church environment. Lutheran images could fulfill more efficiently their educational task due to the text, and they contributed to excluding any doctrinal misunderstanding of the images too, while according to the more radical Reformed ideas, inscriptions were the only form of acceptable decoration in a church.[1534] As it has been observed in the German-speaking areas of the Holy Roman Empire, neither the style nor the content of the funerary inscriptions differed much in the Calvinist and the Lutheran religious context.[1535]

The issue of images in the Transylvanian churches was handled already by the early Protestant synods. In the 1550s, they regulated the practice of demolishing the altarpieces, warning that it belongs to the competence of the secular authorities and not to the church officials.[1536] Already in 1557, the Saxon synod held in Sibiu distanced themselves from those teachings that differed from Luther's in this respect, and prescribed only the removal of the "imaginary" representations, that is, scenes from the saints' legends, while the "historical" ones, that is, episodes from the Old Testament and the life of Christ, were allowed to keep.[1537] Images

[1532] The Protestant positions on the applicability of images has a broad literature. The following, most often cited works discuss the issue from a variety of perspectives: Friedrich Buchholz, *Protestantismus und Kunst im sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, Studien über Christliche Denkmäler. Neue Folge der Archäologischen Studien zum Christlichen Altertum und Mittelalter 17 (Leipzig: Dieterich'scheVerlagsbuchhandlung, 1928); Werner Hofmann, *Luther und die Folgen für die Kunst: Hamburger Kunsthalle, 11. November 1983 - 8. Januar 1984* (Munich: Prestel, 1983); Sergiusz Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts. The Protestant Image Question and the Visual Arts* (London: Routledge, 1993); Harasimowicz, *Kunst als Glaubensbekenntnis*; Andrew Pettegree, "Art" in *The Reformation World*, ed. Andrew Pettegree (London: Routledge, 2000), 461-490; Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

[1533] Lee Palmer Wandel, *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands. Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Bob Scribner and Martin Warnke, *Bilder und Bildersturm im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1990); Aston, "Public Worship and Iconoclasm," 9-28; Andrew Spicer, "Iconoclasm and Adaptation: The Reformation of the Churches in Scotland and the Netherlands," ibid., 29-43; Sarah Tarlow, "Reformation and Transformation: What Happened to Catholic Things in a Protestant World?" Ibid., 108-121; Sergiusz Michalski, "Die protestantischen Bilderstürme. Versuch einer Übersicht," in *Bilder und Bildersturm im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* ed. Bob Scribner, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 46 (Wiesbaden: In Kommission bei Otto Harrasowitz, 1990), 69-124.

[1534] Harasimowicz, *Kunst als Glaubensbekenntnis*, 41-82.

[1535] Zerbe, "Memorialkunst im Wandel," 126.

[1536] Kiss, *A XVI. században tartott magyar református zsinatok*, 23-24, 31, 41; Binder, "Theologie und Bekenntnis auf Synoden der evang. sächsischen Kirche 1545-1578," 57-58.

[1537] Roth, *Die Reformation in Siebenbürgen*, 26; Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, xli; Edit Szegedi, "Was bedeutete Adiaphoron/ Adiaphora im siebenbürgischen Protestantismus des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts?" in

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were destroyed by Protestants to purify churches in Transylvania starting from the 1540s,[1538] in Bistriţa,[1539] Sibiu,[1540] Braşov,[1541] Alba Iulia,[1542] and in the Franciscan and later in the Jesuit monasteries in Cluj.[1543] In 1556, the town of Cluj paid 50 denars to the *lapicida* János Seres for destroying the altars.[1544] In the Lutheran Saxon context, the approach was relatively tolerant also in practice, both by the church authorities and within the local communities, which resulted in a significant number of surviving medieval altarpieces and frescoes as well. The Saxon authorities were generally conservative, avoiding radical changes where possible, and the preservation of images was in general a phenomenon much more characteristic in the Saxon Lutheran churches than their destruction.[1545]

After the Sacramentarian branch broke up with the Lutheran church, they formulated their position at their synod held in 1567, based on the principles set up by Calvin. All the altarpieces, pictures, sculpted images had to be removed from the churches by the secular authorities and the priests, and sculpture was not allowed to be set up even outside the church.[1546] The justification was formulated with reference to Calvin's arguments built on the Second Commandment and various parts of the Old Testament, which warned that the artists' work had turned the raw material into something that could be subject to idolatry.[1547] Still, as it was also added, things that were not worshipped by the Catholics were permissible to depict.

Formierungen des konfessionellen Raumes in Ostmitteleuropa, ed. Evelin Wetter, Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Mitteleuropa (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2008), 57-74.

[1538] For a survey of the related information, see Emese Sarkadi Nagy, "Studies on Late Medieval Altarpieces of Transylvania" PhD Thesis (Central European University, Budapest. 2007), 34-35; Emese Sarkadi Nagy, *Local Workshops, Foreign Connections: Late Medieval Altarpieces from Transylvania*, Studia Jagellonica Lipsiensia 9 (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2012), 21.

[1539] The cleansing of the church was led by Thomas Kretschmer, member of the town council (Cat. No. 37), see Dahinten, *Geschichte der Stadt Bistritz*, 256-257.

[1540] Ziegler, "Protestantischer 'Bildersturm'," 195-230.

[1541] Christoph Machat, "Auswirkungen der Reformation auf die Ausstattung siebenbürgischer Kirchen," in *Luther und Siebenbürgen. Ausstrahlungen von Reformation und Humanismus nach Südosteuropa*, ed. Georg Weber and Renate Weber, Siebenbürgisches Archiv. Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, 2nd series 19 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1985), 312.

[1542] Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 123.

[1543] Keul, *Early Modern Religious Communities*, 150-151; Entz, "A Farkas utcai templom," 16-18.

[1544] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 80.

[1545] Many medieval altarpieces and paintings fell victim to a trend to purify church space in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. On the topic of Lutheran image destruction and preservation, see Crăciun, "The Construction of Sacred Space," 97-124; Maria Crăciun, "Rural altarpieces and religious experiences in Transylvania's Saxon communities," in *Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400-1700*, ed. Heinz Schilling and István György Tóth, Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press - Europe Science Foundation, 2006), 191-217; Crăciun, "Art, religious diversity and confessional identity," 81-108; Machat, "Auswirkungen der Reformation auf die Ausstattung siebenbürgischer Kirchen," 309-326; Ziegler, "Protestantischer 'Bildersturm'," 195-230; Christine Peters, "Mural paintings, ethnicity and religious identity in Transylvania: the context of Reformation," in *The Reformation in Eastern and Central Europe*, ed. Karin Maag (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1997), 92-117.

[1546] Kiss, *A XVI. században tartott magyar református zsinatok*, 188-189, 516.

[1547] Ibid., 473-474.

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The restriction applied only to those topics that could be the subject of worship.[1548] This latter position left some space for figural representations too.

In Transylvania, there are no data that would suggest that Protestant iconoclasm affected sepulchral monuments from the Middle Ages due to their images or inscriptions or those of other denominations. Inscriptions on funeral monuments appeared relatively late there, in the fifteenth century, and formulae calling for intercession that caused the most serious upheaval in Protestant Western Europe—*ora pro me*, *miserere me*—[1549] were applied as well, though there are not too many known examples.[1550] No evidence implies that such inscriptions would have been removed, though there might have been many more of them, and it is not known whether the preserved pieces were kept visible after the Reformation. The post-Reformation concern about the function of the funeral monuments is implied by those inscriptions that explain the motivation for erecting a memorial, such as to express piety towards family members, love of the spouse, child, or parent, to protect the grave from disturbance, and to wait in peace for the resurrection.[1551]

Sources on the destruction of the stone memorials talk about the plundering by Ottoman or Christian forces, as in Alba Iulia, where the destruction did not target specifically medieval memorials, and no particular religious motivation can be detected behind it. Principality-period pieces also fell victim to these campaigns. A source about the first wave of religiously motivated iconoclasm even suggests that they deliberately kept medieval memorials, or at least some of them. Based on the account of Giovanandrea Gromo, an Italian officer of the Guards of Prince John Sigismund, when the Protestants destroyed the entire furnishing of the medieval cathedral in Alba Iulia in 1565, only four marble monuments were spared: that of János Hunyadi, another one Gromo probably erroneously determined as belonging to John Sigismund's father, János Szapolyai, the memorial of Cardinal Giorgio Martinuzzi, and the tomb of Queen Isabelle.[1552] The present ensemble of medieval tombs in the cathedral shows that in reality, more than four survived the destruction, though it is not clear in this case either whether they were kept visible.

István Szamosközy, a contemporary humanist who wrote about the history of Transylvania, narrates the destruction of the Jesuit monastery in Cluj by the Antitrinitarians. He

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[1548] Ibid., 474. See also Bobrovszky, "A XVI. századi magyar református zsinatok."
[1549] Jonathan Finch, "Sacred and Secular Spheres: Commemoration and the 'practice of privacy' in Reformation England," in *Arch ologie der Reformation: Studien zu den Auswirkungen des Konfessionswechsels auf die materielle Kultur*, ed. Carola Jäggi and Jörn Staecker, Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 104 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 197-198.
[1550] For examples, see Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 52-53.
[1551] E.g. Cat. No. 69, 131, 133, 188, 190; see also Doroftei, *Lexicul inscripţiilor*, 31. The testament of Zsigmond Lónyai from 1648 also provides such a justification, see Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3*, 180.
[1552] Gromo, "Compendio," 175; Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 139.

says they did not only demolish the monastery together with the church, but "the pictures of holy men and women they smashed with axes and hoes, and they did not even spare the graves of the dead."[1553] However, these latter acts were not mentioned in the account of the same event written by the Jesuit rector Giovanni Argeti.[1554] The hypothesis that Szamosközy applied an ancient topos for signaling the barbarian nature of the plundering is confirmed by the fact that he wrote about opening of the graves of even the rulers by the attacking troops of Gábor Bethlen in 1603.[1555]

5.4. Tombs in Transylvania after the Reformation

5.4.1. The type, form, and iconography of the funeral monuments

In Transylvania, the official church forums were neither interested in the applicability of funeral monuments and nor in their form. Since, however, memorials could potentially display images in the church space, the differing positions of the various denominations can be examined in the preserved ensemble in this respect. The application of images on sepulchral monuments was determined by and expressed denominational boundaries as it has been demonstrated in various areas of Europe,[1556] and this can be observed in Transylvania too. The views elaborated by Calvin on the suspicious character of art replicating nature evoked a generally reserved attitude towards figural images among his followers. This was also manifest in the cautious treatment of images on tombs in various regions of Europe, and they often decided to abandon all figural representations to remain on the safe side.[1557]

The representation of biblical figures and scenes was far from widespread on Transylvanian memorials in general. The story of the Good Samaritan was carved on the side panel of the tomb chest of Queen Isabelle in the above-mentioned court church in Alba Iulia, as a moral instruction for the spectator but also referring to the virtues of the queen. The Resurrection, a wide-spread theme on tombs in a western Lutheran context, is displayed by two,

[1553] István Szamosközy, "Rerum Ungaricum" in *Szamosközy István történeti maradványai 1566-1603*, ed. Sándor Szilágyi, Monumenta Hungariae Historica, vol. 1 (A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvkiadó Hivatala, 1877), 107. It was quoted in Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 118. Translation in Keul, *Early Modern Religious Communities*, 150-151.
[1554] Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 118.
[1555] Szamosközy, "Rerum Ungaricum," 40 repeated by Farkas Bethlen, *Historia de rebus Transsylvanicis, vol. 5* (Cibinium [Sibiu]: Typis Martini Hochmeister, 1789), 32. Quoted in Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 268.
[1556] Harasimowicz, *Kunst als Glaubensbekenntnis*; Knöll, *Creating Academic Communities*; Jörn Staecker, "A Protestant Habitus. 16th-Century Danish Graveslabs as an Expression of Changes in Belief," in *The Archaeology of the Reformation 1480-1580*, ed. David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist (Leeds: Maney, 2003), 415-436; Zerbe, "Memorialkunst im Wandel," 124.
[1557] Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, 246; Knöll, *Creating Academic Communities*, 171-180.

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almost identical ledgers from Sibiu from the 1650s. Another popular scene on Lutheran epitaphs and tombs all over Europe, the deceased kneeling in front of the crucified Christ, is represented by no more than one example, the epitaph of Margaretha Budai.[1558]

Biblical figures, scenes, and saints were incorporated into the heraldry and ornamental frame on some ledgers among the Saxons in Sibiu, though this was not very frequently done either. The symbolic heraldry on the memorial of the pastor Petrus Rihelius was composed of Noah's arch, where the arch evokes also an ancient reference to the journey to the afterlife, and the dove with the oil branch appears as a symbol of hope in the Resurrection.[1559] The shield is held by St. Peter Martyr and St. John the Evangelist.[1560] The heraldry on the ledger of Blasius Rhau displays a strange mixture of the iconography of St. Onophrius and Blasius, patron saints of the subject, based on his profession and name.[1561]

The Lutheran reform rejected the canonization and cult of saints, since according to their understanding, the community of the saints equaled the community of all believers. Saints were set as examples to follow, but they were not to be prayed to, either individually or in the liturgy; they were only remembered in the sermon. Saints' days were kept as reference points in the calendar though, which was also simplified in this respect. In Transylvania, the commemoration of the saints was one of the distinctive elements between the Lutheran and Calvinist churches. Two memorials of Lutheran Saxons referred to a saint and to the Virgin when providing the date of death, and the chronological role of saints' days was preserved even in a Calvinist as well as in an Antitrinitarian environment, such as in Cluj, as it is testified by the inscription on the tomb of a Calvinist professor's wife.[1562] However, saints had no place in the religious life of the latter two, as opposed to the Lutheran communities.[1563] Complying with this difference, saints' figures do not appear on funeral monuments set up in a Calvinist or Antitrinitarian environment, but they were represented in a Lutheran context, even if not very frequently. The saints were chosen based on their relation to the subject in their name, status, or profession, which was a usual approach in other Lutheran territories in Europe as well. Jan Harasimowicz interpreted the function of these representations in a funerary context as a personal declaration

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[1558] Cat. No. 6; Cat. No. 222, 263; Cat. No. 225
[1559] Cat. No. 224; Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 169.
[1560] Ibid., xliv-xlv.
[1561] Cat. No. 239; ibid., xliv.
[1562] Cat. No. 26 and 34; Cat. No. 103
[1563] See Edit Szegedi, "Comemorarea sfinţilor in Transilvania protestantă (sec. XVI-XVIII)" (Commemoration of the saints in Protestant Transylvania [sixteenth to eighteenth centuries]), *Banatica* 19 (2009): 95-115.

of faith in the salvation by evoking the memory of personalities who were exemplary in this respect.[1564]

Figures of angels and cherubim are also much less characteristic for the Calvinist and Antitrinitarian urban setting. They never appear on the memorials of their clergy, while only once in such towns in general: two cherubim heads on a gravestone in Târgu Mureş (Cat. No. 300). In contrast, angels are the most frequent shield holders on the memorials of the Lutheran Saxon and the nobility, and cherubim heads were often fit into the upper spandrels and the ornamental frames. They can be interpreted in an eschatological context as accompanying the soul of deceased, who is represented by the heraldic device, to the heaven.

There is an even more characteristic difference between the memorials from a Lutheran and those from a Calvinist-Antitrinitarian urban environment: in the representation of the portraits of the deceased. This difference corresponds to the trend in Western Europe, where Calvinists generally did not equip funeral monuments with portrait images, while it was not a problem in a Lutheran context.[1565] A quantitative survey of the surviving memorials demonstrates the same phenomenon in Transylvania: 59 of the 311 memorials bear a portrait of the deceased, and 39 (62%) of these were set up for Lutheran Saxons, while no portrait memorials are known from an urban Antitrinitarian or Calvinist environment. As I argued in the previous chapter, gravestones with small human figures in and around Cluj can rather be considered as heraldic memorials.[1566] The rest of the portraits represent the last Catholic bishop, Johannes Statileo, and nobles: two Catholics, five Calvinists, and three Antitrinitarians.[1567]

In the first decades after the acceptance of the religious reform, relatively few tombs displayed the portraits of the deceased even among the Lutheran clergy. One of the earliest examples was the memorial of Albertus Cerasinus or Kirschner, who was the priest of Bistriţa from 1549 (d. 1564, Cat. No. 32). The inscription of his full-figure ledger says that the Reformation of the town was completed during his activity. Kirschner was among those who favored a more radical attitude towards the liturgy, its visual elements, and the furnishing of the church space, closer to the Calvinist or Antitrinitarian ideas than to the more conservative direction characterizing Sibiu, which was finally accepted as the official view of the Transylvanian Lutheran Church.[1568] Still, apparently, portraiture on funeral monuments did not

[1564] Harasimowicz, *Kunst als Glaubensbekenntnis*, 115-116.
[1565] Knöll, *Creating Academic Communities*, 96-113.
[1566] Cat. No. 88, 95, 97
[1567] Cat. No. 68, 204; Cat. No. 17, 64, 66, 173, 313; Cat. No. 5, 21, 107; and I have no information about the confessional belonging of the rest of the nobles.
[1568] Pál Binder, "Dávid Ferenc rektor besztercei papja: Albert Kirschner (1508–1564)" (The priest of rector Ferenc Dávid in Bistriţa: Albert Kirschner [1508–1564]), *Keresztény Magvető* 87, no. 4 (1981): 217-220.

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evoke any concerns in this case. From the 1590s, portrait ledgers became a characteristic type for Lutheran priests, 23 of the 50 preserved pieces, while none among the Calvinist and Antitrinitarian pastors. From the fourth decade of the seventeenth century, portrait memorials became the form preferred by the Saxon town leaders as well, while the known monuments of Calvinist and Antitrinitarian urban leaders are all simple heraldic pieces.

Even tombs without figures are much more modest in of Cluj and Târgu Mureş than in the Saxon churches. This was, however, also related to the place of the burial: since most of the surviving stones were set up in the extramural graveyards in the Antitrinitarian and Calvinist towns, they necessarily displayed forms different from those inserted into the pavements of the churches. They were exposed to the various weather conditions, which made it useless to create meticulously ornamented surfaces, and the weak quality of the stone material did not allow it either. The establishment of the cemetery between the city walls of Cluj brought to existence an especially minimalistic form: since it was not possible to erect a real gravestone due to the lack of space, the ashlars of the wall were turned into memorials by slightly fashioning their surface and incising a brief inscription. However, even the few ledgers from the churches in Cluj are simpler than the contemporary examples from Sibiu, displaying only a heraldic motif and a brief inscription.[1569]

As argued above, the arrangements of the town management concerning the use of churches, churchyards, and public cemeteries were not independent from the denomination they officially chose. Thus, religious views had a double, if indirect influence on the form and iconography of the memorials: public cemeteries favored simpler funeral monuments, and these were also in accordance with the Calvinist and Antitinitarian views on the suspicious nature of images and any lavish forms of commemoration. Religion did contribute to the different developments in Cluj and Târgu Mureş compared to the memorials in the Saxon towns, and this is supported by the fact that the customs of the Calvinist, Antitrinitarian, and Lutheran clergy outside these towns also followed the respective trends. Calvinist and Antitrinitarian priests had simple heraldic gravestones in cemeteries, while Lutherans were commemorated with more ornamented and often portrait ledgers in the church interiors.

Considering the funeral monuments of the nobility, no such difference can be observed based on the religion. Though there were Catholic, Calvinist, and Antitrinitarian among those represented in the analyzed sample by their memorials, the religious affiliation is not manifest in any kind of difference in the tomb type. Most monuments were simple heraldic ledgers,

[1569] Cat. No. 78-80

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regardless of the denomination. The medieval type of tomb chest with a representation of the full figure of the deceased on the top was also preserved in each religious context, such as in the case of the Calvinist György Apafi, the Antitrinitarian György Sükösd, and the Catholic Kelemen Béldi.[1570]

The Apafi tomb chest displays further three portraits on one of the short side panels, the three sons of Apafi who died as infants (Cat. No. 66). Two of them are seen kneeling in a prayer, and the third one lying on his catafalque. The children of the Lutheran bishop's wife, Barbara Theilesius appear in the same pose, kneeling on the two sides of their mother's dead body represented in the form of a half-figure memorial (Cat. No. 165). Patrons, donors were depicted in kneeling, praying pose since the first half of the fourteenth century in codices, altarpieces, wall paintings, and such figures became widespread elements of painted epitaphs and gravestones from the mid-fourteenth century, first in the German areas, later all over Europe.[1571] It was the most popular way of representing the deceased also on the Lutheran epitaphs and funeral monuments, most of whom knelt in front of the Crucifix.[1572] As said above, this type of image is represented in Transylvania by a single example, the epitaph of Margaretha Haller in Sibiu (Cat. No. 225). Though in the Middle Ages, the representation of the prayer called for intercession, in a Lutheran context it did not encourage intercession anymore but served as a visual proclamation of faith in the redemption.[1573] This message is conveyed on the ledger of Georg Heltner, who kneels in a prayer together with his family below an inscription expressing their trust: "Due to your martyr death and suffering, we are sure to join you, oh, my Lord"[1574] (Cat. No. 280).

It is unexpected to see the depiction of the same scene on the tomb chest of the Calvinist noble György Apafi, since kneeling while praying was defined as an erroneous practice by the early Calvinist synods in Eastern Hungary already in the 1560s.[1575] As, however, the decisions of the 1638 synod attest, reality did not adjust so quickly to the ideals, so they allowed the priests to recite prayers during the liturgy while kneeling at the altar.[1576] The wall monuments imported from Poland for the princes and set up in Alba Iulia might also have included the three-dimensional portraits of their subjects kneeling in a prayer based on the analogies from

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[1570] Cat. No. 66, 107, and 204
[1571] Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 410-413.
[1572] Harasimowicz, *Kunst als Glaubensbekenntnis*, 127-144.
[1573] Ibid.
[1574] *Auff dein gros Martr Sterben Und Leydn Komn wir o Herr zu dir bescheydn*.
[1575] Kiss, *A XVI. században tartott magyar református zsinatok*, 79.
[1576] Szegedi, "Was bedeutete Adiaphoron/ Adiaphora im siebenbürgischen Protestantismus des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts?," 66.

the workshop of their sculptors.[1577] This was not a conceptual problem in the case of the Catholic Kristóf Báthory. However, concerning the Calvinist Gábor Bethlen, and the memorials of György Rákóczi I and his sons commissioned by his devotedly Puritan wife, Zsuzsanna Lorántffy, it is a question whether they overlooked or consciously chose such a detail in a context where it was much more visible than on the Apafi tomb chest. A certain level of general criticism towards the portrait sculptures on the wall monument for Prince Gábor Bethlen and his first wife, Zsuzsanna Károlyi is manifest in its description by Ferenc Nagy Szabó, a *civis* of the Calvinist Târgu Mureş, in his *Chronicle*. Nagy Szabó asked the rhetorical question: if the saints do not, why do the prince and his wife deserve to be represented in the church in sculpted alabaster images?[1578]

The difference between the perception of portraits of the dead on funeral monuments and portraits of biblical personalities is well attested by the story of the pulpit that was installed in the same church at the personal request of Prince Gábor Bethlen. The Calvinist prince was attracted by a pulpit he saw in a Lutheran town in Upper Hungary, and he decided to order a similar one decorated with the gilded figures of the apostles and angels and set it up in his Calvinist court church. The pulpit was finished by 1630, but he was not able to persuade the Calvinist priests to use it. According to the contemporary narrations, after the death of the prince, the figures were removed at the urging of the Calvinist estates and even publicly burnt or buried.[1579] The fate of the pulpit demonstrates that the same clergy and community who tolerated funeral monuments in the church depicting portraits, cherubim, and even biblical scenes, were not willing to accept a piece of liturgical furniture displaying sculpted apostles and angels.

Just as in the case of the place of the burial, the social traditions characterizing the commemorative practices of the nobility were sometimes clearly more influential than religious considerations when making the choices about funeral monuments. This is attested by an element in the last will of the Calvinist Zsigmond Kékedi, head of the princely court: he expressed his wish for a modest funeral ceremony, reasoning that any kind of luxury was against God's commandments. At the same time, he asked his brother to have a red marble figural monument (*statua*) made in his memory, so from a material that implies an expensive imported work and in a form that probably displayed his portrait.[1580] Apparently, concerns about

[1577] Mikó, "Báthory István király," 123.
[1578] "Nagy Szabó Ferenc memorialéja," 142-143.
[1579] Kovács, "Simulált is szegény fejedelem az religio dolgában...," 689-697.
[1580] 1638; Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3*, 124-128.

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ostentation did not even occur in this respect. The same contrast between humbleness and social display can be detected on the memorial of the Lutheran pastor Simon Kirtscher. The richly ornamented portrait monument was equipped with the inscription "Even though we are dregs, mud, the vilest of thing, we return earth to earth, the thing in which we take so much pride"[1581] (Cat. No. 166).

5.4.2. Good life and good death: the didactic potential of funeral monuments

According to the theology of the Reformation, the living cannot do anything for the souls of the dead any more, but they can do something for themselves: they can strengthen their faith in the redemption to be prepared when their own death comes. With the doctrine of salvation by faith alone, the only thing that mattered was to remain firm in faith until death; there was no way to assist the soul of the departed after that.[1582] An important function of funeral monuments was to remind the living that their own death is inevitable, and they should get ready for it. A "good death" was one in which the person was found properly prepared, and this became an important motif in the Protestant commemoration: on one hand, the confirmation that their beloved had a good death consoled the bereaved; one the other, the departed were set as models for the living by their exemplary life and their good death.

Tomb inscriptions stating that the subject died the proper way were to confirm the faith of the living in the resurrection. The quote "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord" (Rev. 14,13) is read on the ledgers of the Lutheran Georg Peltz and Benedictus Iustus, as well as on that of Dominus Martinus in Cluj.[1583] The entire inscription on the latter is an elaboration of this quote: it is not ancestry or wealth, nor fame that make one blessed, nor an age-old nobility, but one will be blessed who dies rightfully in the Lord. The Hungarian text on the gravestone of Mátyás Hyncz also in Cluj warned everybody to focus on their deathbed on the returning of Christ and the eternal happiness of their soul.[1584] A life closed by a good death is referred to by 2 Timothy 4,7: "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith."[1585] The simplest form of confirming the good death of the subject was to start the commemorative

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[1581] *CVM FEX CVM LIMVS CVM RES VILISSIMA SIMVS VNDE SVPERBIMVS IN TERRAM TERRA REDIM(VS)*
[1582] Reinis, *Reforming the Art of Dying*.
[1583] Cat. No. 180, 200, and 80
[1584] Cat. No. 89;
[1585] Johann Plecker, Braşov, Cat. No. 46; Simon Hartmann, Moşna, Cat. No. 172

inscription with the formula "fell asleep in the Lord" or "here lies in the Lord", which were equally used in Latin, German, and Hungarian.[1586]

Contrasting the fate of the body and the fate of the soul was another way to proclaim one's faith. Inscriptions emphasize that the grave or tomb hides only the bones and ashes of the deceased.[1587] On the ledger of Georg Theilesius, the commemorative inscription talks about the tired limbs of the bishop resting in the grave, while the epitaph verse is about his rise as someone chosen by God.[1588] This duality is expressed by the image as well, where the dead bishop appears between cherubim and with the Holy Dove above his head. On the coped gravestone of Judit Decsi, Sirach 12,7 was used to express the same idea "And the dust returns into its earth, from whence it was, and the spirit returns to God, who gave it."[1589] The symbolic heraldry of Petrus Rihelius bears Philippians 1,21 as a motto: "For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain." The same sentence in German accompanies the portrait of Barbara Theilesius, and the two parts were even visually contrasted, since they were written on the two pilasters flanking her figure.[1590]

Conviction in the salvation and the resurrection were the most important elements in the epitaphs both written in Latin and in Hungarian.[1591] This hope was expressed by biblical quotes as well, such as Psalm 25, 2: "O my God, I trust in thee."[1592] The Hungarian text on a series of tombs produced in Cluj in the seventeenth century is closed by the same formula referring to the resurrection ("May the Lord bring resurrection on the last day").[1593]

In the epitaph verses, all these contents were often formulated in the language of Humanistic poetry.[1594] The use of ancient formulae addressing the spectator with a question or as traveler (*viator*) emphasizes the didactic role of the tombs.[1595] In addition to the eschatological thoughts, verses also tell about the virtues and achievements of the deceased.

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[1586] Cat. No. 26, 47; Cat. No. 51, 52, 54, 133, 152, 309. This was especially popular in Cluj: Cat. No. 81, 82, 83, 86, 88, 90, 92, 93, 95, 100, 101, 102, 103, 121, 127; and in Braşov: Cat. No. 43, 49, 53, 56, 61.
[1587] Albertus Cerasinus, Bistriţa (Cat. No. 32); Borbála Petki, Mălâncrav (Cat. No. 66); Dominus Martinus, Cluj, Calvinist church (Cat. No. 80) Sámuel Járai Antitrinitarian bishop, Cluj, Central Cemetery (Cat. No. 119); the Fodor Siblings (in Hungarian), Cluj, Central Cemetery (Cat. No. 96)
[1588] Cat. No.26
[1589] Cat. No. 151
[1590] Cat. No. 224, Cat. No. 165. See also Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, xxxix.
[1591] E.g. Cat. No. 155, 156, 286 and Cat. No. 97, 98, 99, 159, 187, 188, 189. See also Doina Filimon Doroftei, "Elemente biblice în inscripţiile funerare în limba latină din ţările române (1300-1800)" (Biblical elements in the Latin inscriptions in the Romanian lands [1300-1800]), *Text şi Discurs Religious* 2 (2010): 110-111.
[1592] Cat. No. 265
[1593] Cat. No. 97, 98, 99, 102 - *adjon az úr feltámadást az utolsó napon.*
[1594] On the earliest manifestations of Humanism on late medieval tomb monuments, see Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 109-114.
[1595] Cat. No. 216, 219; in Hungarian: Cat. No. 193

The praise of the deceased was a general characteristic in the Humanistic genre of epitaphs.[1596] The application of extensive biographical texts on funeral monuments was rooted in the Humanist commemorative traditions, and corresponded to the emergence of lengthy biographical sermons in the second half of the sixteenth century all over Europe.[1597] In a Protestant environment, the dead were cited as models for the audience, since their virtuous and successful life both in the civic and in religious sphere proved that they were among the elected. Inscriptions praised their piety, faith, virtue, sharp mind, calm temper, rightful decisions, dignified outlook,[1598] and they listed their offices as a part of a successful life course. The merits of women listed in their grave inscriptions concerned their piety and role as good wives.[1599]

These texts became increasingly popular during the seventeenth century, and were applied on memorials in each denomination and social layer.[1600] The memorial plaque of the aristocrat János Haller lists all his titles and offices, and concludes by saying that it serves just to show how worthless all this was, since their holder is already no more than dust (Cat. No. 193). The inscription on the ledger of the stone cutter János Seres in Cluj says that his entire work creates an eternal memorial to him. The text on Lucas Ungler's memorial even explains why all these pieces of information are listed about him: "His life showed him as a worthy man, his long lifespan as even worthier."[1601] This leads to the question discussed in the previous chapter: why they put so much emphasis on indicating the old age of the deceased in every social group. Images also contributed to the communication about the good life of the subjects: urban heraldry was often composed of elements that referred to their virtues, and the same motifs appear also among the framing ornaments. Portraits also presented the deceased emphasizing those features and attributes that testified of their merits.

The expression of loss and grief felt by the bereaved is not very frequent in this period, and mostly indirect, referring to the parents or the wife and children of the deceased as patrons of the memorial. The emotional formulation on the gravestone of the daughters of Gerig Hembsch from Cluj, who died at an early age, is exceptional, telling that their death left a bitterness in the hearts of their parents. Jacobus Paleologus and his wife, Eufrozyna were sad that they had to install the memorial for their little daughter for whom they had longed. The

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[1596] Iiro Kajanto, *Classical and Christian. Studies in the Latin Epitaphs of Medieval and Renaissance Rome* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1980), 137-138.
[1597] Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead*, 107-114; Finch, "Sacred and Secular Spheres," 198-199; Doroftei, "Elemente biblice," 108.
[1598] E.g. Cat. No.17, 29, 4, 25, 28, 29, 66, 73, 84, 119
[1599] E.g. Cat. No. 66, 142
[1600] Cat. No. 66, 73, 84, 192, 295
[1601] Cat. No. 78; Cat. No. 29- *DIGNVS ERAT VITA LONGO DIGNISSIMVS AEVO*

memorial of Andreas Literatus was inspired by conjugal love according to the text, the ledger of Franciscus Greafius was placed by his sad wife and children.[1602] The most frequent term expressing emotional attachment was the adjective *charissimus* applied for parents, spouses, sons and daughters.[1603] The expression of grief over the loss is, however, generally dominated by a display of faith in the salvation of the soul and in the resurrection. Though the epitaph on Gábor Bocskai's memorial says that his origin and his virtue as well as his exemplary life show that he deserved a much better fate, it is combined with a biblical quote on the resurrection from Revelation 14,13: "Then I heard a voice from heaven say, ʻWrite this: Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from now on.' ʻYes,' says the Spirit, ʻthey will rest from their labor, for their deeds will follow them'." The text dated to the years around 1575 is in Hungarian, so it even predated the first printed Hungarian translation in 1590.[1604]

"Memento mori" iconography on funeral monuments

Inscriptions reminded viewers of the brevity of life to warn the living to prepare for a good death in each denominational context, in a piece of poetry[1605] or in the form of brief sayings widespread all over Europe: *memento mori*, *hodie mihi cras tibi*, *quod ego sum tu eris*, *sic transit gloria mundi*.[1606] These were often combined with images belonging to the *memento mori* iconography, referring to the vanity and perishability of worldly things, youth, and life, which were widespread in funerary art as well as in other genres in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries all over Europe. The Lutheran hermeneutic method of teaching relied on images as well as on words, the two mutually supporting each other. A mid-seventeenth-century ledger from Sibiu displays an excellent example for this: the inscription above the image of the Resurrection explains the scene, while the image supports the teaching of the text (Cat. No. 222). The combination of text and image was, however, not a peculiarity of Lutheran art, but it was a characteristic phenomenon in the period manifest in Renaissance emblem collections, devices, and other illustrative genres. These art forms influenced Lutheran communication, while the openness of the latter contributed to the development of visual culture in this direction.[1607]

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[1602] Cat. No. 87, 21, 220, and 25
[1603] Cat. No. 31, 79, 80, 128, 131, 141, 293, 307, 308
[1604] Cat. No. 1, see Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 44.
[1605] e.g. Cat. No. 140 and 273 in Latin or Cat. No. 193 in Hungarian
[1606] Cat. No. 256; Cat. No. 118; 150, 215, 222, 223, 290; Cat. No. 133; Cat. No. 217
[1607] Harasimowicz, *Kunst als Glaubensbekenntnis*, 41-82.

Representations and texts referring to decay were broadly applied on tombs even in the Middle Ages, reminding the observer of his or her own death and inviting contemplation of the sins that were closely associated with decay within Christian spirituality.[1608] Macabre themes and an interest shown in portrayals of physical decomposition was manifest from the fourteenth century in manuscripts and church murals as well as in a funerary context, mostly in Germany and France.[1609] The images of bodily decay were closely related to medieval conceptions of memory, applying emotionally shocking effects for a deeper impression of the message.[1610] From the late sixteenth century, the theme was "vulgarized" (this is a term used by Philippe Ariés), and skeletons and bones appeared on a broad range of tombstones all over Europe.[1611] Representations reminding viewers of the brevity of human life and the necessity of the preparation for death combined with sentences from the Bible or religious literature were widely popularized by printed graphic arts. These were most often bones, amphibians and reptiles referring to decay, and symbols of the passing of the time and all perishable joys and beauties.

Most of such images in Transylvania originate from a Saxon urban context. The earliest known representation is on the tomb of Johann Waida: a putto figure leaning with his elbow on a skull (d. 1599; Cat. No. 218). The image of an infant with the death's head derives from the genre of Renaissance emblems.[1612] It was the Venetian Giovanni Boldú in the mid-fifteenth century who first combined the figure of a putto—a combination of an *all'antica* genius and the angel who carries the souls to the heaven—and a skull on bronze medals. This composition became extremely popular all over Europe because of the striking contrast between the skull and the young, childlike figure of the putto. North from Italy, the putto was not associated with an angel, but became a symbol of pagan hedonism. It warned as a threatening example to fight the sins vigilantly all over the lifetime. The putto is often depicted dying among all kinds of vanities, or playing carelessly near a skeleton holding a scythe, with an inscription in Latin or German saying *Hodie mihi cras tibi*.[1613] The "putto with the death's head" was introduced in the Netherlands in the second half of the sixteenth century in a new context by Cornelis Floris, who combined the iconography with the antique representations of Thanatos, and placed

[1608] Binski, *Medieval Death*, 123-163.
[1609] Panofsky, *Tomb sculpture*, 63-66; Kathleen Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); Elina Gertsman, *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages. Image, Text, Performance* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).
[1610] Hallam and Hockey, *Death, Memory and Material Culture*, 54-60.
[1611] Ariés, *Western Attitudes toward Death*, 39-40.
[1612] Its formation and spread and the changes in the content were studied by Horst W. Janson, see Janson, "The Putto with the Death's Head," 423-449.
[1613] Ibid., fig. 15.

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winged putto figures leaning on a torch on epitaphs and tombs.[1614] The motif turned up on tombstones at the end of the sixteenth century, and soon spread all over Europe. German art, however, preserved the putto with a sand-clock without wings and torch, leaning on a skull, and transmitted that one to funeral context. This version can be encountered in Transylvania too.

As argued in the previous chapters, the ledger of Johann Waida was an exceptionally high-quality piece in Sibiu, and it was very influential for the local production. The stone cutter who created the memorial of Petrus Gotterbarmet clearly copied this model, but complemented the putto with a hourglass, a motif referring to the passing time and the brevity of life. The same image appears on another tomb in Mediaş with a skull and crossbones.[1615]

The putti represented on the tombs of Paul Ludovicus, Kolomann Gotzmeister, and Georg Peltz belong to another type: they lean on the skull with their back, equipped with a hourglass and on the first ledger also with a snake.[1616] The largest series of this image are displayed by those tombs that have been connected to the workshop of Elias Nicolai.[1617] These memorials display various versions of the motif, in four cases combined with the text *Hodie mihi cras tibi*. This short proverb is a paraphrase of Sirach 38:22, "Remember my judgment: for thine also shall be so: yesterday for me, and today for thee."[1618] A snake was woven between the jawbones of the skull supporting the putto on the tomb of Paul Ludovicus, and the skull and snake appear separately on the tomb of Daniel Klein and Zsuzsanna Kamuthy.[1619] A skull with crossbones appear on two further monuments: of Barbara Theilesius and the above-mentioned Georg Glockner.[1620]

New variations emerged in the last decades of the seventeenth century. On the ledger of Andreas Literatus, the infant is not a naked putto, but wears a long tunic, and the scene is completed with a flower in the foreground and a lighting torch in the background, symbols of the fragility of life. The tombstone of Andreas Czeky displays two winged putti, one with a skull and one with a hourglass, holding the inscription *Hodie mihi, cras tibi* on two shields.[1621] In this case, the two mourning putti on the original compositional model, the epitaph of Conrad Celtes, were adjusted to the putto with skull theme.

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[1614] *Cornelis Floris 1514 – 1575* (Bruxelles: Gemeentekrediet, 1996), figs 113, 118, 226 and 280–291.
[1615] Cat. No. 167; Cat. No. 168
[1616] Cat. No. 217, 219, 180
[1617] Cat. No. 66, 133, 172, 197, 215, 222
[1618] King James Version of the English Bible translation
[1619] Cat. No. 256 and 131
[1620] Cat. No. 165 and 223
[1621] Cat. No. 221 and Cat. No. 150

On the Apafi tomb chest, the image of the putto sitting on a skull was visually connected with another image, a human skeleton with a scythe in the bones of the left hand, and raising a sand-clock with the right hand (Cat. No. 66). The blade of the scythe threatens to cut down the grapevine from the heraldic symbol, that is, a branch of the family. In addition, two genii were represented as shield holders, turning down their torches.[1622] A similar "active skeleton" is found on one of the side panels of the memorial of György Sükösd (Cat. No. 107). It holds a scythe in the right hand and a bolt of arrows with heads down in the left hand. There is a hourglass above its left shoulder, and human skulls and limb bones are piled on both sides. Matthew 25:13 is read on a scroll above the skeleton: "Watch therefore, for ye know neither the day nor the hour wherein the Son of man cometh."[1623] The composition is clearly a derivation of an engraving by Barthel Behem from the 1520-30s, depicting a dead putto lying with a hourglass and a heap of skulls and bones in the foreground (Figure 119).[1624] The other versions of the image were probably also based on graphic models even if the models cannot be identified now. The influence of the woodcut epitaph of Conrad Celtis as well as of another similar piece, that of Petrus Vermilius identified as the source of the text on Johann Hutter's memorial by Ioan Albu[1625] also testify that there were even hundred-year old graphic models circulating and utilized among Transylvanian stone cutters.

* * *

As all these examples show, the moral didactic potential of *memento mori* images was rarely utilized outside the Lutheran context. They do not appear on memorials of Calvinist or Antitrinitarian townspeople, and neither do texts belonging this theme, with a single exception in from Cluj, the only gravestone with German inscription from the Central Cemetery.[1626] There are only three examples of *memento mori* images also from the nobility.[1627] Two of these were made in Sibiu, in the workshop of Elias Nicolai, where these were very frequently used motifs on the ledgers produced for the Lutheran Saxon market. The third example, on the tomb chest of the Antitrinitarian György Sükösd, was created in Cluj and signed by the stonecutter Péter Diószegi, who used a woodcut model by Barthel Behem. Since the memorial is unique in its

[1622] Now they have nothing in their hand as these parts are broken, but there is a nineteenth century description of the tomb, which tells that originally the two statuettes were leaning on blown-out torches. See Neuhauser, "Apafi Györgynek Almakereken lévő halotti emlék-állványja," 90-91, 94-95.
[1623] King James Version of the English Bible translation
[1624] Janson, "The Putto with the Death's Head," figs 27-28; Löcher, *Barthel Behem*, 37, fig. 29; 31, fig. 15.
[1625] Albu, "The Iconography of Petrus Martyr Vermilius," 203-214.
[1626] Cat. No. 118
[1627] Cat. No. 66, 107, 131

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own context in other respects as well, the stonecutter might have followed specific requirements, perhaps articulated by the patron.

In Sibiu, the use of religious symbols and *memento mori* allegories was especially characteristic for the workshops active from the 1620s. Compared to the previous practice of applying one single such motif, memorials made in these decades were crowded with various small images of religious and moral content. The works related to the workshop of Elias Nicolai are also characterized by an abundance of religious symbols, while another circle of tombs—representing a different layer of Mannerist ornaments as well, as discussed in *Chapter 3*—is distinguished more by the *memento mori* allegories. It seems that the application of such images on the tombs was not related to the level of religiosity at all, but was determined by the toolkit of the tomb-makers that was ultimately based on graphic models circulating all-over Europe. They can rather be interpreted within the broad trends of European visual culture of the period than in a local theological or intellectual context. [1628]

Comparison of funeral monuments created for different religious (and social) strata reveal that the same old testament verses on death, salvation, and resurrection appear on the monuments of Calvinist, Lutheran, Catholic as well as on Orthodox subjects produced in Transylvanian workshops. Some of these popular textual panels (e.g. from the Book of Job, Sirach, and the prophecy of Ezekiel) moved around combined with moralizing images. These most popular quotes did not differ from those preferred in a funerary context all over Europe.[1629] The same verses were quoted in last wills too. Job 14,1-2 ("Man that is born of a woman is of few days and full of trouble. He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down: he fleeth also as a shadow, and continueth not.") was quoted by the Catholic Zsigmond Haller in his last will in 1626 justifying why he was composing the testament.[1630] The most popular biblical verse was Job 19,25-27: "For I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth: And though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God: Whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another; though my reins be consumed within me." It can often be encountered in Latin, Hungarian, and German, in all confessional environments.[1631] Zsigmond Lónyai also referred to this part in his testament, where he wished to have a tombstone set up on his grave so that he could wait for the resurrection without any disturbance.[1632]

[1628] On another branch of *vanitas* iconography, see Albu, "Weapons and Trophies," 259-280.
[1629] Harasimowicz, *Kunst als Glaubensbekenntnis*, 41-82.
[1630] Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3*, 93. See also Cat. No. 22 and 66.
[1631] Cat. No. 63, 66, 287; Cat. No. 120, 189; Cat. No. 222, 257, 261
[1632] 1648; Tüdős S., *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3*, 180.

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These biblical verses belonged to the general verbal toolkit of both the patrons and the tomb-makers of all confessions to express their thoughts about their own death and death in general. The phenomenon that also tomb-makers applied them as recurrent elements is especially spectacular concerning the works related to the workshop of Elias Nicolai. These quotes and several others (e.g. Ezekiel 37,12; Sirach 14:18) were equally placed on the tombs produced for Calvinist noblemen, Lutheran Saxon patricians and priests, as well as of the Orthodox family members of the voivode of Walachia.

5.4.3. Text and image: the devil hiding in the details

Details of the tombs, inscriptions as well as images incorporated into the attributes of the figures, the heraldry, and the ornaments also offered a means to manifest religious positions. Here I will examine whether these details were accommodated to the religious context, starting with the priests as official representatives of their churches.

The attribute of Lutheran pastors was most frequently a book, as all over Europe.[1633] Though, as concluded in the previous chapter, the book was also a visual reference for the learnedness of the subjects, in the case of pastors it was a professional symbol and referred to the scriptural basis of their Lutheran confession. The significance of the motif is reflected by the fact that 32 of the 45 Lutheran priests' ledgers display the Bible. It is there also on each gravestone set up for Calvinist or Antitrinitarian pastors where the image can still be distinguished. Calvinist priests were obliged to possess a copy of the Holy Scripture: the more learned ones a Latin bible, the less educated priests a Hungarian version. Calvinist synods called the Bible the most important weapon of the priests,[1634] and the image of a hand holding a bible is the visual presentation of this idea, since it derived from the motif of a hand holding a sword that had been a wide-spread element in the real heraldic devices of the nobility.[1635]

In contrast with the Bible, the presence or absence of a chalice was a clear distinction between Lutheran and Calvinists priests, since it was never represented on the memorial of the latter, while it is a frequent motif on Lutheran pastors' memorials.[1636] The chalice was a popular visual element of tombs commemorating members of the clergy even in the Middle Ages. The earliest example from the territory of the medieval Hungary was found in Dúbravka Devín (now in Slovakia), and dates from the second half of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth

[1633] Zerbe, "Memorialkunst im Wandel," 137-138.
[1634] Articuli maiores XLII, 1567, see Kiss, *A XVI. században tartott magyar református zsinatok*, 583.
[1635] The image of a hand holding a book appears also on the memorials of female relatives of priests, such as on the coped gravestone set up for the three daughters of the Calvinist bishop Gáspár Tiszabecsi (Cat. No. 270)
[1636] Cat. No. 35, 36, 40, 63, 92

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century. In the neighboring Austrian and South Bavarian areas, it was widespread to depict chalices on the gravestones of the lower clergy, and a series of such stones with a chalice sometimes combined with a book or a shield was produced in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in workshops in the area of Salzburg and Vienna.[1637]

The chalice was an especially popular symbol in Late Medieval iconography emerging around Eucharistic devotion, a prevailing trend in this period. Its depictions displayed in the church interiors were to illustrate the doctrine of transubstantiation for the lay public, which gained a special significance in Central Europe with the rise of the Hussite movement, whose radical wing challenged this dogma. At the same time, the chalice was an important symbol for the more moderate branch of the Hussite reform movement, who demanded communion under both species also for the laypeople.[1638] Similarly to these late medieval representations, the chalice—often combined with a host—depicted on the memorials of Transylvanian Lutheran priests was attributed a theological significance, so it was not only a symbol of their profession. It reflected the Lutheran position on the Eucharist, which marked a crucial difference between the Lutheran and Calvinist churches, and served as a starting point for a series of debates in Transylvania too.[1639] While Lutherans believed in the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, Calvinists talked about his virtual presence in the bread, by which the faithful entered into a communion with Christ in his sacrifice. The elevation of the host, which also appears on these depictions, was kept by the Lutheran liturgy, while its use was condemned by the Calvinists, who insisted on breaking the bread to follow the words of Christ.[1640] The definition of the Eucharist was a corner stone in the process of shaping the confessional identity of the Saxon church, by distancing themselves both from the Catholic and the Calvinist sides.[1641]

Consequently, in theory it can be excluded that the visual representation of the Eucharist appears on a Transylvanian tomb in a Calvinist context.[1642] Still, at least one example demonstrates that it was not always the actual religious dogma that determined the iconography: on the tomb chest of the Calvinist György Apafi, the allegorical figure of Faith is represented

[1637] Lővei, "Posuit hoc monumentum," 408. A red marble gravestone decorated with a chalice combined with a skull and bones survived in Mosonmagyaróvár (in Western Hungary) from the mid-sixteenth century in a secondary position, as a step to the altar, see ibid., 293-294.
[1638] Dóra Sallay, "The Eucharistic Man of Sorrows in Late Medieval Art," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 6 (2000): 45-80.
[1639] Binder, "Theologie und Bekenntnis auf Synoden der evang. sächsischen Kirche 1545-1578," 58-73.
[1640] Szegedi, "Was bedeutete Adiaphoron/ Adiaphora im siebenbürgischen Protestantismus des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts?," 68; Crăciun, "Ritual şi recuzită: practica liturgică luterană din Transilvania modernităţii timpurii (secolele XVI-XVII)," 143-144.
[1641] Maria Crăciun, analyzed the Eucharistic iconography on altarpieces; see Crăciun, "Rural altarpieces," 216.
[1642] In East England, for example, due to similarly conflicting theologies, tombs commemorating priests with representations of the host and chalice were even destroyed, see Finch, "Sacred and Secular Spheres," 197.

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with a chalice and the host (Cat. No. 66). The three-dimensional female figure is placed on the corner of the tomb chest, together with the allegorical representation of three other virtues. It is not the central motif in the composition, though it is clearly visible. Allegorical figures of virtues, both the theological and the cardinal ones can be detected on the ledgers of Saxon Lutheran townspeople as well: *Fides* with book and chalice and *Spes* with an anchor, as the two most important virtues in the context of Protestant eschatology.[1643] Virtues were, however, typically not applied to decorate memorials outside this environment; they appear only on two nobles' tomb chests: on that of György Apafi and of the Antitrinitarian György Sükösd, but without the problematic chalice in the latter case (Cat. No. 107).

There is one more motif on the Apafi tomb chest that should not be there in a Calvinist context: the Holy Dove floating above the head of the main figure of the deceased on the top. The Transylvanian Calvinist synod held in 1567 listed the representation of God the Father, Christ, and the Holy Spirit as prohibited themes for images.[1644] These elements indicate that the patrons of the Calvinist Apafi's memorial were not particularly preoccupied with the details or whether they corresponded to the correct religious dogma. They must have specified the type and form—a free-standing tomb chest –, and only the main features of the iconography, that is, a full-figure portrait of the deceased in an armor suit on the top, but they probably did not go into the details. The stone cutter who prepared the tomb chest, Elias Nicolai, operated his workshop in Sibiu, and created funeral monuments mostly for the Lutheran Saxon elite. Several other tombs related to his workshop but commemorating Lutheran subjects displayed the chalice and the host, as well as the Holy Dove; the latter was a frequent motif even before that on Lutheran funeral monuments.[1645] It is the main element in the heraldry on a series of portrait gravestones from the 1590s.[1646]

Those motifs on the Apafi tomb chest which should not be there due to the theological discrepancy, demonstrate that the stone cutter applied the same iconographic toolkit even when he received the commission from a different social and religious environment. In most cases this did not cause any conflicts, since hearts, lions, and other small motifs on the Lutheran tombs referring to the virtues of the dead and their unshakeable faith, as well as religious allegories such as grapes, or the image of the pelican feeding its nestlings, were not problematic at all in any religious context. Similarly to the above-mentioned set of biblical quotes, they

[1643] Cat. No. 255, 262; see Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt*, xliii-xliv.
[1644] Kiss, *A XVI. században tartott magyar református zsinatok*, 594.
[1645] Cat. No 74, 197; Cat. No. 26, 74, 169 197; Cat. No. 30, 160, 166, 178, 203, 291
[1646] Cat. No. 29, 246, 252, 253

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appear on ledgers of Lutheran Saxon burghers and clergy, on the Apafi tomb chest, as well as on the memorials made by Elias Nicolai for the family of the Eastern Orthodox Romanian Voivode of Walachia (Figure 124 to Figure 129).

As, however, the latter funeral monuments attest, the main element of the composition, in this case a religious motif, was carefully chosen, accommodated to the specific context. Elias Nicolai carved a double cross on the second tomb of Matei Basarab and a smaller and simpler cross on the ledger of Princess Elena (Figure 128, Figure 127). The cross is the central motif on one more ledger produced also in Sibiu for an Eastern Orthodox subject, but several decades before, to be placed in the monastic church in Prislop in memory of the patron of the church, Zamfira, the daughter of the Voivode of Walachia (Cat. No. 179).

The formation of denominations was a long process in Transylvania, the confessional statements accepted in the 1560s by the synods were a mixture of the ideas of Calvin, Beza, Zwingli, Melanchton, and conflicting trends existed even within the same Church.[1647] This was manifest in writings and disputations, and even in the liturgy performed by the priests.[1648] "Unfitting" motifs might have resulted from this insecurity, but it is also justified to hypothesize that in certain cases they were perhaps deliberately chosen by the commissioner to express personal religious views and theological nuances. I started this study by introducing the iconography of the ledger of the Saxon bishop Christian Barth, set up in Biertan and commissioned by himself still in his lifetime (Cat. No. 27). Since Barth was accused of crypto-Calvinism, the huge anchor held by his portrait figure, symbol of his firm faith, can have a special layer of meaning here. The image is a reference to the text running on it: "The anchor of my salvation is the grace of the Father won through Christ," and the text is a reference to the image, a method typical for the Renaissance emblems and corresponding to the principles of Lutheran image theory. Though the Lutheran synod held in 1615 in Mediaş condemned those who still followed Melanchton's theology, several priests were still under suspicion of crypto-Calvinism in the first half of the seventeenth century, and Barth was even made to swear that he followed the official dogmas of the Lutheran church.[1649] Since the most problematic point in crypto-Calvinism was the interpretation of the Eucharist, maybe it is not a coincidence that the above-mentioned series of Lutheran funeral monuments displaying the chalice and the host

[1647] Szegedi, "Confessionalization," 241-254; Keul, *Early Modern Religious Communities*, 11-12.
[1648] Szegedi, "Was bedeutete Adiaphoron/ Adiaphora im siebenbürgischen Protestantismus des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts?," 68.
[1649] Albu, "The Iconography of Petrus Martyr Vermilius," 205. He refers to Salzer, *Der königl. freie Markt Birthälm*, 402-403. See also Szegedi, "Was bedeutete Adiaphoron/ Adiaphora im siebenbürgischen Protestantismus des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts?," 66-68; Szegedi, "Confessionalization," 249-251.

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started in the 1620s. Ioan Albu considered the same theological discussion as a possible background to interpret the epitaph verse on the ledger of pastor Johann Hutter, which was a paraphrase of the epitaph composed for the Italian Petrus Martyr Vermilius who was teaching in Geneva and Zurich from the 1540s.[1650]

The above-mentioned Holy Dove on the Apafi tomb chest can be understood as an element mechanically applied by Elias Nicolai, but, in the specific religious context, also as a conscious choice of demonstrating the confessional position of the deceased and the patron, his wife. The patron, Borbála Petki was Calvinist by that time, but she was raised as Antitrinitarian, and her brother, Ferenc Petki had some serious conflicts with Prince György Rákóczi I, which involved his Antitrinitarian views as well. The Calvinist councilor of the prince, György Apafi tried to intervene for his brother-in-law. Still, the family was standing on a slippery soil with their disgraced Antitrinitarian relatives, especially from about 1638, when the tolerance of the state towards this religion decreased considerably.[1651] Their donations to various Calvinist congregations in these years, the erection of a Calvinist chapel and probably also a Calvinist church connected to their castle, all suggests that they put a strong emphasis on appearing as devout Calvinists.[1652] In this context, the representation of the Holy Dove above the head of the deceased Apafi has a possible reading as a display of their belief in the Holy Trinity.

This kind of interpretation of the preserved funeral monuments is much more challenging than a simple comparison to their broad religious environment. It requires a contextual research, a more comprehensive knowledge about the subject and the commissioner in each case, and an in-depth analysis of the inscriptions in the specific religious context, confronting it with the actual theologies around.[1653] Such an analysis would contribute to the intellectual and religious history of the Transylvanian Principality in a great extent, and it is a direction for future research.

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[1650] Albu, "The Iconography of Petrus Martyr Vermilius."

[1651] This is attested by a letter written by one of the Petki family members mentioning the burial of Gergely Apafi and the persecution of Antitrinitarians by the prince, who finally received the letter from someone who caught it on its way. See Sándor Szilágyi, ed. *Levelek és okiratok II. Rákóczi György keleti összeköttetései történetéhez* (Letters and documents to the history of the eastern relations of Prince György Rákóczi II) (Budapest: Knoll Károly, 1883), 555-556. See also Maxim Mordovin, "Petki István, II. Rákóczi György főudvarmestere" (István Petki, courtier of Prince György Rákóczi II), in *"Szerencsének elegyes forgása" - II. Rákóczi György és kora* ("Changing turns of the wheel of Fortuna" - Prince György Rákóczi II and his age), ed. Gábor Kármán and András Péter. Szabó (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2009), 373-422.

[1652] Kádár, *Szolnok-Dobokavármegye monographiája*, vol. 2, 37. http://mek.niif.hu/04700/04755/html/59.html (accessed 15 October, 2017); Lukács Ávedik, *Szabad Kir. Erzsébetváros monographiája* (Monograph of the royal free town Erzsébetváros [Dumbrăveni]) (Szamosújvár: Erdélyi Örmény Gyökerek Kulturális Egyesület, 1896), 300.

[1653] Ludwig Binder pointed out the lack of such research with regard to the exact theological background of the Transylvanian Lutheran synods, see Binder, "Theologie und Bekenntnis auf Synoden der evang. sächsischen Kirche 1545-1578," 40.

Conclusions

There is a disagreement in scholarship whether Reformation brought any essential change in the attitude towards death. However, it clearly changed the ideas about the rituals around it, since Protestant theologians distanced themselves from the former funerary and commemorative practice that focused on the intercession for the deceased. This also transformed the related material culture, though not the same way and to the extent in the various Protestant denominations. Rituals and objects, however, remained important, since they also fulfilled significant social functions. Their function in the eschatological context shifted towards the didactic element: to remind the living of their own death and to urge them to prepare for that.

In Transylvania, the religious context of a funeral monument covers different things in case of distinct social layers. While in towns, one can talk about a Lutheran and a Calvinist or Antitrinitarian environment where the town management officially accepted one or another denomination, individual choices determined the religious background of nobles' funeral monuments, which are not easy to unfold due to the sparse sources. The clergy, as a third category, was the official representative of the respective churches. The influence of religion on the choices made about memorials can be investigated along these lines.

Since the eschatological meaning of medieval burial topography lost its function with the Reformation, all Protestant churches urged to move the cemeteries from around the church to outside the settlements, referring to the health-related hazards. The same way as all over Europe, this was the period in Transylvania when the town magistrates established the first cemeteries outside the city walls. Some of the Saxon towns and first also Cluj designated one of the churchyards for this purpose, but Sibiu and Cluj also established new public cemeteries on the edges of the town referring to hygienic issues due to the plague and the overcrowded cemeteries. There was an essential difference between the attitude of the Lutheran and the Calvinist-Antitrinitarian towns: while Cluj, along with the relevant ecclesiastical regulations, prohibited burials in the churches, it was allowed for the administrative and financial elite of the Saxon towns as well as for their clergy. The impact of these regulations is manifest in the known funeral monuments of these layers, which were set up in churches for the Lutherans, while in the cemeteries for the Calvinists and Antitrinitarians. The same can be observed among the clergy, even in villages: funeral monuments of Lutheran priests were set up in the churches, while, from the late sixteenth century, even Calvinist and Antitrinitarian bishops were buried in the churchyards and public cemeteries. In Cluj, the multidenominational character of the

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town complicated the issue, since Catholics were also searching for a proper burial site, but the Jesuit regulations also found the practice of burial in and around the church problematic, with the same justification based on hygienic considerations. Generally, all denominations promoted the removal of burial from the town with the same arguments, but in practice, Lutherans were much less radical, they found the way to allow their elite to retain the old customs in their distinguished burial sites.

In contrast with the proper place of the burial, neither did Protestant theologians nor Transylvanian ecclesiastical or secular authorities elaborate specifically on the applicability and form of funeral monuments. Concerns about the inscriptions and depictions calling for intercession and about the use of images in general lead to the destruction of tombs elsewhere in Europe, but in Transylvania funeral monuments were not affected by Protestant iconoclasm. The difference between the Lutheran and Calvinist position concerning images can, however, be identified on the newly produced funeral monuments. In a Calvinist or Antitrinitarian urban environment as well as among the clergy, no figural funeral monument is known, and neither any that would depict a biblical scene. Narrative scenes were not widespread among the Lutherans either, but portrait memorials were favored by their clergy and the urban elite. Funeral monuments in general, even the heraldic ones, are much more modest among the Calvinist and Antitrinitarian townspeople than among the Lutheran Saxons; the latter were often richly decorated with religious symbols, especially from the first half of the seventeenth century.

Customs concerning the place of burial and the funeral monuments seem to have been less distinctive for the social position in every respect in the Antitrinitarian-Calvinist towns than among the Lutheran Saxons. However, it cannot be considered as a direct influence of religion. The formation of religious environment, of the space for burial, and of funeral monuments were all interrelated, the latter two mutually influencing each other, and ultimately resulted from the same conditions and processes related to the acceptance of Reformation in Transylvanian towns.

The historian Edit Szegedi has examined these processes, searching for the explanation of the confessional choices of the Saxon towns and Cluj respectively, and her results help to interpret the formation of commemoration-related customs as well. As, following the previous scholarship, Edit Szegedi also observed, the Reformation started with a theological syncretism everywhere in Transylvania even if it was rooted in Luther's views; most characteristically it was influenced by Melanchton. The distinct confessional positions were clarified later, and due to political pressure on the towns coming from various princes. The defence of confessional

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identity was always related to the preservation of political identity in towns that were protecting their urban privileges.[1654] This main path, however, diverged towards different denominations in the case of the Saxon cities and Cluj.

Cluj was a multidenominational and ethnically mixed town when the magistrate decided to accept the Antitrinitarian faith. They were led by the intention to purify the religious life; at the same time, by reinforcing a single religion they could keep the town manageable. Their town priest, Ferenc Dávid adhered to the Antitrinitarian dogmas, and he was also the priest of the prince, so it seemed to be a clear and politically beneficial choice to follow this direction. Moreover, this was a version of Antitrinitarianism that did not aim to transform urban life radically, but made it easy to manage by the social discipline it introduced.[1655] The social norms of behavior that were reinforced also concerned the customs around death and commemoration.[1656] Though there is no direct written evidence on that, these norms surely contributed to the uniformity of burial place and funeral monuments regardless of the status of the subject within the town, which is in a sharp contrast with the Saxon customs. These customs apparently did not change in Cluj with the advance of the Calvinist religion in the first half of the seventeenth century. Though theological differences were much more serious between Calvinism and Antitrinitarianism than between Calvinism and Lutheranism, these did not concern the place of burial and marking it with a stone. Funeral monuments belonged to the category of *adiaphora*, things that were not prohibited by the religion neither prescribed,[1657] so it was more an expression of ecclesiastically supported social norms in this case, in which there was no serious break between the Antitrinitarian and Calvinist denominations.

Saxons kept their Lutheran church, but its theological position crystallized only slowly, in the first half of the seventeenth century, as a part of a broader solidification process of the Saxon nation, which was a counter-reaction to the political pressure coming from the state. The theological purification of Saxon Lutheranism meant that it was distanced from Calvinism by eliminating the Melanchtonian elements, and leaps were always made in this respect when their privileges were challenged by various princes. The Saxon privileges included the election of their own leadership, and the commemorative traditions of the elite conserved those of the

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[1654] Szegedi, "Confessionalization," 246.
[1655] Szegedi, "The Reformation in Transylvania," 236; Szegedi, "Die Reformation in Klausenburg," 77-88.
[1656] Szegedi, "Moartea, disciplina ecleziastică şi socială în mediile protestante din Transilvania (sec. XVI-XVIII)," 117-148.
[1657] On adiaphora in Transylvanian confessionalization, see Szegedi, "Was bedeutete Adiaphoron/ Adiaphora im siebenbürgischen Protestantismus des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts?," 57-74.

predecessors, at the same time expressed power and stability.[1658] Since the Lutheran church did not have any concern about such customs in any respect, it was not a problem to keep the graves in the church interior and even make them increasingly spectacular over time by setting up more and more ornamented funeral monuments. To sum up, the forms of funeral monuments applied in towns conformed to the burial site, and both were aligned with the respective religious views. At the same time, the actual practices were supported by the same political and social factors that led to the choice and solidification of the denomination in the respective urban environments.

Among the ranks of the nobility, parish churches on their estates remained the most popular burial sites even after the Reformation, regardless of the religious affiliation of the subject. As both the last wills and the surviving tombs testify, traditions determined by social standing were the most influential factors when deciding about the burial place and commemoration. Burial in the church was explicitly supported by Catholicism, while, at the other end of the spectrum, it resulted in a clash with the ecclesiastical guidance issued by the Calvinist Church. However, the customs were apparently so powerful that by the mid-seventeenth century, the church had to comply with the actual practice and they allowed the social elite to use their traditional burial sites.

Funeral monuments of the nobility did not display any significant difference based on the religious affiliation. Heraldic ledgers were the most widespread, but the traditional figural memorials were also set up for nobles from every denomination, even for Calvinists and Antitrinitarians, so the picture differs from that in the towns and among the priests in this respect. On noble's memorials, even some elements appear which should not be there if they had followed the theological doctrines of the given confession. Apparently, the commissioners were more concerned about the main aspects of the type, form, and iconography in these cases, and the stone-cutters composed the decoration of elements from their general toolkit. This can be observed in the case of stone cutters working in the Lutheran Sibiu, who produced memorials for commissions coming from various social and religious environments. In the case of priests, however, the iconography was carefully planned to distinguish them based on the denomination. Such a characteristic element is the chalice, which referred to the Lutheran doctrine of Eucharist, thus, never appears on the memorial of Calvinist or Antitrinitarian priests. It is difficult to go beyond this general level and to find traces of personal theological positions; that would require a deeper contextual analysis in each case.

[1658] Szegedi, "Naşterea şi formarea identităţii confesionale," 117-148. See also Binder, "Theologie und Bekenntnis auf Synoden der evang. sächsischen Kirche 1545-1578," 37-122.

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Post-Reformation funeral monuments are connected by an important function in each denomination: due to the doctrine of justification by faith alone, they are to remind the living of their own death, and the necessity of being prepared. Memorials did this by setting their subjects as examples, and they did so in every denomination and every social layer. The conviction that their beloved died a good death in Christ and is waiting for the Resurrection, was also a consolation for the bereaved. Funeral monuments presented the good life and death of the subjects by various means: by a portrait, epitaph verse, commemorative text, and by symbols in the ornaments and the heraldry. They also reminded the living of the brevity and transience of life. *Memento mori* images were often combined with biblical paraphrases, and certain biblical quotes became very popular, applied as panels in the toolkit of tomb makers. However, these hardly appear in a Calvinist-Antitrinitarian urban context but they are characteristic for Saxon urban memorials, especially those produced in Sibiu. Even among the nobility, they almost exclusively appear on those tombs which were produced in this environment.

To sum up, Transylvanian funeral monuments, though less characteristically than in the Western European Protestant territories, do reflect the most characteristic difference between the attitude of Protestant denominations towards images, which concerns the applicability of scenes from the Bible and the presentation of the saints. However, there are only small traces of the Lutheran tolerance towards biblical images and figures, and the Saxon funeral monuments are far behind the general European picture concerning the variety in their iconography, where the more liberal attitude of Luther and his followers led to a boom of new genres and images.[1659] One of the most important fields where these new representational types appeared was that of commemoration: the Lutheran painted epitaph,[1660] but funeral monuments were also equipped with some popular religious scenes from the Passion, the last Judgement, as well as from the Old Testament.[1661] The iconography of Transylvanian Lutheran funeral monuments is only a faint reflection of these trends, but they are still distinguished by this from the even more reserved Calvinist and Antitrinitarian memorials.

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[1659] See Hofmann, *Luther und die Folgen für die Kunst*; Buchholz, *Protestantismus und Kunst*; Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts*; Pettegree, "Art," 461-490.
[1660] Harasimowicz, *Kunst als Glaubensbekenntnis*; Cieślak, *Tod und Gedenken*.
[1661] Zerbe, "Memorialkunst im Wandel," 127-136; Knöll, *Creating Academic Communities*, 144-150.

CONCLUSIONS

Stone funeral monuments from the Transylvanian Principality have featured in previous scholarly literature, but this covered only certain pieces or segments of the preserved material, depending on the socio-political background and the agenda of the research. Separate Hungarian, Romanian, and German historiographies evolved, each searching for its own national roots in the medieval and early modern history of the region—and funeral monuments were incorporated into these narratives. The changing framework of interpretation was interconnected with the physical history of the memorials too, since certain objects were highlighted by moving and displaying them for a broader public, while others were left to be forgotten and to decay. This is one of the reasons why this work was aimed to prepare as complete a corpus as possible of the material—previously a gap in the scholarship of early modern Transylvania—and analyze it in a complex manner. This collection proved to be also as a suitable body of sources to examine the impact of the Protestant Reformation in a multi-ethnic, multi-confessional environment.

Several sepulchral monuments included in the catalog and the analysis had been previously unknown and unpublished. In case of numerous others, this research produced a new identification of their subject or provenance, or specified their dating. Almost every known funeral monument proved to have been transferred from its original location and many were also dismantled or partly re-carved. In their new positions, the selected sets of memorials were endowed with new meanings that contributed to the current, often politically motivated interpretations based on ethnic, national, and religious identities, such as "ancestors' galleries" in Saxon churches, or the "Hungarian" ensembles in the Museum of Transylvanian History and in the Alba Iulia cathedral. These layers of meaning have been accumulated by the memorials and are inherited by today's researchers who use them as sources; they are acknowledged and incorporated into this study as well. At the same time, a critical stance was scrupulously maintained throughout the analysis. This critical approach has its own agenda that is highly relevant in the socio-political-cultural context of twenty-first-century Central Europe. It goes against the previous anachronistically national framework and thus adds a further layer to the biography of the objects.

As far as the previous scholarly approaches are concerned, stone memorials have been mostly treated as pieces of sculpture, and scholars have primarily focused on identifying sculptors' hands and stylistic origins. As the chapters in this thesis have demonstrated, both aims are problematic. Many of the preserved objects are not suitable for stylistic analysis

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because they are poor-quality stone carvings rather than artworks. They were mostly produced by craftsmen providing for the local market. The few exceptions, for example the wall memorials ordered for princes from the large workshops of Italian sculptors operating in Poland, reflect expectations that were exceptional in the period. However, commissioners turning to local stonecutters did not seek artistic values and sculptural quality; thus, evaluating the products along these lines is not conducive to informed conclusions. The same is true for those few memorials which display a better quality of stone carving than the average: the form, size, material, images, and texts of the monuments were all chosen to ensure that they properly fulfill their function: commemorating the dead, as well as the specific deceased individual who had a certain place in the Transylvanian society, as their subject.

The other aim of previous scholarship has been to identify certain masters' oeuvres with the help of signatures on the memorials and available written sources, and to distinguish the "own" works of these sculptors from "workshop products" based on compositional and stylistic similarities. As I demonstrated in the chapter on the problems of production, several tomb monuments can be organized into groups according to analogous characteristics that might point to workshops in Sighişoara, Sibiu, Braşov, Cluj, and probably in Bistriţa, operating parallel or in succession. Some memorials even cluster around those pieces that were signed by the stonecutters. These similarities, however, cannot be interpreted in an identical manner. Memorials produced in Cluj, for instance, are so simple and uniform that it is hard to distinguish groups even though written sources preserved the names of several stonecutters and relatively much is known about the organization of their operation. Identifying sculptors' hands is problematic in Sibiu as well, where more signatures of stone cutters have been preserved. The most characteristic case is that of Elias Nicolai whose signature can be detected on several memorials, so scholarship has built an artist's oeuvre around his person. However, there are as many dissimilarities within this series as similarities, and the sparse written sources about the operation of his workshop also suggest that these carved stones were not the products of one individual. Craftsmen often co-operated and hired assistance, even sub-contracted certain tasks and commissions, and funeral monuments were probably no exception in this respect.

Those memorials whose quality surpasses the average present a special problem in scholarship. The customary approach is to label them as imported pieces. However, this is not a satisfactory solution because, on one hand, it remains unclear whether the material itself was imported, or the tomb maker, or a ready-made sepulchral monument came from abroad. On the other hand, it also fails to address the question how the production of these pieces was connected to that of the memorials clustering around them concerning their material, composition, and

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ornamentation. The Transylvanian market of funeral monuments was time and again clearly influenced from the outside. However, the reception of these influences varied from case to case and there is no way to find out in what form they arrived in the region. For example, the provenance of wall monuments from Poland is well-documented and clear, but they had a very limited impact, extending only to the circle of the family of the princes who commissioned them. In contrast, nothing is known about the origins of mayor Johann Waida's ledger in Sibiu, though its influence changed the local market of funeral monuments—and probably also demand—in many respects.

My detailed overview of the material led to the conclusion that the term "workshop" can only be applied as an abstract analytical category which refers to different aspects of the production: sometimes to people, sometimes to structures or directions, and sometimes to clusters of forms and carving styles. The reason for this is that neither the commissioners, nor the tomb makers—that is to say in semiotic terms, none of the senders—thought about funeral monuments as artworks created by artists, and they did not claim an appreciation of individual achievement. They saw the stone memorials as functional objects, and this attitude determined their expectations. For them, as well as for the audience they targeted, funeral monuments served to present the dead: to preserve and evoke their memory for the contemporaneous and future generations of the living. This memory was built on a certain image of the person, constructed out of his or her selected features, and the choice of the features they found relevant depended on the actual social context. As the analysis has shown, these features always say something about the society of the living—their self-perception, political agendas, social aspirations, and the values shared in their communities—and they display clear differences among various segments of Transylvanian society.

The other important function of funeral monuments was to help consolidate the relationship of the living to death: both the loss of their loved ones and their own death in the future. The extent to and the way in which stone memorials were utilized in this respect was proven to have differed among various groups in Transylvanian society. Once the state became multi-denominational after the arrival of the Protestant Reformation, which, in turn, brought about significant changes in the concepts about death and the dead, social affiliations were no longer independent from religious choice. As the examination of the various commemorative practices showed many medieval elements were also preserved, suggesting that the transformation was not equally radical in every respect. Besides, borders designated by differences in these practices did not always correspond to confessional ones and the social context proved to be a determining factor in this respect as well.

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The known funeral monuments were made for members of three major social groups: the nobility, the townspeople, and the clergy. An in-depth investigation into the status of the subjects demonstrated that the uppermost layer is by far overrepresented even within these privileged groups of the principality: most of the memorials were installed for the most prominent aristocrats among the nobility and the leaders of the towns. A closer look at the particular towns, however, also demonstrated that the subjects of the monuments are far from displaying a uniform social pattern.

The quantitative analysis of the urban memorials was based on three relatively large samples from Sibiu, Braşov, and Cluj, while the smaller samples from the rest of the towns were used to corroborate the interpretation of the results. In Sibiu and most of the Saxon towns, town leaders dominate among the subjects. This phenomenon is less pronounced in Braşov, where the number and character of the monuments destroyed in a late-seventeenth-century fire is unknown, so it cannot be excluded that the original picture was closer to the rest of the Saxon towns. In Cluj, however, only a few funeral monuments belonged to town leaders; most of the subjects were craftsmen and their family members.

The gender distribution of the subjects also displays a distinct pattern in various towns. In Cluj, women outnumbered man, and the share of children is especially significant, while the circle of subjects in Sibiu and the other Saxon towns is dominated by adult males, with Braşov being somewhere in between the two extremes in this respect as well. Women appear relatively often as patrons of funeral monuments for their husbands in every town, though it was much more frequent to indicate the patrons in Sibiu and Sighişoara than elsewhere.

The "elite" within the clergy, the bishops, are also well-represented among the subjects, but in this case, the characteristic dividing line runs between the denominations of all priests: almost 90% were Lutherans. Biertan was the see of the Lutheran bishopric, so a series of bishops' monuments was preserved there. However, since the Calvinist and Antitrinitarian churches had no fixed centers, no such series was created there; each bishop was buried at the place of his service.

Religious affiliation marked a clear division also among the towns. They officially accepted distinct denominations chosen by the magistrate: Saxon towns were Lutheran, Cluj was Antitrinitarian, and Târgu Mureş was Calvinist. This decision was primarily based on theological considerations and aimed to cleanse the religious life of the society, but it had a social and political relevance as well in each case: a single supported religion helped to keep the town—in the case of the Saxons, their entire *Universitas Saxonum*—manageable, and a clear and distinct denominational identity reinforced the position and privileges of the particular

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communities within the principality. This does not mean that other religions were not present within the city walls; Calvinism, for example, became increasingly significant in Cluj in the first half of the seventeenth century. Still, it was the town management—with its official religious position—who decided upon the regulations and space of burial, which determined the use, form, visibility, and role of funeral monuments. Since funeral monuments carry both social and religious meanings and they conformed to the religiously and socially motivated decisions of the towns, choices made about them and the message they convey manifest both religious and social norms.

Similarly to contemporary Western European practice, Protestant town administrations urged the removal of the cemeteries from around the church to outside the settlements due to health hazards. However, the actual process unfolded differently in the various Transylvanian towns. The attitude of the Lutheran and the Antitrinitarian-Calvinist towns was not the same: while Cluj, in accordance with the relevant ecclesiastical regulations, prohibited burials in the churches, in Saxon towns it was allowed for the administrative and financial elite and clergy. The impact of these regulations is discernible in the known funeral monuments of these social layers, originally found in the churches in the Lutheran Saxon towns and the cemeteries in the Antitrinitarian-Calvinist Cluj and Târgu Mureş. Consequently, the characteristic difference observed between the *Königsboden* (the core Saxon territory excluding Burzenland around Braşov and Nösnerland around Bistriţa) and in Cluj and nearby, that of the social composition of the subjects, goes hand-in-hand with differences between the types of burial sites and funeral monuments.

I described funeral monuments along four levels of a complex typological system: the type, the main class, that is, the relation to the architecture, the iconography, and the relation of the memorial to the grave. The main class and the type of the monuments was determined by the spatial context. Ledger stones were set into the floor of the churches in the Saxon towns, which marked a characteristic topography: the exact burial place of a person was designated based on the basis of the office, professional affiliation, and family ties. Funeral monuments visualized all these connections both by their arrangement and by their iconography.

The decoration and complexity of the ledgers was, however, not equally complex in each Saxon town. Heraldic display was clearly attributed a more significant role in Sibiu, where they created sophisticated visual allegories cross-referenced with the inscriptions. Memorials of the chief town leaders surpassed the rest: first, in the second half of the sixteenth century, in their quality, which was often above the local average, and later when this circle of commissioners developed a preference towards figural memorials. This series of memorials, in

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addition to commemorating the prestige of particular individuals, also served as professional galleries referring to the entire Saxon nation. The costumes, objects as well as postures and facial types all played a key role in constructing the monumental body of Saxon leaders. These figural memorials were not aimed to provide a faithful portrait of the deceased but an image of his social persona, reflecting idealized characteristics, such as just, learned, pious, or wise. Spatial proximity to the predecessors' burials, the repetition of forms found on their memorials, the addition of secondary subjects to old ledgers or commemorating ancestors on new ones, as well as indicating influential patrons on the memorials, all contributed to this message about power, competence, continuity, and prestige. The series of Lutheran bishops' memorials in Biertan conveys the same image about the leaders of the Saxon Lutheran Church. This message was enhanced in the nineteenth and early twentieth century when, due to a new interest in the national past, the ledgers were elevated and set up vertically, turning them into a pantheon of ancestors both in Sibiu and in Biertan, as well as in a number of other Lutheran churches. Heraldic memorials were just as suited to represent the social body as portraits were, since heraldry, especially if multiplied within the same space, symbolized values, virtues, and continuity efficiently. This received special emphasis in Sibiu, by building on certain traditions from aristocratic heraldry, and by detailing the offices and merits of the deceased in the inscriptions.

The aforementioned features characterize funeral monuments in the rest of the Saxon towns too, except for Braşov. Funeral monuments preserved in Braşov apparently did not serve as this kind of personal and communal display: several individuals appear on a single ledger in the form of name lists with a "here lies" formula, sometimes even seemingly unrelated people, and the patron is hardly ever included in the text. The single figural memorial that survived the fire, as well as the series of retrospective monuments from the eighteenth century suggest, however, that commemoration in the church space might have had a similar function in Braşov to that in Sibiu.

In contrast with the Saxon towns, headstones and coffin-shaped stones were set up in the Central or *Házsongárd* Cemetery in Cluj and in the Calvinist cemetery in Târgu Mureş. A special type of memorial evolved in the cemetery between the two city walls of Cluj: small memorial plaques carved onto the ashlars of the wall, which bore only inscriptions. Gravestones were also modestly decorated: they either displayed only a brief commemorative inscription or were complemented with a simple heraldic symbol. These symbols communicated basic features of the subjects in addition to the name and date in the text, e.g. women were indicated by flowers, children by small figurines, craftsmen by professional emblems. These codes can

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be observed in the Saxon urban context as well, and other elements were even more universal, understood by all contemporaries. For example, the old age of the subject was relatively frequently presented in each social layer, since it was perceived as a positive attribute, meaning that the deceased had a meritorious life and enough time to prepare his or her soul for death.

The shift towards gravestones in cemeteries was not a complete one in Cluj either, since a few late-sixteenth-century ledgers are known from the Calvinist church as well. However, even if there are some sparse data about burials in churches,[1662] it appears that most of the new burials, together with the gravestones, were located in the public cemeteries, detached from the churches. In contrast with the practice in the Saxon towns, this form of commemoration no longer benefitted from the weekly church attendance of the community and the attention of the town's visitors, because only those saw the gravestones who went to the cemetery with this explicit purpose. This weakened the role of funeral monuments in the social display of those members of the elite who appear among the subjects; at the same time, they became available for a much broader layer. As explained in the thesis, this accounts for the high number of women and children among the subjects in Cluj, and also why it was not customary to indicate the patron there. The audience of a single gravestone shrank to a smaller group, mostly the family, which resulted in a shift from public towards private commemoration. The simple grave inscriptions express personal loss or a strong belief in redemption, so the funeral monuments served to consolidate the relation of the living with death. Such grave markers were not too expensive, and their market seems to have become wider and more "democratic": they became available to a broader segment of the society compared to the rest of Transylvania, which complied with the idea of a public cemetery.

Priests' memorials fit into the general urban trends both in the Lutheran towns and in the Calvinist-Antitrinitarian Cluj and its vicinity. Pastors were generally buried at the place of their service as reflected by their memorials, apart from a group whose funeral monuments were set up in the Sibiu parish church even if they did not serve there, which made them more visible for the public. The type and form of the memorials always correspond to the customs of the closest town where they were produced. Priests' heraldry was built on professional and religious symbols, and the iconography of the entire tomb was carefully planned to distinguish them according to denomination. Church leaders did not receive better or more complex monuments than regular pastors or even their family members in any denomination. Portrait memorials

[1662] I thank Ágnes Flóra for the information she provided after reading my conclusions regarding the relevant archival sources from the late sixteenth century. Recent, hitherto unpublished excavations in and around the churches in the town might also provide new information to re-evaluate these results.

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were exclusively for the Lutherans, whose portraits, as well as the Latin epitaph verses, presented them as Humanist intelligentsia, the intellectual elite of the principality; the sixteenth-century international type of Humanists' portrait was endowed with a new meaning in this context.

Lutherans generally had a less radical attitude towards the traditions, they found a way to allow their elite to keep the old customs with their distinguished burial sites. Their funeral monuments attest that they were more tolerant with narrative and portrait representations as well. In contrast, no memorial is known with a portrait or a biblical image from a Calvinist or Antitrinitarian urban environment, and neither from among their clergy. In general, these simple gravestones are much more modest than the ledgers of the Lutheran Saxons; the latter were often lavishly decorated with religious symbols, especially from the first half of the seventeenth century onwards. This difference corresponds to the attitude of the respective religions towards images, but also to the character of the burial sites, cemeteries versus church interiors.

Local workshops provided for most of the funeral monument market in the Saxon towns, which were identified based on their products in Sibiu, Sighişoara, and Braşov. Only royal judges and mayors ordered their memorials from outside Transylvania in the sixteenth century. This trend changed in the first decades of the seventeenth century, when the entire elite seem to have found what they expected in Sibiu, whose workshops distributed their products even as far as Braşov. In contrast, exclusively local masters supplied the market in Cluj and its vicinity, as well as in Târgu Mureş throughout the whole period.

To sum up, commemoration served the prestige representation of the subjects in the Saxon towns, while this was not the case for the memorials preserved in Cluj and Târgu Mureş; the expectations regarding these funeral monuments were much lower. This characteristic difference in the material influenced the later fate of the ensembles as well: since the Saxon funeral monuments in the churches were more suitable for representing the glorious past and continuity of their ethnic identity in a new national context from the nineteenth century onwards, they were elevated, selected, and displayed. In contrast, most of the gravestones from Cluj were either lost or removed from their context and taken to the museum, where they await their permanent place in a future new display in the storage room. In this case, it is not the funeral monuments but the space of the cemetery that became more meaningful in the memorial practices, traditions and public discussion about the city's past and, more generally, about the Hungarian and Romanian presence in Transylvania.

Of course, it cannot be completely excluded that a part of the urban elite in Cluj, the part which is missing from among the known subjects, was commemorated with similarly ornate

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ledgers as those in Sibiu. However, unfortunately none of these survived at all. The complete disappearance of such a significant segment of the material, up to the last fragment, and its total absence from contemporary and later written sources is unlikely, and would require a well-founded explanation in itself. Until the surfacing of further evidence, one can only build on the surviving objects and their context in the analysis of the role of sepulchral monuments in the prestige representation of the early modern urban elite, as well as in the later regional, national, ethnic, and religious discourses.

A similar process of selection, endowment with new content, and oblivion can be detected among the nobility's funeral monuments. Most of them, that is, the average ones, were left forgotten in the village churches, once the centers of the nobles' estates. A few pieces, however, notably with portrait representations, were taken to the national museums in Budapest and Bucharest and thus, proclaimed as special, top-quality artworks from the period, resulting in a distorted image due to the visibility of the objects. In contrast, only fragments survived from the wall monuments set up in the Alba Iulia Cathedral that represented the highest standard in the period, and the symbolic character of the space determines the interpretation of commemorative practice in this case as well.

Among the nobility, last wills suggest that four factors influenced their decision about the burial site: family ties, the location of their residence, the offices they (or their close family members) held, and their religious affiliation. Based on this, most of the funeral monuments were set up at their own estates, in the parish church, often among the tombstones of ancestors or members of the same family who had acted as patrons of the church. This custom was frequently overwritten by religious considerations among the Catholics, for whom liturgical commemoration was a priority. At the other end of the spectrum, burial in any church space resulted in a clash with the official position of the Calvinist Church. However, the customs of the nobility were apparently so powerful in this respect that the Church had to comply with the actual practice by the mid-seventeenth century and they allowed the social elite to use their traditional type of burial site. Probably not independent from the complex religious environment—and definitely unthinkable before the Reformation—a new form of burial sites emerged as well: separate, newly built funerary chapels, and even individual graves in the landscape, not connected to any church building.

A characteristic group among the memorials of the nobility was set up in parish churches for members of the generation which gained ownership over that specific estate. Their burial in the church and the memorial marking it can be interpreted as a means of representing their local power. The funeral monuments also offered an opportunity for the commissioners to mark their

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presence in the same church space, and case studies have demonstrated that nobles used this opportunity; it seems to have been an especially prevalent practice in certain families. More than a quarter of the preserved stones name the patron in this social layer, most frequently the son or daughter of the deceased; however, women typically set up memorials for their deceased husband. The dominance of men characterizes the subjects as well. Among the noblewomen, those from the highest-ranking families were the most likely to receive a separate memorial. The few children who were dedicated their own memorials were also from the most prominent Transylvanian families, where their death caused serious social rupture.

Funeral monuments of the nobility did not display any significant difference based on their religious affiliation, and, as mentioned above, nobles preserved their right to be buried in a church even against the new ecclesiastical regulations. Ledgers are the most frequent type among them, with a simple heraldic decoration. The expectations were not very high in general, often modest to a surprising extent: these simple stone carvings were installed for the topmost layer within the Transylvanian society—members of the princely court as well as state and county leaders. Funeral monuments displaying the full-figure portrait of the subject were also relatively popular among the nobility, and, in contrast with the towns and the clergy, even among Calvinists and Antitrinitarians. These memorials are, however, mostly tomb chests, a form chosen by nobles faithful to a long medieval tradition.

It seems that noblemen generally commissioned funeral monuments in the nearby town: Cluj, Braşov, or Sibiu. They rarely made any more serious effort, though they seem to have had a traditional preference of the workshops in Cluj. Apparently, the simple stone carvings they could purchase in these towns were perceived as "good enough" to fulfil the function they attributed to a memorial. The preserved pieces suggest that they did not expect innovative artistic products but preferred to connect to the traditions. Even in those few cases when they chose a stone cutter or sculptor from outside the customary circles, the products were somehow connected to the environment they were placed in, including the funeral monuments set up there previously. The only exception was István Báthory, who introduced a new type in Alba Iulia by commissioning a wall memorial from Poland for his deceased brother; in this case, he was the one who set a model for later princes.

The type of wall monuments which became popular in the Kingdom of Hungary under Habsburg rule following the example of German territories, however, did not influence the customs within any other segment of the Transylvanian elite. Neither did the iconography most widely spread west of Transylvania, which displayed the deceased and his or her family kneeling under the Crucifix. Only a single example is known from Sibiu. In Transylvania, the

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influence of relatively modern trends from the west can mostly be detected only in the details, adjusted to the customary types. When graphic models could be identified, they proved to be more than a hundred years old, so keeping up with the modern European fashion was apparently not a priority for the producers and commissioners of the funeral monuments.

One possible reason for this phenomenon may lie in the geographical distance: it was an incomparably larger investment to bring a whole funeral monument to Transylvania than to the Kingdom of Hungary under Habsburg rule, because it had to be transported all around the Ottoman Turkish territory and through the mountains in wagons. However, even if the commissioners decided to make such an effort, they chose pieces that connected to the traditions. When good-quality stone carving appeared in Transylvania with modern ornaments, it was also applied on the traditional forms and types, and there seems to have been no interest in modernizing the iconography either. The market was clearly limited due to the geo-political separation of the country and the commissioner side was apparently not motivated to overcome these difficulties to any extent. These conditions were certainly not exclusive for the market of funeral monuments. They determined the framework in which all those—sculpted, painted, and architectural—works were produced which are traditionally the subject of Transylvanian art history, and they constitute an important factor in the evaluation of all genres from the period.

Based on the preserved ensemble, it is justifiable to suggest that memorials in the principality were expected to express continuity, power, and stability in the face of social and political changes and the shock of death. This was also the case in Cluj, where they got the furthest from the late medieval traditions concerning the burial site: it was in the power of the town magistrate to establish a new extramural graveyard in a crisis situation due to the plague, which had its consequences for the customs related to the funeral monuments. Similarly, it was in the power of the Lutheran towns to keep the customs of their elite, and the nobility could preserve its traditions even against ecclesiastical prescriptions.

Works of stone cutters for different social and religious circles demonstrate that the commissioners were mostly interested in the main type and form of memorials as well as in their location, and they were generally conservative in this respect. Tomb makers created the elements deemed essential by their commissioners, and either left the rest of the surface undecorated or used their own resources to select motifs or texts which they thought suitable in that context. Thus, the language of commemoration did transform, even if slowly, regardless how conservative the environment was. Change is most conspicuous in Cluj, where the type and form of memorials was also modified due to the new type of burial site. However, they worked with very few iconographic variations. In contrast, in the Saxon towns, transformation

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was manifest in the iconography: for example, with the arrival of a new iconographical type, the figural ledgers based on the depiction of Humanists, the concepts of the elite about a proper memorial also changed. However, hardly anything changed among the nobility over the period, only the ornaments displayed some variation depending on the education and models of the stone cutters.

Finally, I will return to the question of the representativeness and survival rate of the material. As far as the distinct groups on the commissioner side are concerned, the analysis of last wills from the entire period demonstrated that not every nobleman (not mentioning noble women and children) had a burial marked with a stone. On the other hand, simple ledgers in churches were not preserved carefully, and those not taken to a museum could have easily been lost from sight. Although it is hard to tell precisely, and calculating with average deterioration and loss is justifiable, the number of surviving memorials for noblemen is unlikely to be disproportionately lower than the total number of all such memorials installed in the given time period.

In Sibiu, based on the late seventeenth-century sources, it can be reliably calculated that about 60% of the monuments have survived, 61 of the 107 known pieces. There is no such information from Braşov due to the late-seventeenth-century fire, but Sibiu is a good comparative case for estimation, so it can be inferred that there were a couple of hundred ledgers there too. There is no information from the rest of the Saxon towns, and it is not clear whether the entire church floors were covered with tombs there or only a few pieces were set into the choir, similarly to the presently visible arrangement.

For Cluj, nineteenth- and twentieth-century inventories mention 160 memorials, 3% of which belonged to members of the town administration. Assuming that each member of the administrative elite would have received a memorial, it may be concluded that there must have been a large number of gravestones of "average" inhabitants that did not survive either. This seems to be reasonable to assume, since the life span of grave markers in cemeteries is not centuries-long in general. The same phenomenon affects the memorials of the lower nobility and clergy in the churchyard cemeteries: only a few monuments are known, so many might have been lost. Based on these (admittedly rather speculative) calculations and the 314 items in the catalog, the original number of memorials set up in the entire principality over these 150 years might have been between one and two thousand, including all social layers, types and forms.

Monuments reflect, in their own way, how humans tried to make sense of life and death, but the social norms of expression were different in various groups. Among the nobility, spatial

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proximity to the family members and ancestors was important as it was explicitly expressed in their last wills. Among the Saxons, the *memento mori* iconography as well as the inscriptions evoke the content of the hymn translated by Luther: "In the midst of life we are in death."[1663] In the case of the new public cemeteries, as, for instance, in Cluj, the space itself had this function: the deceased were detached from the life of the city, but those who entered the graveyard were reminded of nothing else but the dead—and their own future death. This spatial separation was a step towards the modern attitudes to death and the deceased; the Central Cemetery in Cluj is still in operation, and its ownership, as well as the ownership of its past, is still an issue for the communities within the city.

In the 1880s, the committee responsible for taking care of the Central Cemetery collected the ancient stones that could not be matched any more to any of the graves and exhibited them as "memory from the past and display for the future."[1664] Whoever touches the funeral monuments or furthers the discussion about them does the same, taking memories from the past and transmitting them to the future, enriching the message of the objects with another layer. This thesis is no exception: it could access previous meanings of the memorials because it is based on a collection of the funeral monuments from the whole territory of the Transylvanian Principality from all social groups, thus placing them into an entirely new context. They are analyzed as functional objects, about which humans made decisions along these functions. This approach allowed me to discuss both the production and the commissioner side, and produced new results in both respects. There is much left to be done for the future as well, especially concerning a comparative European context of the objects and the related practices. The comparative and contextual aspects are the most important elements in any historical study, so the future research of the funeral monuments from the Transylvanian Principality should proceed in this direction.

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[1663] „Mitten wir im Leben sind mit dem Tod umfangen," published in the *Erfurt Enchiridion* in 1524. The inscriptions on the ledgers of Andreas Literatus (Cat. No. 221) and Georg Clockner (Cat. No. 223) even contain a paraphrase of this verse.
[1664] "emlékül a múltból és mutatványul a jövendőnek" Kohn and Zsakó, "A kolozsvári házsongárdi temető sírkövei," 286.

APPENDIX: EQUIVALENT SETTLEMENT NAMES

1. Settlements today in Romania

Romanian	Hungarian	German
Abrud	Abrudbánya	Gross-Schlatten / Altenburg
Aghireș	Egeres	Erldorf
Aiud	Nagyenyed	Straßburg am Mieresch
Alba Iulia	Gyulafehérvár	Weissenburg
Albeşti	Fehéregyháza	Weißkirch
Alţâna	Alcina	Altzen
Araci	Árapatak	
Bălcaciu	Bolkács	Bulkesch
Bârcea Mare	Nagybarcsa	
Beclean	Bethlen	Bethlensdorf
Benic	Borosbenedek	
Biertan	Berethalom	Birthälm
Bistrița	Beszterce	Bistritz
Braşov	Brassó	Kronstadt
Brateiu	Baráthely	Pretai
București	Bukarest	
Budapest	Budapest	
Budila	Bodola	Bodila/Bodeln
Câlnic	Kelnek	Kelling
Călugăreni	Mikháza	
Căluşeri	Székelykál	
Câmpani de Pomezeu	Nagypapmező	
Căpuşu Mic	Magyarkiskapus	
Cernat	Csernáton	
Cetatea de Baltă	Küküllővár	Kokelburg
Cincşor	Kissink	Kleinschenk
Cincu	Nagysink	Groß-Schenk
Cioboteni	Csíkcsobotfalva	
Cisnădie	Nagydisznód	Heltau
Cluj	Kolozsvár	Klausenburg
Cluj-Mănăștur	Kolozsmonostor	
Comlod	Komlód	
Cricău	Boroskrakkó	Krakau
Criș	Keresd	Kreisch
Cristian	Keresztényfalva	Neustadt-Burzenland
Cristian	Kereszténysziget	Grossau
Dârjiu	Székelyderzs	
Deva	Déva	Diemrich

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Dobârca	Doborka	Dobring
Dumbrava	Gyerővásárhely	
Dumbrăveni	Erzsébetváros	Elisabethstadt
Făgăraș	Fogaras	Fugreschmarkt
Fântânele	Gyulakuta	Gielekonten
Florești	Szászfenes	
Gârbova	Szászorbó	Urwegen
Gherla	Szamosújvár	Neuschloss / Armenierstadt
Gilău	Gyalu	Julmarkt
Hăghig	Hídvég	
Hărman	Szászhermány	Honigberg
Iernut	Radnót	
Ighiu	Magyarigen	
Ighiu	Magyarigen	Grabendorf
Krakau	Boroskrakkó	Krakau
Mălâncrav	Almakerék	Malmkrog
Manastirea Prislop		
Matei	Szentmáté	Mathesdorf
Mediaș	Medgyes	Mediasch
Micești	Mikes	
Miercurea Sibiului	Szerdahely	Reussmarkt
Moșna	Muzsna	Meschen
Nocrich	Újegyház	Leschkirch
Nou Săsesc	Apaújfalu / Szászújfalu	Neudorf
Ocna Sibiului	Vízakna	Salzburg
Odorheiu Secuiesc	Székelyudvarhely	Odorhellen
Oradea	Nagyvárad	Grosswardein
Orășeni	Városfalva	
Orăștie	Szászváros	Broos
Păuca	Pókafalva	Törnen
Pericei	Szilágyperecsen	
Prejmer	Prázsmár	Tartlau
Prislop (Silvașu de Sus)	Felsőszilvás	
Râșnov	Barcarozsnyó	Roseanu
Richiș	Riomfalva	Reichesdorf
Rotbav	Szászveresmart	Rotbach
Rupea	Kőhalom	Reps
Săcueni	Székelyhíd	
Sălard	Szalárd	
Sâniob	Szentjobb	
Sânpaul	Kerelőszentpál	
Sântioana	Vasasszentiván	

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Sânvăsii	Nyárádszentlászló	
Saschiz	Szászkézd	Keisd
Sebeș	Szászsebes	Mühlbach
Șeica Mică	Kisselyk	Klein-Shelken
Șelimbăr	Sellenberk	Schellenberg
Sfântu Gheorghe	Sepsiszentgyörgy	Gergen
Sibiu	Nagyszeben	Hermannstadt
Sic	Szék	Secken
Sighișoara	Segesvár	Schäßburg
Slimnic	Szelindek	Stolzenburg
Someşeni	Szamosfalva	
Suceagu	Szucsák / Szucság	
Șumuleu Ciuc	Csíksomlyó	Schomlenberg
Șura Mare	Nagycsűr	Groß-Scheuern
Ţaga	Cege	Zegen
Tărpiu	Szásztörpény	Treppen
Tileagd	Mezőtelegd	
Tioltiur	Tötör	
Tîrgu Mureș	Marosvásárhely	Neumarkt
Tirimia	Nagyteremi	Gross-Wachsdorf
Torda	Turda	Thorenburg
Turea	Türe	
Turia de Jos	Altorja	
Unknown	Unknown	
Vingard	Vingárd	Weingartskirchen
Vințu de Jos	Alvinc	Unterwinz
Vișlea	Magyarvista	
Zalău	Zilah	Zillenmarkt
Zimbor	Magyarzsombor	

2. Settlements in other countries

Lockenhaus (GER)	Léka (HU)	Livka (CRO)	**Austria**
Bardejov (SK)	Bártfa (HU)	Bartfeld (GER)	**Slovakia**
Bratislava (SK)	Pozsony (HU)	Pressburg (GER)	**Slovakia**
Dúbravka Devín (SK)	Dévény (HU)		**Slovakia**
Gdansk (PL)	Danzig (GER)		**Poland**
Kaliningrad (RUS)	Königsberg (GER)		**Russia**
Klátova Nova Ves (SK)	Tőkésújfalu (HU)	Stockneudorf (GER)	**Slovakia**
Košice (SK)	Kassa (HU)	Kaschau (GER)	**Slovakia**

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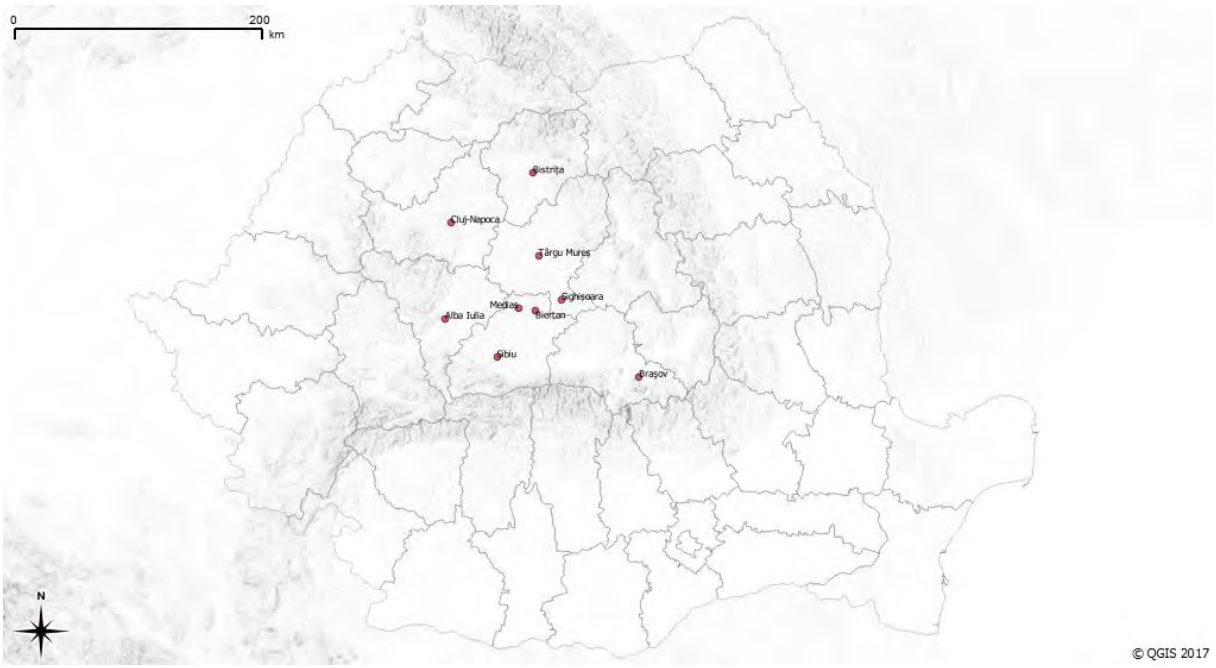
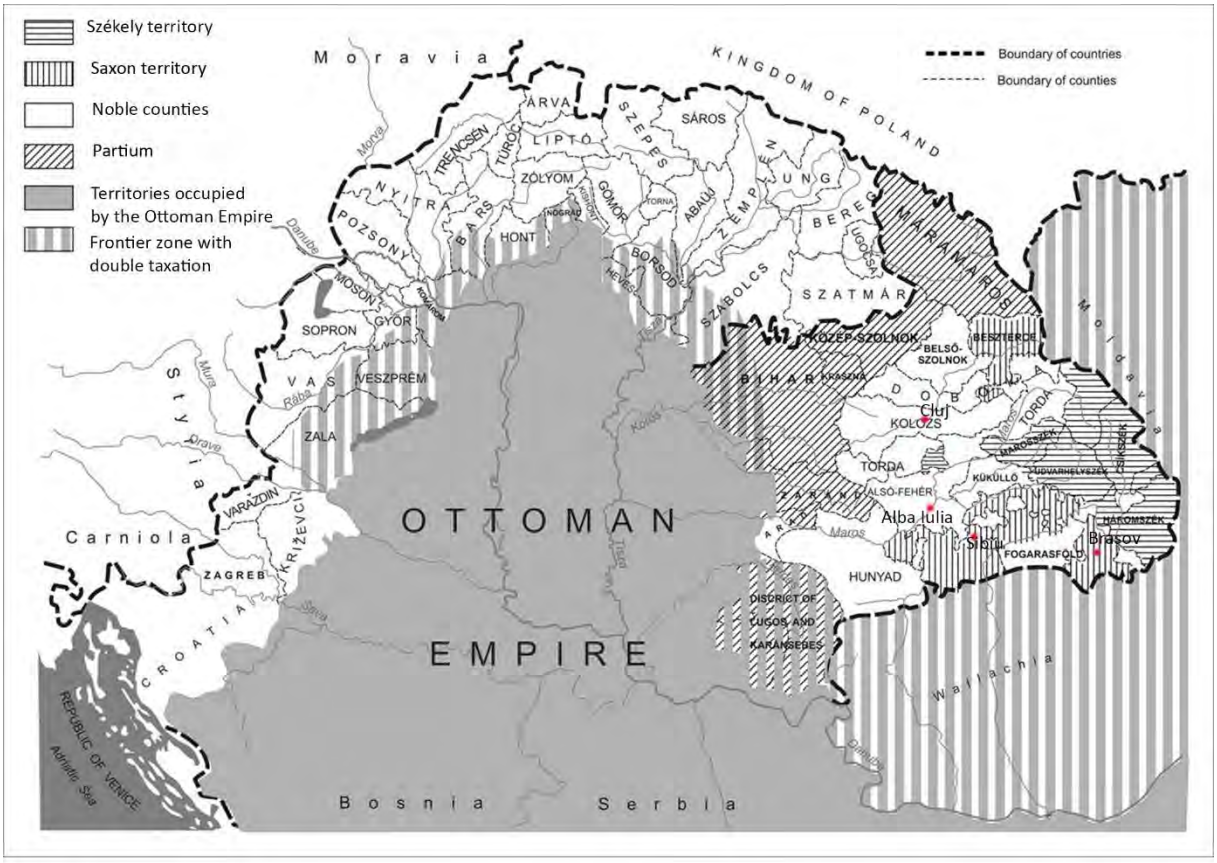
MAPS



Map 1. The major Transylvanian towns in present Romania



Map 2. The Transylvanian Principality in 1590, within the territory of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary divided into three parts. After István György Tóth ed., *A Concise History of Hungary: The History of Hungary from the Early Middle Ages to the Present* (Budapest, Osiris, 2005), 184.

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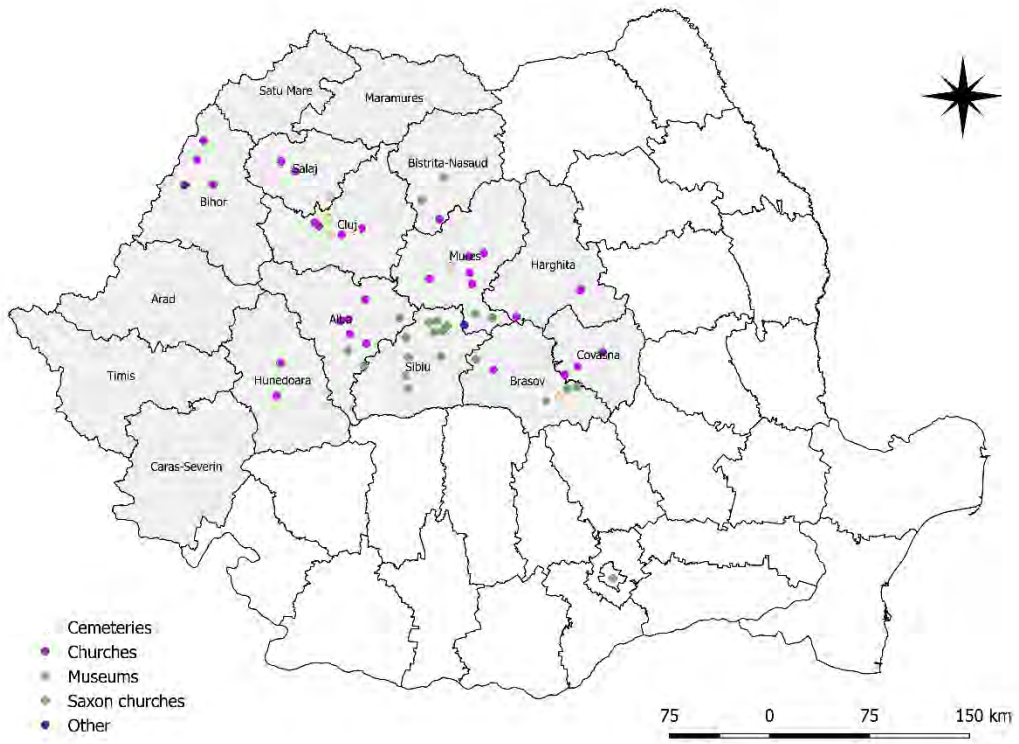
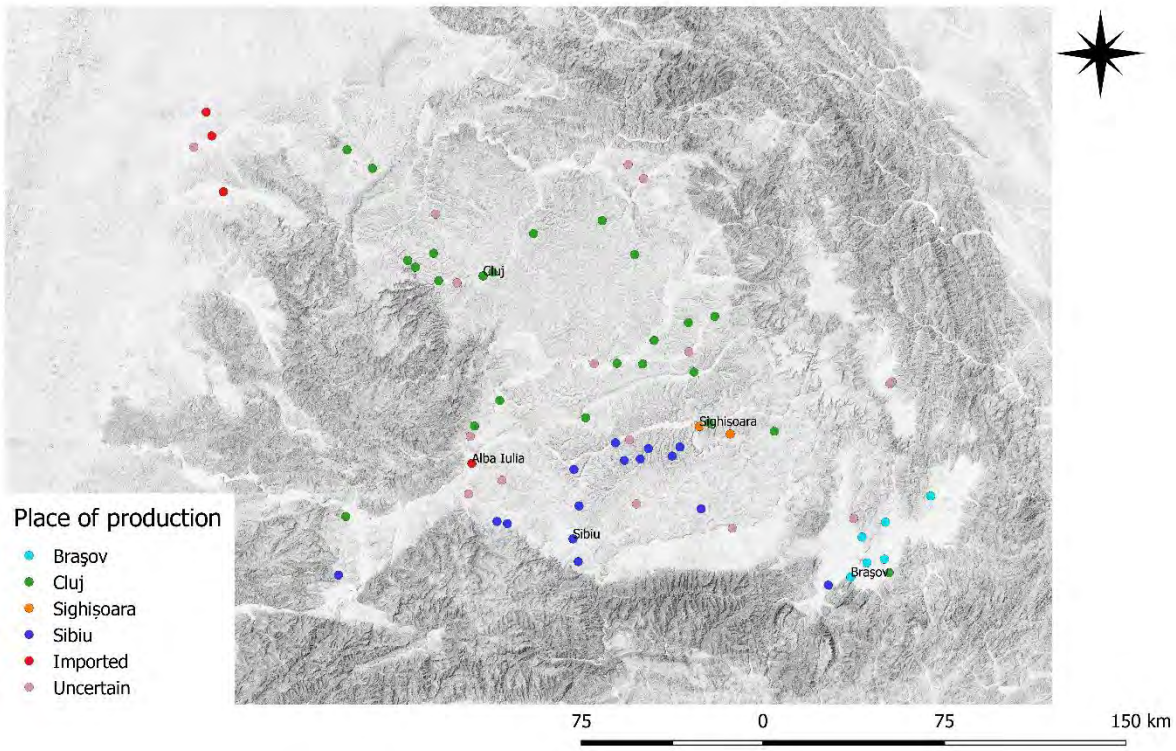


Map 3. Sites with funeral monuments in Transylvania located in the modern counties of Romania



Map 4. Funeral monuments in the territory of the Transylvanian Principality grouped based on their place of production

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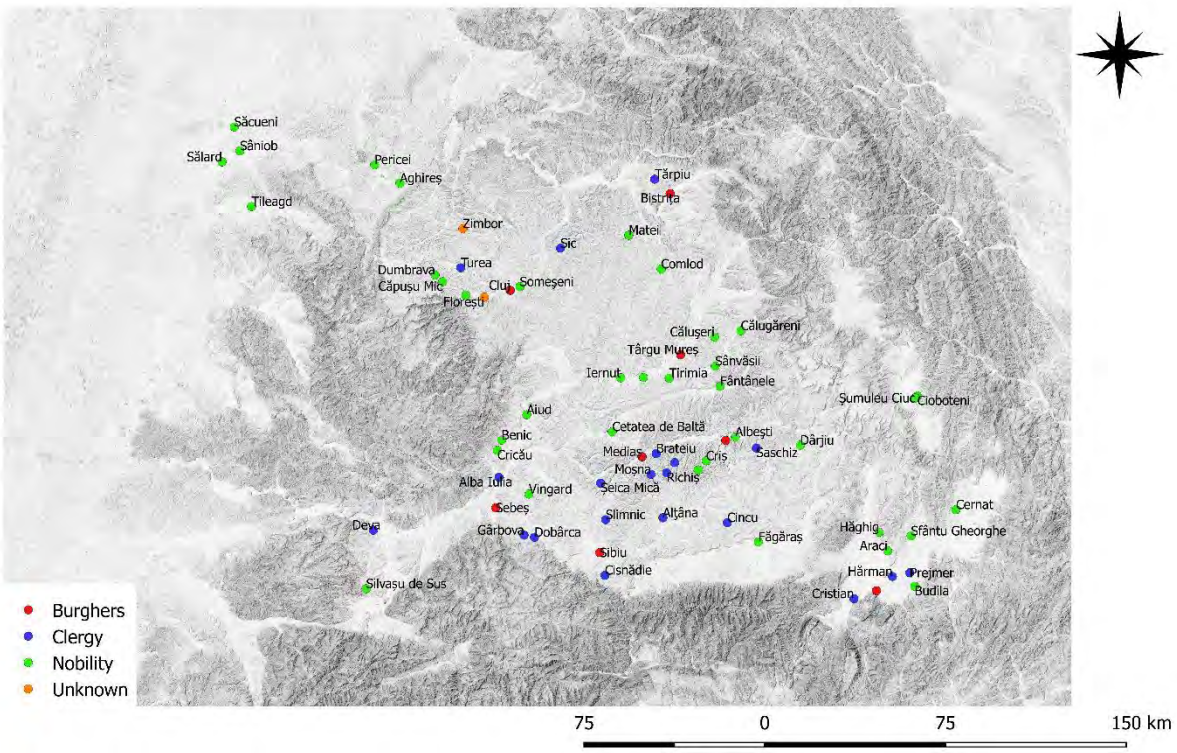

Map 5. Funeral monuments in the territory of the Transylvanian Principality marked based on the most characteristic social groups

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Figure 1. Biertan, medieval fortified church (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2011)

Figure 2. Biertan, funeral monuments in the Mausoleum tower of the fortification around the church (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2011)

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Figure 3. Biertan, funeral monuments in the Mausoleum tower of the fortification around the church (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2011)

Figure 4. Ledger of Simon Hartmann (d.1639) in in Moşna after the renovation (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2011)

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Figure 5. Millstone as headstone in Orășeni (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2001)

Figure 6. “Kopjafa” type grave markers in Cernat (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2011)

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Figure 7. The Arlington National Cemetery in Washington DC, US (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2017)

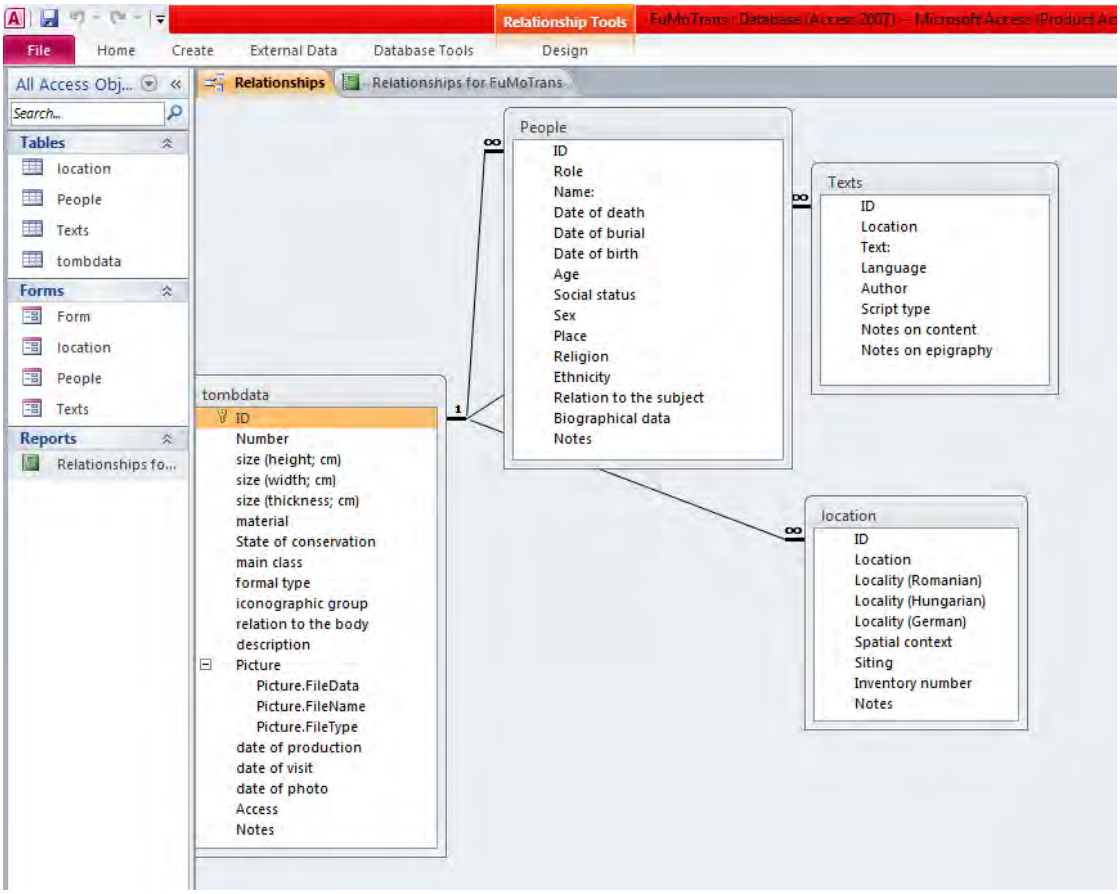

Figure 8. The scheme of the relational database (©Dóra Mérai)

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Figure 9. Funeral monument of Georg Hecht (d.1496), Sibiu, Lutheran church (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; source: http://www.sibiu.org/evangelische-kirche/georg-hecht.htm)

Figure 10. Funeral monument of Nicholas Proll (d.1499), Sibiu, Lutheran church (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; source: http://www.sibiu.org/evangelische-kirche/nicolaus-prol.htm)

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Figure 11. Plaster copies of funeral monuments from the Lutheran church in Sibiu, today in the main building of the Academy of Fine Arts in Budapest on Andrássy Road (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2009)

Figure 12. The so-called "Ferule", the western part of the nave in the parish church in Sibiu (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2011)

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Figure 13. The so-called “Ferule”, the western part of the nave in the parish church in Sibiu (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2011)

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Figure 17. Funeral monument of Simon Albelius (d.1654) and Markus Fronius (d.1713), parish church in Braşov (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession, Braşov; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

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Figure 18. Funeral monument of Michael Hermann (d.1660) and Bartholomäus Seuler (d.1715), parish church in Braşov (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession, Braşov; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

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Figure 21. Funeral monuments in the Mountain Church in Sighişoara (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

Figure 22. Funeral monuments in the Mountain Church in Sighişoara (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

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Figure 23. Funeral monuments in the Mountain Church in Sighişoara (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

Figure 24. Hărman, the southeastern part of the fortified church, where the funeral monuments are stored (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2011)

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Figure 25. Hărman, funeral monuments in the fortified church (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2011)

Figure 26. Mediaș, the choir of the church with the funeral monuments (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; photo by János Jakucs, 2010)

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Figure 27. Mediaș, funeral monuments in the choir of the church (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

Figure 28. Sebeș, funeral monuments and other stone carvings in the church (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

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Figure 29. Leiden, early modern funeral monuments in the floor of the Saint Peter's Church (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2012)

Figure 30. Amsterdam, early modern funeral monuments in the floor of the Oude Kerk ("old church" (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2012)

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Figure 31. Bistriţa, funeral monuments in the floor of the Lutheran church (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

Figure 32. Bistriţa, funeral monuments in the floor of the Lutheran church (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations;photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

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Figure 33. Saschiz, funeral monument in the nave of the Lutheran church (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

Figure 34. Saschiz, funeral monuments in the choir of the Lutheran church (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

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Figure 35. Slimnic, the choir of the Lutheran church with two funeral monuments (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

Figure 36. Cristian, funeral monument and medieval keystone in the choir of the Lutheran church (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

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Figure 37. Cincu, the choir of the Lutheran church with a funeral monument (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

Figure 38. Șeica Mică, the choir of the Lutheran church with a funeral monument (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

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Figure 39. Richiș, funeral monuments and a Gothic stone carving in the sacristy of the Lutheran church (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2011)

Figure 40. Cisnădie, a funeral monument in the sacristy of the Lutheran church (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

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Figure 41. Moșna, ledger stone in the floor of the sacresty of the Lutheran church (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

Figure 42. Dobârca, the abandoned Lutheran church. The former place of a funeral monument can be detected on the northern wall of the choir (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

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Figure 43. Medieval funeral monuments in the floor of the Alba Iulia cathedral (© Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

Figure 44. Alba Iulia, Saint Michael's cathedral, stone carvings stored in the ground floor of the southern tower (© Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

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Figure 45. Alba Iulia, stone carvings stored in the courtyard of the bishopric palace (© Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

Figure 46. Alba Iulia, stone carvings stored in the back yard of the bishopric palace (© Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

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Figure 47. Alba Iulia, Saint Michael's cathedral, the Hunyadi tomb chests in the southern aisle (© Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia; photo by Attila Mudrák)

Figure 48. Alba Iulia, Saint Michael's cathedral, the Hunyadi tomb chests in the southern aisle (© Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

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Figure 49. Alba Iulia, Saint Michael's cathedral, the tomb chest of János Hunyadi in the southern aisle combined with the top of another tomb chest (© Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

Figure 50. Alba Iulia, Saint Michael's cathedral, the side panels from the tomb chest of János Hunyadi in the southern aisle combined with the top of another tomb chest (© Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

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Figure 51. Alba Iulia, Saint Michael's cathedral, eighteenth-century side altar made from a seventeenth-century funeral monument (© Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

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Figure 52. Alba Iulia, Saint Michael's cathedral, eighteenth-century side altar made from a seventeenth-century funeral monument (© Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

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Figure 53. Alba Iulia, Saint Michael's cathedral, eighteenth-century side altar made from a seventeenth-century and a sixteenth-century funeral monument (© Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

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Figure 54. Alba Iulia, fragments of the Bethlen or a Rákóczi funeral monument in the courtyard of the bishopric palace (© Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

Figure 55. Alba Iulia, fragments of the Bethlen or a Rákóczi funeral monument in the courtyard of the bishopric palace (© Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

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Figure 56. Alba Iulia, Saint Michael's cathedral, fragments of the Bethlen or a Rákóczi funeral monument in the ground floor of the southern tower (© Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

Figure 57. Side panel of a tomb chest. Source: Jolán Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* (Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century) (Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985), fig. 65.

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Figure 58. Side panel of a tomb chest. Source: Márton Sarkadi, *"s folytatva magát a régi művet" Tanulmányok a gyulafehérvári székesegyház és p spöki palota történetéről* ("continuing the old work" Studies on the history of the cathedral and bishopric palace in Alba Iulia) (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2010), 224.

Figure 59. Memorial of Balázs Tötöri, formerly in Tioltiur. Source: Jolán Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* (Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century) (Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985), fig. 285.

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Figure 60. Fântânele, funeral monuments in the Calvinist church (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2011)

Figure 61. Fântânele, funeral monuments in the Calvinist church (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2011)

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Figure 62. Căpușu Mic, the Calvinist church (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2011)

Figure 63. Căpușu Mic, funeral monuments in he Calvinist church (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2011)

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Figure 64. Călușeri, traces of the former church on the hill called Kripta (Crypt) (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2011)

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Figure 66. Comlod, interior of the Calvinist church (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2011)

Figure 67. Funeral monument of Kata Kornis in the churchyard in Daia, before it was taken to Dârjiu (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2000)

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Figure 68. Funeral monument of Mátyás Sigér in Sânvăsii, in the groundfloor of the tower attached to the Unitarian church (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2011)

Figure 69. Ledgers in the park of the Bethlen Castle in Criș in 1912 (source: Radu Oltean, www.arthistoria.blogspot.com)

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Figure 70. Sânpaul, the Haller castle seen from the hilltop with the Imola (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2012)

Figure 71. Sânpaul, the Haller castle (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

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Figure 72. Sânpaul, the Haller castle with the two fragments of tomb monuments on the two sides of the entrance (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

Figure 73. Sânpaul, the chapel called Imola (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2012)

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Figure 74. Sânpaul, the tower of the Imola with the funeral monuments (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2012)

Figure 75. Sânpaul, funeral monuments in the wall surrounding the Imola (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2012)

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Figure 76. Sic, two coffin shaped tombstones in the southern aisle during the reconstruction of the Calvinist church (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

Figure 77. Sic, a coffin shaped tombstone in the Calvinist church that was erected for the Calvinist bishop György Aranka of Zágon (+1767) according to the literary tradition (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

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Figure 78. Sic, the gravestone of Bishop Gáspár Tiszabecsi's daughters in the porch of the Calvinist church under reconstruction (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

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Figure 79. Vișțea, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century headstones built into the wall around the churchyard of the Calvinist church (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

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Figure 80. Turea, headstones built into the wall around the churchyard of the Calvinist church (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

Figure 81. Gilău, gravestones in the churchyard of the Calvinist church (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2011)

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Figure 82. Zimbor, a commemorative plaque built into the southeastern buttress of the choir of the Calvinist church (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

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Figure 83. A fragment of the inner range of the city wall of Cluj (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

Figure 84. A fragment of the inner range of the city wall of Cluj. Some of the commemorative inscriptions are found on the other side of this section, the wall forms the rear border of a plot with a house in private property. (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

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Figure 85. A fragment of the inner range of the city wall of Cluj (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

Figure 86. The crypt of the Bethlen of Iktár family in the Central or Házsongárdi Cemetery in Cluj with a sixteenth-century commemorative plaque from the city wall (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

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Figure 87. The Central or Házsongárd Cemetery in Cluj (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

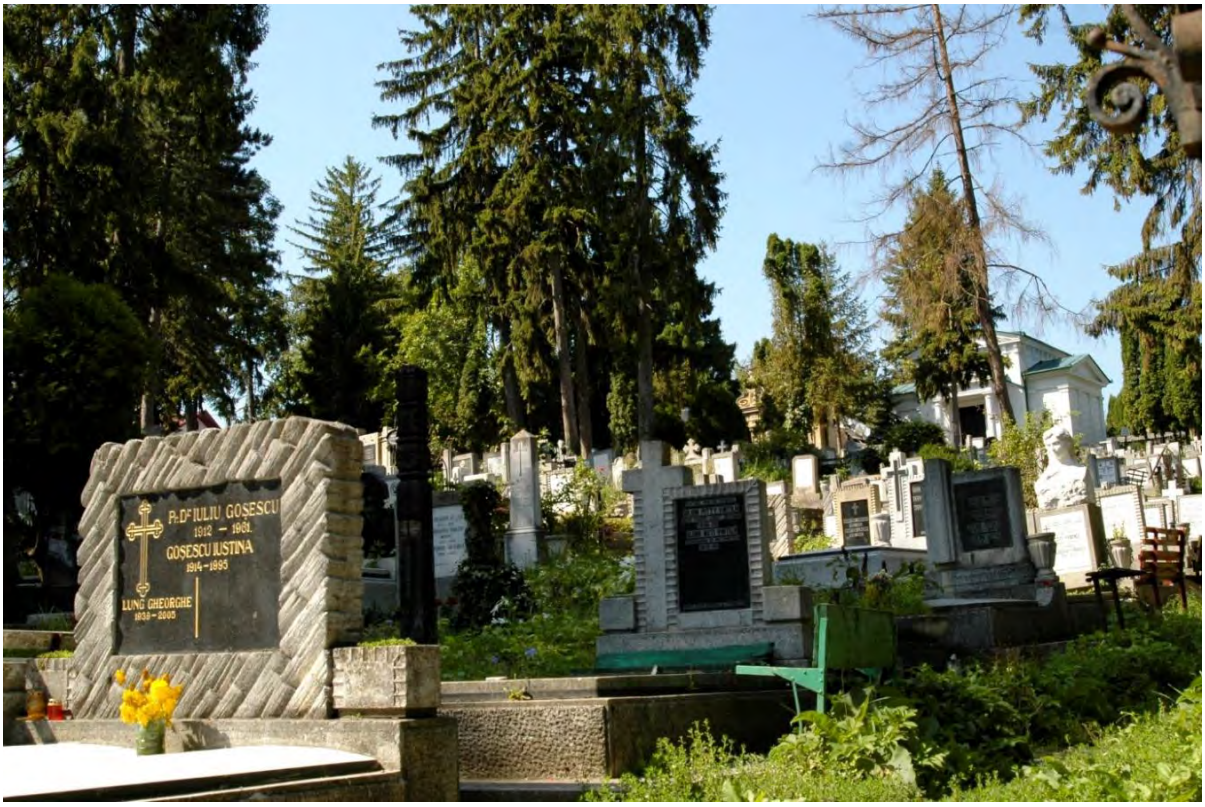

Figure 88. The Central or Házsongárd Cemetery in Cluj (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

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Figure 89. The Central or Házsongárd Cemetery in Cluj (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

Figure 90. The mortuary in the Calvinist cemetery in Târgu Mureș (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2011)

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Figure 91. Gravestones organized around the mortuary in the Calvinist cemetery in Târgu Mureș (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2011)

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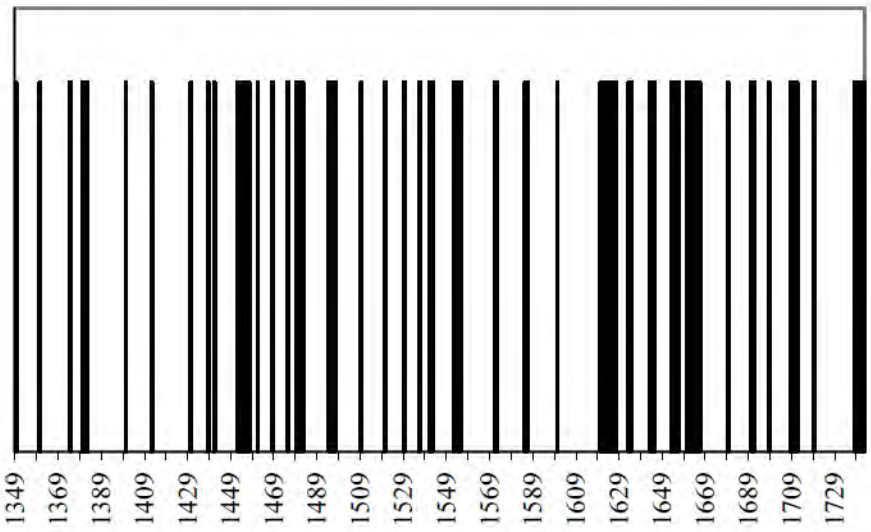
2. táblázat

Pestisjárványok Kelet-Magyarországon és Erdélyben 1500 és 1771 között

Évkör	Tiszántúl és Kelet-Magyarország [a)]	Erdély	Áldozatok száma Erdélyben (fő)
1506–1510		+	.....
1529–1530		+	.....
1553–1555	+	+	.....
1572–1577	+	+	.....
1586–1588	+	+	.....
1599–1603	+	+	.....
1621–1623	+	+	.....
1633–1634		+	.....
1644–1646	+	+	.....
1652–1656	+	+	.....
1660–1664	+	+	.....
1676–1679	+	+	.....
1698–1699		+	.....
1708–1711	+	+	.....
1717–1720	+	+	120–130 000
1737–1743	+	+	41 722
1755–1757		+	4 303
1769–1771		+	1 204
Összesen	11	18	

Figure 92. Periods and number of victims of the plague in Eastern Hungary and Transylvania. Source: Tamás Faragó, "Adatok a pestisjárványok magyarországi történetéhez. A máramarosi példa" (Data on the Hungarian history of the plague. The example of Maramureş), *Korall* 30 (2007): 30.



Forrás: Szabó 1963. 64. (1349–1526) és Benda 1986, 1989.

I. Pestisjárványok előfordulása Magyarországon, 1349–1742

Figure 93. Epidemics of plague in Hungary between 1349 and 1742. Souce: Péter Őri, "A pestisjárványok demográfiai következményei a 17-18. századi Magyarországon" (Demographic consequences of the plague in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Hungary), in *Történeti demográfiai évkönyv 2005* (Annual of historical demography 2005), ed. Tamás Faragó and Péter Őri (Budapest: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 2006), 120.

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Figure 94. The memorial of Despina Paleologa in the wall of the Lutheran church in Alţâna (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

Figure 95. The Lutheran church in Alţâna (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

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Figure 96. Gravestone with names of those who were never buried underneath, in the Lutheran churchyard in Alţâna (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

288. Kolozsvári Literatus Gábor († 1591) sírköve. Egykor Gyulafehérvár, Székesegyház

Figure 97. The lost memorial of Gabrielus Literatus from Cluj as photographed in the Cathedral in Alba Iulia. Source: Jolán, Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* (Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century) (Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985), fig. 288.

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Figure 98. The inscription plaque belonging to the funeral monument of György Sükösd in the former Unitarian church in Tirimia. Woodcut by János Bicsérdy after a drawing by Narciss Chaillon. Source: Balázs Orbán: *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti*, *természetrajzi s népismei szempontból* (Description of the Székely Land from a historical, archaeological, natural geographical, and ethnographic point of view) (Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868) http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/155.html (accessed July 30,2014).

Figure 99. The tomb chest belonging to the funeral monument of György Sükösd in the former Unitarian church in Tirimia. Woodcut by János Bicsérdy after a drawing by Narciss Chaillon. Source: Balázs Orbán: *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti,* természetrajzi s népismei szempontból (Description of the Székely Land from a historical, archaeological, natural geographical, and ethnographic point of view) (Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868) http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/155.html (accessed July 30,2014).

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Figure 100. Coffin-shaped funeral monuments in the Central or Házsongárd Cemetery in Cluj (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

Figure 101. Coffin-shaped funeral monuments in the Central or Házsongárd Cemetery in Cluj (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

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Figure 102. Coffin-shaped funeral monuments in the Central or Házsongárd Cemetery in Cluj (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

Figure 103. Coffin-shaped funeral monuments in the Calvinist cemetery in Târgu Mureș (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2011)

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Figure 104. Coffin-shaped funeral monument in the Calvinist churchyard in Vinţu de Jos (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

Figure 105. Coffin-shaped funeral monument in the Calvinist churchyard in Vinţu de Jos (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

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Figure 106. Coffin-shaped funeral monument in the Calvinist churchyard in Vințu de Jos (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

Figure 107. Coffin-shaped funeral monuments in the Calvinist churchyard in Ighiu (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

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Figure 108. Coffin-shaped funeral monument in the Calvinist churchyard in Ighiu (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

Figure 109. Coffin-shaped funeral monument in the Calvinist churchyard in Păuca (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

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Figure 110. Coffin-shaped funeral monument in the Calvinist churchyard in Păuca (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

Figure 111. Coffin-shaped funeral monument in the Calvinist churchyard in Ocna Sibiu (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2010)

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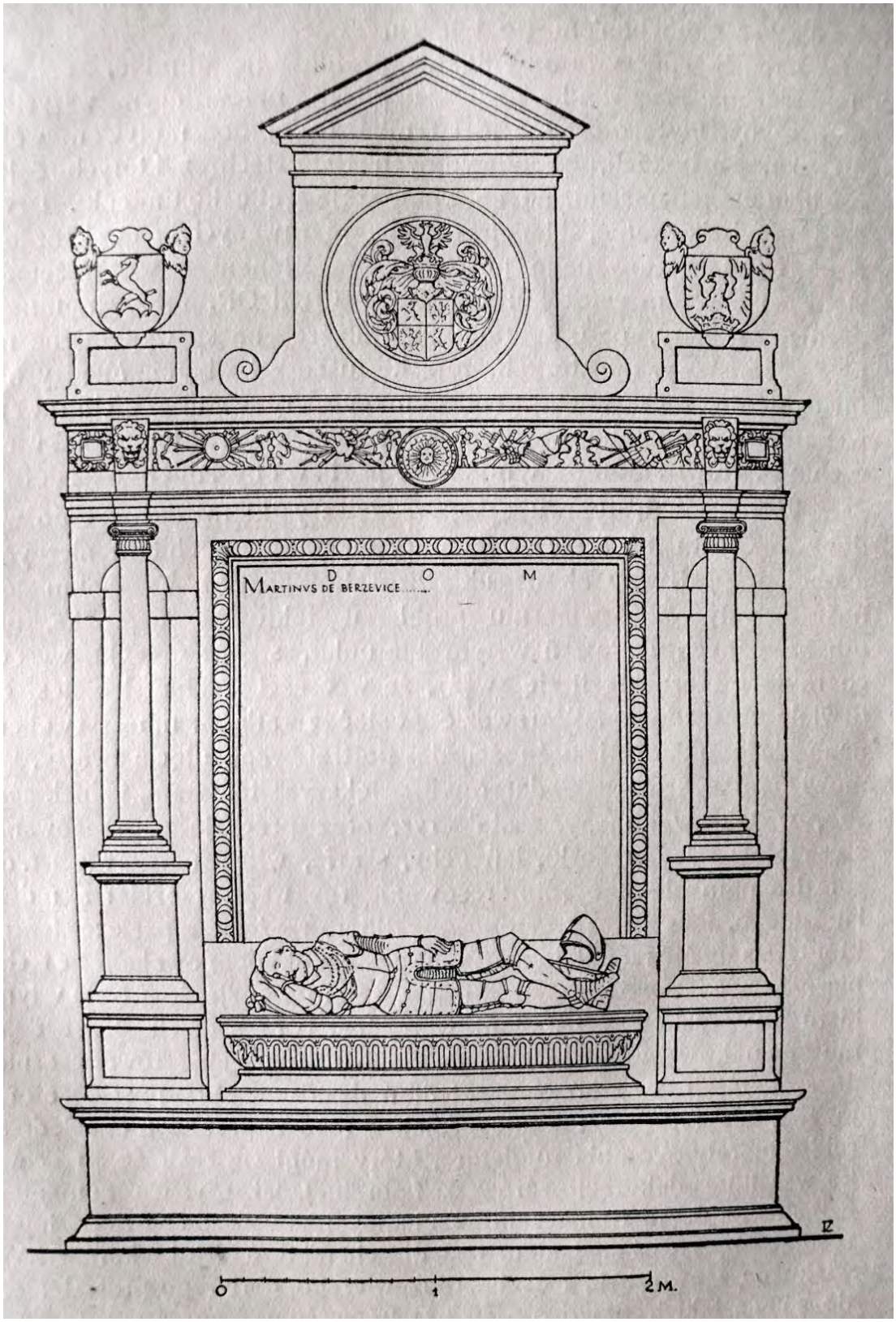

Figure 112. Sepulchral monument of Márton Berzeviczy in Lisnowo (destroyed in 1939). Reconstruction drawing from Witold Kieszkowski, Jan Zachwatowicz, "Sprawozdanie z objazdu województwa pomorskiego"(Report on a tour in the Pomeranian Viovodeship), *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury* 2 (1933): fig. 16.

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Figure 113. Funeral monument of András and Boldizsár Báthory in Barczewo. Source: Franciszek Jan Skibiński, "Willem van den Blocke. Netherlandish Sculptor in the Baltic Region" PhD thesis. Utrecht: Utrecht University, 2013, 352, fig. B.9.1.

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Figure 114. The memorial of Piotr Opaliński in the parish church of Sieraków. Source: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/5/5f/Nagrobek_Piotra_Opali%C5%84skiego.jpg/768px-Nagrobek_Piotra_Opali%C5%84skiego.jpg

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Figure 115. Modern red marble quarry in the Gerecse Mountains (photo by Zsolt Havasi, 2017)

Figure 116. Red marble in a modern quarry in the Gerecse Mountains (photo by Zsolt Havasi, 2017)

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Figure 117. Sepulchral monument of Prince Zsigmond Rákóczi in Szerencs. Source: Iván Bertényi et al., *Királyok könyve* (Book of Kings) (Budapest: Officina Nova, 1993), 137.

Figure 118. Funeral monument of Peter Haller in Sibiu, Lutheran church (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations)

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Figure 119. Side panel of the Sükösd tomb chest (©The National History Museum of Transylvania, Cluj; photo: Dóra Mérai, 2007) and woodcuts by Barthel Behem. Source: Horst W. Janson, "The Putto with the Death's Head" *The Art Bulletin* 19 (1937): figs 27-28.

Figure 120. Hirscher coat of arms. Sibiu, Brukenthal Museum (©Brukenthal Museum; photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013)

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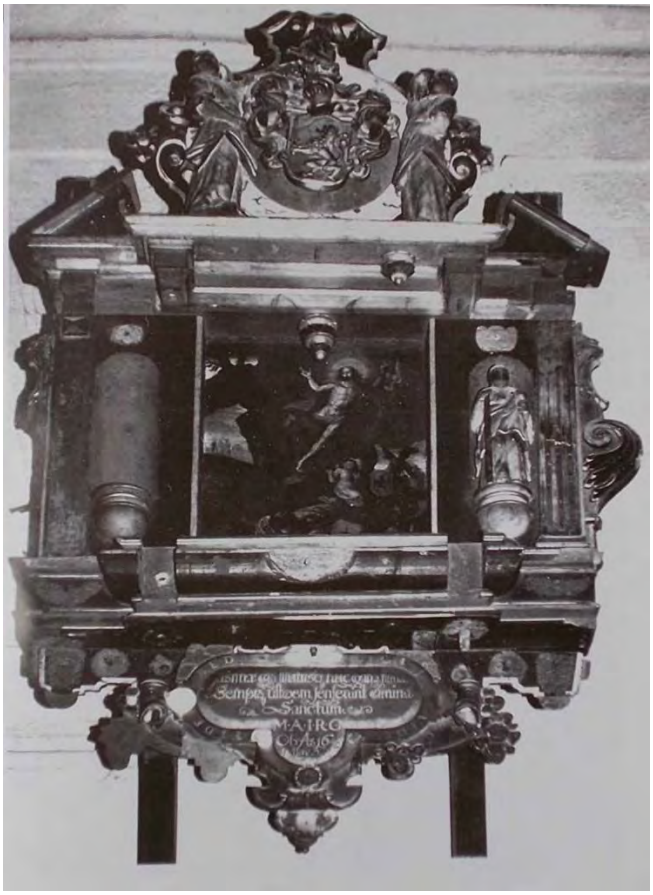

Figure 121. Epitaph of Michael Agnethler. Sibiu, Lutheran church. source: András Kovács, "Képfaragók és dekorátorok a 17. századi Erdélyben," *Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából* 3rd series 1, 11 (2006), 163-178.

Figure 122. Pulpit in the Calvinist church in Cluj (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

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Figure 123. Top of the tomb chest of Prince Mateiaş. Source: Sacerdoteanu, Aurelian and Stelian Metzulescu, "Intîia piatră de mormînt a lui Matei Basarab" *Studii şi cercetări de istoria artei* 2 (1955), 342.

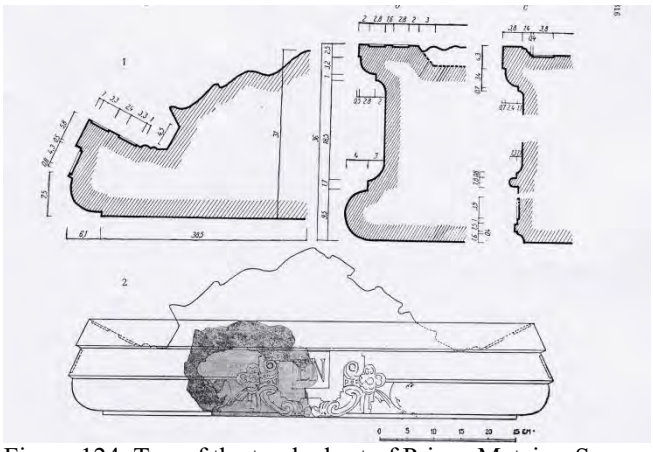

Figure 124. Top of the tomb chest of Prince Mateiaş. Source: Constantinescu, Nicolae, Cristian Moisescu, and Dardu Nicolăescu-Plopşor. "Considérations sur les tombes princières de Tîrgovişte" *Dacia* 11 (1967): 316, fig. 10.

Figure 125. Top of the tomb chest of Prince Mateiaş. Sacerdoteanu, Aurelian, and Stelian Metzulescu. "Intîia piatră de mormînt a lui Matei Basarab" (On the tombstone of Matei Basarab). *Studii şi cercetări de istoria artei* 2 (1955): 344.

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Figure 126. Side panel of the tomb chest of Prince Mateiaş. Tîrgovişte, Prince's Church (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

Figure 127. Funeral monument of Princess Elena. Tîrgovişte, Prince's Church (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

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Figure 128. Funeral monument of Matei Basarab. Arnota, monastery (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

Figure 129. Fragments from the first funeral monument of Matei Basarab. Tîrgovişte, Prince's Church (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

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122. Bethlen Ferencné és gyermekei sírköve 1631.

Figure 130. Drawing by József Köpeczi Sebestyén of the funeral monument of Zsuzsanna Kamuthi. Source: Imre Lukinich, *A Bethleni gróf Bethlen család története* (The history of the Bethlen of Bethlen family) (Budapest: Aetheneum, 1928), fig. 122.

Figure 131. Coat of arms of the Bethlen and Váradi family. Brukenthal Museum (©Brukenthal Museum; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

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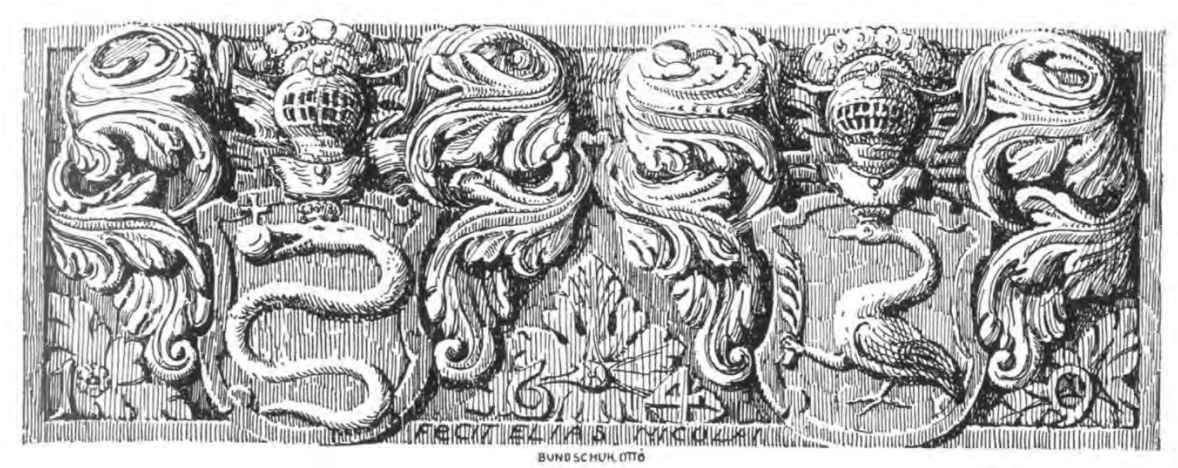

Figure 132. Coat of arms of the Bethlen and Váradi family in Criș. Source: Lukinich, Imre. *A Bethleni gróf Bethlen család története* (The history of the Bethlen of Bethlen family). Budapest: Aetheneum, 1928, 179.

Figure 133. Coat of arms of the Bethlen and Váradi family in Criș, c. 1909-12; source: Radu Oltean http://art-historia.blogspot.ro/2011/03/castelul-de-la-cris-mures.html

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Figure 134. Late Gothic altarpiece in Sebeş, detail (© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations; photo by Dóra Mérai, 2011)

Figure 135. Coat of arms on the Reusnerhaus in Sibiu (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2013)

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Figure 136. Painted portrait of Matthias Semriger by Jeremias Stranovius. Sibiu, Brukenthal Museum. Source: *Pictura Germană din Transilvania secolul al XVI-lea - începutul secolului al XIX-lea* (German painting in Transylvania, sixteenth to the early nineteenth century) (Sibiu: Muzeum Naţional Brukenthal, 2004), fig. 2.

Figure 137. Memorial plaque of Baron, later Count István Apor in the Apor Castle in Turia de Jos (photo by Réka Várallyai, c. 2005)

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Figure 138. Epitaph of Conrad Celtes. Vienna, St. Stephen's Church (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2016)

Figure 139. Woodcut memorial of Conrad Celtes by Hans Burgkmair. Source: Ute Verstegen, "Die Grabdenkmäler der humanistischen Gelehrten - Antikenrezeption im Norden" in Wege zur Renaissance: Beobachtungen zu den Anfängen neuzeitlicher Kunstauffassung im Rheinland und in den Nachbargebieten um 1500, ed. Norbert Nussbaum, Claudia Euskirchen, and Stephan Hoppe (Cologne: SH-Verlag, 2003), 293, fig. 2.

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Figure 140. Epitaph of Johannes Cuspinian. Vienna, St. Stephen Church. Source: http://www.wienerkongress1515.at/fileadmin/content/1515/Epitaph-des-Johannes.jpg

Figure 141. Epitaph of Johannes Aventinus. Regensburg, St. Emmeram Monastery (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2014).

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Figure 142. Fragments of funeral monuments attributed to Anna Kemény. Cluj, National History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj (photo by Melinda Mihály)

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Figure 143. Funeral monument of István Telegdi. Tileagd, Calvinist church (photo by Dóra Mérai, 2011)

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FUNERAL MONUMENTS
FROM THE TRANSYLVANIAN PRINCIPALITY
(C. 1540-1700)

CATALOG

By

Dóra Mérai

Appendix to the Doctoral Dissertation Submitted to the Medieval Studies Department,
Central European University, Budapest

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Budapest
2017

STRUCTURE

Cat. No.

a)	Present place, settlement, Romanian name – Hungarian name – German name, Site
b)	*Original place, settlement, Romanian name – Hungarian name – German name, Site*
c)	**Name of the subject(s): form applied in the inscription (form most frequently applied in the specific contemporary context)** Biographic data Selected secondary literature on the subject(s) Note: the length and depth of the biographies varies, because the amount of available information on specific individuals varies; it can be developed with further research.
d)	Dating of the funeral monument (d. … - date of death)
e)	Size of the funeral monument, width x length x depth, in cm ? : that dimension of the stone is not measurable _ : the stone is measurable, but I have not had the opportunity to measure it yet
f)	Selected secondary literature on the funeral monument
g)	Inscription (A) Transcriptions are based on the standards of Cooley, Alison E. *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Photo or drawing

Source of the image, ©

Note: most of the images were taken by the author or provided directly by the photographers. The quality of photographs varies due to the varying, often unfavorable conditions at the sites. In those cases where I did not have access to a new photograph, and the image was taken from secondary literature, the exact reference is provided. In the case of Cat. No. 116, 127, 135-138, 163, 173, 182, 268, and 304, I used images from specified on-line resources due to the lack of or the bad quality of my own photographs. Since the Lutheran church in Sibiu was under renovation for several years of my research, I had no chance to photograph the entire series there, and in the following cases I temporarily use images from various, unspecified resources: Cat. No. 226-229, 231-237, 239-240, 242-250, 251, 253-255, 257-260, 262-263, 265. Finally, no image is provided to Cat. No. 38, 208, 237, 261, 264.

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Cat. No. 128. Comlod, Cosma (Kozma) and Anna Petrichevich Horváth, Barbara (Bobála) Petki
Cat. No. 129. Comlod, Anna Petrichevich Horváth
Cat. No. 130. Criș, unknown
Cat. No. 131. Criș, Susanna (Zsuzsanna) Kamuthy
Cat. No. 132. Criș, Georgius (György) Bethlen
Cat. No. 133. Cristian, Anna, wife of Michael Maius
Cat. No. 134. Cricău, Krisztina Csáki
Cat. No. 135. Dârjiu, Catharina (Kata) Kornis
Cat. No. 136. Dârjiu, Benedictus (Benedek) Cheffeei (Cseffei)
Cat. No. 137. Dârjiu, Michael (Mihály) Petchius (Petki)
Cat. No. 138. Dârjiu, daughter of Kozma Petrichevich Horváth

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Cat. No. 139. Deva, Caterina (Katalin) Bajoni (Bajomi) and her son
Cat. No. 140. Deva, Andreas (András) Sándor (of Torda)
Cat. No. 141. Deva, Sophia (Zsófia) Suliok (Sulyok)
Cat. No. 142. Dumbrava, Elizabet (Erzsébet) Mikola
Cat. No. 143. Făgăraș, Mária Apafi
Cat. No. 144. Fântânele, Georgius (György) Lázár
Cat. No. 145. Fântânele, Johannes (János) Caspar (Gáspár) of Szövérd
Cat. No. 146. Fântânele, János Lázár
Cat. No. 147. Florești, Kata
Cat. No. 148. Gârbova, Johannes (Johann) Hellwig
Cat. No. 149. Gârbova, Petrus Calopeus
Cat. No. 150. Gârbova, Andreas Czeky
Cat. No. 151. Gilău, Judit Decsi, wife of Ferenc Szárászi
Cat. No. 152. Gilău, Johannes (János) and Stephanus (István) Jezerniczki
Cat. No. 153. Gilău, Barbara (Borbála) Váradi and her four children
Cat. No. 154. Gilău, István (?) and Dániel Fábián
Cat. No. 155. Hărman, Anna Roth
Cat. No. 156. Hărman, Andreas Schoppelius
Cat. No. 157. Hărman, Anna Crestelsin, unknown
Cat. No. 158. Hărman, Johannes Alesius
Cat. No. 159. Hărman, Anna Mederiana and Martha Shoppeliana
Cat. No. 160. Hărman, Lucas Seuler
Cat. No. 161. Benic, unknown
Cat. No. 162. Matei, unknown
Cat. No. 163. Matei, Barbara (Borbála) (Drugeth) of Homonna
Cat. No. 164. Mediaș, Christianus (Christian) Schaesaeus (Scheser)
Cat. No. 165. Mediaș, Barbara Theilesius born Schlemmer
Cat. No. 166. Mediaș, Simon Kirtscherus (Kirtscher)
Cat. No. 167. Mediaș, Petrus (Peter) Gotterbaumer (Gotterbarmet)
Cat. No. 168. Mediaș, unknown (Bauman? …bauman?)
Cat. No. 169. Mediaș, Georg May (?)
Cat. No. 170. Mediaș, Simon Zacharias
Cat. No. 171. Mediaș, Andreas Fleischer (Gräf)
Cat. No. 172. Moșna, Simonus (Simon) Hartmann
Cat. No. 173. Oradea, Franciscus (Ferenc) Rhédey
Cat. No. 174. Pericei, a member of the Báthori family (Elek?)
Cat. No. 175. Pericei, a member of the Báthori family (Ferenc?)
Cat. No. 176. Prejmer, Step(han) Bathasiler
Cat. No. 177. Prejmer, Michael Basti
Cat. No. 178. Prejmer, Petrus (Peter) Fronius and Iacobus (Jacob) Ieckelius (Jeckel)
Cat. No. 179. Mănăstirea Prislop (Silvașu de Sus),
Cat. No. 180. Richiș, Georgius (Georg) Peltzius (Peltz)
Cat. No. 181. Richiș, Franciscus Elisius
Cat. No. 182. Săcueni, Thomas (Tamás) Zólyomi of Albis
Cat. No. 183. Sălard, unknown
Cat. No. 184. Sălard, unknown
Cat. No. 185 Sânpaul, unknown
Cat. No. 186. Sânpaul, unknown

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Cat. No. 187. Sânpaul, Kata Kornis
Cat. No. 188. Sânpaul, Judit Kendi
Cat. No. 189. Sânpaul, Borbála Torma
Cat. No. 190. Sânpaul, Wife of Stephanus (István) Kamuthy
Cat. No. 191. Sânpaul, Johannes (János) Haller of Hallerkő
Cat. No. 192. Sânpaul, Stephanus (István) Haller of Hallerkő
Cat. No. 193. Sânpaul, Johannes (János) Haller of Hallerkő
Cat. No. 194. Sânpaul, Krisztina Haller
Cat. No. 195. Sânpaul, Ioannes (János) Petki of Királyhalma
Cat. No. 196. Sânvăsii, Matthias (Mátyás) Sigér
Cat. No. 197. Saschiz, Martinus Rosalerus
Cat. No. 198. Saschiz, Michael Conradus (Conrad)
Cat. No. 199. Saschiz, Lucas (Lukas) Kuschius (Kusch)
Cat. No. 200. Sebeș, Benedictus (Benedict) Iustus (Just)
Cat. No. 201. Sebeș, Martinus Clausenburger
Cat. No. 202. Sebeș, unknown
Cat. No. 203. Șeica Mică, Michael Oltardt
Cat. No. 204. Sfântu Gheorghe, Kelemen Béldi
Cat. No. 205. Sfântu Gheorghe, Tamás Nemes of Hídvég
Cat. No. 206. Sfântu Gheorghe, Franciscus (Ferenc) Daczó of Sepsiszentgyörgy
Cat. No. 207. Sibiu, unknown, with the initials T.W.
Cat. No. 208. Sibiu, unknown
Cat. No. 209. Sibiu, Kata Kemény
Cat. No. 210. Sibiu, Lucas (Lukas) Leo (Löw)
Cat. No. 211. Sibiu, Petrus (Peter) Kamner
Cat. No. 212. Sibiu, Dominicus (Dominik) Rosenauer (Hochteufel)
Cat. No. 213. Sibiu, Paul and Johann Paulinus
Cat. No. 214. Sibiu, Andreas List
Cat. No. 215. Sibiu, Tobias Sifft
Cat. No. 216. Sibiu, Iohannes (Johann) Reusner
Cat. No. 217. Sibiu, Paulus Ludovicus (Paul Ludwig)
Cat. No. 218. Sibiu, Iohannes (Johann) Waida
Cat. No. 219. Sibiu, Colomannus (Kolomann) Gotzmeister
Cat. No. 220. Sibiu, Michael Agnetler (Lang)
Cat. No. 221. Sibiu, Andreas Literatus
Cat. No. 222. Sibiu, unknown
Cat. No. 223. Sibiu, Georg Clogner (Glockner, Clockner)
Cat. No. 224. Sibiu, Petrus (Peter) Rihelius (Besodner)
Cat. No. 225. Sibiu, Margareta Budai (Ofner)
Cat. No. 226. Sibiu, Agatha Iungk (Jung)
Cat. No. 227. Sibiu, Mathias Hebler
Cat. No. 228. Sibiu, Mathias Ponsler, Iohannes (Johann) Schapert, the Wolbert family
Cat. No. 229. Sibiu, Cristophorus (Christof) Offner
Cat. No. 230. Sibiu, Leodegar de Montaignac
Cat. No. 231. Sibiu, Servatius Weidner
Cat. No. 232. Sibiu, wife of Simon Miles
Cat. No. 233. Sibiu, Simeon (Simon) Miles
Cat. No. 234. Sibiu, Salome Ursula Hedwig and Augustinus (Augustin) Hedwig (Pellio)

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Cat. No. 235. Sibiu, Iohannes (Johann) and Sophia Rewel
Cat. No. 236. Sibiu, Michael Heidel
Cat. No. 237. Sibiu, wife of Georg Lutsch
Cat. No. 238. Sibiu, Anna Miles
Cat. No. 239. Sibiu, Blasius Rhau (Szeorös)
Cat. No. 240. Sibiu, Michael Margref (Markgraf)
Cat. No. 241. Sibiu, Iohannes Bavarus (Johann Bayer / Bayr)
Cat. No. 242. Sibiu, Georgius (Georg) Melas
Cat. No. 243. Sibiu, Catharina Theil born Haller
Cat. No. 244. Sibiu, Michael Helvig (Hellwig)
Cat. No. 245. Sibiu, Petrus Lupinus (Peter Wolf) and his wife, Anna
Cat. No. 246. Sibiu, Georgius (Georg)
Cat. No. 247. Sibiu, Lucas Enieterus (Lukas Enjetter), his wife, Agnetha, and their son, Lukas Jr.
Cat. No. 248. Sibiu, Dorothea Schirmer
Cat. No. 249. Sibiu, Leonard Kirtscher and his wife, Margaretha
Cat. No. 250. Sibiu, Iohannes (Johann) Roth
Cat. No. 251. Sibiu, Albertus Hutterus (Albert Huet)
Cat. No. 252. Sibiu, Petrus (Peter) Molnar
Cat. No. 253. Sibiu, Georgius (Georg) Hann
Cat. No. 254. Sibiu, Gallus Lutsch
Cat. No. 255. Sibiu, Iohannes (Johann) Roth and his wife, Dorothea
Cat. No. 256. Sibiu, Daniel Klein and Daniel Klein Jr.
Cat. No. 257. Sibiu, Georgius (Georg) Jüngling
Cat. No. 258. Sibiu, Valentinus (Valentin) Seraphin
Cat. No. 259. Sibiu, Valentinus (Valentin) Frank
Cat. No. 260. Sibiu, Iohannes (Johann) Lulay, Iohannes (Johann) Stenzel and his wife, Catharina
Cat. No. 261. Sibiu, Georg Stolzemberger
Cat. No. 262. Sibiu, Cristophor (Christoph) Offner and Christophor (Christoph) Greising
Cat. No. 263. Sibiu, Michael Schwartz
Cat. No. 264. Sibiu, Valentinus (Valentin) and Gertrudis Fleischer
Cat. No. 265. Sibiu, Andreas Fleischer
Cat. No. 266. Sibiu, Matthias Semriger and his wife, Catharina
Cat. No. 267. Sibiu, Georgius (Georg) Fabricius
Cat. No. 268. Sibiu, Georg Hecht (Csukás), Melchior Hermannus (Hermann)
Cat. No. 269. Sibiu, Margaretha Glockner
Cat. No. 270. Sic, three daughters of Gáspár Tiszabecsi
Cat. No. 271. Sic, Gáspár Tiszabecsi
Cat. No. 272. Sighişoara, Michael Grell (Gryll)
Cat. No. 273. Sighişoara, Stephanus (Stephan) Kreuzer
Cat. No. 274. Sighişoara, S.W. and his wife, Elizabeth
Cat. No. 275. Sighişoara, unknown, Catherina
Cat. No. 276. Sighişoara, Servatius Wiener, Stephanus (Stephan) Göbbel, Barbara Viener
Cat. No. 277. Sighişoara, Stephanus (Stephan) Man
Cat. No. 278. Sighişoara, Stephanus (Stephan) Mann
Cat. No. 279. Sighişoara, Mathias Göltner (Göldner)
Cat. No. 280. Sighişoara, Georgius (Georg) Heltner
Cat. No. 281. Sighişoara, Stephanus (Stephan) Stamp
Cat. No. 282. Sighişoara, Paulus (Paul) and Catharina Roth

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Cat. No. 283. Sighişoara, Paulus (Paul) Roth
Cat. No. 284. Sighişoara, Thomas Gross
Cat. No. 285. Sighişoara, Pancratius H.
Cat. No. 286. Sighişoara, Catharina Bulkesch
Cat. No. 287. Sighişoara, Michael and Andreas Hegyes
Cat. No. 288. Sighişoara, Andreas Nenchen
Cat. No. 289. Sighişoara, Martinus Theys, his wife, Ursula, and Sophia Schafer
Cat. No. 290. Sighişoara, Iohannes (Johann) and Gerg Bret
Cat. No. 291. Slimnic, Thomas Bordannus (Bordan)
Cat. No. 292. Slimnic, Thomas Bomelius (Bomel)
Cat. No. 293. Someşeni, Ladislaus (László) Mikola
Cat. No. 294. Someşeni, Ladislaus (László) Mikola
Cat. No. 295. Șumuleu Ciuc, Clemens (Kelemen) Mikes
Cat. No. 296. Târgu Mureș, Erzsébet, wife of György Görög
Cat. No. 297. Târgu Mureș, István Székely of Kolozsvár
Cat. No. 298. Târgu Mureș, István Egyedi Szőcz
Cat. No. 299. Târgu Mureș, Márton Koncz
Cat. No. 300. Târgu Mureș, Bálint and Judit Polgár
Cat. No. 301. Târgu Mureș, Kata Kepe and her three children
Cat. No. 302. Târgu Mureș, Caterina (Katalin) Virágh Szabó
Cat. No. 303. Târgu Mureș, Michael (Mihály) Sartor / Nagy Szabó
Cat. No. 304. Târgu Mureș, Thomas (Tamás) Borsos and his wife, Dorothea
Cat. No. 305. Tileagd, Miklós(?) Telegdi
Cat. No. 306. Tileagd, Nicoleus (Miklós) Telegdi Junior
Cat. No. 307. Tileagd, Stephanus (István) Ispán of Telegd
Cat. No. 308. Tileagd, Helena (Ilona) Szemere, wife of Georgius (György) Ugrai
Cat. No. 309. Turea, husband, five children, and mother-in-law of Zsófia Salattya
Cat. No. 310. Vingard, unknown
Cat. No. 311. Vingard, Stephanus (István) Keserű
Cat. No. 312. Vingard, Katharina (Katalin) Keserew (Keserű)
Cat. No. 313. Vingard, Barbara (Borbála) Daniel
Cat. No. 314. Zimbor, Jakab Szilágyi

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 1

a)	Aghireș – Egeres – Erldorf, Calvinist Church, in the southern wall of the choir
b)	*Aghireș – Egeres – Erldorf, Calvinist Church*
c)	**Gabriel (Gábor) Boczkai (Bocskai)** He was born around 1550 as son of György Bocskai and Krisztina Sulyok. His sister, Erzsébet was the wife of Kristóf Báthori, later governor of Transylvania, brother of Prince István Báthori. His brother was Stephen (István) Bocskai, later Prince of Transylvania. He inherited Aghireș as the new head of the family after his father's death in 1571. He died in 1573. Szabó, András. "Az ismeretlen kismarjai Bocskai család" [The unknown Bocskai of Kismarja family]. *Publicationes Universitatis Miskolcinensis. Sectio Philosophica* 13, no. 2 (2008): 167-185.
d)	d. 1573
e)	84 x 198 x ? cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 221-222, 256-257. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Herepei, János. *Bocskai Gábor egeresi síremléke és mestere* [The funeral monument of Gábor Bocskai in Aghireș and its master]. Kolozsvár [Cluj]: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1947.
g)	Upper inscription panel (A) A' ZE(N)T IANOS LATASA ZE(N)T LELEK MONDASA BODOGOK A' HALOTTAK KIK AZ VRBA HALNAK MEG MERT ATTOL FOGVA NIVGODALOM BA VADNAK. Lower inscription panel, upper part (B) EPITAPHIVM EGREGII ET ANTIQVI STEMMATIS NO BILITATE ORNATI VIRI DOMINI GABRIELIS BOCZKA[I] QVI DIEM CLAVSIT AN(N)O AETAT[IS .]XI, CHRISTI VERO 15[..] Lower inscription panel, lower part (C) HAC SVB BOCZKAIVS GABR[IEL MOLE] [S]EPVLTVS DVLCE QVIESCENTIS MORE, QVIESCIT HVMO VIX DVM COANTIGEBAT[1] FLORENTIA TEMPORA VITAE OCCVBVIT FATO PRIMA IVVENTA SVO

1 Sic, instead of CONTIGEBAT

CEU eTD Collection

	HIC GENVS A MICZBAN SIMONE TRAHEBAT AVITVMCVIVS SERTENA[1] PBOLE[2] EBAT[3] AVCTA, DOMVS, SEX IVBET EXPONNI[4] CONIVNX, QVOS FORTE FERENTI OBVIVS IT MICZBAN - RES PATEFACTA FVIT INFANTES MICZBAN FAMVLIS MELIORIBVS VSVS CAVTE CLAM TIMIDA CONIVGE, CVRAT ALI, ATQVE VBI CREVERVNT NVMEROS AVXERE SVORVM EX HIS BOCZKAIVS VIR PIVS ORTVS ERAT DIGNVM FORTVNA MVLTO MELIORE FVISSE ET GENVS ET VIBTVS,[5] ET PIA VITA, DOCENT

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011

1 Sic, instead of SEPTEANA
2 Sic, instead of PROLE
3 Sic, instead of ERAT
4 Sic, instead of EXPONI
5 Sic, instead of VIRTVS

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 2

a)	Aiud – Nagyenyed – Strassburg am Mieresch, Calvinist Church
b)	*Aiud – Nagyenyed – Strassburg am Mieresch*
c)	**Sigismundus (Zsigmond) Bánfi (Bánffy) of Losoncz** The Bánffy family was one of the oldest aristocratic families in the principality. Zsigmond was born in 1607 as son of János Bánffy. The tomb inscription lists the offices he held and presents him as a patron of the Calvinist college moved from Alba Iulia to Aiud in 1662. He was a member of the Prince's Council under György Rákóczi I and II as well as under Mihály Apafi I. In 1653, he was assessor of the Princely Court of Justice, *főispán* (head) of Belső-Szolnok County and possibly also of Doboka County (from 1653), later of Fehér County (from 1662). In 1658-1659 and from 1664 he was the chair of the diet and the Princely Court of Justice (1658-59 and from 1664). He repeatedly went as legate of Transylvania to Constantinaple (1649, 1656, 1658, 1659). He married three times: first Erzsébet Perényi, then Anna Kendeffy, finally Krisztina Veér, who was his widow and patron of the memorial based on the inscription. Two sons of his are known, Pál and Balázs. He died in 1682. Bíró, Vencel. *Erdély követei a Portán* [Transylvanian legates at the Ottoman Porte], 126, 128, 129. Cluj: Minerva Irodalmi és Nyomdai Műintézet Részvénytársaság, 1921. Lázár, Miklós. *Erdély főispánjai (1540-1711). Külön lenyomat a Századok 1887-1889-ki folyamaiból* [County heads in Transylvania, 1540-1711. Offprint from the Századok periodical]. Budapest: Az Atheneum R. Társ. Könyvnyomdája, 1889. Trócsányi, Zsolt. *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690* [The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980.
d)	d. 1682
e)	_ x _ x _ cm
f)	–
g)	On the central panel (A) MONUMENTUM sub quo SPECTAB(ILIS) ac GEN(E)R(OSU)S D(O)M(I)N(U)S D(OMINUS) SIGISMUNDUS BANFI de Losoncz REGNI TRANS(ILVA)NIAE PRIMAS et c(aetera) Illustriss(im)orum Princ(i)pum RAKOCIORUM successor(u)mq(ue) ut et Celsiss(im)i Principis MICHAELIS APAFI consiliari(s) tabulae judic(ia)riae [–]i(–)dnis Praeses, Co(mi)t(a)tus Alb(ensis) [– – –] pr(.)m(us) solenniore lega(ti)one duris [P]atriae tem porib(us) ad portam Othomanicam funct(us) Coll(egii) N(agy)Enyed(iensis) Curator supr(e)m(us) Patron(u)sq(ue) munif(i)c(us) dilect(us) Patriae Princi

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	p(u)mq(ue) Cliens grat(us) d(u)m viver(e)t consortib(us) liberis amicis bonisq(ue) o(mn)ib(us) marit(us) Pare(n)s amic(us) nunciis d(u)m lectis s(u)aeq(ue) Conjugi CHRISTINAE VÉR luct(us) acerbiss(imus) dier(u)m satur conditur Nat(us) annos aetatis LXXV denat(us) an(n)o virg(i)nei part(us) 1682 die XXIII

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia

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Cat. No. 3

a)	Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral, on the wall of the southern aisle
b)	*Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral (that time Court Church)*
c)	**Nicolaus (Miklós) Báthori** Born in 1566 as the son of Christophorus (Kristóf) Báthory, brother of István Báthory, Prince of Transylvania and later King of Poland. Kristóf himself was later voivode of Transylvania. The mother of Miklós was Erzsébet Bocskai, sister of the later prince, István Bocskai. Based on the inscription, he died in 1575.
d)	d. 1575
e)	68 x 106 x ? cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 302, 381 (as a lost tomb). Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Bod, Péter. *Hungarus tymbaules, seu grata ac benedicti Hungarorum quorundam principum, heroum, magnatum toga et sago, domi militiaeque insignium, virorum eruditione ac prudentia clarorum, feminarum honestatis fama, ac pietatis studio illustrium ex epitaphiis renovata memoria quam ex cineribus excitavit*, XXIII. Nagyenyed [Aiud]: Kiss ny., 1764, 1766. Szeredai, Antonius. *Collectio continens Tabulas vetustorum ac recentiorum monumentorum quae in Templo Alba – olim Juliensi nunc Caroliensi in Transilvania sunt, fueruntque locata*, 49 (IV). Albae Carolinae: Typ. Episc., 1791
g)	Border inscription (A)1 NICOLAI BATHOREI, GENEROSAE INDOLIS PUERI, FILII [ILLUST]RIS[S](IMI) PRINICIPIS CHR[ISTOPHORI] BATHOREI, VAYVODAE TRANSILVANIAE, QUI OBIIT ANNO M D LXX VI. AETATIS SUAE IX. DIE JUNII ULTIMO. On the central panel (B) HIC IACET EXIMIE PVER INDOLIS ORTVS AB ALTO STEMMATE BATHORIDVM NOMINE NICOLEVS [SAR]MATIAE STEPHANVS REX

1 Jolán Balogh published the full version of the text referring to a manuscript by Georgius Vett from 1697 (preserved in the University Library in Cluj, MS 997) and Antal Szeredai, as by her time the tombstone had been lost. Péter Bod, and based on his work, Antal Szeredai did not transcribe the border inscription, he provided information on the subject in this form: Filii Christophori Bathori Vaivodae Transilvaniae, denati An. M. D. LXXVI. 30. Januar, aetatis IX. Consequently, Vett must have been the source for Balogh. See Bod, *Hungarus tymbaules*, 13; Szeredai, *Collectio*, 49; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 302.

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	EST HUIC SANGVINE JUNCTUS,[1] DACICUS EST PATER VAJVODA[2] CHRISTOPHORVS. BOCSKAI[3] GENEROSAE[4] PARENS ELISABETHA[5] STIRPIS. HUIC TAMEN[6] BREVIS HAEC VITA CADUCA FUIT.

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia

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1 From this line, the inscription is missing together with the lower part of the ledger. This text is based on the transcription by Péter Bod and the version published by Jolán Balogh based on Szeredai and Johann Georgius Vett, but reconstructing the original length of the lines based on the metrics on the surviving part.
2 Balogh: Vayvoda
3 Balogh: Bocskaianae
4 Bod: Generosa
5 Balogh: Elsabethe
6 Balogh: tamen, Bod: tantum

Cat. No. 4

a)	Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral, on the wall of the southern aisle
b)	*Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral (that time Court Church)*
c)	**Thomas (Tamás) Varkoch** The Varkoch family moved to Hungary from Silesia in the late fifteenth century, and they received Hungarian nobility. Tamás Varkoch was captain of the fortress of Eger from 1542 to 1548, later he was appointed as captain of Oradea and the head of Bihar (Bihor) County (mentioned as such in 1552). He had two wives: Klára Zólyomi and Katalin Telegdi. The secondary inscription on the stone suggests that he died in 1566. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 12, 64-65. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1865. Szabó, András. "Az ismeretlen kismarjai Bocskai család" [The unknown Bocskai of Kismarja family]. *Publicationes Universitatis Miskolcinensis. Sectio Philosophica* 13, no. 2 (2008): 175-176.
d)	d. 1566
e)	76 x ? x 10 cm (two fragments, mutilated)
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 300-301 (as a lost tomb). Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Entz, Géza. *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház* [The Cathedral in Alba Iulia], 172 (as a lost tomb). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1958. Szeredai, Antonius. *Collectio continens Tabulas vetustorum ac recentiorum monumentorum quae in Templo Alba – olim Juliensi nunc Caroliensi in Transilvania sunt, fueruntque locata*, 41, XXX. Albae Carolinae: Typ. Episc., 1791. Varju, Elemér. "A gyulafehérvári székesegyház sírköveiről" [Tombstones in the Alba Iulia cathedral]. *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 19 (1899): 30.
g)	Border inscription (A) 1 HIC IACET AN […]IM PANNONIAE THOMAS DE STEMMATE VARKOTZ NON MIN(VS) HIC PATRIAE [P]ACE[M] STVDIOSVS AM[– – –] ENT MONVMENTA DVORVM MARTE

1 Only the lower half of the letters survived but they can be recognized and complemented based on Szeredai's transcription. Szeredai, *Collectio*, 41, 29, Tab. XXX.

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	Missing part, either the continuation of the border inscription or the beginning of the upper inscription panel (B)[1] POTENS CONSTANSQVE FIDE SPECTA[– – –] ET PIETATE GRAVIS CVNCTANDO RESTITVIT REM IVDICII DIVES[– – –] [..]NITA [..]DICERE PAR [.]VS [– – –] [– – –]TAMEN IVSTVM SOLIVS Upper inscription panel (C) – – – – – – AB ORE PE[– – –] POSTERITAS MOERET LVCET Q(VE) SILESICAE[2] NOPSIAE AT Lower inscription panel (D) VIRTVTIS HONOS ET FAM[A] MA NEBIT IN AEVVM MOL[LIT]ER OSSA CVBENT SVPERV[M] MEN[S] GAVDEAT AVLA VIV[IT] NICOLEO HERES VIRTVTIS AVITAE On the shield (E) 1566

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia

1 Entirely based on Szeredai, *Collectio*
2 Szeredai: SILESIAE

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Cat. No. 5

a)	Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral
b)	*Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral (that time Court Church)*
c)	**John Sigismund (János Zsigmond)** King of Hungary (elected but not crowned), Prince of Transylvania. He was born in 1540 in Buda, as son of King John (János) Szapolyai and Queen Isabelle of Jagiellon. He was elected by the Diet as king soon after his father passed away, still in 1540. John Sigismund enjoyed the support of the Ottoman Sultan against Ferdinand of Habsburg, the other pretender of the throne. The Sultan, however, took over Buda, the seat of the Kingdom in 1541, and designated a so-called Eastern Hungarian Kingdom as the area of influence for Isabelle and John Sigismund, which included Transylvania and some further territories west of it. Their court moved to Alba Iulia, into the secularized bishopric palace. First Bishop Giorgio Martinuzzi acted as governor instead of the infant John Sigismund, then, from 1551, Queen Isabelle ruled instead of him until her death in 1559. The conflict with Ferdinand of Habsburg was settled in 1570, with the Speyer Treaty, in which John Sigismund renounced of the kingship and took the title of Prince of Transylvania and the Annexed Parts of Hungary. He died in the next year, in 1571. Barta, Gábor. "The First Period of the Principality of Transylvania (1526-1606)". In *History of Transylvania. Volume 1. From the Beginnings to 1606*, edited by László Makkai and András Mócsy. Social Science Monographs, 593-770. Boulder, Colorado: Atlantic Research and Publications, Inc., 2001. Szegedi, Edit. "The Birth and Evolution of the Principality of Transylvania (1541–1690)". In *The History of Transylvania, Vol. 2 (From 1541 to 1711)*, edited by Ioan -Aurel Pop, Thomas Nägler and András Magyari, 99-111. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Academiei Române, 2005.
d)	d. 1571
e)	84 x 220 x 158 cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 220, 301-302, fig. 265-266, with previous literature Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Entz, Géza. *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház* [The Cathedral in Alba Iulia], 65, 139-140, 168, fig. 186. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1958. Mikó, Árpád. "Báthory István király és a reneszánsz művészet Erdélyben" [King István Báthory and the Renaissance art in Transylvania]. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 37 (1988): 124-125. Mikó, Árpád. "Csatajelenet János Zsigmond erdélyi fejedelem (+1571) gyulafehérvári síremlékéről" [Battle scene from the funeral monument of John Sigismund [d.1571] in Alba Iulia]. In *Történelem – Kép. Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából. Kiállítási katalógus, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria 2000* [History - Image. Remarks on the relationship between past and art. Exhibition catalog. Hungarian National Gallery], edited by Katalin Sinkó and Árpád Mikó, 299. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2000. Mikó, Árpád. "Gótika és barokk között. A reneszánsz művészet problémái a kora újkori Magyarországon" [Between Gothic and Baroque. Problems of the Renaissance art in the early modern Hungary]. In *Mátyás király öröksége. Késő reneszánsz művészet*

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	Magyarországon (16-17. század). Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában 2008. március 28- 2008. július 27 [The legacy of King Matthias Corvinus. Late Renaissance art in Hungary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Exhibition in the Hungarian National Gallery. 28 March - 27 July 2008], edited by Árpád Mikó and Mária Verő, 27-29. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2008.
g)	–

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia

Source: Mikó, Árpád. "Gótika és barokk között. A reneszánsz művészet problémái a kora újkori Magyarországon" [Between Gothic and Baroque. Problems of the Renaissance art in the early modern Hungary]. In *Mátyás király öröksége. Késő reneszánsz művészet Magyarországon (16-17. század). Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában 2008. március 28- 2008. július 27*, edited by Árpád Mikó and Mária Verő, 28. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2008.

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Cat. No. 6

a)	Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral
b)	*Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral (that time Court Church)*
c)	**Queen Isabelle Jagiellon** She was born in 1519 as daughter of Sigismund I (the Old) Jagiellon, King of Poland and Queen Bona Sforza. She married John Szapolyai, King of Hungary in 1539 and gave birth to John Sigismund in 1540, who was elected as King of Hungary in the same year. John Sigismund enjoyed the support of the Ottoman Sultan against Ferdinand of Habsburg, the other pretender of the throne. The Sultan, however, took over Buda, the seat of the Kingdom in 1541, and designated a so-called Eastern Hungarian Kingdom as the area of influence for Isabelle and John Sigismund, which included Transylvania and some further territories west of it. Their court moved to Alba Iulia, into the secularized bishopric palace. First Bishop Giorgio Martinuzzi acted as governor instead of the infant John Sigismund, then, from 1551, Queen Isabelle ruled instead of him. She entered into negotiations with Ferdinand, and, as a result, left for Silesia. She was called back to Transylvania by the Diet in 1556, and continued her rule until her death in 1559. Barta, Gábor. "The First Period of the Principality of Transylvania (1526-1606)". In *History of Transylvania. Volume 1. From the Beginnings to 1606*, edited by László Makkai and András Mócsy. Social Science Monographs, 593-770. Boulder, Colorado: Atlantic Research and Publications, Inc., 2001. Szegedi, Edit. "The Birth and Evolution of the Principality of Transylvania (1541–1690)". In *The History of Transylvania, Vol. 2 (From 1541 to 1711)*, edited by Ioan -Aurel Pop, Thomas Nägler and András Magyari, 99-111. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Academiei Române, 2005. Veress, Endre. *Izabella királyné 1519-1559* [Queen Isabelle 1519-1559]. Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1901.
d)	d. 1559
e)	69 x 215 x 160 cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 220, 299-300, fig. 271, with previous literature Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Entz, Géza. *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház* [The Cathedral in Alba Iulia], 65, 139-140, 168. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1958. Mikó, Árpád. "Báthory István király és a reneszánsz művészet Erdélyben" [King István Báthory and the Renaissance art in Transylvania]. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 37 (1988): 124-125. Mikó, Árpád. "Gótika és barokk között. A reneszánsz művészet problémái a kora újkori Magyarországon" [Between Gothic and Baroque. Problems of the Renaissance art in the early modern Hungary]. In *Mátyás király örröksége. Késő reneszánsz művészet Magyarországon (16-17. század). Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában 2008. március 28- 2008. július 27* [The legacy of King Matthias Corvinus. Late Renaissance art in Hungary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Exhibition in the Hungarian National Gallery. 28 March - 27 July 2008], edited by Árpád Mikó and Mária Verő, 27-29. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2008.

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g)	–

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia

Source: Mikó, Árpád. "Gótika és barokk között. A reneszánsz művészet problémái a kora újkori Magyarországon" [Between Gothic and Baroque. Problems of the Renaissance art in the early modern Hungary]. In *Mátyás király öröksége. Késő reneszánsz művészet Magyarországon (16-17. század). Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában 2008. március 28- 2008. július 27*, edited by Árpád Mikó and Mária Verő, 28. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2008.

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Cat. No. 7

a)	Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral, in the wall of the southern aisle
b)	*Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral (that time Court Church)*
c)	**Franciscus (Ferenc) Kendi** **Antonius (Antal) Kendi** Sons of Antal Kendi, Voivode of Transylvania. They were both members of the Council of the Queen (Antal: 1542-1551, 1556-1558; Ferenc: 1542-1548, 1556-1558). Ferenc was balancing between Queen Isabelle and Ferdinand of Habsburg, supporting Ferdinand after the birth and coronation of John Sigismund. He was expelled from Transylvania, and when Isabelle renounced of the throne in 1553 for the benefit of Ferdinand, he appointed Ferenc Kendi as Voivode of Transylvania. Ferenc was one of those Transylvanian aristocrats who re-invited Isabelle as a ruler in 1556. Still, he was accused of a riot in 1558 and executed in Alba Iulia for the order of Isabelle, together with his brother, Antal. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 6, 198-199. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1857-1868. Trócsányi, Zsolt. *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690* [The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690], 28. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980.
d)	Second half of the sixteenth century (d. 1558)
e)	76 x 46 x ? cm (fragment) It probably belonged to the same tomb chest as **Cat. No. 19**, possibly **Cat. No. 8** and **Cat. No. 20**
f)	Bunyitay, Vince. *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház későbbi részei s egy magyar humanista* [The later parts of the cathedral in Alba Iulia and a Hungarian Humanist], 6-7. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1893. Entz, Géza. *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház* [The Cathedral in Alba Iulia], 64, 140. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1958. Forster, Gyula. "A Hunyadiak síremlékei" [The funeral monuments of the Hunyadi family]. In *Magyarország műemlékei* [Monuments in Hungary], edited by Gyula Forster, 60-67. Budapest: A Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1905. Möller, István. "A Hunyadi-síremlékek anyaga és kivitele" [The material and execution of the Hunyadi tombs]. In *Magyarország műemlékei* [Monuments in Hungary], edited by Gyula Forster, 68-74. Budapest: A Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1905. Varju, Elemér. "A gyulafehérvári székesegyház sírköveiről" [Tombstones in the Alba Iulia cathedral]. *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 19 (1899). Varju, Elemér. "A Hunyadiak síremlékei a gyulafejérvári székesegyházban" [The funeral monument of the Hunyadi family in the Alba Iulia cathedral]. In *Magyarország műemlékei* [Monuments in Hungary], edited by Gyula Forster, 75-97. Budapest: A Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1905.

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	Veress, Endre. "A Hunyadiak síremlékei és Castaldo " [The funeral monuments of the Hunyadi family and Castaldo]. In *Magyarország műemlékei* [Monuments in Hungary], edited by Gyula Forster, 96-108, plate No. VII. Budapest: A Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1905.
g)	In the shield (A) F(RANCIS)C(US) A(NTONIUS) K(ENDI)

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 8

a)	Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral, in the wall of the southern aisle
b)	*Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral (that time Court Church)*
c)	Unknown
d)	Second half of the sixteenth century
e)	77 x 46 x ? cm (fragment) It might have belonged to the same tomb chest as **Cat. No. 19**, **Cat. No. 7**, and **Cat. No. 20**.
f)	Entz, Géza. *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház* [The Cathedral in Alba Iulia], 64, 140. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1958. Forster, Gyula. "A Hunyadiak síremlékei" [The funeral monuments of the Hunyadi family]. In *Magyarország műemlékei* [Monuments in Hungary], edited by Gyula Forster, 60-67. Budapest: A Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1905. Varju, Elemér. "A gyulafehérvári székesegyház sírköveiről" [Tombstones in the Alba Iulia cathedral]. *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 19 (1899). Varju, Elemér. "A Hunyadiak síremlékei a gyulafejérvári székesegyházban" [The funeral monument of the Hunyadi family in the Alba Iulia cathedral]. In *Magyarország műemlékei* [Monuments in Hungary], edited by Gyula Forster, 75-97. Budapest: A Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1905. Veress, Endre. "A Hunyadiak síremlékei és Castaldo " [The funeral monuments of the Hunyadi family and Castaldo]. In *Magyarország műemlékei* [Monuments in Hungary], edited by Gyula Forster, 96-108, plate No. VII. Budapest: A Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1905.
g)	–

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 9

a)	Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral, built into the base of a side altar in the northern aisle.
b)	*Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral (that time Court Church)*
c)	**Georgius (György) Lentzies (Lencsés)** In the 1550s, he was in Sárvár (western Hungary), where he developed an interest in medical sciences. From there, he went for a peregrination in Western Europe. He appeared in the court of the Báthorys from the 1570s with diplomatic, administrative, economic, and medical tasks. He was master of the court of Erzsébet Bocskai, wife of Prince Kristóf Báthory before 1581, then chamberlain between 1587 and 1593. He is the author of the first medical book in Hungarian, the *Ars Medica*. Spielmann, József. "Az Ars Medica szerző- és forráskutatása" [Research on the author of and sources on the 'Ars Medica']. *Korunk* 32, no. 2 (1973): 294-304. Szabó T., Attila. "Váradi Lencsés György (1530−1593) és a magyar orvosi-élettudományi szaknyelv a XVI. században az Egész orvosságról való könyv, azaz Ars Medica (1577 k.) tükrében" [György Lencsés of Várad and the Hungarian medical-biological therminology in the sixteenth century in the mirror of 'Ars Medica']. *Magyar Orvosi Nyelv*, no. 2 (2013): 82-91 Trócsányi, Zsolt. *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690* [The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690], 332-333, 392. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980.
d)	d. 1593
e)	81 x 173 x ? cm (fragmentary)
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 304-305 (as a lost tomb). Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Entz, Géza. *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház* [The Cathedral in Alba Iulia], 172 (as a lost tomb). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1958. Szeredai, Antonius. *Collectio continens Tabulas vetustorum ac recentiorum monumentorum quae in Templo Alba – olim Juliensi nunc Caroliensi in Transilvania sunt, fueruntque locata*, 14, VI. Albae Carolinae: Typ. Episc., 1791
g)	On the central panel (A)[1] MOLE SVB HAC PROBITATE NITES PIETATE GEORGI LENTZIES CVM CASTA CONIVGE PONE IACES HIC DOMINAE ILLA VIRO PARITER VIXERE FIDELES AMBO IN LEGE PII CONSENVERE DEI

1 The surface is worn, only a few letters are legible. Supplied after Szeredai, *Collectio*, 14, VI.

CEU eTD Collection

	HVIVS ET AETERNOS SVPERAVIT VITA CATONES IN PATRIAM PIETAS IN DOMINVMQVE FIDES Below (B) GEORGIO LENCZIES ANNAQVE SZENFALVAI PAREN(TIBVS) DESIDERAT(IS) AETATE IN SENILI DEFVNCT(IS) MICHAEL ET GABRIEL MOESTISSI(MI) FRATRES[1] POSVERVNT A(NNO) D(OMINI) 1594 VIXIT PATER ANNOS 63 GENITRIX ANNOS 55 OBIERVNT PATER VI MATER VERO XXXI DIE MENSIS MAY 1593

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia

1 Szeredai: FRARES

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Cat. No. 10

a)	Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Garden of the Bishop's Palace
b)	*Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral (that time Court Church)*
c)	**Johannes Feit(?)** Based on the inscription, he died in 1585.
d)	d. 1585
e)	61 x 189 x 28 cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) HIC TVMVLATVS EST CIRCVMSPECTVS JOH A{HA}NNES DOM(INVS) FEIT[1] QVI OBIIT FERIA 3 PSOXI(M)A[2] ANTE MARTINI EPISCOPI 1585

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012. © Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia

CEU eTD Collection

1 FEIT or EIT, it can be the surname.
2 Sic, instead of PROXIMA

Cat. No. 11

a)	Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, in the courtyard of the Bishop's Palace
b)	*Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral (that time Court Church)*
c)	**Unknown**
d)	Last quarter of the sixteenth – first quarter of the seventeenth century
e)	34 x 34 x 14 cm (fragment)
f)	–
g)	On the central panel (A) HA[..]OL[– – –] PONT[– – –] – – – – – –

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012. © Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 12

a)	Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, in the courtyard of the Bishop's Palace
b)	*Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral (that time Court Church)*
c)	**Unknown**
d)	Last quarter of the sixteenth – first quarter of the seventeenth century
e)	50 x 40 x 13 cm (fragment)
f)	–
g)	On the central panel (A) – – – – – – [– – –] NON [– – –]DITORES [– – –]EGIS[.]STI [– – –]T APVD [– – –]SED [– – –]ES – – – – – –

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012. © Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 13

a)	Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, in the courtyard of the Bishop's Palace
b)	*Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral (that time Court Church)*
c)	**Unknown**
d)	Last quarter of the sixteenth – first quarter of the seventeenth century
e)	79 x 70 x 14 cm (fragment)
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) – – – – – – [– – –]IV[– – –] – – – – – – On the inscription plaque (B) [– – – – – –?] [–?]DIO[– – –] – – – – – –

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012. © Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 14

a)	Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, in the lapidary (inner courtyard) in the northern wing of the Bishop's Palace
b)	*Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral (that time Court Church)*
c)	**Unknown**
d)	Last quarter of the sixteenth century
e)	38 x 57 x 13 cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) INSIG[NI]AE[– – –] [– – – – – –] [– – – – – –] [– – –] [AE]TATIS SVAE 59

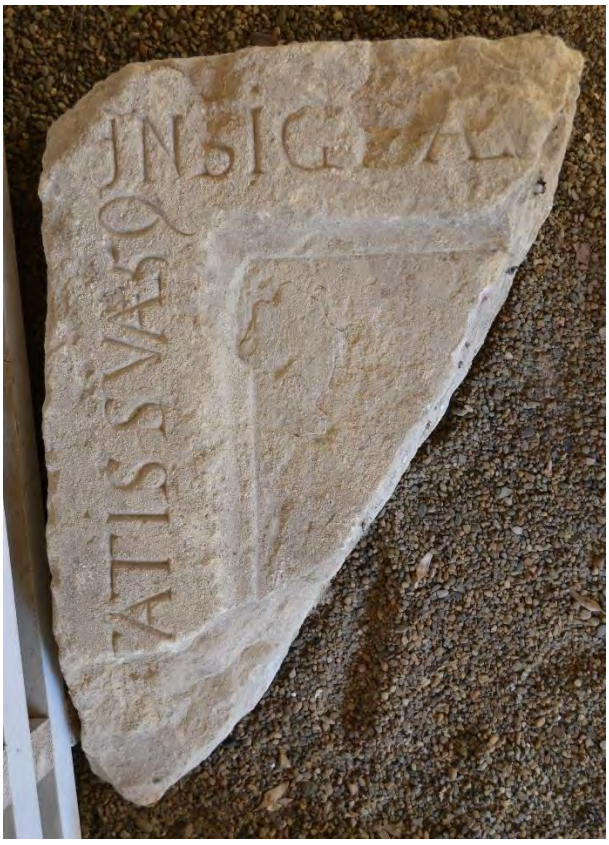

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012. © Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 15

a)	Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral, in the porch
b)	*Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral (that time Court Church)*
c)	**Martinus Örmény** Based on his surname (indicated on the memorial in a Hungarian form) and the traces of the lost second part of the inscription, he was Armenian. Armenians lived in Transylvania even before their first organized settlement there in 1672, mostly merchants and their families. Martinus was probably a member of this community who died in 1640.
d)	d. 1640
e)	92 x 112 x 27 cm
f)	Entz, Géza. *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház* [The Cathedral in Alba Iulia], 65, 140, 168. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1958.
g)	On the central panel (A) EPITAPHVM HIC IACET MAR THINVS ORMŸNI DE[1] PERSSŸA AE TATIS SVAE 60 OBIT 1640 _ _ _ _ _ _[2]

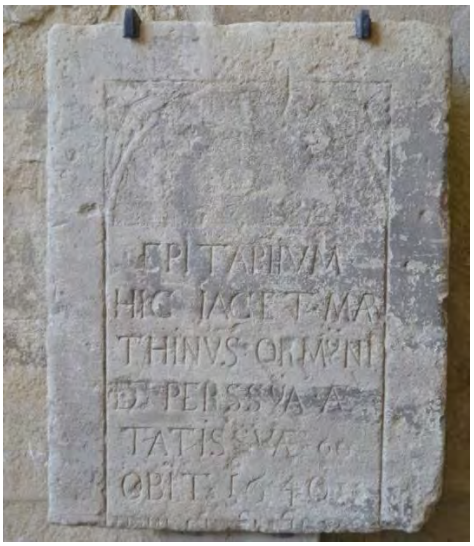

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia

1 E is in reverse

2 The upper part of the fonts in a line is visible, the test probably continued with Armenian fonts.

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 16

a)	Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral, in the porch
b)	*Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral (that time Court Church)*
c)	**Ioannes Statileo** He originated from Dalmatia, but most often used the Hungarian version of his first name, János. He appeared in the Hungarian royal court around 1515 due to his family relations to Péter Beriszló, Bishop of Veszprém. His received his excellent education in Italy. In 1513, he was archdean of Segesd, then Provost of Felsőőrs and Canon of Veszprém. He was appointed as royal secretary by 1515. His position in the court strengthened gradually. Due to his knowledge of several languages, he often acted in various diplomatic missions. In 1525, he became Provost of Buda. After the Ottoman victory over the Hungarian forces in the Battle of Mohács, he remained on the side of King John Szapolyai against Ferdinand of Habsburg. He was sent to various European journeys as a legate to gain international support to Szapolyai. In 1528, he was appointed Bishop of Transylvania. He was against Szapolyai's alliance with the Ottoman Sultan, so he gradually withdrew from his inner circles and state politics. He was an ardent persecutor of the Protestant Reform in Transylvania. In 1538, he was again sent by King John Szapolyai as a legate to the Pope to Rome, and to the royal courts in Paris and London to negotiate about the future of Hungary. In 1540, he left for a last diplomatic mission to Antwerp. By the time he got there, King Szapolyai died, so he had to return. He died in 1542, and with his death, the seat of the Bishop of Transylvania was left vacant for numerous decades. Botlik, Richárd. "Statileo János diplomáciai küldetései János király (1526–1540) uralkodásának idejéből" [The diplomatic missions of János Statileo during the reign of King John (1526-1540)]. *Századok* 147, no. 4 (2013): 813-854.
d)	d. 1542
e)	82 x 134 x 14 cm (fragmentary)
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Az erdélyi renaissance (1460-1541)* [Transylvanian Renaissance, 1460-1541], 195-198, 251, fig. 170. Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1943 Entz, Géza. *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház* [The Cathedral in Alba Iulia], 65, 140, 168. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1958. Lővei, Pál. "Posuit hoc monumentum pro aeterna memoria: Bevezető fejezetek a középkori Magyarország síremlékeinek katalógusához." [Introductory chapters to a catalog of the funeral monuments from medieval Hungary], 23. Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2009.
g)	text (A)[1] IOANNI STAT[– – –] INO PONTIFI[CI] TR[ANSYLVANIAE] [– – –] [– – – – – –] [– – –]RENTI PO[– – –] [ANN]O MDXXXXII DIE XII APRIL(IS)

1 Jolán Balogh, and based on her, Géza Entz provided the following transcription with parts that are already missing: IOANNI. STATI ... RINO PONTIFI TRANSS. NICOLAVS . . . SACR . . RENTI PO. . . O. M. D. XXXXII. DIE XII APRIL

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Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 17

a)	Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral, in the porch
b)	*Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral (that time Court Church)*
c)	**Georgius (György) Rákóczi** I He was born in 1593 in Szerencs, as son of Anna Gerendi and Sigismund (Zsigmond) Rákóczi whom the Diet elected Prince of Transylvania in 1607. György was appointed head (*főispán*) of Borsod County and Captain of the castle of Ónod. In 1616, he married Zsuzsanna Lorántffy, and by this, he considerably enlarged the estates of his family. From 1619, he supported Gábor Bethlen in his claim for the Transylvanian throne, and later as well, when he ruled as Prince. After Bethlen's death, the Diet elected him as Prince. His measures were aimed to centralize the political and economic power in Transylvania. In 1644, he joined the Thirty Years' War against Ferdinand III of Habsburg, which was ended on their behalf with the Treaty of Linz in 1545. Rákóczi, as well as his wife, were deeply religious Calvinists, generous supporters of their church. He died in 1648. His wife, Zsuzsanna Lórántffy ordered the wall tomb monument for him from Cracow, from the workshop of Sebastiano Sala.
d)	1649-52 (d. 1648)
e)	119 x 201 x 13 cm (fragment) This is the only fragment that can be identified as a part of the memorial of György Rákóczi I. The remains of the architectural structure were incorporated into one of the side altars in the eighteenth century, and some of the grey marble fragments stored in and around the cathedral might also have belonged to this memorial.
f)	Bod, Péter. Hungarus tymbaules, seu grata ac benedicti Hungarorum quorundam principum, heroum, magnatum toga et sago, domi militiaeque insignium, virorum eruditione ac prudentia clarorum, feminarum honestatis fama, ac pietatis studio illustrium ex epitaphiis renovata memoria quam ex cineribus excitavit, 50-51, XXIII. Nagyenyed [Aiud]: Kiss ny., 1764, 1766. Détshy, Mihály. "A gyulafehérvári Rákóczi-síremlékek" [The Rákóczi funeral monuments in Alba Iulia]. Művészettörténeti Értesítő 15 (1966): 26-30. Entz, Géza. A gyulafehérvári székesegyház [The Cathedral in Alba Iulia], 65, 135-136. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1958. Mikó, Árpád. "Báthory István király és a reneszánsz művészet Erdélyben" [King István Báthory and the Renaissance art in Transylvania]. Művészettörténeti Értesítő 37 (1988): 123-126. Sarkadi, Márton. "s folytatva magát a régi művet": Tanulmányok a gyulafehérvári székesegyház és püspöki palota történetéről ["continuing the old work": Studies on the history of the cathedral and bishopric palace in Alba Iulia], 223. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2010. Szabó, Péter. "Térszimbolika a gyulafehérvári főtemplomban. Rekonstrukciós kísérlet a fejedelmi sírok eredeti helyének meghatározásához" [Spatial symbolism in the Alba Iulia cathedral. An attempt to reconstruct the original site of the princely tombs]. *Ars Hungarica* 34, no. 1-2 (2006): 19-28.

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	Szeredai, Antonius. Collectio continens Tabulas vetustorum ac recentiorum monumentorum quae in Templo Alba – olim Juliensi nunc Caroliensi in Transilvania sunt, fueruntque locata, 21-22 TABVLA XII. Albae Carolinae: Typ. Episc., 1791.
g)	On the inscription panel (A) VNA HAEC NON VNAM FACIEM TIBI MARMORA MONSTRANT SPECTATOR LAVDVM SPLENDIDVS ORBIS ADEST EXCELSI HEROIS MIRABERE FATA GEORGI RAKOCZI PRIMI, FACTAQ(VE) MIRIFICA PONDERIBVS TENTATA MAGIS CEV PALMA VIRESCIT SIC IPSE EOIS HESPERIISQVE MINIS CASTA MENTE IOSEPH, MIRE MEMORI MITHRIDATES ET VIGILI CVRA LVCIDVS ARCVS ERAT DIVINAE ALPHONSVS STVDIO LEGISQ(VE) IOSIAS SACRATI, HVNNIADES DAEDALEIQ(VE) CHORI PRAESAGO INGENIO, AC SVADA REDIVIVVS VLYSSES SPERNI PELIDES IMPATIENSQ(VE) FVIT IAMQVE LABESCENTIS PATRIAE FORTISSIMVS HECTOR CVI NEC VIS NEC SPES ABSTVLIT, VLLA PEDEM AGALLO SVUECO MVLTVM EXOPTATVS ACHATES TARDI GRADVAE PACIS QVO ACCELERARET ITER MARTE IMPROVISO, SIC ARBITER OTIA FECIT PANNONIAE FOELIX GRATAQ(UE) TEVTONIAE Somewhere on the memorial (?) (B)[1] Monumentum Serenissimi, Celsissimique Principis Domini Georgii Rakótzi primi, Principis Transilvaniae, potiorum Regni Hungariae partium Domini, ac Siculorum Comitis, Principis summa sapientia, sancta temperantia, incredibili vigilantia, incomparabili pietate, admirabili felicitate, laudatissimi optimi Patriae defensoris, acerrimi publicae pacis vindicis, addictissimi Musarum Maecenatis, sincerissimi Ecclesiae Patroni, cum ineffabili Christiani Orbis damno, Albae Juliae An. M DC XLVIII. d. XXIII. Oct. undecima hora ante merediana, Aetat. LV. Mense IV. Die III. sanctissime defuncti, X. Januarii Anni sequentis honorificentissime humati.

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1 Lost, after Bod, *Hungarus Tymbaules*, 50-51,XXIII and Szeredai, *Collectio*, 21-22, TABVLA XII.

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 18

a)	Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral, in the southern aisle
b)	*Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral (that time Court Church)*
c)	**Unknown** The figural top is now used as the top of the tomb chest of János Hunyadi in a secondary position, but the original subject is unknown.
d)	1580s
e)	88 x _ x 189 cm (fragment of a tomb chest)
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 300-302, fig. 269. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Emődi, Tamás. "Monumente funerare figurative renascentiste din Transilvania" [Renaissance figural funeral monuments in Transylvania]. In *Artă românească, artă europeană. Centenar Virgil Vătăşianu* [Romanian art - European art. The centenary of Virgil Vătăşianu], edited by M. Porumb and A. Chiriac, 135. Oradea: Editura Muzeului Ţării Crişurilor Oradea, 2002. Entz, Géza. *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház* [The Cathedral in Alba Iulia], 140, fig. 184. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1958. Forster, Gyula. "A Hunyadiak síremlékei" [The funeral monuments of the Hunyadi family]. In *Magyarország műemlékei* [Monuments in Hungary], edited by Gyula Forster, 60-67. Budapest: A Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1905. Lővei, Pál. "Posuit hoc monumentum pro aeterna memoria: Bevezető fejezetek a középkori Magyarország síremlékeinek katalógusához." [Introductory chapters to a catalog of the funeral monuments from medieval Hungary], 23. Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2009. Möller, István. "A Hunyadi-síremlékek anyaga és kivitele" [The material and execution of the Hunyadi tombs]. In *Magyarország műemlékei* [Monuments in Hungary], edited by Gyula Forster, 68-74. Budapest: A Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1905. Varju, Elemér. "A Hunyadiak síremlékei a gyulafejérvári székesegyházban" [The funeral monument of the Hunyadi family in the Alba Iulia cathedral]. In *Magyarország műemlékei* [Monuments in Hungary], edited by Gyula Forster, 75-97. Budapest: A Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1905. Veress, Endre. "A Hunyadiak síremlékei és Castaldo " [The funeral monuments of the Hunyadi family and Castaldo]. In *Magyarország műemlékei* [Monuments in Hungary], edited by Gyula Forster, 96-108. Budapest: A Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1905.
g)	–

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Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 19

a)	Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral
b)	*Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral (that time Court Church)*
c)	**Antonius (Antal) Kendi** Son of Antal Kendi, Voivode of Transylvania. He was member of the Council of the Queen between 1542-1551, then in 1556-1558. Together with his brother, Ferenc, they were balancing between Queen Isabelle and Ferdinand of Habsburg, supporting Ferdinand after the birth and coronation of John Sigismund. Ferenc was one of those Transylvanian aristocrats who called back Isabelle in 1556 to the throne. Still, both Antal and Ferenc were accused of a riot in 1558 and executed in Alba Iulia for the order of Isabelle. The fragment of the text as completed based on Szeredai says that the memorial was erected by a certain Franciscus to his father, Antonius. Antonius was probably Antal Kendi, while Franciscus was his son, Ferenc III. Kádár, József. *Szolnok-Dobokavármegye monographiája* [A monograph of Szolnok-Doboka County], vol. 6, 278. Dés: Szolnok-Dobokavármegye közönsége, 1900-1901. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 6, 198-199. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1857-1868. Trócsányi, Zsolt. *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690* [The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690], 28. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980.
d)	Second half of the sixteenth century (d. 1558)
e)	_ x _ x _ cm It probably belonged to the same tomb chest as **Cat. No. 7**, possibly also **Cat. No. 8** and **Cat. No. 20**.
f)	Sarkadi, Márton. *"s folytatva magát a régi művet": Tanulmányok a gyulafehérvári székesegyház és püspöki palota történetéről* ["continuing the old work": Studies on the history of the cathedral and bishopric palace in Alba Iulia], 223. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2010. Szeredai, Antonius. *Collectio continens Tabulas vetustorum ac recentiorum monumentorum quae in Templo Alba – olim Juliensi nunc Caroliensi in Transilvania sunt, fueruntque locata*, 45. Albae Carolinae: Typ. Episc., 1791.
g)	On the central panel (A)[1] [– – –]MVLI[2] FRANCISCVS PROPRIIS TVMVLVM HVNC ANTONIA PROLES SVMPTIBVS EREXIT PATRIS IN OBSEQVIVM IN PATREM PIETAS PROBITAS REVERENTIA CANDOR ET DOLOR IN CLARO CORPORE CAVSA FVIT

1 Completed based on the transcription of Szeredai, *Collectio*, 45, TABVLA XXXIII.
2 Szeredai did not include this line into his transcription.

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Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 20

a)	Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral
b)	*Alba Iulia – Gyulafehérvár – Weissenburg, Roman Catholic Cathedral (that time Court Church)*
c)	**Unknown** Now in a secondary position, as the side panel of the tomb chest of John Sigismund (**Cat. No. 5**). It might have belonged to the same tomb chest as **Cat. No. 7**, **Cat. No. 19**, and **Cat. No. 20**.
d)	Second half of the sixteenth century
e)	76 x 44 x ? cm (fragment of a tomb chest)
f)	Mikó, Árpád. "Gótika és barokk között. A reneszánsz művészet problémái a kora újkori Magyarországon" [Between Gothic and Baroque. Problems of the Renaissance art in the early modern Hungary]. In *Mátyás király öröksége. Késő reneszánsz művészet Magyarországon (16-17. század). Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában 2008. március 28- 2008. július 27* [The legacy of King Matthias Corvinus. Late Renaissance art in Hungary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Exhibition in the Hungarian National Gallery. 28 March - 27 July 2008], edited by Árpád Mikó and Mária Verő, 29. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2008.
g)	–

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Alba Iulia

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 21

a)	Alţâna – Alcina – Altzen, Lutheran church, in the southern pillar of the chancel arch
b)	*Alţâna – Alcina – Altzen, Lutheran church*
c)	**Despina Paleologa** Infant daughter of the radical Antitrinitarian theologian, Jacobus Paleologus. Paleologus was originally a Dominican monk from the island of Chios who considered himself a descendant of the Byzantine emperors. He was repeatedly charged with heresy by the Inquisition from 1557. First, he found asylum in Prague, then in Cracow, while he established contacts with the Transylvanian Antitrinitarian movement. His stays in Transylvania can be traced between 1572 and 1575, mostly in Cluj and Alţâna. The latter was the estate of János Gerendi, an Antitrinitarian noblemen and supporter of Paleologus, and, as the tomb inscription says, this is where Despina was born and died in 1575. Paleologus left Transylvania probably in the same year, for Cracow and then to Moravia, and he ended his life on the stake of the Inquisition in Rome, in 1585. Eufrosyna, the mother of Despina mentioned in the inscription, was daughter of Martin Kuthen von Sprinsberg, scribe of the town council of Prague. Balázs, Mihály. Early Transylvanian Antitrinitarianism 1567–1571. From Servet to Palaeologus. Baden-Baden: Éditions Valentin Koerner, 1996. Balázs, Mihály. "Radikális dogmakritika és fikciós lelemény Jacobus Paleologus műveiben. 1572: Paleologus Erdélybe érkezik" [Radical dogmatics and fiction in the works by Jacobus Paleologus]. In A magyar irodalom történetei. A kezdetektől 1800-ig, edited by László Jankovits and Géza Orlovszky, 296-309. Budapest: Gondolat, 2007.
d)	d. 1575
e)	44 x 105 x 6 cm
f)	Gündisch, Gustav. "Adalék Jacobus Paleologus erdélyi tartózkodásához" [New data on the Transylvanian sojourn of Jacobus Paleologus]. *Keresztény Magvető* 4 (1984): 213-219. Gündisch, Gustav. "Zum siebenbürgischen Aufenthalt des Jacobus Palaeologus." *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 4 (1966): 71-79. Léstyán, Ferenc. *Megszentelt kövek. A középkori erdélyi püspökség templomai* [Sacred stones. Churches of the medieval Transylvanian bishoprics], vol. 2, 387. Kolozsvár: Gloria, 1996.
g)	Central panel (A) D(EVS) O(PTIMVS) M(AXIMVS) S(VPREMVS) DESPINA PALAEOLOGA VIVERE MATREM PERMISIT ET INDIGNATA LVCEM SOLIS HVIVS ASPICERE QVOM EMISSA EX VTERO MATRIS MANV SE VIVERE SIGNIFICASSET

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	AD VSVM ET FRVCTVM ALTERIVS SOLIS QVI IN CELO CELESTIBVS INCOLIS LVCET PROPERAVIT IACOBUS ET EVFROSYNA PAL(EOLOGI)[1] FILIAE EXPECTATISSIMAE MOE STI POSVERE ANNO M DLXXV KAL(ENDAS) SEPTEM(BRIS)

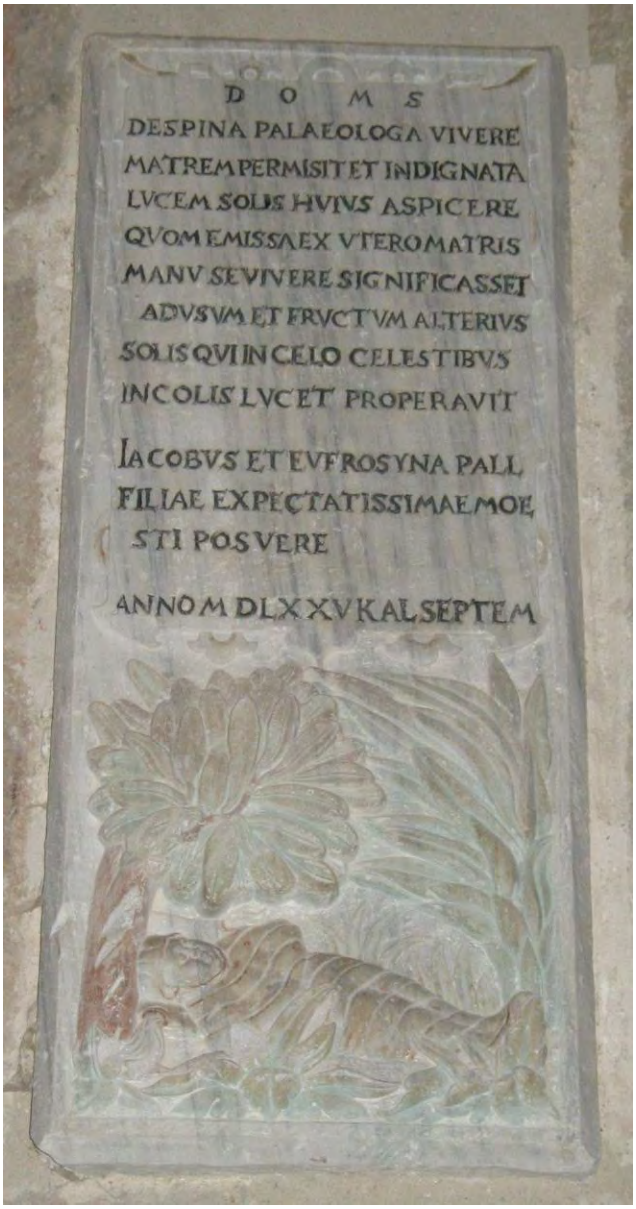

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

1 written as PALL

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Cat. No. 22

a)	Araci – Árapatak, Calvinist church, in the northern pillar of the chancel arch, above the pulpit
b)	*Araci – Árapatak, Calvinist church*
c)	**Benedictus (Benedek) Geréb** The Geréb family had several branches in Udvarhelyszék by the late sixteenth century, the main one named after Fiatfalva (Filiaș). Benedek, son of Barnabás was a member of the branch named after Árapatak (Araci). Balogh, Judit. *Székelyföldi karrierek. Az udvarhelyszéki nemesség hatalomszerzési lehetőségei a 16. század második felében* [Carriers in the Székely Land. Power acquisition strategies of the nobility in Udvarhelyszék in the second half of the sixteenth century], 193-Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2011. Benkő, Elek, and Attila Székely. *Középkori udvarház és nemesség a Székelyföldön* [Medieval manor house and nobility in the Székely Land], 93-100. Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 2008.
d)	d. 1602
e)	60 x 155 x ? cm
f)	Léstyán, Ferenc. *Megszentelt kövek. A középkori erdélyi püspökség templomai* [Sacred stones. Churches of the medieval Transylvanian bishoprics], vol. 1, 189-190. Kolozsvár: Gloria, 1996.
g)	Border inscription (A) HOMO NAT(VS) EX MV[LIERE] [– – –] [– – –] [– – –]T[– – –] [VEL]VT [V]MBRA FVGIT Central panel (B) [H]IC IACET NO BILIS BENEDIC(TVS) GEREB DE ARA PATAKA, FILI(VS) OLIM BARNA BAE GEREB: QVI OBIIT AN(NO) AETA(TIS) SVAE L. AN(NO) VE RO CHR(IS)T(I) 1602 V DIE IVNII ANNA C(ONSORS) M(ONVMENTVM) P(OSVIT)

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Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 23

a)	Bălcaciu – Bolkács – Bulkesch, Lutheran church, ground floor of the western tower
b)	*Bălcaciu – Bolkács – Bulkesch, Lutheran church*[1]
c)	**Barbara (Borbála) Ostrosith** She was born in 1651 as daughter of Miklós Ostrosith of Giletincz and Kata Kapi. She was engaged by Wolfgangus (Farkas) Bethlen in 1665, and they got married on February 21, 1667. Farkas Bethlen, son of Ferenc Bethlen and Kata Kemény, scholar and author of historical works, was *főispán* (comes) of Fehér (Alba) County from 1661, member of the Princely Council from 1664 until his death in 1679, and chancellor from 1676. They had four children: László, István, Katalin, and Druisiana. Borbála Ostrosith died on November 20, 1681, and her funeral ceremony took place in Bălcaciu on February 8, 1682. Köblös, Zoltán. "Giletinczi Ostrosith Borbála bethleni Bethlen Farkasné temetési meghívója. 1682. január 20" [Invitation for the funeral of Borbála Ostrosith of Giletincz. 20 January 1682]. *Genealogiai Füzetek*, no. May (1904): 77. Lázár, Miklós. Erdély főispánjai (1540-1711). Külön lenyomat a Századok 1887—1889-ki folyamaiból [County heads in Transylvania, 1540-1711. Offprint from the Századok periodical] 22-23 Budapest: Az Atheneum R. Társ. Könyvnyomdája, 1889. Lukinich, Imre. *A Bethleni gróf Bethlen család története* [The history of the Bethlen of Bethlen family], 173, 529. Budapest: Aetheneum, 1928. Lukinich, Imre. "Keresdi báró Bethlen Ferenc, 1601-1653" [Baron Ferenc Bethlen of Keresd, 1601-1653]. Századok (1908): 677-696, 781-805, 884-904. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 2, 79. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1858. Trócsányi, Zsolt. *Erdély* központi kormányzata 1540-1690 [The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690], 24. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980.
d)	d. 1681
e)	95 x 176 x 29 cm
f)	Szádeczky, Lajos. "Az ebesfalvi és keresdi kastély" [The castles in Dumbrăveni and Criș]. *Vasárnapi Újság* 52, no. 45 (1905): 717-719.
g)	On the central panel (A) HIC LAPIS POSITVS EST IN PEREN NEM MEMORIAM MAGNIFICA DOMINA BARBARAE OSTRO[SIT]H FILIAE MAGNIFICI NICOLAI OSTROSITH DE GILLETINO RELICTA VERO INCLITI

1 Lajos Szádeczky reported to have seen the funeral monument of Borbála Ostrosith somewhere around the Bethel Castle in Criş before or in 1905. However, the invitation for her funeral in 1682 specifies the church in Bălcaciu as her final resting place. Szádeczky, "Az ebesfalvi és keresdi kastély," 717-718; Köblös, "Giletinczi-Ostrosith Borbála."

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	QVONDAM HEROIS VOLFF GANGI DE BETHLEN CEL SISSIMI PRINCIPIS TRANSILVA NIAE CONSILIARY INTIMI AC SVPREMI COMITIS COMITATVS ALBENSIS NEC NON REGNI CANCELLARY QVAE OBYT ANNO DOMINI 1681 AETATIS SVAE 30

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

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Cat. No. 24

a)	Biertan – Berethalom – Birthälm, Lutheran church, built into the eastern wall of the southwestern tower in the church fortification wall.
b)	*Biertan – Berethalom – Birthälm, Lutheran church*
c)	**Franciscus (Franz) Salicaeus (Weidner)** His father was Servatius Weidner, steward in Sibiu. He was documented to have studied in Wittenberg in 1538. After his return, he became chaplain, then, from 1545, pastor in Biertan; also General Deacon from 1550. He was the one who introduced the Lutheran Reform in Biertan. Gündisch, Gustav. "Franz Salicäus. Ein Beitrag zur Reformationsgeschichte Siebenbürgens." In Geschichtswirklichkeit und Glaubensbewährung. Festschrift für Bischof D. Dr. h. c. Friedrich Müller, edited by Franklin Clark Fry, 204-219. Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagwerk, 1967. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700 [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 52. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992.
d)	d. 1567
e)	95 x 205 x 17 cm
f)	Müller, Friedrich. "Die evangelische Kirche in Birthälm." Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde 2 (1857): 213. Nägler, Thomas. Marktort und Bischofssitz Birthälm in Siebenbürgen, 461, 539. Münich: Verlag der Siebenbürgisch-Sächsichen Stiftung, 2004.
g)	Border inscription (A) FRANCISCI HOC TVMVLO SALICEI M[EMBRA] [QVIE]SCVNT QVI PRIOR HIC CEP(I)T SPARGERE DOGMA BONVM On the central panel (B) OBIIT ANNO 1567 22 APRIL In the emblem (C) F(RANCISCVS) S(ALICEVS) B(IRTHALBENSIS)

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Cat. No. 25

a)	Biertan – Berethalom – Birthälm, Lutheran church, built into the eastern wall of the southwestern tower in the church fortification wall.
b)	*Biertan – Berethalom – Birthälm, Lutheran church*
c)	**Franciscus (Franz) Graefius** He was documented to have studied in Oderafrankfurt in 1591. After his return to Transylvania, he served as pastor in Ormeniș (Ürmös, Ermesch), Boz (Buzd, Bussd; before 1604), Valchid (Váldhíd, Waldhütten), Copșa Mare (Nagykapus, Gross-Kopisch; 1605-1606), Richiș, Bistrița (1611-21), and Biertan (from 1621).[1] Lutheran bishop of Transylvania between 1621 and 1627. Seivert, Johann. "Skizze der Superintendenten Augsburgischer Konfession, im Grosfürstenthum Siebenbürgen." *Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift* 2 (1791): 16-17. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 54. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992.
d)	d. 1627
e)	79 x 190 x ? cm
f)	Müller, Friedrich. "Die evangelische Kirche in Birthälm." Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde 2 (1857): 211. Nägler, Thomas. Marktort und Bischofssitz Birthälm in Siebenbürgen, 461, 541, fig. 179. Münich: Verlag der Siebenbürgisch-Sächsichen Stiftung, 2004. Salzer, J. M. *Der königl. freie Markt Birthälm in Siebenbürgen*, 396-398. Vienna: Verlag von Carl Graefer, 1881.
g)	Border inscription (A) FAMAE ET MEMORIAE REVEREN(DI) ET CLARISS(IM)I VIRI D(OMI)NI FRANCISCI GRAEFII PASTORIS ECCL(ESI)AE BIRTHALBEN(SIS) ET RELIQVAR(VM) SAXONIC(ARVM) SVP(ER)IN TEN(DENTIS) MERITISS(IMI) A(nn)o 1627. 1 Iunii. AETAT(IS) v(ero) SVAE 59 Pie in CHR(IST)O defu(n)cti On the central panel (B) FINGERE DVM GRAEFFI GESTIT MAN(VS) AEMVLA vultum NOS DOTES ANIMI. NOBILI ORA, DAM(VS). VIS ERGO PRISCAE SPECIMEN PIETATIS AVITAE VIS FIDEI FORMA(M), HVNC RESPICE CVNCTA VIDES HIC CVM DOCTRINA VIRT(VS) HABITABAT, ET VNA QVAE PARIVNT CLARV(M), SINGVLA NOME(N) ERAT INGENIVM FELIX, PROMTAE FACVNDIA LINGVAE

1 Miklós Szabó and Sándor Tonk identified the pastor at Ormeniș, Boz and Copșa Mare as a contemporary of Greafius with a similar name, but the inscription of the funeral monument lists all these as places of service of the deceased. Szabó – Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása*, 54.

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	IVDICIIQ(VE) ACIES, CONSILIIQ(VE) PENV. INTEGRITAS VITAE, ME(N)S CANDIDA, DEXTRA BENIGNA ATQ(VE) OMNI FACIES TETRICITATE CARENS. SERIETAS TAMEN IPSA ANIMI, GRAVITASQ(VE) VERENDI CORPORIS, EXIMII NVMINIS INSTAR ERANT. GRATA DEHINC MERITAS TRIBVET RESPUB(LICA) LAVDES ATQ(VE) SVO QUONDAM, DIGNA BRABEIA, PATRI OeRMES, BVZD, VALDHID, CAPVSINV(M), RECVINIVMQ(VE) BISTRICIV(M), ATQ(VE) HVIVS CONCIO SANCTA LOCI. Between the two panels (C) P(IE) P(OSVERVNT): CONIVX ET LIBERI MOEST(I) Around the emblem (D) FRANCISC(VS) GRAEFII

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Cat. No. 26

a)	Biertan – Berethalom – Birthälm, Lutheran church, built into the southern wall of the southwestern tower in the church fortification wall.
b)	*Biertan – Berethalom – Birthälm, Lutheran church*
c)	**Georgius (Georg) Theilesius** He was born in Agnita (Szentágota, Agnetheln). His first place of service was Biertan as preacher (1608), then he was pastor in Iacobeni (Jakabfalva, Jakobsdorf), Saschiz (Szászkézd, Keisd; 1618) and Mediaş (1627). In 1627, he was appointed as pastor in Biertan and Lutheran bishop of Transylvania. He played an important role in settling diplomatic relations between the Saxon nation and the Prince. Seivert, Johann. "Skizze der Superintendenten Augsburgischer Konfession, im Grosfürstenthum Siebenbürgen." *Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift* 2 (1791): 17-18.
d)	d. 1646
e)	114 x 205 x 16 cm
f)	Gündisch, Gustav. "Der Hermannstädter Bildhauer und Steinmetz Elias Nicolai." In *Studien zur* siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte, edited by Gustav Gündisch, Albert Klein, Harald Krasser and Theobald Streifeld, 227-228. Cologne: Böhlau, 1976. Müller, Friedrich. "Die evangelische Kirche in Birthälm." Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde 2 (1857): 210-211. Nägler, Thomas. Marktort und Bischofssitz Birthälm in Siebenbürgen, 461. Münich: Verlag der Siebenbürgisch-Sächsichen Stiftung, 2004. Roth, Victor. Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen, 101-102. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906. Salzer, J. M. Der königl. freie *Markt Birthälm in Siebenbürgen*, 400-402 (with fig. on 399). Vienna: Verlag von Carl Graefer, 1881.
g)	Border inscription (A) PRAESULIS, HOC, CLARI THEILESI, LASSA, GEORGI, SARCOPHAGO, TANDEM MEMBRA, LABORE CUBANT.[1] FERVIDUS ET GRAVIS DOCUIT QVI DOGMA LUTHERI, SECULA, CUI SIMILEM, PAUCA, TULERE VIRUM. In Domino placide mortuus hic Birthalbini Pastoratus et Episcopat(us) sui, Eccl(esi)arum Saxonica ru(m) Anno 19. Aetat(is) suae 64. Mense Decembr(is) die S(ancti) Andr(eae) Anno Chr(ist)i 1646. On the book (B) Georg(ius) Theilesius Sentagaten(sis) per Anagra(ma)

1 T is on the short side of the border.

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	Surge, age, selecte, Sancta sentis, Surge, age, selecte hei! nam gaudia sentis olimpi, Sancte tibi Iesus, quae bone serve(.) dabit. On the pillow under his feet (C) Fecit ELIAS NICOLAI Above the head and the dove (D) יהוה

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 27

a)	Biertan – Berethalom – Birthälm, Lutheran church, built into the southern wall of the southwestern tower in the church fortification wall.
b)	*Biertan – Berethalom – Birthälm, Lutheran church*
c)	**Christianus (Christian) Barth** Born in 1594 as the son of a serf in Moardăș (Mardos, Mardisch), he received his education in Toruń (1619) and in Rostock (1620). After returning to Transylvania, he was school rector in Sighişoara (1622-34), then served as pastor and archdeacon in Bistriţa and Viișoara (Besenyő, Heidendorf; 1634-37), then in Moşna (1638). From 1647, he was elected as pastor in Biertan and Lutheran bishop of the Saxons. Seivert, Johann. "Skizze der Superintendenten Augsburgischer Konfession, im Grosfürstenthum Siebenbürgen." *Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift* 2 (1791): 18-19. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 35. Fontes Rerum Scholasticarum. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992.
d)	1649 (d. 1652)
e)	101 x 202 x ? cm
f)	Gündisch, Gustav. "Der Hermannstädter Bildhauer und Steinmetz Elias Nicolai." In *Studien zur siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte*, edited by Gustav Gündisch, Albert Klein, Harald Krasser and Theobald Streifeld, 228. Cologne: Böhlau, 1976. Müller, Friedrich. "Die evangelische Kirche in Birthälm." *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 2 (1857): 210. Nägler, Thomas. *Marktort und Bischofssitz Birthälm in Siebenbürgen*, 461, fig. 181 on 541. Münich: Verlag der Siebenbürgisch-Sächsichen Stiftung, 2004. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 102-103. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906. Salzer, J. M. *Der königl. freie Markt Birthälm in Siebenbürgen*, 402-404. Vienna: Verlag von Carl Graefer, 1881.
g)	Border inscription (A) PRAESULIS HOC TUMULO PRAECLARI[1] MEMBRA QVIESCUNT: CHRISTIANO CUI NOMEN, ET OMNEN[2] ERAT! BARTH COGNOMENTO: PATRIAE LUX, NOBILE SIDUS SAXONICAE NOSTRAE FIRMA COLUMNA DOMUS. On the frame of the arch (B) ANNO AETATIS SUAE 55. ADHUC VIVUS EXSCULPI CURABAT, MENSE MAIO ANNO 1649. DENATUS VERO 16 JULII ANNO DEI – HOMINIS 1652 VIXIT ITAQ(ue) ANNOS 58 On the anchor (C)

1 I is in the next line
2 instead of OMEN; needed in the verse

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	Anchora meae salutis gratia Patris per Christum acqvisita. On the lower frame, around the feet (D) Fecit ELIAS NICOLAI

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 28

a)	Biertan – Berethalom – Birthälm, Lutheran church, built into the southern wall of the southwestern tower in the church fortification wall.
b)	*Biertan – Berethalom – Birthälm, Lutheran church*
c)	**Christianus (Christian) Haasz** Born in 1632 in Sibiu,[1] he received his education in Sibiu (1647) and in Wittenberg (1654). After returning to Transylvania, he was lector (from 1656) then school rector (from 1659) in Sibiu. He served as pastor in Bradu (Fenyőfalva, Gierelsau; 1661-64), in Nou (Szászújfalu, Neudorf; 1664) and Cisnădie (1670-1682). In 1682, he was elected as pastor in Biertan and Lutheran bishop. In 1684, he became pastor in Sibiu, so the bishopric seat was to be transferred to Sibiu, but this plan failed due to the opposition of the synod. Keul, István. *Early Modern Religious Communities in East-Central Europe: Ethnic Diversity, Denominational Plurality, and Corporative Politics in the Principality of Transylvania (1526-1691)*, 235-236. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions. Leiden: Brill, 2009 Seivert, Johann. "Skizze der Superintendenten Augsburgischer Konfession, im Grosfürstenthum Siebenbürgen." Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift 2 (1791): 23-24. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 36. Fontes Rerum Scholasticarum. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992.
d)	d. 1686
e)	93 x 208 x 32 cm
f)	Müller, Friedrich. "Die evangelische Kirche in Birthälm." *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 2 (1857): 210. Nägler, Thomas. *Marktort und Bischofssitz Birthälm in Siebenbürgen*, 461, fig. 182 on 542. Münich: Verlag der Siebenbürgisch-Sächsichen Stiftung, 2004. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 117-118. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906. Salzer, J. M. *Der königl. freie Markt Birthälm in Siebenbürgen*, 408-409. Vienna: Verlag von Carl Graefer, 1881.
g)	Border inscription (A) HIC IN D(OMI)NO REQVIESCIT PLACI DE BEATAMQ(VE) EXPEXTAT RESURRECTI[ON]EM VIR OLIM MAXIME VENERABILIS CL ARISSIMUS ATQ(VE) DOCTISSI[MUS] D(OMI)N(US) CHRISTIANUS HAASZ PASTOR ECCL(ESI)AE BIRTH(ALBENSIS) MERIT(US) UT ET ECCL(ESI)ARUM EVANG(ELIARUM) SAXON(ICARUM) IN TRANS(ILVANIA) GRAVISSIMUS QVI VITAM FINIVIT A(nn)o 1686 D(ie) 16 SEPT(EMBRIS) AETAT(IS) VERO 54.

1 Miklós Szabó and Sándor Tonk gives 1635 as his birth date, but the tomb inscription says that he was 54 in 1686. Szabó – Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása*, 36.

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 29

a)	Biertan – Berethalom – Birthälm, Lutheran church, built into the western wall of the southwestern tower in the church fortification wall.
b)	*Biertan – Berethalom – Birthälm, Lutheran church*
c)	**Lucas (Lukas) Unglerus** He was born in Sibiu in 1526. He received his education in Braşov from 1547, then in Wittenberg, where his presence was documented in 1550. After his return to Transylvania, he was lector then school rector in Sibiu. In 1561, he was a member of the committee sent to German universities to ask for their position in the issue of the sacraments; he was documented as honorary visitor in Rostock in 1562. He served as pastor in Sebeş (1562-1565) and in Câlnic (Kelnek, Kelling; 1566-1567), then in Biertan (1567-1600). He was elected as bishop of the Transylvanian Lutheran church in 1572. He continued his service as pastor of Biertan and did not move to Sibiu, so from that time on, Biertan became the Saxon bishopric seat (until 1867). The Saxon church accepted the Augsburg Confession under his leadership, in 1572. Binder, Ludwig. "Um Glauben und Bekenntnis. Leben und Wirken des Bischofs Lukas Unglerus." *Kirchliche Blätter* 8 (1978): 5-6. Gündisch, Gustav. "Die Bibliothek des Bischofs Lukas Ungler (1526—1600)." *Kirchliche Blätter* 8 (1975): 2-3. M.F. "Altes und Neues. I. Zur Geschichte des spätern Superintendenten Lukas Unglerus." *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 17 (1894): 25-27 Seivert, Johann. "Skizze der Superintendenten Augsburgischer Konfession, im Grosfürstenthum Siebenbürgen." *Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift* 2 (1791): 9-11. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 36. Fontes Rerum Scholasticarum. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992.
d)	d. 1600
e)	89 x 184 x ? cm
f)	Müller, Friedrich. "Die evangelische Kirche in Birthälm." *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 2 (1857): 208-209. Nägler, Thomas. *Marktort und Bischofssitz Birthälm in Siebenbürgen*, 461, 539-540. Münich: Verlag der Siebenbürgisch-Sächsichen Stiftung, 2004. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 126. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906. Salzer, J. M. *Der königl. freie Markt Birthälm in Siebenbürgen*, 387-389, fig. on 389. Vienna: Verlag von Carl Graefer, 1881.
g)	Border inscription (A) SEPVLTVRA REVERENDI ET CLAR ISSIMI VIRI DOMINI M(AGISTRI) LVCAE VNGLERI BIRTHALBENSIS ECCLESIAE PRAESIDIS, ET EC CLESIARVM SAXONICALIVM EPISCOPI DIGNISSIMI. QVI OBIIT ANNO 1600, DIE 22 NOVEMBR(IS) AETATIS SVAE 74

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	Lower inscription plaque (B) HIC SITVS EST VATES, SANCTIQVI SEMI NA VERBI IN BIRTHALBENSI SPARSIT ET AVXIT AGRO. ELOQVIO PRAESTANS PRAECLARVS EPISCOPVS AVLAE CHRISTI ET TEVTONICI DVXQ(VE) DECVSQ(VE) GREGIS DIGNVS ERAT VITA LONGO DIGNIS SIMVS AEVO NEC POTVIT LACHE SIS, VIM SVPERARE TRVCIS

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 30

a)	Biertan – Berethalom – Birthälm, Lutheran church, built into the western wall of the southwestern tower in the church fortification wall.
b)	*Biertan – Berethalom – Birthälm, Lutheran church*
c)	**Zacharias Weirauch** He was born in 1552 in Braşov. His father was appointed as pastor in Rupea (Kőhalom, Reps), where later he himself became a peacher. Then he served as pastor in Fişer (Sövénység, Schweischer; 1575), in Şaeş (Segesd, Schaas; 1586), in Keisd (1589), in Aţel (Ecel, Hetzeldorf; 1600), later also in Moşna. From 1613, he was pastor in Biertan, and between 1614 and 1621, also Lutheran bishop of Transylvania. Seivert, Johann. "Skizze der Superintendenten Augsburgischer Konfession, im Grosfürstenthum Siebenbürgen." *Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift* 2 (1791): 15-16.
d)	d. 1621
e)	93 x 190 x 17 cm
f)	Müller, Friedrich. "Die evangelische Kirche in Birthälm." *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 2 (1857): 212. Nägler, Thomas. *Marktort und Bischofssitz Birthälm in Siebenbürgen*, 461, fig. 178 on 540. Münich: Verlag der Siebenbürgisch-Sächsichen Stiftung, 2004. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 126. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906. Salzer, J. M. *Der königl. freie Markt Birthälm in Siebenbürgen*, 394-395, fig. on 394. Vienna: Verlag von Carl Graefer, 1881.
g)	Border inscription (A) TUMBA VIRI DOCTRINA CANIC[IE] PIETATEQ(VE) VENERANDA CLARISS(IMI) D(OMINI) ZACHARIAE WEIRAVCH PASTORIS EC[CCLE(SIAE) BIRTHALBENS(IS) ET S][1] [– – –] [– – –] [– – –] [AN(N)O 1]621 AETA(TIS) SVE V(ER)O 6[–][2] In the inscription plaque (B) DECREPITVS IACET HIC CV STOS GREGIS ECCE FIDELIS CHRISTI QVI GENTIS GLO RIA FAMA [SVAE][3] THVS IOVAE SEPTEM NECNO(N) DECIES QVATER ANNOS OBTVLIT HVIC OF

1 Salzer, *Der königl. freie Markt Birthälm*.
2 Salzer, *Der königl. freie Markt Birthälm*: 69
3 Salzer, *Der königl. freie Markt Birthälm*

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	FERT REGNA BEA TA DEVS

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Cat. No. 31

a)	Biertan – Berethalom – Birthälm, Lutheran church, built into the western wall of the southwestern tower in the church fortification wall.
b)	*Biertan – Berethalom – Birthälm, Lutheran church*
c)	**Mathias Schiffbaumer** He was born in Nou (Szászújfalu, Neudorf) in 1547. He began his studies in Sibiu, then continued in Wittenberg where his presence was documented in 1578. He returned to Transylvania in 1580, and he moved to Moșna as preacher. He served as pastor in Nemșa (Nemes, Nimesch; 1587), then in Șeica Mică (from 1591 or 1592), and in Mediaş (from 1598). In 1600, he was appointed as pastor in Biertan, and in 1601, the synod elected him as Lutheran bishop. Gündisch, Gustav. "Matthias Schiffbaumer (1547-1611) erdélyi evangélikus szuperintendens könyvtára" [Library of Matthias Schiffbaumer, Lutheran superintendent in Transylvania]. In *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok* [Studies in cultural history], edited by Gábor Sipos, Elek Benkő, Árpád Varga, Elek Csetri and Sándor Tonk, 99-106. Bucharest: Kriterion, 1980. Seivert, Johann. "Skizze der Superintendenten Augsburgischer Konfession, im Grosfürstenthum Siebenbürgen." *Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift* 2 (1791): 12-14. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 177-178. Fontes Rerum Scholasticarum. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992.
d)	d. 1611
e)	80 x 188 x 24 cm
f)	Müller, Friedrich. "Die evangelische Kirche in Birthälm." *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 2 (1857): 209. Nägler, Thomas. *Marktort und Bischofssitz Birthälm in Siebenbürgen*, 461, fig. 177 on 540. Münich: Verlag der Siebenbürgisch-Sächsichen Stiftung, 2004. Salzer, J. M. *Der königl. freie Markt Birthälm in Siebenbürgen*, 389-392, fig. on 391. Vienna: Verlag von Carl Graefer, 1881.
g)	Border inscription (A) REVERENDO AC CLARISS(IMO) VIRO D(OMINO) MAT[HI]AE SCHIFFBAVMER [BIRT]HALBEN(SIS) ECCLESIAE PASTOR[I VIGILANTISS(IMI) ET EC]C[LES]IARVM SAX[ONI]C[A]L[I]VM EPISC OPO DIGNISSIMO QVI OBIIT ANNO [1]611 30 AVGVSTI AETATIS SVAE 64. MARITO DESIDERATIS(SIMO) PATRIQ(VE) CHARISS(IMO) H. M. CONIVNX LIBERIQVE P(IE) P(OSVERVNT) Lower inscription plaque (B) Teutonicae columen tuusque ecclesia vates (florebas vivo quo moriente cadis) Hac Schiffbaumerus gelida requiescit in urna. Posthuma nulla virum

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	secla habitura parem illius excelso radiabat pectore virtus et - vitae candor sic pietatis amor si quaeras igitur: vir- tus gravitasque fidesque religio pietas hac tumulan- tur humo.[1] C) Around the symbol MOMENTANEA STRENVE NEGLIGENS [OMNI]A

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1 The text is not legible anymore; after Salzer, *Der königl. freie Markt Birthälm*, 392.

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Cat. No. 32

a)	Bistrița – Beszterce – Bistritz, Lutheran church
b)	*Bistrița – Beszterce – Bistritz, Lutheran church, in the floor of the choir, in front of the altar.*
c)	**Albertus (Albert) Cerasinus (Kirschner)** He was born in 1508, in a Saxon patrician family in Cluj that originated from Valea Viilor (Nagybaromlak, Wurmloch). He received his education in Cracow (1535), then in Wittenberg where his stay was documented in 1543. In 1544, he was called back to Transylvania. He served in Bistriţa as preacher from 1545 and as pastor from 1549. He was the one who introduced the Lutheran reform in the town. Bielz, Julius. "Porträtkatalog der Siebenbürger Sachsen." *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 49 (1936-38): No. 163. Binder, Pál. "Dávid Ferenc rektor besztercei papja: Albert Kirschner (1508–1564)" [The priest of rector Ferenc Dávid in Bistriţa: Albert Kirschner (1508–1564)]. *Keresztény Magvető* 87, no. 4 (1981): 217-220. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 4. Fontes Rerum Scholasticarum. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992.
d)	d. 1564
e)	_ x _ x _ cm
f)	Dahinten, Otto. *Geschichte der Stadt Bistritz in Siebenbürgen*, 258, fig. 24. Studia Transylvanica. Köln: Böhlau, 1988. Gaiu, Corneliu, and Vasile Duda. *Biserica Evanghelica C.A. din Bistriţa / The Evangelical Church A.C. in Bistriţa*, 45, 49. Bistriţa: n.p., 2010.
g)	Border inscription (A) [HAE]C LAPIS ALBERTI CERASINI MEMBRA RECEPIT AST ANIMAM CAELI REGNA BEATA FOVENT ALBERTI PER QVEM DEVS HAC BENEDICTVS IN VR[BE] RESTITUIT VERBI DOGMATA PVRA SVI ANNO D(OMI)NI M[– – –] HORA VI MAN[E] [?]X DIE NOVEMBRIS On the left shield (B) ALB(ERTVS)

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 33

a)	Bistrița – Beszterce – Bistritz, Lutheran church
b)	*Bistrița – Beszterce – Bistritz, Lutheran church, in the floor of the choir*
c)	**Unknown** The funeral monument was decorated with a shield displaying a pair of shears, which refers to the profession of the subject.
d)	d. 1575
e)	_ x _ x _ cm
f)	Dahinten, Otto. *Geschichte der Stadt Bistritz in Siebenbürgen*, 261. Studia Transylvanica. Köln: Böhlau, 1988.
g)	Border inscription (A) [...]VINDEX[...] [...] HONEST [...] On the central panel (B) OBIIT 12 OCTOB(RIS) ANNO 157[5]

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2010© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 34

a)	Bistrița – Beszterce – Bistritz, Lutheran church
b)	*Bistrița – Beszterce – Bistritz, Lutheran church, in the choir, leaned against the wall*
c)	**Andreas Conradus (or Konradus)** The funeral monument was decorated with a shield displaying a pair of shears, which refers to the profession of the subject. The inscription says that he was a member of the town council in Bistrița for twenty years.
d)	d. 1623
e)	_ x _ x _ cm
f)	Dahinten, Otto. *Geschichte der Stadt Bistritz in Siebenbürgen*, 262. Studia Transylvanica. Köln: Böhlau, 1988.
g)	Border inscription (A) OBIIT NON OBIIT SENEX VENERAND(US) VIR AMPLISS(IMUS) PRUDENTISS(IMUS) ET CONSULTIS(SIMUS)[– – –] [– – –] [– – –]SENE MERENTISS(IMUS) A(NN)O. VIRGI(NIS)- MATR(IS) 1623 7 APR(ILIS) AETATIS SVAE A(NN)O 64 In the lower inscription panel (B) HAC TRISTI CUBAT A(N)DRE AS CONRAD(US) IN URNA PRAESIDIUM PATRIAE QUI FUIT ATQUE DECUS URBIS BISTRICIAE UNDE VIGINTI AN(N)OSQ(UE) SE(N)ATOR [– – –]DAT(US) REVERENS [– – –]PATERNA DEI [– – –]MES ET THE [– – – – – –] In the shield (C) A(NDREAS) K(ONRADUS)

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2010© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 35

a)	Bistrița – Beszterce – Bistritz, Lutheran church
b)	*Bistrița – Beszterce – Bistritz, Lutheran church, in the floor of the choir*
c)	**Unknown** The funeral monument was decorated with a chalice and a book, which suggests that the subject was a priest.
d)	Second half of the sixteenth century
e)	_ x _ x _ cm (probably fragment)
f)	–
g)	– (worn surface, not legible anymore)

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2010© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 36

a)	Bistrița – Beszterce – Bistritz, Lutheran church
b)	*Bistrița – Beszterce – Bistritz, Lutheran church, in the floor of the choir*
c)	**Unknown (Paulus [Paul] Seraphin?)** The funeral monument was decorated with a chalice and a book, which suggests that the subject was a priest. He might be identical with Paulus (Paul) Seraphin, whose studies in Wittenberg were documented in 1555. Paul was born in Bistriţa, where his father was rector and notary, then pastor. After his return from Wittenberg, Paul was also rector in the town, from 1561 preacher, then rector again in 1564-65. He served as pastor in Tărpiu (Szásztörpény, Treppen) from 1656, and he died in the plague in 1574. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 211. Fontes Rerum Scholasticarum. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992.
d)	d. 1574
e)	_ x _ x _ cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) - in two and three lines [- - -]N[- - -] [- - -]NVPER HONOR[- - -] [- - -]VS, H[- - -] [- - -]O[-]IS[-] DVO LVSTRA D(OMI)NE[- - -]STIS SEMINAV[- - -] [- - -]ELVC MEV[- - -] [- - -]NSE SOLVM 1574[1]

CEU eTD Collection

1 The text is not entirely legible partly because the surface is worn, and partly because furniture was placed on the gravestone.

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011© Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 37

a)	Bistrița – Beszterce – Bistritz, Lutheran church
b)	*Bistrița – Beszterce – Bistritz, Lutheran church, on the ground floor of the tower*
c)	**Thomas Kretschmer** A member of the town council in Bistriţa who, based on the inscription and coat of arms on the funeral monument, received nobility.
d)	d. 1585
e)	_ x _ x _ cm
f)	Dahinten, Otto. *Geschichte der Stadt Bistritz in Siebenbürgen*, 256-257. Studia Transylvanica. Köln: Böhlau, 1988. Gaiu, Corneliu, and Vasile Duda. *Biserica Evanghelica C.A. din Bistriţa / The Evangelical Church A.C. in Bistrița*, 49 Bistriţa: n.p., 2010.
g)	Border inscription (A) EO EXIT KRETSCHMERIANA DOMUS NOBILE STEMMA VIDES CLARUM PRAESTANTIBUS AUSIS SEQU(ENT)IBUS [1] On the central panel, under the shield (B) HUIUS ERAT JUSTIS MAJORUM LEGIBUS HAERES HAC THOMAS KRETSCHMER MEMBRA SEPULTUS HUMO A. D. 1585. XVI. De.[2]

CEU eTD Collection

1 I do not have my own transcription of the text. This is based on an erroneous transcription by Dahinten, *Geschichte der Stadt Bistritz*: EO EXIT KRETSCHMERIANA DOMINUS NOBILE STEMMA VIDES CLARUM PRAESTANTIBUS AUSIS SEQUIBUS

2 Based on an erroneous transcription by Dahinten, *Geschichte der Stadt Bistritz*: HUIUS ERAT JUSTIS MAJORUM LEGIBUS HAERE HAC THOMAS KRETSCHMER MEMBRA SEPULTUS HUMO A. D. 1585. XVI. De.

Cat. No. 38

a)	Bistrița – Beszterce – Bistritz, Lutheran church
b)	*Bistrița – Beszterce – Bistritz, Lutheran church, on the ground floor of the tower*
c)	**Andreas Amend** Based on the inscription, he was born in 1550; he was city captain in Bistriţa for 15 years, and member of the town council for 27 years. **Catharina Amend** Wife of Andreas Amend. She died in the same year based on the inscription of the funeral monument.
d)	d. 1622
e)	_ x _ x _ cm
f)	Dahinten, Otto. *Geschichte der Stadt Bistritz in Siebenbürgen*, 257. Studia Transylvanica. Köln: Böhlau, 1988. Gaiu, Corneliu, and Vasile Duda. *Biserica Evanghelica C.A. din Bistriţa / The Evangelical Church A.C. in Bistriţa*, 45, 49, fig. on 19. Bistriţa: n.p., 2010.
g)	Border inscription (A) SUB LAPIDE HOC QVIESCUNT MEMBRA PRUDEN(TIS) VIRI ANDREAE Umend[1] QVI ANNIS 15. CASTELLANI OFFICIO PERFUNCT(VS) DIGNITATEM SENATORIAM SINGULARI CU(M) DEXTERITATE TENUIT ANNIS XXVII, OBDORMIIT IN D(OMI)NO AN(NO) C(HRISTI) 1622 AETATIS SUAE 72 10 MAY ET UNICAE[2] CONJUGIS SUAE CATHARINAE EODEM ANNO DIE[3] AUGUST IN DOMINO DEFUNCTAE.[4]

CEU eTD Collection

1 Sic.
2 Dahinten, *Geschichte der Stadt Bistritz* erroneously read TUNICAE.
3 The day is missing
4 After Dahinten, *Geschichte der Stadt Bistritz*.

Source: Corneliu Gaiu and Vasile Duda, *Biserica Evanghelica C.A. din Bistriţa / The Evangelical Church A.C. in Bistriţa* (Bistriţa: n.p., 2010), 19.

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 39

a)	Bistrița – Beszterce – Bistritz, Lutheran church, Muzeul Județean Bistrița-Năsăud, Lapidary
b)	*Bistrița – Beszterce – Bistritz, in the floor of the nave*
c)	**Unknown** The funeral monument was decorated with a coat of arms displaying the emblem of the furriers' guild, which suggests that the subject was a furrier.
d)	First quarter of the seventeenth century
e)	88 x 170 x 25 cm
f)	Gaiu, Corneliu. *Lapidarium. Muzeul Bistriţa*, 86-87. Cluj Napoca: Avvent, 2010.
g)	Border inscription (A)[1] On the central panel (B)[2]

Source: Corneliu Gaiu, *Lapidarium. Muzeul Bistriţa* (Cluj Napoca: Avvent, 2010), 86.

1 The text is fragmentary. I did not have the chance to see the funeral monument, and the preserved part of the inscription is not legible on the available photographs.
2 The text is fragmentary. I did not have the chance to see the funeral monument, and the preserved part of the inscription is not legible on the available photographs.

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 40

a)	Bistrița – Beszterce – Bistritz, Muzeul Județean Bistrița-Năsăud, Lapdiary
b)	*Tărpiu – Szásztörpény – Treppen, Lutheran church, in the choir*
c)	**Johannes (Johann) Teutschius (Teutsch)** Based on the inscription, he served as pastor in Tărpiu for 22 years.
d)	d. 1595
e)	90 x 190 x 15 cm
f)	Gaiu, Corneliu. *Lapidarium. Muzeul Bistriţa*, 84-85. Cluj Napoca: Avvent, 2010
g)	Border inscription (A) TEVTSCHIVS HIC SITVS EST VITAE POST FATA IOHAN NES NESTORI OS DIGNVS VIVERE POSSE DIES On the central panel (B) IVNXERAT INGEN TOS[1] HARITES VIR TVTIBVS ARTES GERMANA VERAM CVM PIETATE FI DEM HAEC ITA DVM VICIES SOL ET BIS SIGNA PE RERPAT[2] SPARGIT IN HOC POPVLO F INIT IN HOC POP(VLO) OBIIT 17 AVGVS AN(N)O 1595

CEU eTD Collection

1 Sic, instead of INGENTES
2 Sic, instead of PERERRAT

Source: Corneliu Gaiu, *Lapidarium. Muzeul Bistriţa* (Cluj Napoca: Avvent, 2010), 84.

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 41

a)	Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church"), eastern wall on the ground floor of the northern tower
b)	*Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church")*
c)	**Hannes Türcken** d. 1596 **Constantinus Fabritius** He was a physician, and, based on the text, doctor of philosophy and medicine, coming from Gdańsk. He died in 1669. Stenner, Friedrich. *Die Beamten der Stadt Brassó (Kronstadt) von Anfang der Städtischen Verwaltung bis auf die Gegenwart*, 37. Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen. Brassó: Zeidner, 1916.
d)	d. 1596, 1669
e)	66 x 171 x ? cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) DER GEREC HTEN SEELEN[– – –] [G]OTTES HAND VND KEIN QVAL RVRE[...]AN SAPIEN: AM 3 In the upper part of the central panel (B) TV̀RCKEN HANNES DEN 13 IULII 1596 In the middle of the central panel (C) Constantinus Fa: britius Philosophiae & Medicin(ae) Doct(or) de Dantzig obiit A(nn)o 1669 Die 14 [– – –]

CEU eTD Collection

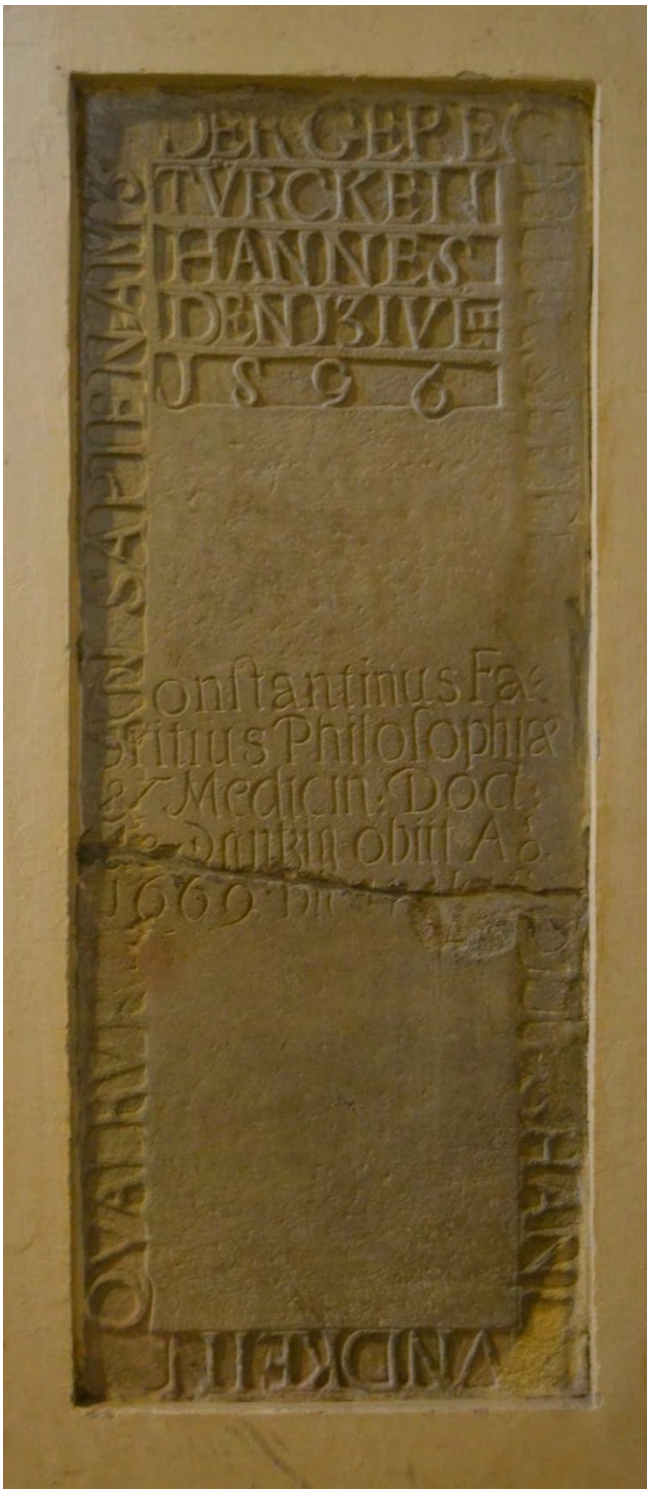

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession, Braşov

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 42

a)	Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church"), eastern wall on the ground floor of the northern tower
b)	*Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church")*
c)	**Gerg Schnell** The funeral monument was equipped with a tailors' emblem, so Gerg Schnell must have been a tailor who died in 1662. **Sara Schnell** Probably the wife of Gerg Schnell, who died in 1672 based on the inscription.
d)	d. 1662, 1672
e)	75 x 165 x ? cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) O GOTTES LAMB HERR JESV CHRIST, DEIN WER: DER TOD MEIN LEBEN IST In the upper part of the central panel (B) ANNO 1662 Die 5 APRIL(IS) STARB SEELIG GERG SCHNELL In the lower part of the central panel (C) DIE 12 SEPTE(M)B(RIS) STARB SEELIG SARA SCHNELL S(...) ANNO 1672

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 43

a)	Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church"), western wall on the ground floor of the northern tower
b)	*Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church")*
c)	**Marta Mankesch** She was the wife of Jacob Draudt, member of the town council (1633-41), delegate at the diet (1634). She died in 1631, ten years before her husband. Stenner, Friedrich. *Die Beamten der Stadt Brassó (Kronstadt) von Anfang der Städtischen Verwaltung bis auf die Gegenwart*, 32. Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen. Brassó: Zeidner, 1916. **Johann Hamarodner** d. 1660 **Johann Hamarodner Jr.** d. 1660 **Martha Draudin** Wife of Johann Hamarodner Jr., d. 1683
d)	d. 1631, 1660, 1683
e)	73 x 158 x ? cm
f)	–
g)	On the central panel (A) RVHET SEELIG IM HERREN DES HERR(N) IACOBI DRAVDT HAVSFRAV MARTA MANKESCHIN OBIT ANNO 1631 DEN 24 DECEMB(ER) MEHR RVHET hie Seelig Iohannes Hamarodner Obÿt An(n)o 1660 den 23 Novemb(er) Item ruhet hie Seelig Iohannes Hamaroedner Sohn Iohan(n) obyt Anno 1660 den 10 Novemb(er) 1683 den 21 Iuni starb sein Ehegemahl Mar

CEU eTD Collection

	tha Draudin seelig AE(TATIS) sue 60

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession, Braşov

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 44

a)	Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church"), western wall on the ground floor of the northern tower
b)	*Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church")*
c)	**Gerg Heltner** d. 1633 **Agnetha Heltnerin** Probably the wife of Gerg Heltner, d. 1647 **Gerg Heltner Jr.(?)** Probably the son of Gerg Heltner, d. 1673
d)	d. 1633, 1647, 1673
e)	58 x 179 x ? cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) ACH HERR ICH HAB M[EI]N LAVF VOLEND ICH BIT NIM MEIN SEEL IN DEIN HEND On the central panel (B) A(nn)o 1633 Starb Seelig GERG HELTNER Agnetha Helt: nerin 1647. A(nn)o 1673 Starb Seelig GERG HE[LTNER] GES[– – –]

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Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession, Braşov

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 45

a)	Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church"), western wall on the ground floor of the northern tower
b)	*Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church")*
c)	**Johann Mangkesch (Mankesch)** He was born in 1635. He was member of the town council, steward, deputy at the diet, then town judge from 1694 to 1699. He received nobility from Emperor Leopold in 1690. He died in 1699. His three sons died earlier than him; the funeral monument commemorates them as well indicating their place of burial. Stenner, Friedrich. *Die Beamten der Stadt Brassó (Kronstadt) von Anfang der Städtischen Verwaltung bis auf die Gegenwart*, 92-93. Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen. Brassó: Zeidner, 1916. **Johann Mangkesch Jr.** He died in 1690, and he was buried in Braşov according to the inscription. **Simon Mankesch** He died in 1680, and he was buried in Măieruş (Szászmagyarós, Nussbach) according to the inscription. **Marcus Mangkesch** He died in 1692, and he was buried in Leipzig according to the inscription.
d)	d. 1699
e)	70 x 180 x ? cm
f)	Gross, Julius. "Die Gräber in der Kronstädter Stadtpfarrkirche." *Jahrbuch des Burzenländer Sächsischen Museums* 1 (1925): 145-146. Gusbeth, Christoph. "Die Grabdenksteine in der Westhalle der evang. Stadtpfarrkirche in Kronstadt." *Sonderabdruck der wissenschaftlichen Beilage der Programms des evang. Gymnasiums A.B. zu Kronstadt und der damit verbundenen Lehranstalten am Schlusse des Schuljahres*, no. 1885/6 (1886), 17-18. Kühlbrandt, Ernst. *Die evangelische Stadtpfarrkirche A.B. in Kronstadt*, 68. Kronstadt: Kirchengemeinde - Druck Honterus, 1927. Sebestyén v. Keöpecz, Josef. "Die Wappendenkmäler der Ev. Stadtpfarrkirche A. B. in Kronstadt." *Jahrbuch des Burzenländer Sächsischen Museums* 1 (1925): 162-163.
g)	Around the coat of arms (A) INSIG(NIA) GEN(EROSI) AMP(LISSIMI) PRUD(ENTISSIMI) ET CIRC(UMPSPECTI) D(OMI)NI IOHANNIS MANNCKESCH REI P(UBLICAE) CORON(ENSIS) PER VI ANNOS IUDEX MERIT(ISSIMUS) OB(IT) A(nn)o 1699 24 NOV(EMBRIS) AET(ATIS) 64 MEN(SE) 8 DIE 4 On the band above the coat of arms (B) IN MANIBUS CHRISTI

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	On the inscription panel (C) Post tres amissos supremo funere NATOS Quorum diversis busta videnda locis: Iohannem MARCum majorem istoq(ue) Simonem Solus erat reliquus sed sine prole PArens Inde suum grati cives coluere Parentem Mankesiae exfremam[1] spem columenq(ue) dom(us) IOH(ANNES) A(nn)o 1690 COR(ONAE) SIM(ON) A(nn)o 1680 NUSb(achi) MAR(CUS) 1692 Lips(iae)

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession, Braşov

1 Sic, instead of extremam

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 46

a)	Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church"), northern wall on the ground floor of the northern tower
b)	*Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church")*
c)	**Johann Plecker** He studied in Braşov (1634) and in Königsberg (1638). After his return, he was school rector in Braşov (1646-48). Then he served as pastor in Râşnov (Barcarozsnyó, Rosenau), from where he was called to Braşov to take the pastor's office in 1654, but he died in the same year, before being confirmed. Gusbeth, Christoph. "Die Grabdenksteine in der Westhalle der evang. Stadtpfarrkirche in Kronstadt." *Sonderabdruck der wissenschaftlichen Beilage der Programms des evang. Gymnasiums A.B. zu Kronstadt und der damit verbundenen Lehranstalten am Schlusse des Schuljahres*, no. 1885/6 (1886), 20. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 111. Fontes Rerum Scholasticarum. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992. **Petrus Plecker** A relative, probably the father of Johann Plecker. He was a tailor who held the offices of senior councilor, steward, treasurer in the town. He was also the administrator of the hospital as well as the deputy of the town at the diet. He died in 1655. Stenner, Friedrich. *Die Beamten der Stadt Brassó (Kronstadt) von Anfang der Städtischen Verwaltung bis auf die Gegenwart*, 106. Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen. Brassó: Zeidner, 1916. **Michael Fronius** Born in 1675, he studied in Wittenberg, Vienna, and Leipzig. After his return to Braşov, he held various offices in the town: he was a member of the council, steward, and treasurer. His brother was the prominent pastor, Markus Fronius. He died in 1728. Gusbeth, Christoph. "Die Grabdenksteine in der Westhalle der evang. Stadtpfarrkirche in Kronstadt." *Sonderabdruck der wissenschaftlichen Beilage der Programms des evang. Gymnasiums A.B. zu Kronstadt und der damit verbundenen Lehranstalten am Schlusse des Schuljahres*, no. 1885/6 (1886), 19. Stenner, Friedrich. *Die Beamten der Stadt Brassó (Kronstadt) von Anfang der Städtischen Verwaltung bis auf die Gegenwart*, 45. Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen. Brassó: Zeidner, 1916. **Christoph Neidel** Born as son of the council member Paul Neidel and brother of a priest of named similarly, he studied in Jena and Halle. After his return, he was member of the town council, steward, treasurer in the town, deputy at the diet, and inspector of Bran (Törcsvár, Türzdorf). He died in 1742.

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	Gusbeth, Christoph. "Die Grabdenksteine in der Westhalle der evang. Stadtpfarrkirche in Kronstadt." *Sonderabdruck der wissenschaftlichen Beilage der Programms des evang. Gymnasiums A.B. zu Kronstadt und der damit verbundenen Lehranstalten am Schlusse des Schuljahres*, no. 1885/6 (1886), 20. Stenner, Friedrich. *Die Beamten der Stadt Brassó (Kronstadt) von Anfang der Städtischen Verwaltung bis auf die Gegenwart*, 97. Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen. Brassó: Zeidner, 1916.
d)	d. 1654, 1655 (1728, 1742)
e)	74 x 175 x ? cm
f)	Kühlbrandt, Ernst. *Die evangelische Stadtpfarrkirche A.B. in Kronstadt*. Kronstadt: Kirchengemeinde - Druck Honterus, 1927.
g)	Border inscription (A) BONUM CERTAMEN CERTAVI CURSUM CONSUMMAUI, FIDEM SER[UAUI I]N RELIC[QUO][1] REPOSITA EST MIHI CORONA IU[STITIAE QUAM REDDET MIHI DOMINUS] IN ILLA D[IE][2] DIE JUST(US) JUDEX: NON SOLU(M) MIHI, SED ET O(MN)IB(US) QVI EXPERVERINT[3] IPS(SIUS) ADVEN(TUM) Around the coat of arms (B) G(ENE)ROS(US) D(OMI)n(US) MICHAEL: FRONI(US) QUAESTOR NAT(US) An(no) 1675. DENATUS An(no) 1728. d(ie) 21 Aug(usti) Upper inscription plaque (C) Spectabilis ac Consult(issimus) D(omi)n(us) CHRISTOPHOR(us) NEIDEL Quaestor Coron(ensis) Obiit A(nn)o 1742 D(ie) 23 Jul(ii) Aet(atis) 53 Lower inscription plaque (D) Hoc Tumulo Reconditi sunt Honestiss(imi) Viri Reue ren(di) Vir D(omi)nus IOHANN PLECKER(US) Pastor Eccle(siae) Rosonensis Inde vero Co ronam ad Offitium Pas toratus 24 Aug(usti) Vocatus Nondum vero in illo Con firmatus Obiit 19. Oct(obris) Anno 1654.

1 Up to this point, the border inscription was re-carved in the eighteenth century, but keeping the original text, the same time when the commemorative inscription of Marcus Fronius was created around the coat of arms based on the script. From this point, the original seventeenth-century border inscription was kept.
2 The original seventeenth-century border inscription was preserved up to this point, and from here, it was re-carved in the eighteenth century. The word „die" is repeated in the eighteenth-century part of the carving.
3 Probably a misspelling of expectaverint.

CEU eTD Collection

	Anno Vero sequenti PA RENS ei(us)dem Ampliss(imus) Vir D(ominus) PETR(us) PLECKEr(us) Ampliss(imus) Senat(us) Coron(ensis) Senior. Obiit 8 May

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession, Braşov

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 47

a)	Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church"), northern wall on the ground floor of the northern tower
b)	*Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church")*
c)	**Andreas Bernhard** Based on the inscription, he died at the age of 23 in 1656. **Anna Bernerthin** Based on the inscription, she was the mother of Andreas Bernhard, and she died in the same year, 1656. **Georg Kezler** Based on the inscription, he died in 1659.
d)	d. 1656, 1659
e)	84 x 153 x ? cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) Musarum Cultor Saeva dum morte peremptus, ANDREAS BERNHARD, hic obiitq(ue) cubat. Quinquaginta et sex sexcentum, et mille Valerent, Dum anni, aetasq(ae) ejus tresq(ue) duoq(ue) deni On the central panel (B) Placide quiescit hic in D(omi)no ANDREAS BERNHARD qui in Flore juventutis A(nn)o 1656 aetatis suae 23 deserta hacce Lachrymarum valle feliciter[1] ie Martii obiit. Eodem A(nn)o 12 Septem(bris) ANNA BERNERTHIN Mater ejus postquam periculosissime decubuisset tranquille obdormivit in D(omi)no GEORG KEZLER verstorb se lig A(nn)o 1659 Die 10 April

1 c miscarved as an e

CEU eTD Collection

	On the two sides of the coat of arms (C) A(ndreas) B(ernhard)

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession, Braşov

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 48

a)	Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church"), northern wall on the ground floor of the northern tower
b)	*Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church")*
c)	**Simon Schobel** He was notary, secretary, and member of the town council. He died in 1686 at the age of 28. **Unknown** Based on the text, he died in 1691.
d)	d. 1686, 1691
e)	82 x 172 x ? cm
f)	–
g)	On the central panel (A) A(nn)o 1691. 3 JAN(VARII) [-]ATIS CESSIT F[...] LION[.]S S[.....] N ANNOR[...] [...] Around the coat of arms (B) G(ENEROSUS) AC CIRCVMSP(ECTUS) D(omi)n(u)s SIMON SCHOBEL NOT(ARIUS) PUB(LICUS) CIVIT(ATIS) COR(ONAE) A(nn)o 1686 D(IE) 20 APR(ILIS) OBIIT AET(ATIS) 28 Men(sis) 4

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Cat. No. 49

a)	Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church"), western wall on the ground floor of the southern tower
b)	*Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church")*
c)	**Catharina Augustin** Based on the inscription, she was the wife of a former pastor in Prejmer (Prázsmár, Tartlau). She died in 1655. **Pitter Theillesch** **Pitter Honigschberger** He was a tailor and member of the town council in 1658-59. Based on the inscription, he died in 1659 at the age of 47. Stenner, Friedrich. *Die Beamten der Stadt Brassó (Kronstadt) von Anfang der Städtischen Verwaltung bis auf die Gegenwart*, 71. Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen. Brassó: Zeidner, 1916. **Rosa Tellieschin** Based on the inscription, she died in 1672, at the age of 52.
d)	d. 1655, 1659, 1672
e)	61 x 174 x ? cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) [– – –]DIS IST MEIN TROST, CHRISTU[S] HAT MICH ERLOST, NUN WIRD [MI]R GOTH GEBEN DAS EWIG LEBEN On the central panel (B) Ruhet im H(erren) CA THARINA AUG STIN. Gewessne PFARRERIN ZU Thortlen Ob(it) A(nn)o 1655 Die 11 Sept(embris) PITTEr THEILLESCH. Anno 1659 den 9 Decemb(er) ist im H(erren) seelig verschiedn der F. W. W. Herr

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	PITTER HONI: GSCHBERGER Bah[...] [s]eines alters 47 OBIIT IN D(omi)no ROSA TELLI: ESCHIN A(N)NO 1672 APR(ILIS) 11 AETAT(IS) 52

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession, Braşov

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 50

a)	Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church"), northern wall on the ground floor of the southern tower
b)	*Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church")*
c)	**Anna Bartesch** Daughter of Piter Bartesch, goldsmith, member of the town council, steward, deputy at the diet, who died in 1672. Based on the inscription, Anna died at an early age in 1660. Stenner, Friedrich. *Die Beamten der Stadt Brassó (Kronstadt) von Anfang der Städtischen Verwaltung bis auf die Gegenwart*, 7. Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen. Brassó: Zeidner, 1916. **Jacobus (Jacob) Schobel** Member of the town council in 1673. Based on the inscription, he died in 1689 at the age of 64. Stenner, Friedrich. *Die Beamten der Stadt Brassó (Kronstadt) von Anfang der Städtischen Verwaltung bis auf die Gegenwart*, 130. Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen. Brassó: Zeidner, 1916. **Catharina Schobeliana (Schobel)** Probably the wife of Jacob Schobel, died in 1690.
d)	d. 1660, 1689, 1690
e)	75 x 173 x ? cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) IN FRIDEN SEIN MIR G[E]FAHREN HINN DER ZEIT LICH TOD IST V[.]ER GWINN On the central panel (B) ANNA Bartesch Piter, Töchterl(ein) Starb D(en) 21. Oct(ober) 1660. IACOB(US) SCHO BEL beate obiit Anno 1689 Die 20 Febr(uarii) AET(ATIS) 64 A(nn)o 1690 die 13 Junii

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	[...] CA[THARI]NA SCHOBELIA[NA]

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession, Braşov

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 51

a)	Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church"), northern wall on the ground floor of the southern tower
b)	*Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church")*
c)	**Iohannes (Johann) Raab** Based on the inscription, he died in 1693, at the age of 55. **Iohannes (Johann) Raab** Son of Johann Raab; he died in 1702, at the age of 8.
d)	d. 1693 (1702)
e)	64 x 64 x ? cm (fragment)
f)	–
g)	On the central panel (A) A(nn)o 1693 DIE 8 MARTI[I] PLACIDE IN D(OMI)NO HIC QUIESCIT D(OMI)N(US) IOHAN [NES] RAAB ANNOR(UM) 55 A(NN)O 1702 D(IE) 17 NOV(EMBRIS) OBIIT IOHAN(N)ES D(OMI)NI IO HAN(N)IS RAAB IUNI(OR) FILI US AN(N)OR(UM) 8 MEN(SIS/SIUM) [– – – – – –]

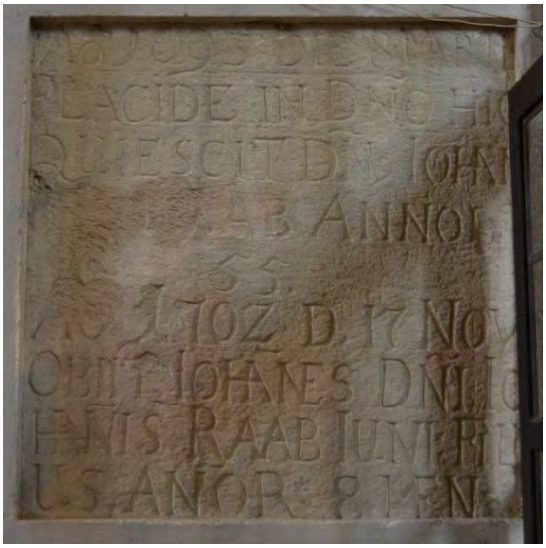

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession, Braşov

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 52

a)	Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church"), northern wall on the ground floor of the southern tower
b)	*Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church")*
c)	**Iustina Romer** Daughter of Lucas Romer, who died in 1697 at the age of 1 year 7 months and 6 days. **Rosina Romer** A relative, probably sister of Iustina, who died in 1714, aged 4 years and 9 months.
d)	d. 1697 (1714)
e)	74 x 75 x ? cm (fragment)
f)	–
g)	On the central panel (A) In DOMINO placide sub hoc Tumulo quiescit IUSTINA Filiola unica LUCAE ROMER quae An(n)o 1697 D(ie) 5. Ian(uarii) pie in CHRISTO obdormiit Nata Ann(i) 1 Mens(ium) 7 Die 6. Sequitur A(nn)o 1714 Die 22 Oc(tobris) ROSINA Aetat(is) IV. Mens(ium) IX.

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession, Braşov

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 53

a)	Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church"), northern wall on the ground floor of the southern tower
b)	*Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church")*
c)	**Elisabeth Einschenk** Daughter of Michael Einschenk; based on the inscription, she died in 1695 at the age of 16. **Michael Einschenk** Based on the inscription, he died in 1707, at the age of 66.
d)	d. 1695 (1707)
e)	66 x 79 x ? cm (fragment)
f)	–
g)	On the central panel (A) HIER RVHET IM H(ERREN) ELISABETH MICHAELIS EINSCHENK EHELEIB LICHE TOCHTER AET(ATIS) 16 JAHR REST 10 VOCHEN A(nn)o 1695 DEN 11 Sept(ember) HIER RUHET IM H(ERRE)N. MIOHAEL[1] EINSHENCK Aet(atis) 66 A(nn)[o] 1707 [.]IOM [– – – – – –]

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession, Braşov

1 Sic, instead of MICHAEL

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 54

a)	Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church"), southern wall on the ground floor of the southern tower
b)	*Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church")*
c)	**Sara Tuchmacher** Wife of Georgius Blasius (Blasen) Tuchmacher; based on the inscription, she died in 1669. **Blasen (Blasius) Görg (Georgius) Tuchmacher** Based on the inscription, he died in 1670. His name means cloth maker, and the emblem of the same profession is on the stone. **Blasius Görg Tuchmacher Jr.** Son of Sara and Blasen Görg Tuchmacher. Based on the inscription, he died at the age of 38.
d)	d. 1669, 1670
e)	83 x 187 x ? cm
f)	–
g)	On the central panel (A) IM JAHR 1669 D(en) 6. SEPT(EMBER) IST IM H(ERRN) SEELIG ENTSCHLA FEN SARA GEORGII BLASII TVCHMACHERS EHEGEMAHL. IM IAHR 1670. DEN 6. JANV(AR) IST IM HERRN SELIG VERSCHIEDEN DER EHRNVESTE HERR [BLA]SEN GÖRG TVCH MACHER ITEM IM IAHR [1]6[...] DEN 9 NOVEMB(RIS) IST IM HERRN [SE] LIG VERSCHIEDEN DER EHRNVESTE HERR BLASEN GÖRG JUNIOR TVCHMACHMER AETA(TIS) 38

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Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession, Braşov

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 55

a)	Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church (“Black Church”), southern wall on the ground floor of the southern tower
b)	*Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church (“Black Church”)*
c)	**Martha Sadler** Wife of Hans Sadler. The inscription says that she died in 1633. **Hans Sadler** The inscription says that he died in 1641. **Martha Sadler** Daughter of Martha and Hans Sadler; the inscription says that she died in 1642, probably at an early age. **Petrus Gagesch** Based on the inscription, he was pastor in Râșnov (Barcarozsnyó, Rosenau), and died in Rotbav (Szászveresmart, Rotbach) in 1660.
d)	d. 1633, 1641, 1642, 1660
e)	67 x 182 x ? cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) ICH WEIS VND GLAVB DAS IESVS CHRIST MEIN HEIL VND MEI[N] ERLOSER IST On the central panel (B) RVHET IM H(ERRN) MARTHA HA(N)S SADLERS EHE: GEMAHL AN(N)O 1633 D(IE/EN)[1] 8 AVG(VST/I) ITEM HANS SADLER D(IE/EN)[2] 16 JULY 1641. VND SEINE TÖCHTERLEI(N)

1 Depending on whether the abbreviation is resolved in Latin or in German
2 Depending on whether the abbreviation is resolved in Latin or in German

CEU eTD Collection

	MARTHA D(IE/EN)[1] 2 IANVARII. 1642 Rev(erendus) D(omi)n(us) Pe: trus Gagesch Roson(ensis) Pastor Rothbac Ob(it) A(nn)o 1660 d(ie) 8 Dec(em)b(ris)

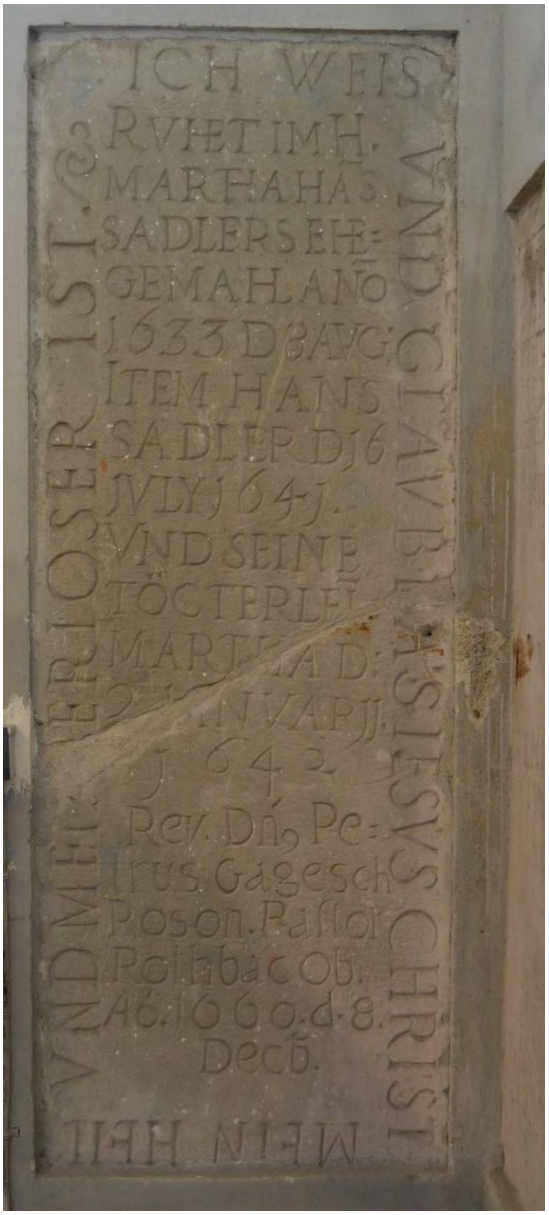

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession, Braşov

1 Depending on whether the abbreviation is resolved in Latin or in German

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 56

a)	Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church (“Black Church”), western wall on the ground floor of the southern tower
b)	*Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church (“Black Church”)*
c)	**Georgius (Georg) Ihem Senior** Based on the inscription, he died in 1659 at the age of 80. **Martha Filstichin** Based on the inscription, she was the wife of Geor Ihem Senior, and she died in 1660, aged 74. **Johannes (Johann) Klein** Based on the inscription, he was the rector of the school, and he died in 1685, aged 49. **Anna Henrich** Based on the inscription, she was the widow of Johann Klein, and she died in 1691, at the age of 35.
d)	d. 1659, 1660, 1685, 1691
e)	87 x 182 x ? cm
f)	–
g)	On the central panel (A) HIE RUHET IM H(ERRN) GEOR GIUS IHEM DER ELTERE VERSTORB SEELIG IM Ia(hr) 1659. DEN 20. FEBR(UAR) SEINES ALTERS 80. IAHR Abermal ruhet im H(errn) Sein Ehegemal Martha Filstichin. [ver]chieden den 20 [– – –] [1]660 Aetat(is) 74 ITEM D(OMI)N(US) JOHAN(N)ES [K]LEIN RECTOR [– – –]N(...) SCH(OLAE) DEFVNC(TUS) [– – –] [16]85. DIE 28 OCT. Aet(atis) 49 A(nn)o 1691 DIE 16 DECE(M)B(RIS) PIE [O]BDORM(IT) MORIB(US) CO(N)DECOR(AT) A AN(N)A HENRICHI q(uo)n(dam) D(OMINI) IOH [A]N(NI) KLEIN RELICTA VIDUA AET(ATIS) 35.

CEU eTD Collection

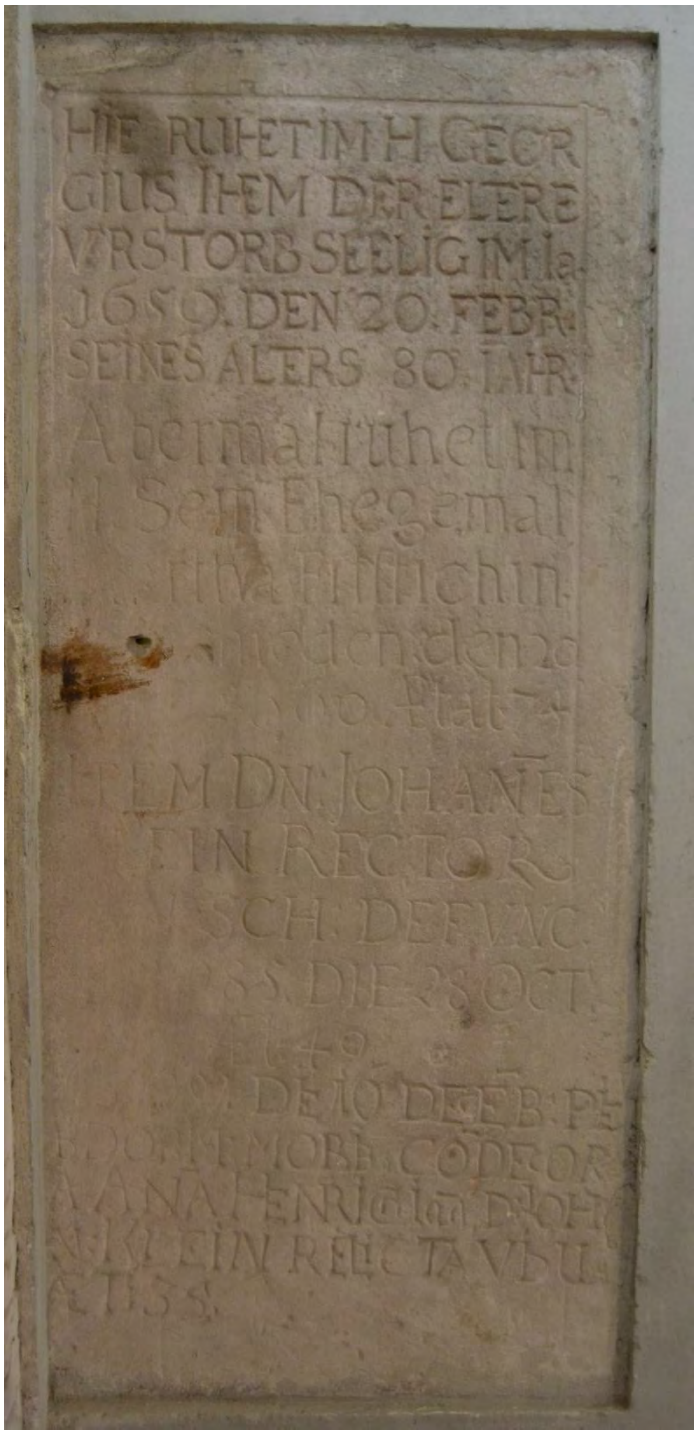

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession, Braşov

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 57

a)	Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church"), western wall on the ground floor of the southern tower
b)	*Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church")*
c)	**Valentinus (Valentin) Igel Jr.** Based on the inscription, he died in 1679, aged 6 years 8 months.
d)	d. 1679
e)	82 x 45 x ? cm (fragment?)
f)	–
g)	On the central panel (A) OBIIT VALENTINUS IGEL IU NIOR ANNO 1679 DIE 20 IULII AN(N)ORU(M) 6 MENSIUM 8

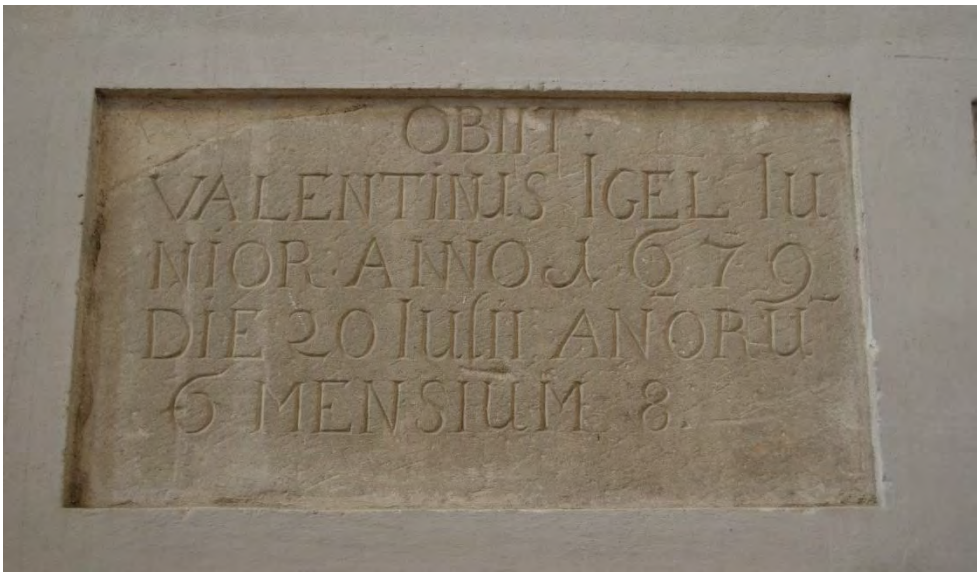

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession, Braşov

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 58

a)	Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church"), western wall on the ground floor of the southern tower
b)	*Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church")*
c)	**Johannes (Johann) Bleim** Died in 1646. **Martha Bleim** The eldest daughter of Johann Bleim; she died in 1657.
d)	d. 1646, 1657
e)	71 x 99 x ? cm (fragment)
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) QVOD MO: RIOR MEA CVLPA [– – –] [– – – – – –] [– – –]NEAMQ(ue) FACIT. On the central panel (B) JOHAN(N)ES BLEIM MORITVR ANNO 1646. 5. APR(ILIS) ITE(M) OBŸT MARTHA DIE ELTESTE TOC HTER An(n)o 16: 57 DI(E) 26. FEB(RUARII)

CEU eTD Collection

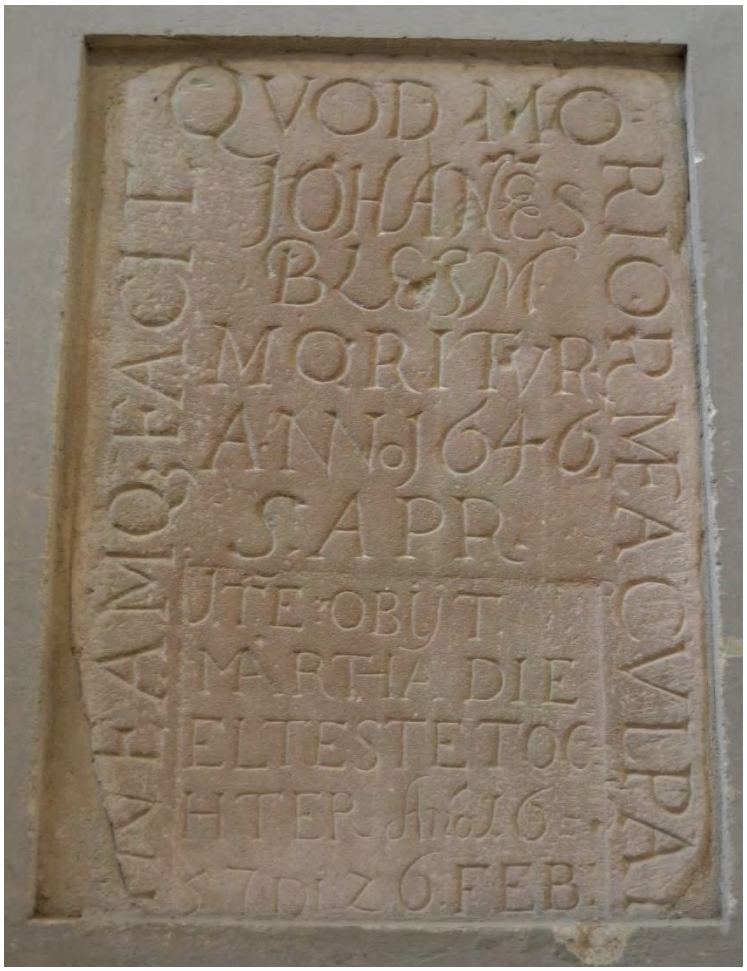

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession, Braşov

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 59

a)	Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church"), western wall on the ground floor of the southern tower
b)	*Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church")*
c)	**Unknown**
d)	1691
e)	75 x 30 x ? cm (fragment?)
f)	–
g)	On the central panel AN(N)O 1691 DIE 20 OCTOB(RIS) HAB ICH PAL BAN FI DAS GRAB GELOST.

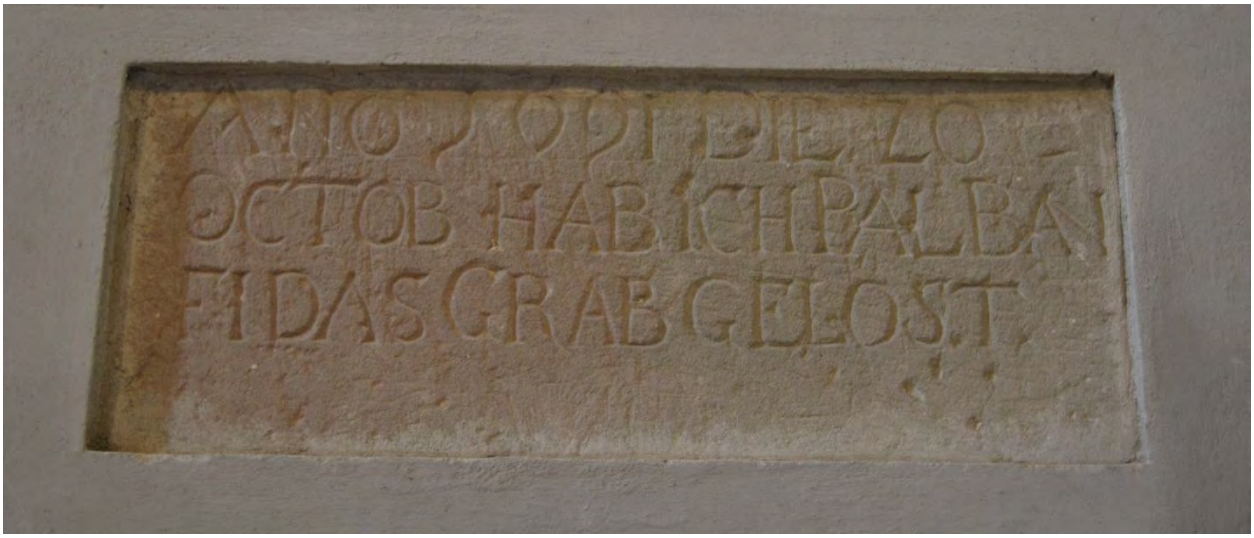

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession, Braşov

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 60

a)	Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church"), northern wall on the ground floor of the southern tower
b)	*Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church")*
c)	**Unknown** They re-used an earlier funeral monument as the memorial of the Filstich family, of which only fragments of the border inscription survived. The original subject is unknown, but he/she died before 1674, the earliest date on the stone. **Rosa Filstich** Wife of Martinus Filstich Jr.; she died in 1674, aged 47. **Martinus Filstich Jr.** He died in 1677, aged 57. He was a shearer based on the professional symbol depicted on the funeral monument. **Stephanus Filstich** Probably the son of Martha and Martinus Filstich; he died in 1697, aged 44.
d)	d. before 1674, 1674, 1677, 1697
e)	56 x 188 x ? cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) [...]RESSERN TROST [AV]F ERDEN DEN[...] On the central panel (B) HIER [...] [...]IN DER [...]S[..]P MART [INV]S ROSA PETRII 1674 D(IE) 18 OCTO(BRIS) 5 [...]DT MART FILST ICH EHEGEMAL RO SA EURES ALTER 47 OBIIT CIRCVMSP(VS). MART(INUS) FILSTICH JU: NI(OR) A(NN)O 1677 DIE 20 JU NII AETAT(IS) 57 OBIIT A(NN)o 1697 DIE 9

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	FEBR(UARII) STEPHANUS FIELLSTICH Aetat(is) 44

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession, Braşov

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 61

a)	Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church"), western wall on the ground floor of the southern tower
b)	*Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church")*
c)	**Martha, wife of Gerg Ihm Jr**. Died in 1647. **Martin Boemces** He was member of the town council and grain inspector. He died in 1756, at the age of 72. Stenner, Friedrich. *Die Beamten der Stadt Brassó (Kronstadt) von Anfang der Städtischen Verwaltung bis auf die Gegenwart*, 16. Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen. Brassó: Zeidner, 1916.
d)	d. 1647 (1756)
e)	_ x _ x ? cm (fragment)
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) ICH WEIS VND GLAV[B] [– – –] [– – – – – –] [– – –]SER IST On the central panel (B) 1647. RVHET IM H(ERRN) MARTHA DES EHRBAR(EN) H(ERR) GERG IHM DES JVNGER [– – – – – –] On the central panel (C) HIER RUHET IM HERREn H(ERR) MARTIN BOEMCES AET(ATIS) 72 ANNO 1756. D(IE) 21 JULIUS

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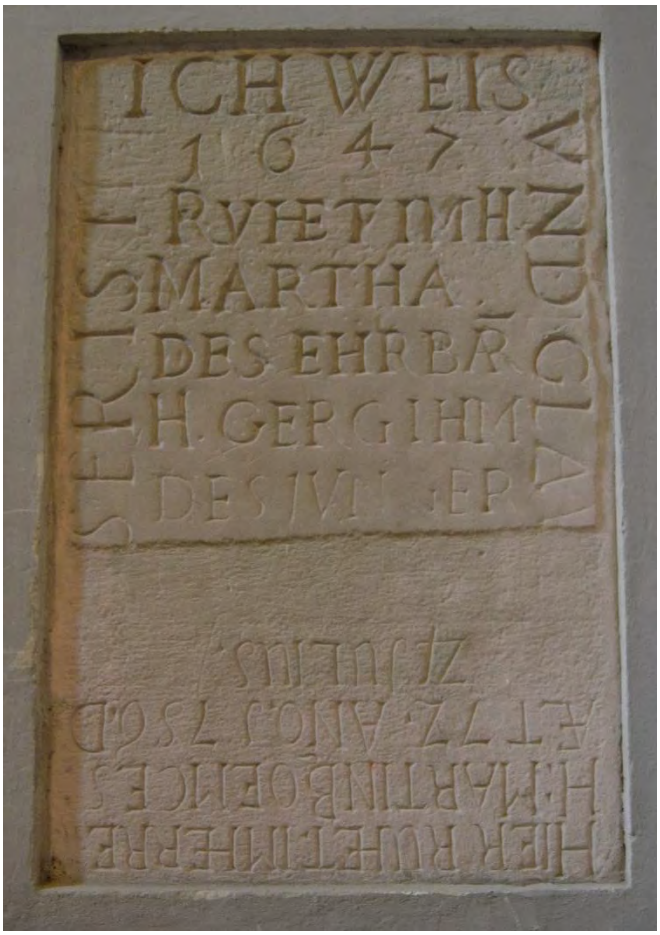

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession, Braşov

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 62

a)	Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran cemetery, built into the western wing of the wall surrounding the cemetery, at the burial site of the Schnell family
b)	*Braşov – Brassó – Kronstadt, Lutheran church ("Black Church"), in the choir*
c)	**Georg Chrestels** Member of the town council, steward (1664-65), town judge (from 1666). Stenner, Friedrich. *Die Beamten der Stadt Brassó (Kronstadt) von Anfang der Städtischen Verwaltung bis auf die Gegenwart*, 16. Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen. Brassó: Zeidner, 1916. Bielz, Julius. "Porträtkatalog der Siebenbürger Sachsen"[In. *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 49 (1936-38): 14.
d)	d. 1672
e)	84 x 158 x ? cm (fragment)
f)	Gross, Julius. "Die Gräber in der Kronstädter Stadtpfarrkirche." *Jahrbuch des Burzenländer Sächsischen Museums* 1 (1925): 147. Kühlbrandt, Ernst. *Die evangelische Stadtpfarrkirche A.B. in Kronstadt*, vol. 2., 66-67. Kronstadt: Kirchengemeinde - Druck Honterus, 1927. Popica, Radu, Iulia Mesea, Gernot Nussbächer, Silvia Popa, and Alexandru Gh. Sonoc. *Portretele Patriciatului Săsesc din Braşov. Un capitol de Artă Transilvăneă. Bildnisse sächsischer Patrizier aus Kronstadt. Ein Kapitel siebenbürgischer Kunst*, 4, 88. Braşov: Editura Muzeului de Artă Braşov, 2013.
g)	On a plaque under the book in his hand (?) (A) Ampl(issimus) atque Consult(issimus) D(omi)n(us) Georgius Chrestels Jud(ex) Coron(ensis) An(norum) 60 D(ierum) II. An(no) 1672.[1]

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1 The inscription is lost to-date. Source: Kühlbrandt, *Die evangelische Stadtpfarrkirche*, 66-67.

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession, Braşov

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 63

a)	Brateiu – Baráthely – Pretai, Lutheran church, in the sacristy, leant against the southern wall
b)	*Brateiu – Baráthely – Pretai, Lutheran church*
c)	**Ioannes (Johann) Hermann** He originated from Sânpetru (Petersburg, Barcaszentpéter), where he was a schoolteacher in 1558. He received his education in Braşov, Cluj, and Wittenberg (1563), and served as pastor in Sânpetru from 1564; later in Bratei, as attested by the inscription of the funeral monument. Csepregi, Zoltán. *Magyarországon megfordult lelkészjelöltek életrajzi adatai a wittenbergi ordinációs anyakönyvekből 1540-1610 (Kézirat)* [Data on pastor candidates staying in Hungary in the ordinance matriculae of Wittenberg, 1540-1610. Manuscript], 11. Budapest, 2014. https://www.academia.edu/10177483/Magyarorsz%C3%A1gon_megfordult_lelk%C3%A9szjel%C3%B6ltek_%C3%A9letrajzi_adatai_a_wittenbergi_ordin%C3%A1ci%C3%B3s_anyak%C3%B6nyvekb%C5%91l_1540-1610_ (accessed June 14, 2017) **Ioannes (Johann)** Secondary subject of the funeral monument; also pastor in Bratei according to the inscription, who died in 1667, at the age of 47.
d)	d. 1592, 1667
e)	79 x 162 x 25 cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) SCIO QVIA REDE MPTOR MEVS VIVIT ET IN NOVISSIMO DI[E] [– – –] [– – –] [– – –]ME: IOB CAP(ITVLVM) XIX: Upper tabula ansata (B) R(EVERENDO) QVQNDAM D(OMINO) IO ANNI HERMANNO PASTORI ECCLESIAE PARAFIENS(IS) HAER EDES POSVERVNT Lower tabula ansata (C) OBIT [ANN]O DO MINI. M.DXCII. DIE XXI MAI.

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	Lower inscription plaque (D) IOHANNES [– S– –] NDI ATQVE PRA[– – –]NI PAST(OR) ECCLE[SIAE] [– – –] ANNO MDCLXVII DIE[– – –]A.HA VERO OB [– – –]NA9 P[– – –]BI[– – –]NOVS A[– – –] PR[–] VIR[– – –]OR[– – –]HU[IC] ECCL(ESI)AE AN(N)O 69 DIE 9 MART(I) AETAT(IS) SVAE 47

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

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Cat. No. 64

a)	Bucharest, National Museum of Romanian History
b)	*Cetatea de Baltă – Küküllővár – Kokelburg, Calvinist church*
c)	**Sophia (Zsófia) Patochi (Patócsi)** Wife of Georgius (György) Bebek. She was born in 1533 as daughter of Francis (Ferenc) Bebek of Eperjes. Ferenc was főispán (comes) of Békés and Zaránd Counties. He took Queen Isabelle's side against Ferdinand of Habsburg, he was appointed as the Queen's councilor, so the family lost their estates in the Hungarian Kingdom. Zsófia's husband, György Bebek also ended up in Transylvania after shifting from the side of Ferdinand to that of Isabelle. In 1556, he was expelled from the Kingdom, but later he returned to Ferdinand's camp. In 1562, he was taken as a captive to Constantinople, from where John Sigismund was able to free him, so Bebek changed side again and was appointed as the general of John Sigismund's armies. While he was in Transylvania, in 1566 the Habsburg forces attacked his estates in the Kingdom where Zsófia Patócsi was also staying that time. Zsófia organized and lead the military defence of the fort of Szádvár, but finally she had to give it up in January 1567. She left for Transylvania; her husband died still in the same year. Zsófia passed away in 1583, aged 50 as the tomb inscription says. They had no sons, just daughters; the funeral monument was set up by Zsófia's son-in-law, Stephanus (István) Báthori of Somlyó. Zsófia was documented to have been a devoted patron of Calvinist Bible translations. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 1, 261-261, vol. 8, 155. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1857, 1862. Nagy, Iván. "Patócsi Zsófia (Történeti vázlat)" [Zsófia Patócsi. Historical overview]. *Losonczi Phőnix* 3 (1852): 110-113.
d)	d. 1583
e)	90 x 74 x 182 cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 319-320, 52, 221, 327, 340, 349, 360, and figs 272-274. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Białostocki, Jan. *The Art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe: Hungary, Bohemia, Poland*, 50, fig. 155. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1976. Bod, Péter. *Hungarus tymbaules, seu grata ac benedicti Hungarorum quorundam principum, heroum, magnatum toga et sago, domi militiaeque insignium, virorum eruditione ac prudentia clarorum, feminarum honestatis fama, ac pietatis studio illustrium ex epitaphiis renovata memoria quam ex cineribus excitavit*, 64. Nagyenyed [Aiud]: Kiss ny., 1764, 1766. Bunta, Magdolna. "A küküllővári lelet" [Tha find from Küküllővár / Cetatea de Baltă]. *Ars Hungarica*, no. 1 (1977): 237. Éber, László. "Erdélyi szobrászati emlékek" [Sculptural monuments in Transylvania]. *Művészet* 8 (1909): 183. Emődi, Tamás. "A Telegdi család és a reneszánsz művészet néhány emléke a 16. századi Bihar és Bereg vármegyékben" [The Telegdy family and some Renaissance monuments in

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	Bereg and Bihor counties in the sixteenth century]. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 47, no. 3-4 (1998): 182. Mihály, Melinda. "Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület középkori és kora újkori kőtára" [The medieval and early modern lapidary of the Transylvanian Museum Association]. In *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület Gyűjteményei* [The collections of the Transylvanian Museum Association], edited by Gábor Sipos, 164. Cluj-Napoca: Societatea Muzeului Ardelean, 2009. ———. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History], 28, 45, 58-59, 66, 128-129. PhD thesis, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013. Szádeczky, Lajos. "Küküllővári sírleletek és falképek" [Grave finds and murals from Küküllővár / Cetatea de Baltă]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 14, no. 4 (1897): 288.
g)	On the upper short side panel (A) GEN[ER]OSAE ET MAG[NI]FICAE DO[MI]NAE SO PHIAE PATHOCI DE EPERIES FRANCIS CI FILIAE SP(ECTABI)LIS MAG(NIFI)CI Q(VON)DAM GEOR GII BEBEK DE PELSOCH CO(N)SORTI STEPHANVS BATHORI DE SOMLIO PER[PE]TVVS COMES COMITATVS CRAZNA SOCRVI PIENTISSIME PERPETVI AMORIS ATQ(VE) OBSERVANCIAE MONVMENTVM POSVIT OBIT ANNO AETATIS L PRIMA DIE SEPT(EM)BRIS ANNO CHRISTI M D LXXXIII

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Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Bucharest, National Museum of Romanian History

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Cat. No. 65

a)	Bucharest, National Museum of Romanian History
b)	*Cluj-Mănăștur – Kolozsmonostor – Abtsdorf, Roman Catholic Church of Our Lady (former Benedictian monastic church), in the floor, in front of the altar*
c)	**Georgius (György) Napoly (Nápolyi) of Felőr** Son of Péter Nápolyi and Margit Petky; his father was secretary of Simion Movilă, Prince of Wallachia. He received he estate of Uriu (Felőr, Er) in Transylvania from Prince Zsigmond Rákóczi in 1607 and started to name himself after that. In 1630, his son, György was mentioned as the owner of the estate. Based ont he inscription of the funeral monument, György died in 1642 aged 32. His widow, Katalin Kún of Monostorszeg was mentioned in 1651 and 1655; in 1651 also their son, István Nápolyi. Kádár, József. *Szolnok-Dobokavármegye monographiája* [A monograph of Szolnok-Doboka County], vol. 4, 135, vol. 5, 343. Dés: Szolnok-Dobokavármegye közönsége, 1900-1901.
d)	d. 1642
e)	83 x 200 x 24 cm
f)	Eszterházy, János. "A kolozsmonostori apátság és egyházi maradványainak leírása" [Description of the abbey and church in Cluj-Mănăștur]. *Archaeologiai Közlemények* (1868): 89-107. Mihály, Melinda. "Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület középkori és kora újkori kőtára" [The medieval and early modern lapidary of the Transylvanian Museum Association]. In *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület Gyűjteményei* [The collections of the Transylvanian Museum Association], edited by Gábor Sipos, 142. Cluj-Napoca: Societatea Muzeului Ardelean, 2009. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History], 58-59, 66, 122, 330-331. PhD thesis, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On the central panel (A) S[PE]M PATRIE GENEROSAM IN GEN(EROSO) D(OMI)NO GEORGIO NAPOLY DE FELÖR MORS PRESCIDIT ET HIC MORITVR OBVSTVS ANNO AETATIS 32 CHRISTI SALVATORIS 1642 QVEM PIA CONIVNX HOC VENERATA MONVMENTO

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	In the emblem (B) IOVA O(PTIMVS) M(AXIMVS)

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Bucharest, National Museum of Romanian History

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Cat. No. 66

a)	Budapest, Hungarian National Museum
b)	*Mălâncrav – Almakerék – Malmkrog, Apafi burial chapel*
c)	**Georgius (György) Apaffi (Apafi) of Apanagyfalva** Father of Mihály Apafi, Prince of Transylvania. Born in 1588 or 1589, he was the eldest son of Miklós Apafi and Margit Orbay. The earliest sources mentioning him date from 1616, when he took part in the military campaign of Prince Gábor Bethlen at Lipova (Lippa). In 1619, he was sent as a legate to the Czech estates by the Prince. He held the office of the *főispán* (comes) of Küküllő County from 1621 or 1622 as it was customary in the Apafi family. He was a confidential of the Prince; when the latter realized his fatal illness, he sent Apafi to the Ottoman Porte to gain the support of the Sultan for keeping some crucial elements in his political legacy. After his return to Transylvania, Apafi served in the court of the new rulers, as the councilor first of Catherine of Brandenburg, then of Prince István Bethlen, finally of György Rákóczi I. Under the latter, he was also a judge of the Princely Court of Justice. He died after a lengthy illness in 1635. "Bethlen Gábor levele Bethlenfalvi Thurzó Imréhez (1619. szept. 23.) " [A letter by Gábor Bethlen to Imre Thurzó of Bethlenfalva]. In *Bethlen Gábor fejedelem kiadatlan politikai levelei*, edited by Sándor Szilágyi, 135. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvkiadó Hivatala, 1879. Bíró, Vencel. *Erdély követei a Portán* [Transylvanian envoys at the Ottoman Porte], 122. Cluj: Minerva Irodalmi és Nyomdai Műintézet Részvénytársaság, 1921. Lázár, Miklós. *Erdély főispánjai (1540-1711). Külön lenyomat a Századok 1887—1889-ki folyamaiból* [County heads in Transylvania, 1540-1711. Offprint from the Századok periodical], 245. Budapest: Az Atheneum R. Társ. Könyvnyomdája, 1889. Mérai, Dóra. "Apafi György síremléke" [The funeral monument of György Apafi]. *Credo* 11, no. 1-2 (2005): 3-26. Szilády, Áron, and Sándor Szilágyi. *Török-magyarkori állam-okmánytár* [State archives from the Ottoma Turkish Period in Hungary], vol. 2, 127–137, 144-146. Török-magyarkori történelmi emlékek IV. Pest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történelmi Bizottsága, 1869. Trócsányi, Zsolt. *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690* [The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690], 22. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980. Veress, Andrei. *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei şi Ţării Româneşti, vol. 9: Acte şi scrisori (1614-1636)* [Documents on the history of Transylvania, Moldova, and the Romanian Principalities. Acts and letters], 296-297. Bucharest: Imprimeria Naţională, 1937. **Barbara (Borbála) Petki** Wife of György Apafi, daughter of Chancellor János Petki and Kata Kornis. She gave birth to twelve children, three of whom died as infants (each represented on the tomb chest). As a widow since 1635, Borbála Petki frequently stayed in the court of Zsuzsanna Lorántffy, wife of Prince Gábor Bethlen, and she accompanied her on her travels as well. In 1641, she set up a funeral monument for her mother who had died in 1637 (see **Cat. No. 135**). In 1645, they shared the family estates with their children, and Borbála received a manor house in Gănești (Gálfalva,

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	Gallendorf) where she spent her last decades. Based on the inscription of the funeral monument, she died in 1660, aged 62. Horn, Ildikó. "Lorántffy Kata" [Kata Lorántffy]. In *Erdély és Patak fejedelemasszonya. Lorántffy Zsuzsanna* [Zsuzsanna Lorántffy Princess of Transylvania and Patak], edited by Edit Tamás, 75. Sárospatak: Sárospataki Rákóczi Múzeum, 2000. Jankovics, József, ed. *Bethlen Miklós levelei (1699–1716)* [Letters by Miklós Bethlen, 1699–1716], vol. 2, 1116, 1118-1119. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 1, 50. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1857. **Gregorius (Gergely) Apaffi (Apafi) of Apanagyfalva** Eldest son of György Apafi and Borbála Petki, born in 1618. The inscription says that, similarly to the sons of most aristocrats, he was staying in the court of the Prince as *cubicularius*, and received good education. He died in 1637, at the age of 19. **Franciscus (Ferenc) Apafi** Son of György Apafi and Borbála Petki; died at the age of two and a half years, before 1635. **Nicolaus (Miklós) Apafi** Son of György Apafi and Borbála Petki; died at the age of one and a half years, before 1635. **Infant** Son of György Apafi and Borbála Petki, who probably died as newborn, since he did not even receive a name.
d)	After 1637, finished in 1662 (d. 1635, 1637, 1661)
e)	207 x 127 x 339cm
f)	Aggházy, Mária. *A barokk szobrászat Magyarországon* [Baroque sculpture in Hungary], vol. 1, 18-20, 249-250. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1959. Anonym. "Jegyzések A Nemes Felső Fejér Vármegyei Almakeréki Néhai 1633-ban megholt Apafi György kő Kápolnájáról és Monimentumáról" [Notes on the stone chapel and monument of György Apafi from Almakerék in Felső Fejér County who died in 1633]. *Nemzeti Társalkodó*, no. 2/7-8 (1832): 106-112, 121-139. Boner, Charles. *Transylvania; its Products and its People*, 357-359. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1865. Éber, László. "Apaffi György síremléke" [The funeral monument of György Apaffi]. *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 22 (1902): 97-113. Kovács, András. "Apafi György almakereki sírkápolnájáról" [The burial chapel of György Apafi in Malîncrav]. *Református Szemle* 96 (2003): 625-634. Kovács, András. *Késő reneszánsz építészet Erdélyben 1541–1720* [Late Renaissance architecture in Transylvania, 1541-1700], 16. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2003. Mérai, Dóra. "Apafi György síremléke" [The funeral monument of György Apafi]. *Credo* 11, no. 1-2 (2005): 3-26. Mérai, Dóra. "Funeral Monuments from the Transylvanian Principality in the Face of the Reformation". *New Europe College Yearbook* (2012-2013): 201-237.

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g)	Border inscription of the top (A) MAGNIFICUS DOMINUS, DOMINUS GEORGIUS APAFFI DE APANAGYFALVA, CELSISSIMO TRANSYLVANIAE PRINCIPI AB INTIMIS CONSILIIS, IDEMQUE COMES COMITATUS DE KÜKÜLLÖ MERITISSIMUS, ET ASSESSO R TABULAE IUDICIARIAE LAUDATISSIMUS: POSTQUAM INVICTA CHRISTIANI PECTORIS PATIENTIA PERTINACEM CAPITIS DOLOREM TOLERASSET; ANIMAM SUAM PIE JUXTA ET HILARITER DEO CREATORI AC REDEMTORI SUO REDDIDIT, ANNO CHRISTI M.D.C.XXXV. AETATIS SUAE XLVII. A(NNO) D(OMINI) FEBRUARII VIII. INTER TERTIAM ET QUARTAM HORAM MATUTINAM: MORTALITATE SUA NON LONGE POST HIC DEPOSITA. On the cornice above the head of the figure (B) D(EO) O(PTIMO) M(AXIMO) S(UPREMO) On the right scroll on the top (C) HIOB 14. HOMO NATUS DE MULIERE BREVI VIVENS TEMPORE REPLETUR MULTIS MISERIIS QUI QUASI FLOS EGREDITUR ET CONTENITUR ET FUGIT VELUT UMBRA On the left scroll on the top (D) [SIRAK: OMNIS ENIM] CARO [SICUT FOENUM VETE]RASC[ET] PERPE[TUUM HOC FOEDUS E]ST QUOD MORIEN[SIS] On the grape wine on the top (E) [HOD]IE MIHI CRAS TIBI Inscription plaque on the short side, at the feet of the figure (F) Sculpsit ELIAS NICOLAI Cibinium manens. Upper short side (G) Commendare solent alios quae singula, Apaffi, In te certatim cuncta videre licet. Stirps antiqua tibi, generoso pactus honesto Excoctum, conjux turturis instar amans: Natorum series, series et avita bonorum, Legati gravitas, consilii integritas: Ingenuus vultus, mores gravitate nitentes, Inque DEum pietas, inque homines probitas. Haec tibi,dum vixti, divino munere vidit

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	Zolius ipse, data: Hic vidit et hocce datum, Corde quod in fracto superasti praelia morbi, Et contemsisti spicula mortis ovans. O felix animi! Tribuit miseratio Iovae Vivere cui sancte, cui placideque mori. Border inscription, upper short side (H) Ezechiel XXXVII: v 12. ECCE EGO APERIAM TUMULO[S V]ESTROS ET EDUCAM VOS DE SEPULCHRIS VESTRIS POPULUS MEUS, ET IN[DUCAM] VOS IN TERRAM ISRAEL: v 13. ET SCIETIS QUIA EGO DOMINUS, CUM APERERO SEPULCHRA VESTRA ET DUXERO VOS DE TUMULIS VESTRIS POPULE MEUS, ET DEDERO SPIRITUM MEUM IN VOBIS ET VIXERITIS, ET REQUIESCERE VOS FACIAM SUPER HUMUM VESTRAM Lower short side (I) Semestris bimusque cito, FRANCISCUS, av[it]a[e] Libertatis amans regna suprema peto. [Ann]um cum medio certanti aeterna triumphi [N]ICOLAO aeterni laurea plexa mihi est. In[nocua] Apafidum trias heic cubat. Impare cursu, At genere illustri, et sorte favente pares. Carceris obscuri MEDIUS, divina. Motaeque Impatiens jam jam natus ad astra redit. Right long side, border inscription (J) GENEROSA DOMINA, DOMINA: BARBARA PETKI MAGNIFICI DOMINI, DOMINI: JOHANNIS PETKI CONSILIARII CANCELLARI AC SEDIS SICULICALIS VDVARHELI CAPITANEI, NEC NON COMITI COMITATUS DOBOCEN[SI]S QVONDAM TRANSILVANIAE CONSULTISSIMI FILIA, MARITO EHEU DESIDERATISSIMO, FILIO[QUE] SVAVISSIMO SUPERSTES: HOC MONUMENTUM HONORIS ET AMORIS ERGO FIERI FECIT; AFFECTUM SUUM CONIUGALEM ET MATERNU[M SE]RIO TESTATA HOC DECASTICH[O] Right long side, left panel (K) Ecce corona mei capitis jacet una maritus, Signaclum mortis filius ecce jacet His ego moesta qvidem, fidei sed plena, dicavi Hunc tumulum; condat qve simul ossa mea: Si qvando visum fuerit tibi, jova redemtor, Ut te parte fruar nobiliore mei. Sic erit ut tumulo nos tres claudamur eodem; Sic erit ut thalamus nos teneatqve poli. Interea viduae mihi sis, Plus alme, maritus, Interea natis sis pater ipse meis. Right long side, right panel (L) Conjunx Apafii modico sub marmore GEORGI Clara soloqve polo Barbara Petki jacet. Vis vitam? pietas: casum? sub Principe clades Rakocio natos tres simul hostis habet.

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	Maximus emoritur, modico alter tempore liber. Principis at minimo Dacia sceptra parat. Nati absunt gemebunda migrat; fiducia; nato Designat media in morte futura bona. Princeps Apafius Michael Celsissimus Heros Apposuit Matri, quam pius ipse piae. Denata Anno Domini 1660 Aetatis suae 62. Left long side, border inscription (M) GENEROSUS DOMINUS GREGORIUS APAFFI DE APANAGYFALVA, ILLUSTRISSIMI TRANSILVANIAE PRINCIPIS CUBICULARIUS PRIMAE CERAE, PLACIDISSIME OBIIT ALBAE IULIAE ANNO CHRISTIANO M.D.C.XXXVII. AETATIS XIX A(NNO) D(OMINI) JULII XVIII CORPORE AD OPTIMI PARENTIS CINERES HONORIFICENTISSIME TRANSLATO. Left long side, central plaque (N) lle ego qui sacris Musarum operatus, et almae Qui semper colui relligiones opes: In medius aulae qui vixi fluctibus insons, Principis observans, officiique memor: Et qui matris eram spes unica, firma columna Atque domus patriae: desubito ecce cado. Ecce cado nondum numerans tria lustra: sed ecce Quod negat aula soli, pensat id ara poli. On the corners under the figures (O) Caritas Fides

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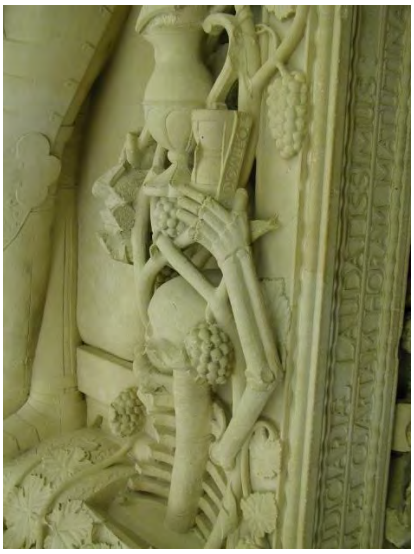

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2006. © Hungarian National Museum

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a)	Călugăreni – Mikháza, the crypt under the Franciscan church, in the wall of the corridor
b)	*Călugăreni– Mikháza, Franciscan church*
c)	**Balthasar (Boldizsár) Wesselényi of Gyeke** He was born in 1589 as son of Gáspár Wesselényi and Margit Cseffey of Pálos. He was *főispán* (head) of Doboka County from 1615, and the main tithe arendator of the Principality of Transylvania between 1634 and 1646. He married Anna Bánffy of Losoncz, widow of Benedek Mindszenthi, before 1613. His daughter, Catharina (Katalin), wife of Franciscus (Ferenc) Kornis of Ruszka was the patron of the memorial according to the inscription. Wesselényi was reported ill in 1645 and he died in 1646, aged 57. Lázár, Miklós. *Erdély főispánjai (1540-1711). Külön lenyomat a Századok 1887—1889-ki folyamaiból* [County heads in Transylvania, 1540-1711. Offprint from the Századok periodical], 145. Budapest: Az Atheneum R. Társ. Könyvnyomdája, 1889. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 12, 159. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1857-1868. Trócsányi, Zsolt. *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690* [The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690], 325. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980.
d)	d. 1647
e)	94 x 231 x 25 cm
f)	Doroftei, Doina Paula. *Inscripţii în limba latină din bisericile României, din perioada 1290-1850, cu privire specială asupra bisericilor maghiare din Tra*nsilvania [Latin inscriptions in churches in Romania in the period between 1290-1850, with special focus on the Hungarian churches in Transylvania], 37-39. Bucharest: Editura Muzeului Naţional al Literaturii Române, 2013. Emődi, Tamás. "A mikházai kolostortemplom helyreállítása" [The reconstruction of the Franciscan cloister church in Călugăreni]. *Műemlékvédelem* 51, no. 6 (2007): 385-392.
g)	On the central panel (A) GENER(OSI) DO(MI)NI BALTHASARI VESELEN[I] DE GYEKE PRI(N)CIPALIVM IN TRANSILVANIA[E] DECIMARVM SVPREMI ARENDATORIS COMITIS COMITATVS DOBOCENSIS ANNO 1646. DIE 4. MARTY AETATIS 57 PIE IN DOMINO SOPITI PARENTIS CINERES FILIA CATHARINA SPECT(ABILIS) AC MAGN(IFICI) D(OMINI) FRANCISCI K[OR]N[IS] CONIVNX CHAR[ISSI]MA HOC LAPIDE C[VRAVIT] VT LAPIS HIC NATAE VIV[– – –] QVOD VELIT IN IESV

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	Above the coat of arms (B) B(ALTHASAR) V(ESELENI)

Photo: Dóra Mérai 2012

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a)	Călugăreni – Mikháza – Franciscan church, in the floor in front of the southern side altar
b)	*Călugăreni– Mikháza, Franciscan church*
c)	**Christina (Krisztina) Harinnai (Farkas of Harinna)** Krisztina Harinnai was born in 1606 as daughter of János Farkas of Harinna and Anna Perusith. Her first husband was Ferenc Balási of Szentdemeter, master of the horses of the Prince. After his death, she married Matthias (Mátyás) Huszár of Brenhida in 1636. Mátyás Huszár was master of the table from 1630, royal judge of Maros Seat from 1635, then, from 1642, chief captain of the seat. From 1638, he was *főispán* (comes) of Küküllő County and assessor of the Princely Court of Justice. Later he also became councilor of the prince. In 1646, he married the second time, Éva Barcsai. He died in 1652. He had two daughters with Krisztina Harinnai, Borbála and Margit. Margit was the wife of Mihály Tholdalagi, who founded the Franciscan monastery in Călugăreni. Kelemen, Lajos. "A brenhidai Huszár-familiának eredete és ágazatja" [The origin and branches of the Huszár of Brenhida family]. *Genealógiai Füzetek* 5 (1907): 8-9. Köblös, Zoltán. "Brenhidai Huszár Mátyás temetési meghívója" [Invitation for the funeral ceremony of Mátyás Huszár of Brenhida]. *Genealógiai Füzetek* 2 (1904): 128. Lázár, Miklós. *Erdély főispánjai (1540-1711). Külön lenyomat a Századok 1887—1889-ki folyamaiból* [County heads in Transylvania, 1540-1711. Offprint from the Századok periodical], 85-86. Budapest: Az Atheneum R. Társ. Könyvnyomdája, 1889. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 5, 53-54, 208. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1857-1868. Szabó, András Péter. "Haller Gábor – egy 17. századi arisztokrata életpályája." [The career of Gábor Haller, a Transylvanian aristocrat in the seventeenth century] PhD Thesis, 96-97. Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2008. Trócsányi, Zsolt. *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690* [The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690], 28, 360, 393-394. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980.
d)	d. 1640
e)	94 x 215 x ? cm
f)	Doroftei, Doina Paula. *Inscripţii în limba latină din bisericile României, din perioada 1290-1850, cu privire specială asupra bisericilor maghiare din Transilvania* [Latin inscriptions in churches in Romania in the period between 1290-1850, with special focus on the Hungarian churches in Transylvania], 33-36. Bucharest: Editura Muzeului Naţional al Literaturii Române, 2013. Emődi, Tamás. "A mikházai kolostortemplom helyreállítása" [The reconstruction of the Franciscan cloister church in Călugăreni]. *Műemlékvédelem* 51, no. 6 (2007): 385-392.
g)	Border inscription (A) GENEROSA D(OMI)NA CHRISTINA HARINNAI CONSORS CHARISSI(M)A GENEROSI D(OMI)NI MATTHIAE HVSZAR DE BRENHIDA, SVPREMI CO(MI)TIS CO(MI)T(A)TVS DE KV̈KO LLŐ, AC ILLVSTRISS(IMI) PRI(N)CIPIS TRAN(SILVA)NIAE ETC STABVLI PRAEFECTI SEDISQ(VE) IVD(ICIA)RIAE IVRATI ASSESSORIS ET SEDIS SIC(VLIC)ALIS MARVS SVPREMI IVDICIS REGY, OBYT

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	A(NNO) D(OMINI) 1640 DIE 1 MARTY AETATIS SVAE 34 On the back of the lion (B) AVITA INSIGNIA POS TERITATI RELICTA

Photo: Dóra Mérai 2012

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 69

a)	Căluşeri – Székelykál, courtyard of the Roman Catholic church
b)	*Căluşeri – Székelykál – Unitarian church*
c)	**János Kun** The Kun of Kál family was of Székely origins; they appeared in the sources in the mid-sixteenth century. János Kun was 75 when he had his own funeral monument made in 1647, so he was born in 1572. In 1615, he married Zsófia Bercsényi (see **Cat. No. 70**). They had three daughters: Borbála, Zsuzsanna, and Magdolna. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 6, 510. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1860. Orbán, Balázs. *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból*. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/165.html (accessed 24 August 2017).
d)	1647
e)	70 x 180 x 26 cm
f)	Orbán, Balázs. *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból*. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/165.html (accessed 24 August 2017).
g)	Border inscription (A) [– – –]N KVN IANOS NEKEM AZ ISTEN AZ NYOMORVLT VENSEG ET MEG ADTA ERN EM HETVEN OT ESTENDOT ELTOLTOEM T[– – –] On the central panel (B) NEM SOKARA EL HOZA HATAM TESTEMET TEMETETNI REGI MEG HOLT NEMZETIM ES GERMEKIM KOZIBE AZ KAL TEMPLOMBA MARADEKIMNAK EMLEKEZETIRE CINALTATAM EZ KOPOR SO KOVET ANO 1647. ATKOZOT LEGEN AZ KI TETEMVNKET KIHANIA.

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 70

a)	Căluşeri – Székelykál, courtyard of the Roman Catholic church
b)	*Căluşeri – Székelykál – Unitarian church*
c)	**Zsófia Bercsényi** In 1615, she married János Kun (see **Cat. No. 69**). They had three daughters: Borbála, Zsuzsanna, and Magdolna. Orbán, Balázs. *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból*. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/165.html (accessed 24 August 2017).
d)	d. after 1615
e)	84 x 126 x 21 cm (fragmentary)
f)	Orbán, Balázs. *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból*. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/165.html (accessed 24 August 2017).
g)	On the central panel (A) KIKET IDVEZ[ITO] VRVNK MEG VALTO CHRISTVSV[NK] [– – –]EG[...]OROK[...] [– – –]GO ORISD NE[..]AD LA[– – –]D[– – –] ELET S TE FE AD IS BIZ[– – –] BEN[..]ENT ATTIANK D[– – –]ER VNK AZT [– – –]A[– – –]DEKT AZN[– – –]SAGBAN In the wreath, around the coat of arms (B) BERCHENI SOFIA On the frame of the heraldic field (C) [– – –]ST DIE MARCI 20

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Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 71

a)	Căpușu Mic – Magyarkiskapus, Calvinist church, in the northern wall of the choir
b)	*Căpușu Mic – Magyarkiskapus, Calvinist church*
c)	**Ioannes (János) Gierofi (Gyerőfi) of Kiskapus** He was born in 1558 as son of Pál Gyerőfi, from one of the oldest families in Transylvania. He was mentioned as *főispán* (head) of Kolozs County from 1600. In 1603, he was head of the Princely Court of Justice. He supported the claim of Mózes Székely for the throne. He kept his position as *főispán* also under the subsequent princes, and Gábor Báthory sent him as legate to the pasha of Buda in 1612. Under the rule of Prince Gábor Bethlen, he became his councilor, and captain of Gherla in 1615. He married twice, first Fruzsina Kabos, then Elisabeth (Erzsébet) Bornemisza, who appears in the inscription of the memorial. He had two children, István and Erzsébet. Based on the inscription, he died in 1619, aged 61. His widow, Erzsébet, married Henrik Lisbone. Lázár, Miklós. *Erdély főispánjai (1540-1711). Külön lenyomat a Századok 1887—1889-ki folyamaiból* [County heads in Transylvania, 1540-1711. Offprint from the Századok periodical], 36-37. Budapest: Az Atheneum R. Társ. Könyvnyomdája, 1889. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 4, 466-467. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1853.
d)	d. 1619
e)	90 x 188 x ? cm
f)	Herepei, János. *A kalotaszegi templomok, cintermek és temetők régi sírkövei* [Old gravestones in the churches, churchyards and graveyards in the Kalotaszeg region], 67. Kolozsvár: Művelődés, 2001. Kelemen, Lajos. "Kalotaszeg történelmi és műemlékei" [Historical and art historical monuments in Kalotaszeg]. In *Művészettörténeti tanulmányok* [Studies in art history], 210-211. Bucharest: Kriterion, 1977.
g)	Border inscription (A) GENEROSO D(OMI)NO IOANNI GIEROFI DE KIS KAPVS SE[– – –]NO [.]VX VARIEN(SIS)[1] CA PITAN(EV)S O NECNON COMES CO(MITAT)VS CO LOSIEN(SIS) QVI ET ANTEA INTER PLVRIMA DVLCISSIMAE SVAE PA[TRI]AE [E]XHIBITA OFFICIA On the central panel (B) LEGATI [– – –] DAB[– – –]O[– – –] REGNIC[O]LARV[M][– – –]V[– – –] PRAESEDIT[– – –] RE IPS[– – –]AE[– – –][MI]

1 He was captain of Gherla, so this should be a form of the Hungarian name, Szamosújvár.

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	LITIAE QVI[– – –][SE] MPER OPERAM NAVA[– – –] PARTE[1] RAC PR[– – –]PIB[– – –]C[.]AI PERPETVVM SVI DESID[ERI]I M[ONVME]N(TVM) POSTERIS RELIQVIT DIE XI DECEMB(RIS) AN(N)O D(OMI)NI MDCXIX AET(AT)IS SVAE LXI ELISABETHA BORNEMIZA MO[E]STA Under the upper border (C) D(EO) M(AXIMO) S(VPREMO)

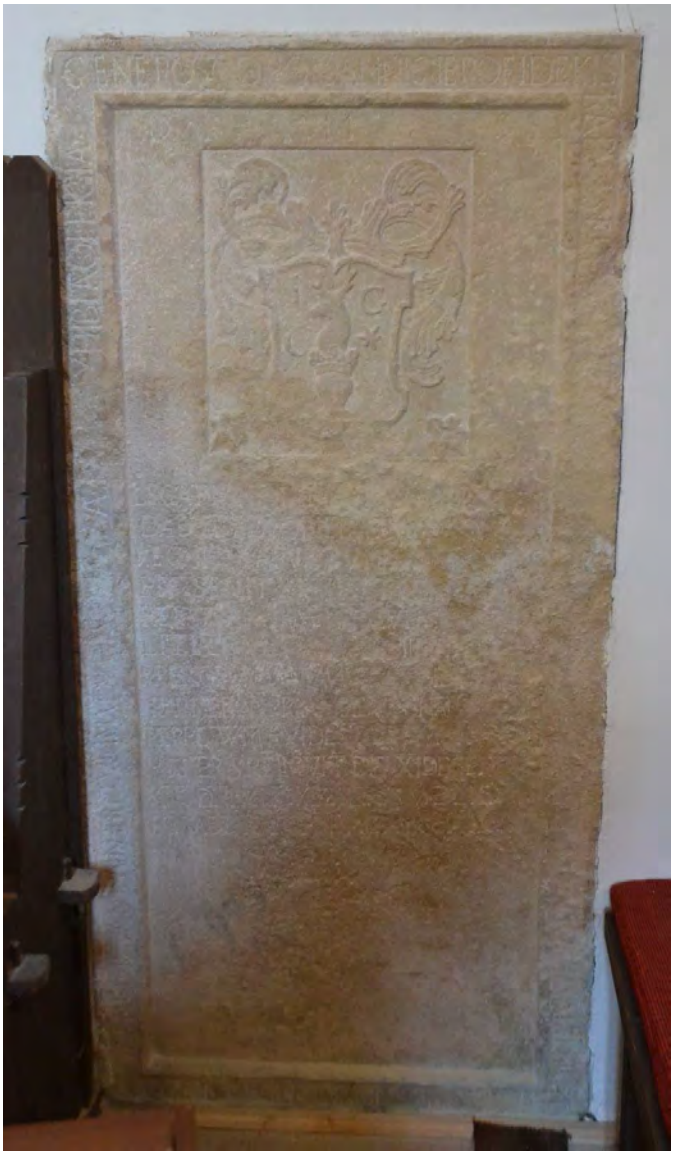

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012

1 or PATRIE

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 72

a)	Căpușu Mic – Magyarkiskapus, Calvinist church, in the northern wall of the choir
b)	*Căpușu Mic – Magyarkiskapus, Calvinist church*
c)	**Iohannes (János) Gieroefi (Gyerőfi)** Son of Gáspár Gyerőfi and Erzsébet Mikola (see **Cat. No. 142**), both from ancient Transylvanian families. He was mentioned as treasurer of Transylvania between 1575 and 1583, as well as főispán (head) of Kolozs County in 1575. In the 1570s, he was sent as legate to the pasha of Buda by István Báthory. He was again treasurer in 1598-99. In 1601-2, he was staying in Bistiţa, already being ill. His wife, Anna Radvánczi was mentioned as widow in 1606, so he died before that date. The date 1613 was read on the funeral monument before, but based on the previous infromation, it could only be 1603. A son of his called János has been known in the genealogy, and a second son died probably as a child according to the funeral monument. **Sigismundus (Zsigmond) Gieroefi (Gyerőfi)** He was the son of János Gyerőfi according to the inscription, though no son called Zsigmond appears in the known genealogy. He presumably died at an early age. Lázár, Miklós. *Erdély főispánjai (1540-1711). Külön lenyomat a Századok 1887—1889-ki folyamaiból* [County heads in Transylvania, 1540-1711. Offprint from the Századok periodical], 30-31. Budapest: Az Atheneum R. Társ. Könyvnyomdája, 1889. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 4, 466-467. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1853.
d)	d. 1603
e)	87 x 173 x 24 cm
f)	Herepei, János. *A kalotaszegi templomok, cintermek és temetők régi sírkövei* [Old gravestones in the churches, churchyards and graveyards in the Kalotaszeg region], 67. Kolozsvár: Művelődés, 2001. Kelemen, Lajos. "Kalotaszeg történelmi és műemlékei" [Historical and art historical monuments in Kalotaszeg]. In *Művészettörténeti tanulmányok* [Studies in art history], 210-211. Bucharest: Kriterion, 1977.
g)	Border inscription (A) GENEROSI AC NOBILISSIMI D(OMINI) IOHANNIS GIEROEFII ET FILII SIGISMVNDI QVORVM ILLE 6 IVLII HIC – – – On the central panel (B) [– – –]ESOLA M[..]PI FERVORE CRVVENTV(M?) [– – –]APIAE LIMINA CVNCTA TENET [– – –]TRIS GEROEFHI NECNON [– – –] STIRPI [– – –][H]IC OPES [– – –]NE TENERE PVTAT [– – –]VER A[–]M[– – –]S MEDEATVR ACERBIS

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	[– – –] [L]VSTRA NOVENA FERAT [– – –]N[–]I[–] S[–] EST [– – –] REBVS I(N) ANNIS [– – –]VITA(E?) LANGVI DA MEMBRA I(N) NECE [– – –]T INCI[–]EFES [–]CCT[.] PO[..]ERSVS [– – –]VIVAT NOBILIORE SVI [– – –]ICTA FIL[–]SCO M[–]ACA VIRTVS [– – –]MEN[–]AMA PERENNIS ERIT [– – –]IVM SED RELIGIONIS AMICA [– – –]XQ(VE) MONVMENTA VIDES [– – –] POSVIT [– – –]OR AR[–]VLLA [– – –] P[– – –]TA OPE

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 73

a)	Cernat – Alsócsernáton, Calvinist church, in the northern wall, next to the pulpit stairs
b)	*Cernat – Alsócsernáton, Calvinist church*
c)	**Thomas (Tamás) and Dominicus (Domokos) Damokos** The Damokos family was a wealthy Székely family named "of Csernáton" after their estate in Cernat. The inscription says that the two brothers were killed near Mărcuşa (Kézdimárkosfalva) in 1600 for the command of Giorgio Basta, General of Rudolf of Habsburg, Emperor and King of Hungary, following his victory over Michael the Brave, Prince of Wallachia, who was supported by most of the Székely nobles. According to Iván Nagy, one of the brothers was royal judge of Kézdi Seat. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 3, 358. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1858.
d)	d. 1600
e)	61 x 184 x 14 cm
f)	Bod, Péter. *Hungarus tymbaules, seu grata ac benedicti Hungarorum quorundam principum, heroum, magnatum toga et sago, domi militiaeque insignium, virorum eruditione ac prudentia clarorum, feminarum honestatis fama, ac pietatis studio illustrium ex epitaphiis renovata memoria quam ex cineribus exc*itavit, 71. Nagyenyed [Aiud]: Kiss ny., 1764. Deák, Ferenc Loránd. *Temetkezési és halottas szokások Csernátonban és környékén* [Funerary and mortuary customs in Cernat and around], 195. Csíkszereda [Miercurea Ciuc]: Pallas Akadémia, 2009. Orbán, Balázs. *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból*. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/128.html (accessed 09.06.2017)
g)	Border inscription (A) EPITAPHIVM G(ENEROSI) D(OMINI) THOMAE AC DOMINICI DAMOKOS QVI BONA SPE IN NOMINE [...] QVIEVERVNT[1] 26 SEPTEMB(RIS)[2] 1600 On the central panel (B) HI[3] FVERANT CERTE PRAECLARO STEMMATE NA[TI] ORNARANTQVE SUOS NOBILITATE R[_]PES IVSTICIAE SEMPER CVLTORES ATQVE TOT ANNIS[4] LEGIS CVSTODES TVRRIS ITEM PATRIAE

1 Restored as QVIEVLPVNI
2 Restored as SEPTKMB
3 Restored as HIF
4 Distorted by the restoration, it can be reconstructed like this

CEU eTD Collection

	KEZDIACAE SEDIS PRAESES IVGV[LARE/I] [...][1] MARKOSFALVINI CENSVIT ILLE GE[...][2] On the edge of the border (C) RENOVATVM 1700

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011

1 Distorted by the restoration
2 Distorted by the restoration

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 74

a)	Cincu – Nagysink – Gross-Schenk, Lutheran church, in the southern wall of the choir
b)	*Cincu – Nagysink – Gross-Schenk, Lutheran church*
c)	**Paulus (Paul) Whonner** Lutheran pastor in Cincu. He died in 1639, aged 63, after thirty-six years of service.
d)	d. 1639
e)	89 x 196 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. "The Iconography of Petrus Martyr Vermilius and Crypto-Calvinist Influences in the Funeral Eulogy of Johannes Hutter (1638)". *Brukenthal. Acta Musei* 8, no. 2 (2013): 206. Albu, Ioan. "VIXI DUM VOLUI. An Unknown Work of the Sculptor Elias Nicolai - The Funerary Plate of Pastor Thomas Bordannus (+1633)". *Brukenthal. Acta Musei* 7, no. 2 (2012): 256-267 and fig. 6. Gündisch, Gustav. "Der Hermannstädter Bildhauer und Steinmetz Elias Nicolai". In *Studien zur siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte*, edited by Gustav Gündisch, Albert Klein, Harald Krasser and Theobald Streifeld, 227. Cologne: Böhlau, 1976. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 119-120, plate XVIII, fig. 3. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	Border inscription (A) TUMULUS REVERENDI AC CLA RISS(IMI) VIRI DOM(INI) PAULI WHONNERI QVONDAM PASTORIS ECCL(ESI)AE NA GY SENKENSIS DIGNISSIMI QVI DIEM SUUM OBIIT ANNO 1639. DIE 20 MARTII. AETATIS 63. OFFICII 36. On the left pilaster (B) Contegit hoc Saxum clarum pietate Whonerum Qvi cultor Verae Religionis erat. On the right pilaster (C) Dum jam ter denos et sex hic Praesbyter annos Nagysenki peregit, debita jura subit On the book (D) BIBLIA

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Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 75

a)	Cioboteni – Csíkcsobotfalva – Catholic church, walled into the northern jamb of the western portal
b)	*Cioboteni – Csíkcsobotfalva – Catholic church*
c)	**Anna, daughter of Stephanus (István) Pellio (Szűcs) of Taplóca** Based on the inscription, she died in 1633 at the age of 13. The surname of her mother, the patron of the memorial, was probably Tomas (Tamás).
d)	d. 1633
e)	40 x 139 x ? cm
f)	–
g)	On the central panel (A) HIC IACET PIAE MEMOR IAE DEFVNCT AE CORPVS ANNAE ANN ORVM 13 QVONDAM FILIA STEPH ANI PELLIO NIS EX TAP LOCZA 1 • 6 • 3 • 3 VXOR IPSIVS CVR_T[1] TOMAS[2] [...] In the emblem (B) I(ESVS) H(OMINUM) S(ALVATOR)

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1 curavit?
2 Tomas is probably a surname

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 76

a)	Cisnădie – Nagydisznód – Heltau, Lutheran church, in the western wall of the sacristy
b)	*Cisnădie – Nagydisznód – Heltau, Lutheran church*
c)	**Iohannes (Johann) Hutter** He was born in 1590 in Sibiu according to the inscription, where the Hutter or Huet family provided several town leaders and priests. He was priest in Cisnădie from 1627 until his death in 1638, aged 48. His son, Georg defended his dissertation in Wittenberg in 1662 and was later elected archdeacon. Albu, Ioan. "The Iconography of Petrus Martyr Vermilius and Crypto-Calvinist Influences in the Funeral Eulogy of Johannes Hutter (1638)." *Brukenthal. Acta Musei* 8, no. 2 (2013): 205.
d)	d. 1638
e)	90 x 194 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. "The Iconography of Petrus Martyr Vermilius and Crypto-Calvinist Influences in the Funeral Eulogy of Johannes Hutter (1638)." *Brukenthal. Acta Musei* 8, no. 2 (2013): 203-214. Albu, Ioan. "VIXI DUM VOLUI. An Unknown Work of the Sculptor Elias Nicolai - The Funerary Plate of Pastor Thomas Bordannus (+1633)." *Brukenthal. Acta Musei* 7, no. 2 (2012): 257. Gündisch, Gustav. "Der Hermannstädter Bildhauer und Steinmetz Elias Nicolai". In *Studien zur siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte*, edited by Gustav Gündisch, Albert Klein, Harald Krasser and Theobald Streifeld, 226-227. Cologne: Böhlau, 1976.
g)	Border inscription (A) SEPULTURA ET MEMORIA VIRI ADMODUM REVERENDI AC PRAECLARI D(OMI)NI IOHANNIS HUTTERI CIBINIENSIS QVONDAM PASTORIS ECCLESIAE HELTENSIS VIGILANTISSIMI QVI OBYT ANNO 1638 DIE 21 SEPTEMB(RIS) AETATIS SVAE 48 On the right pilaster (B) Cibinum hunc genuit sed jam peregrinus oberrat Qvo stabilis fiat Civis apu(t) superos On the left pilaster C) Illius Effigies haec, marmor ossa recondit Hic sua membra jacent, spiritus Astra tenet.

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Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 77

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Albeşti – Fehéregyháza – Weißkirch, Calvinist church, in the middle of the church, in front of the pulpit*
c)	**Gabriel (Gábor) Haller** He was son of Peter Haller, whose father came to Buda from among the wealthy patricians in Nuremberg to expand the trade network of the family enterprise. Peter moved further on, to Sibiu in Transylvania and became mayor, then royal judge of the town. He also held important state offices as councilor and administrator of the state revenues under King Ferdinand of Habsburg. He received some estates for his services, which included Albeşti. Peter Haller chose his first wife from the elite of the Saxon towns, but when he widowed, he married Kata Kemény, from the ranks of the aristocracy. Gábor Haller was born from this marriage in 1558. From 1582, he attended the University of Padova. After he returned, he was still involved in trade for a while, but in the late 1580s, he moved to his estate in Albeşti and started to live the life of the nobility. He turned towards the Antitrinitarian dogmas in the late 1570s. He married Helena (Ilona) Bocskai, and thus, he entered the circles of the aristocracy; he became related to the princes' families. He was appointed as *főispán* (head) of Küküllő County from 1594, probably until his death. He was a supporter of his brother-in-law, István Bocskai in his struggles for the throne in 1605, and he became his councilor, as well as the administrator of state revenues and captain of Fagaraş. He kept some of his offices also under the rule of Zsigmond Rákóczi and Gábor Báthory. His first wife, Ilona Bocskai died in 1597. They had three sons: Stephanus (István, see **Cat. No. 192**), Georgius (György), and Sigismundus (Zsigmond), who were the patrons of the memorial according to the inscription. Gábor Haller married for the second time in 1607, with Judit Bornemissza. He died in 1608, aged 50. **Helena (Ilona) Bocskai of Kismarja** She was the first wife of Gábor Haller. She passed away in 1597. According to the inscription, her body was re-located to be placed with her husband. Kubinyi, András. "Die Nürnberger Haller in Ofen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Südosthandels im Spätmittelalter". *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 52 (1963-64): 80-128. Kubinyi, András. "A nürnbergi Hallerek Budán: adalékok a késö középkori dél-német kereskedelem történetéhez" [The Haller family from Nuremberg in Buda. New data on the history of late medieval trade from South Germany]. In *Tanulmányok Budapest középkori történetéről, vol. 2* [Studies on the medieval history of Budapest], edited by András Kubinyi. Várostörténeti tanulmányok, 705-741. Budapest: Budapest Főváros Levéltára, 2009. Lázár, Miklós. *Erdély főispánjai (1540-1711). Külön lenyomat a Századok 1887—1889-ki folyamaiból* [County heads in Transylvania, 1540-1711. Offprint from the Századok periodical], 74-75. Budapest: Az Atheneum R. Társ. Könyvnyomdája, 1889. Szabó, András Péter. "Haller Gábor – egy 17. századi arisztokrata életpályája." [The career of Gábor Haller, a Transylvanian aristocrat in the seventeenth century], 16. PhD Thesis, Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2008.

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	Trócsányi, Zsolt. *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690* [The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690], 28. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980.
d)	d. 1608
e)	86 x 124 x 226 cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. "A reneszánsz építészet és szobrászat Erdélyben. Stílustörténeti vázlat" [Renaissance architecture and sculpture in Transylvania. A stylistic-historical overview]. *Magyar Művészet* 10 (1934): 148, 155, fig. 140. Balogh, Jolán. "A későrenaissance és korabarokk művészet" [Late Renaissance and early Baroque art], 560, 655, fig. 557. In *Magyar művelődéstörténet 3* [Hungarian cultural history], edited by Sándor Domanovszky, 513-570. Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1940. Mihály, Melinda. "Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület középkori és kora újkori kőtára" [The medieval and early modern lapidary of the Transylvanian Museum Association]. In *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület Gyűjteményei* [The collections of the Transylvanian Museum Association], edited by Gábor Sipos, 143, 165. Cluj-Napoca: Societatea Muzeului Ardelean, 2009. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 118, 127-128, Cat. No. 234. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On the top, border inscription (A) SP(ECTABI)LIS AC MAG(NIFICVS) D(OMI)NVS D(OMINVS) GABRIEL DE HALLE RKEŐ SVPR(EMVS) COMES COM(ITATIS) KIKELLEÖ SAC(RAE) CAES(ARIS) MAI(ESTA)TIS ET SERENIS(SIMORVM) TRANSYL[VANIAE P]RI(N)CIPVM CONS(ILIARIVS) ADMINISTRATOR PROVENTVVM REGNI OBIT ANNO 1.6.0.8: DIE 12: IVLII. VIXIT ANNOS 50. On the top, on the upper *tabula ansata* (B) PIO FORTI MAG NANIMO HEROI GABR(RIELI) DE HALLERKEO On the top, on the lower *tabula ansata* (C) FILII STEPHANVS GEORGIVS SIGISMVNDVS PATRI CHARISSIMO EREXERVNT On the top, under the coat of arms (D) MAGNVS LABOR EST MAGNAE CVSTODIA FAMAE On the upper short side, on the *tabula ansata* (E) OSSA ET RELIQVIAE ILLVST(RISSIMAE) AC MAG(NIFICAE) D(OMI)NAE HELENAE BO[C]HKAI DE KISMARIA QVAE DE FVNCTA FVERAT ANNO 1597 DIE 7. SEP(TEMBRIS) HVC SVNT TRANSPORTATA ET IN EODEM SEPVLCHRO LOCATA CVM MARITI SVI DI LECTISSIMI CORPORE

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	On the lower short side around the blazon (F) HELE(N)A BOCHKAI DE KISMARIA

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2007. © National History Museum of Transylvania

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Cat. No. 78

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, former Franciscan church in Farkas (today Kogălniceanu) Street*
c)	**Ioannes (János) Seres** The family was called Szécsi or Széchi after their place of origin, Sici in the Sălaj region. Some of their members moved to Cluj probably in the early sixteenth century and became burghers in the town. János Seres was born around 1530-33; he appears in the sources from 1556. He was a master of the stonecutters' guild. He is called an excellent sculptor in the text on his memorial. He had a house in Farkas (today Mihail Kogălniceanu) Street. In 1574, he was commissioned by the town to examine the works on the gate bride of Monostor Street. His stonecutter's mark can be identified on the ledger of Gábor Bocskai (**Cat. No. 1**). He probably worked on the Bocskai Castle of Aghireş too, as well as on several town houses in Cluj. In 1577, Prince Kristóf Báthory invited him to Alba Iulia, then to Szamosújvár and Huszt. His sons were also stonecutters, who continued the works of his father. Descendants of the family appear, for example, as goldsmiths in the seventeenth century (see also **Cat. No. 97**). Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 28-29, 44, 51-52, 80-83. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Herepei, János. *Bocskai Gábor egeresi síremléke és mestere* [The funeral monument of Gábor Bocskai in Aghireș and its master], 14-21. Kolozsvár [Cluj]: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1947.
d)	d. 1579
e)	84 x 123 x 16 cm (fragmentary)
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 51 (with previous literature). Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Entz, Géza. "A Farkas utcai templom" [The church in Farkas/Mihail Kogălniceanu Street]. In *A kolozsvári Farkas utcai templom címerei* [Coat of arms in the church in Farkas (Mihail Kogălniceanu] Street), edited by Géza Entz and András Kovács, 29. Budapest - Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Balassi-Polis, 1996. Mihály, Melinda. "Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület középkori és kora újkori kőtára" [The medieval and early modern lapidary of the Transylvanian Museum Association]. In *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület Gyűjteményei* [The collections of the Transylvanian Museum Association], edited by Gábor Sipos, 163. Cluj-Napoca: Societatea Muzeului Ardelean, 2009. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 119, 120-121, Cat. No. 241. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.

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g)	Lower part of the slab (A) HIC TVMVLATA SERES REQVIESCVNT MEMBRA IOA(NNIS) QVI PIETATE SVA CLARVS ET ARTE F[VIT] INSIGNIS SCVLPTOR FVERAT LAPIDVMQ(VE) PO[ETA] HVIC SVA PERPETVVM DANT MONVMENT[VM] [– – –][1] ANNIS LVSTRA NOVEM SVPERAVERAT [I]LLE DV[OBVS] TRISTIA, CVM DOMINO, FATA, IVBENTE S[VA] On the border around the upper panel (B) QVI OBYT MARTIVS DIE VIGESIMO QVARTO A(NNO DOMINI) 1[5]79: In the emblem (C) S(ERES) I(OANNES)

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © National History Museum of Transylvania

1 Two or three missing syllabi

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Cat. No. 79

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, former Franciscan church in Farkas (today Kogălniceanu) Street*
c)	**Stephanus (István) Berkenyesi** Based on the inscription, he was the infant son of Matthaeus (Máté) Berkenyesi and his wife, Anna, who set up the memorial. He was born in 1595, and died in the same year, after less than two months. Máté Berkenyesi was a stonecutter in Cluj; the sign on the ledger is probably his. Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 51-52, 68. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985.
d)	d. 1595
e)	120 x 47 x 16 cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 51 (with previous literature). Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Entz, Géza. "A Farkas utcai templom" [The church in Farkas/Mihail Kogălniceanu Street]. In *A kolozsvári Farkas utcai templom címerei* [Coat of arms in the church in Farkas (Mihail Kogălniceanu) Street], edited by Géza Entz and András Kovács, 29. Budapest - Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Balassi-Polis, 1996. Mihály, Melinda. "Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület középkori és kora újkori kőtára" [The medieval and early modern lapidary of the Transylvanian Museum Association]. In *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület Gyűjteményei* [The collections of the Transylvanian Museum Association], edited by Gábor Sipos, 163. Cluj-Napoca: Societatea Muzeului Ardelean, 2009. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 119, 120, Cat. No. 242. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On the central panel (A) FILIOLO CHARISSIMO STEPHANO MENSEM VNVM DIES XXI NATO A(NNO) D(OMINI) 1595 DIE VI OCTOBRIS EXTINCTO MATTHAEVS BERKENIESI ET ANNA CONIVNX PARENTES POSVERVNT

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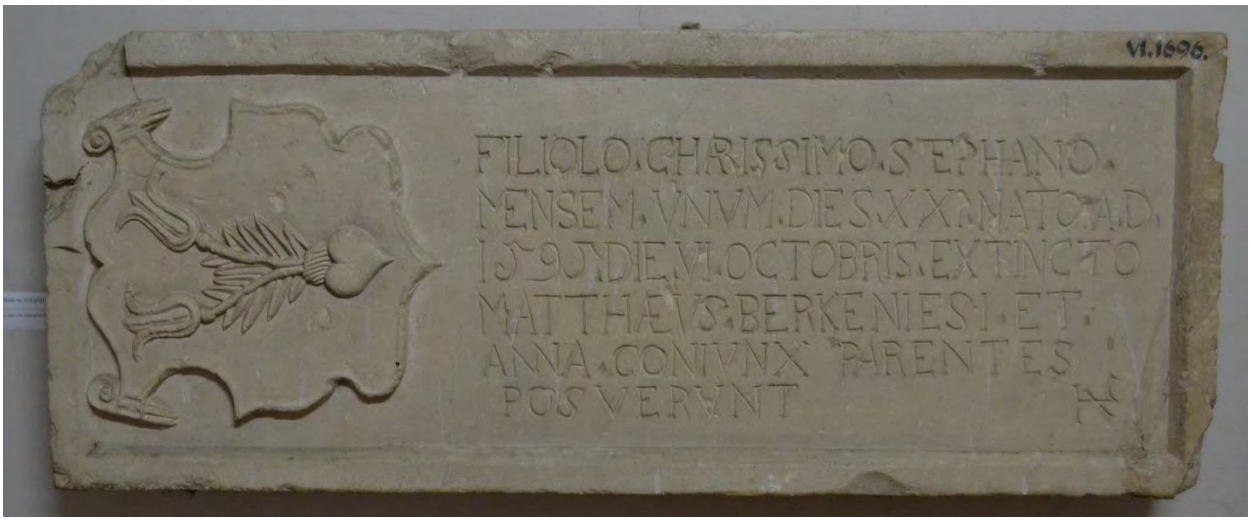

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © National History Museum of Transylvania

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Cat. No. 80

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, former Franciscan church in Farkas (today Kogălniceanu) Street*
c)	**Martinus** According to the inscription, his wife, Catharina Bek, and his son, Martinus Literatus set up the memorial. Martinus was mentioned in the *Canonica visitatio* of the that-time Jesuit church and monastery in the Farkas Street: it was prohibited to have burials in the church with a few exceptions with special permission, one of whom was Martinus. His wife was a member of the Bek family, probably the daughter of János Bek, who was a tailor and a member of the town council, and had a house on the Main Square. Their son, Martinus Literatus was a member of the hundreds' council, and also the notary of the town. Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 191-192. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Flóra, Ágnes. "The Matter of Honour. The Leading Urban Elite in Sixteenth Century Cluj and Sibiu." PhD Thesis, 394-396. Budapest, Central European Universty, 2014.
d)	1580s
e)	89 x 104 x 30 cm (fragmentary)
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 51-52, 117 (with previous literature). Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Entz, Géza. "A Farkas utcai templom" [The church in Farkas/Mihail Kogălniceanu Street]. In *A kolozsvári Farkas utcai templom címerei* [Coat of arms in the church in Farkas (Mihail Kogălniceanu) Street], edited by Géza Entz and András Kovács, 29. Budapest - Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Balassi-Polis, 1996. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 119, 121, Cat. No. 243. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On the central panel (A) VOX COELESTIS: BEATI MORTVI QVI IN DOMINO MORIVNTVR: NON GENVS ET GAZAE FACIVNT, NON FAMA BEATV(M) PARTA LABORE LICET, NOBILITASQ(VE) VETVS ILLE BEATVS ERIT D(OMI)NO QVI RITE QVIESCIT MARTINVS PATRII, VT GLORIA RARA SOLI QVI PIETATE POTENS ET SERVANTISSIMVS AEQVI ET SANCTA CLARVS RELLIGIONE FVIT SPIRITUS ASTRIFERAS CVIVS MIGRAVIT IN ORAS HIC LAPIS OSSA TEGIT, NOMEN IN ORBE VIGET

CEU eTD Collection

	CATHARINA BEK CONSORS MARITO CHARISSIMO, ET MARTINVS LITERATVS FILIVS PARENTI OPTIMO PERENNIS [DE]SIDERII POSVERVNT [MON]VMENTVM.

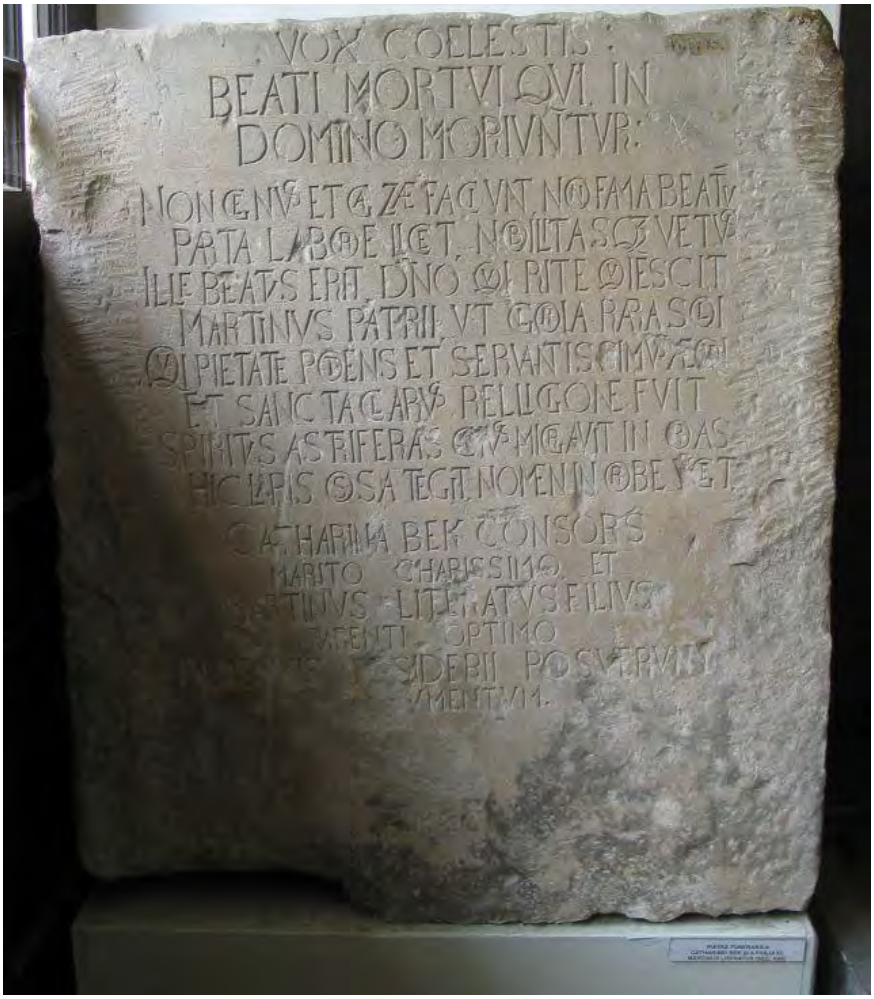

Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2006, © National History Museum of Transylvania

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Cat. No. 81

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, in the wall of the town fortifications*
c)	**Erzsébet, wife of János Keretszegi Eötves** The inscription on the stone says 1554, but it is probably a mistake, since the rest of the similar stones all date starting from 1574, and János Keretszegi was still mentioned as dispensator in Cluj in 1557, while the stone names Erzsébet as his widow. Flóra, Ágnes. "The Matter of Honour. The Leading Urban Elite in Sixteenth Century Cluj and Sibiu." PhD Thesis, 379. Budapest, Central European Universty, 2014. **Five family members of Erzsébet**
d)	d. 1574?
e)	58 x 38 x ? cm
f)	Lővei, Pál. "Posuit hoc monumentum pro aeterna memoria: Bevezető fejezetek a középkori Magyarország síremlékeinek katalógusához." [Introductory chapters to a catalog of the funeral monuments from medieval Hungary], Thesis for Doctor of The Academy of Sciences, 29. Budapest, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2009. Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 193, fig. 189. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 127, Cat. No. 246. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On the central panel (A) YT NIVGOZIK EORSEBET AZZONY KERETZEGY EOTVES IANOS FELESEGE HATOd MAGAVAL 1554

Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2006. © National History Museum of Transylvania

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 82

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, in the wall of the town fortifications*
c)	**Martinus Schinder** According to the inscription, he died in 1583.
d)	d. 1583
e)	45 x 48 x 45 cm
f)	Mihály, Melinda. "Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület középkori és kora újkori kőtára" [The medieval and early modern lapidary of the Transylvanian Museum Association]. In *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület Gyűjteményei* [The collections of the Transylvanian Museum Association], edited by Gábor Sipos, 158. Cluj-Napoca: Societatea Muzeului Ardelean, 2009. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 127, Cat. No. 247. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On the central panel (A) HIC IACET MARTINVS SCHINDER 1583.

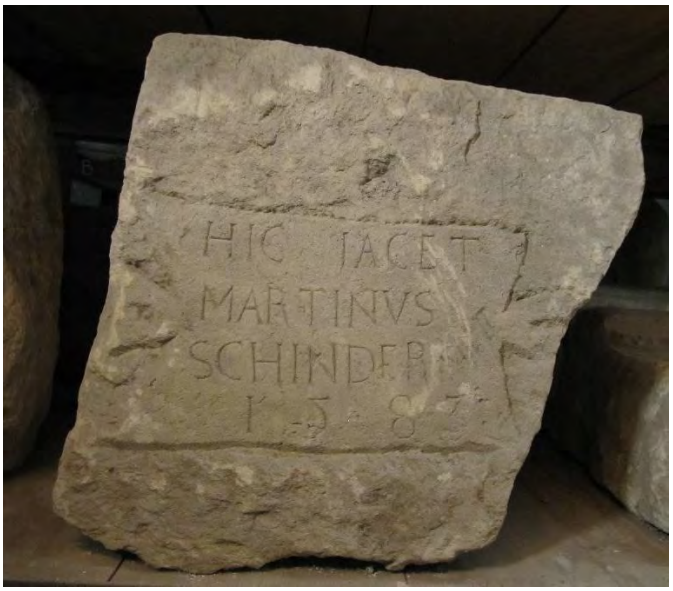

Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2012. © National History Museum of Transylvania

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 83

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, in the wall of the town fortifications*
c)	**Bálint Begreczi** Bálint Begreczi (or Pekreczi) was mentioned as a goldsmith master in 1580, master of the guild in 1600, and he was councilor in Cluj in 1605. Based on the inscription, he must have died in 1607. **Márta Vicey** Based on the inscription, she was the wife of Bálint Begreczi. She either died in the same year as her husband or earlier than him. The Vicey family provided members of the town administration in Cluj. Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 195-196. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985.
d)	1607
e)	52 x 45 x 36 cm (fragmentary)
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 195-196 (with previous literature). Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Jakab, Albert Zsolt. *Ez a kő tétetett... : Az emlékezet helyei Kolozsváron (1440-2012). Adattár* [Places of memory in Cluj. Data collection], 55, Cat. No. 86. Kolozsvár: Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság, Nemzeti Kisebbségkutató intézet, 2012. Jakab, Elek. *Kolozsvár története. Második kötet oklevéltárral. Újabb kor. Nemzeti fejedelmi korszak (1540-1690)* [History of Cluj. Second volume with archival documents. Modern Age. The period of the national princes, 1540-1690], 225. Budapest: Szabad kir. Kolozsvár város közönsége, 1888. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 126-127, Cat. No. 248. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On the central panel (A) IT FEKSIK BEGRECZI BALINT FELESEGE VEL VICEY MARTA VAL 1607

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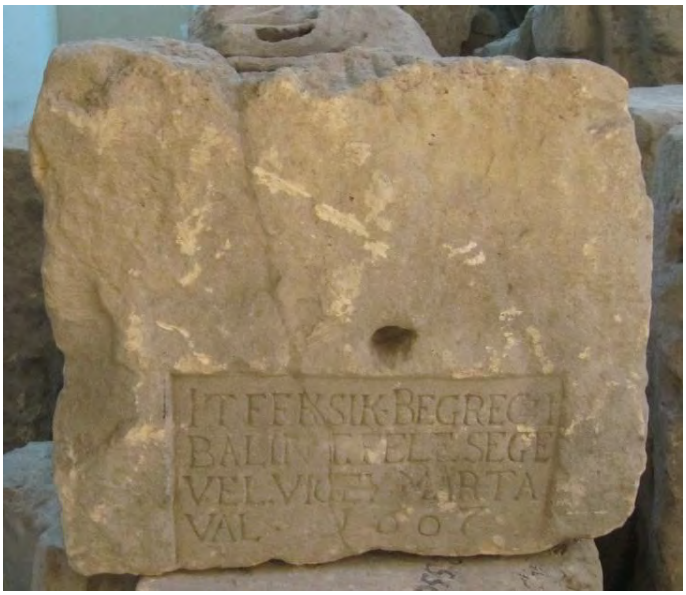

Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2012. © National History Museum of Transylvania

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 84

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**Gregorius (Gergely) Bonczidai** He was born in 1519. He was a master of the goldsmiths' guild in Cluj. In 1573, he was one of the leaders of the so-called goldsmiths' strike, and one of those who initiated legal steps against the goldsmiths' guild of Sibiu, which rejected to accept wandering Hungarian apprentices from Cluj. The inscription says that he was tax-collector and member of the town council for several years. In 1596, he was elected town judge. He had a house in Farkas (today Mihail Kogălniceanu) Street. He died in 1600, aged 81. His son was also a goldsmith, master of the guild and member of the town council. Flóra, Ágnes. "The Matter of Honour. The Leading Urban Elite in Sixteenth Century Cluj and Sibiu." PhD Thesis, 397. Budapest, Central European Universty, 2014. Flóra, Ágnes. *Prestige at Work. Goldsmiths of Cluj/Kolozsvár in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Saarbrücken: Verlag Dr. Müller, 2009. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 50-53. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988.
d)	d. 1600
e)	160 x 31 x 69 cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 196, 375, 221-222, fig. 190 (with previous literature). Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Gaal, György. *Tört kövön és porladó kereszten. Pusztuló múlt és fájó jelen a házsongárdi temetőben* [On broken stone and vanishing cross. Disappearing past and painful present in the Házsongárd Cemetery], 14, 26-27, 122-123. Kolozsvár: Stúdium, 2009. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 50-57. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Mihály, Melinda. "Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület középkori és kora újkori kőtára" [The medieval and early modern lapidary of the Transylvanian Museum Association]. In *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület Gyűjteményei* [The collections of the Transylvanian Museum Association], edited by Gábor Sipos, 163-164. Cluj-Napoca: Societatea Muzeului Ardelean, 2009. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 124, 309-310, Cat. No. 249. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013

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g)	On one of the side panels (A) SISTE[1] [C]VPIS QVICVNQ(VE) PIE MONIMENTA PARENTV(M), NOSSE QVIB(VS) SALVIS VRBS QVOQ(VE) SALVA FVIT [GR]EGORII SVNT HIC VENERANDI MEMBRA SENECTAE, BONCZIDAI AVRIFICIS CLAR(IS) VT ARTE SITA SIC IS PRVDENTV(M) CONSTANS QVOQ(VE) NORMA VIRORV(M), RELIGIONIS AMANS FAVTOR ET AVCTOR ERAT TEMPORE DIFFICILI MAGNA CVM LAVDE BONOQVE, COMMVNI FVNCT(VS) IVDICIS OFFICIO EXACTOR QVOTIES QVOTIES FVIT ISTE SENATOR, PVBLICA PRIVATIS PRAEPOSVITQ(VE) BONIS VNO LVSTRA DECEM SEX ET SVPER ADDIDIT ANNO, CESSIT NATVRAE CESSIT ET ID[– – –]

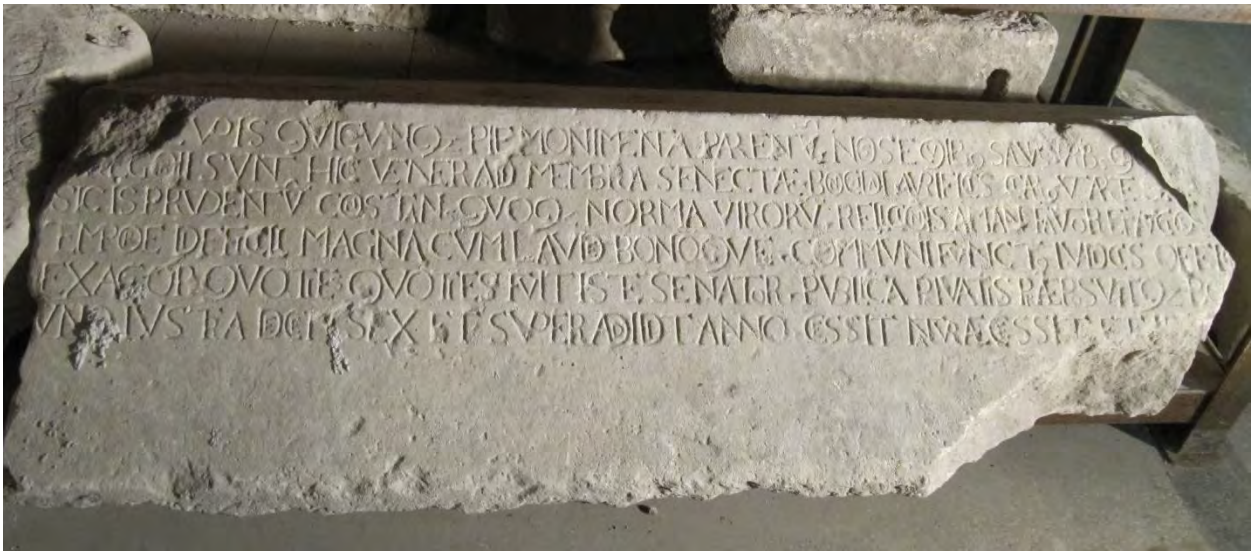

Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2012. © National History Museum of Transylvania

1 Herepei still saw this in 1925. Herepei, Házsongárd, 50-51.

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Cat. No. 85

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**Unknown** According to Herepei, that side of the stone which is not accessible now, displays a wreath with a hand holding a book as a heraldic motif, which suggests that the subject was a priest. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 316. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988.
d)	Second half of the sixteenth century?
e)	73 x 86 x 50 cm
f)	Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 316. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 310, Cat. No. 250. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On one of the side panels (A) [– – –]NERE LAVDE [– – –]VA [– – –]NTAM [– – –]EBAT [– – –]EM [– – –] [G]LORIA TERRAE [– – –]EREGIT [– – –]MO [– – –] MANEBVNT On the other side panel (B)1 […] / MAI[– – –] INGEN[– – –] MON[– – –] HIC PO[– – –] EXC[– – –] POST[– – –] CRE[– – –] DOCT[– – –]

1 After Mihály, “Monumente,” 310. This side of the stone is not accessible in its present position.

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	HESI[– – –] [– – – – – –]

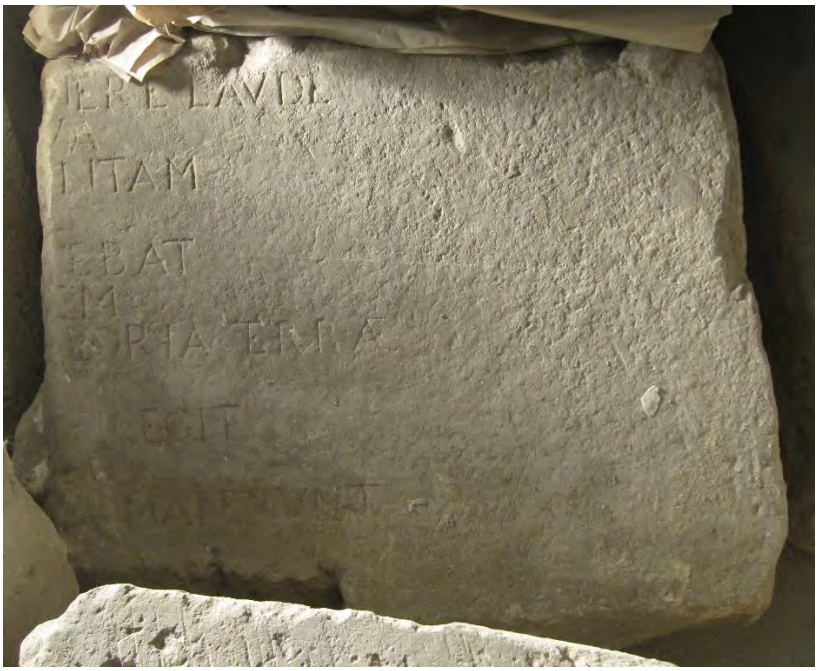

Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2012. © National History Museum of Transylvania

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 86

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**A relative of Benedek Keomiies (Kőmíves)** Probably the son or daughter of the mason Benedek Keomiies. The surname means mason. Benedek died in 1626 and his wife in 1639, based on the church registers. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 98. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988.
d)	First half of the seventeenth century
e)	30 x 43 x 7 cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvár műemlékei* [Monuments in Cluj], 26, fig. 70. Kolozsvár [Cluj]: A Kolozsvári Református Kollégium Öregdiákjainak Egyesülete, 1935. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 97-101. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 119, 310-311, Cat. No. 251. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On the central panel (A) IT NIVKSIK AZ VRB AN KEOMIIES BE [NEDE]KN[EK] […] – – – – – – In the emblem (B) K(EOMIIES) B(ENEDEK)

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2006. © National History Museum of Transylvania

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 87

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**Kata, daughter of Gerig Hembsch** According to the inscription, she was 17 when she died in 1622. Gerig Hembsch was a tailor based on the emblem on the gravestone. **Bora, daughter of Gerig Hembsch** She died in the same year as her sister, in 1622.
d)	d. 1622
e)	35 x 108 x 15 cm
f)	Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 90-92. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Kohn, Hillel, and Gyula Zsakó. "A kolozsvári házsongárdi temető sírkövei 1700-ig" [Gravestones from the Házsongárd Cemetery in Cluj from before 1700]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 6, no. 5, 6 (1911): 291. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 311, Cat. No. 252. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013
g)	On the central panel (A) [IT F]EKEZNEK GERIG [H]EMBSH NEK KET ZE [R]ELMES LEANI KIK AZ VRBAN CENDESEN EL NIVGOTAK KATA ELT 17 ESTEN(DŐT) BORKA ELTH [.] [–]EK 1622 N[O]VE(MBRIS) D(IE) [1]0 EGIK D(IE) 15 [.]ZEN[..]Z EO KI MVLASOKAL M[INEK] VNK ZIBELI KESER[US]E GEKET HAGIANAK

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2007. © National History Museum of Transylvania

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 88

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**Borbara (Borbála), daughter of András Griti** The surname was supplied by János Herepei based on a nearby gravestone in the cemetery, of Lőrinc Ghriti's wife (**Cat. No. 92**). The emblem on the back side of the stone suggests that András Griti was a tailor. The inscription says that Borbála died in 1622, aged 4. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 88. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988.
d)	d. 1622
e)	37 x 119 x 17 cm
f)	Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 87-90. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Mihály, Melinda. "Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület középkori és kora újkori kőtára" [The medieval and early modern lapidary of the Transylvanian Museum Association]. In *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület Gyűjteményei* [The collections of the Transylvanian Museum Association], edited by Gábor Sipos, 163-164. Cluj-Napoca: Societatea Muzeului Ardelean, 2009. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 312, Cat. No. 253. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On the central panel (A) EL NIVGVVAN AZ V[R] BAN IT FEKSZIK GR[ITI] ANDRAS NAK EGI Z[E] [R]ELMES LEANIA B[OR] BARA 1622 DIE [N]OVEMBRIS 7 AZ [E]LETENEK NEGIED [ESZTE]NDEIEBEN

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Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2007 and 2012. © National History Museum of Transylvania

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 89

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**Matias Hyncz** Based on the inscription, he died in 1626, aged 40.
d)	d. 1626
e)	36 x 118 x 15 cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvár műemlékei* [Monuments in Cluj], 27. Kolozsvár [Cluj]: A Kolozsvári Református Kollégium Öregdiákjainak Egyesülete, 1935. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 113-116. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Kohn, Hillel, and Gyula Zsakó. "A kolozsvári házsongárdi temető sírkövei 1700-ig" [Gravestones from the Házsongárd Cemetery in Cluj from before 1700]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 6, no. 5, 6 (1911): 292. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 312-313, Cat. No. 254. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On the central panel (A) HYNCZ MATIAS KI EZ SIRALMAS VILAGBOL ELETEN(E)K 40 EZTEN(DEJEBEN) KI MVLVAN AZ EO MEGH VALTO JESVS CHRISTVS [..] IGAZ ISTENNEK ELIEO VETELIT VARVAN MINDEN EMBERT INT HOG HALA LAKOR MEGH EMLEKEZE[N] ES AZ EO LELKENEK EORO[K] BODOGSAGOT KEVANNI ON 1626

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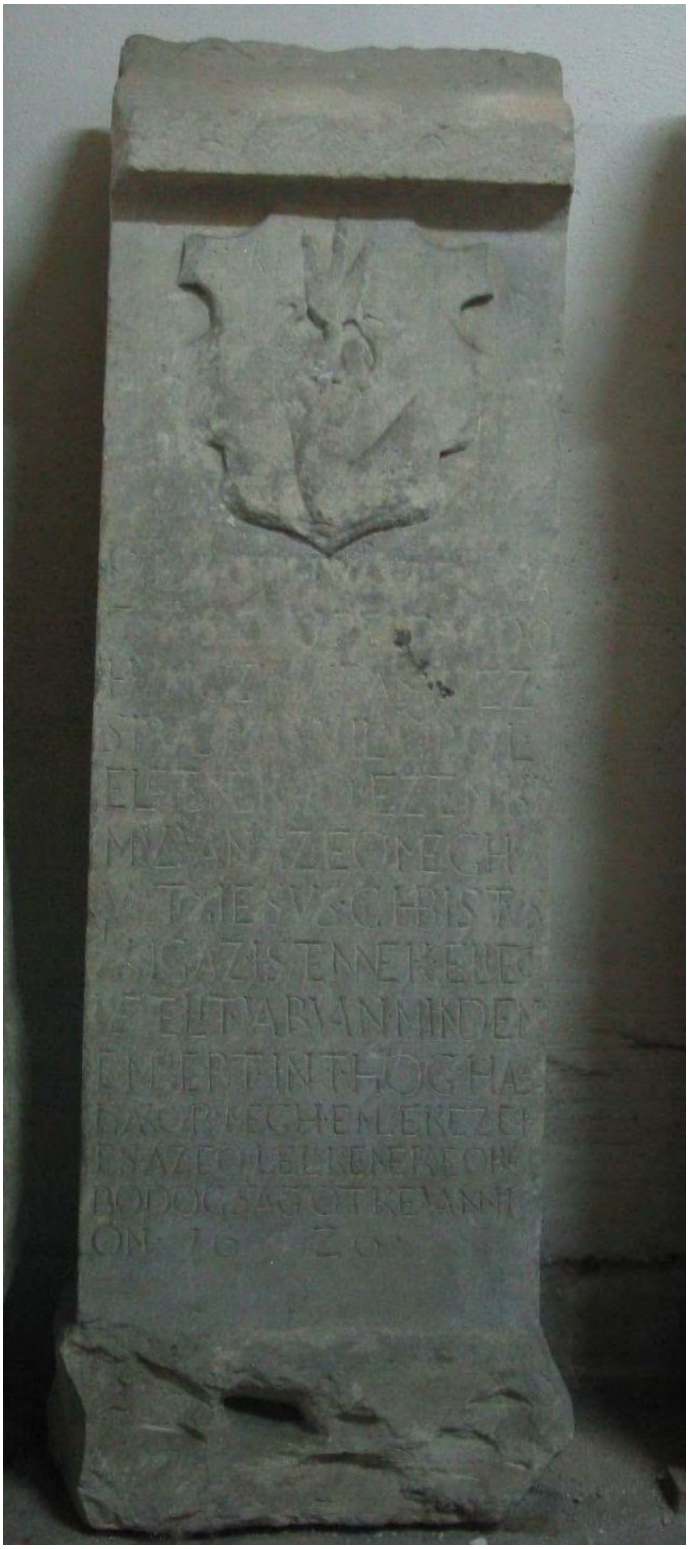

Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2007. © National History Museum of Transylvania

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 90

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**Erzsébet Füzesi, wife of István Czimbolmos (Czimbalmos)** The emblem on the stone displays a balance, which suggests that István Czimbalmos was a merchant. He died two years later based on the church registers. The couple was Calvinist. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 138-144. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988.
d)	d. 1631
e)	36 x 144 x 14 cm
f)	Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 138-144. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Kohn, Hillel, and Gyula Zsakó. "A kolozsvári házsongárdi temető sírkövei 1700-ig" [Gravestones from the Házsongárd Cemetery in Cluj from before 1700]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 6, no. 5, 6 (1911): 292. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 313, Cat. No. 255. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On the central panel (A) [I]T NYVKSZIK A[Z] [U]RBAN CZIMBOLMO[S] [I]STVANNAK KEDVES ES SZERELMES HA ZAS TARSA FVZESI ERSEBET ASZSZONY KIT AZ ISTEN ZO LITOT KI EZ ARNIEK VILAGHBOL 1631 ESZTENDOBEN TIZENHARMADIK NAPIAN BOEŸTMAS HONAK

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Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2012. © National History Museum of Transylvania

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 91

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**Andorko H.** **I. H.** **T. H.** **P. H.** Four siblings who died as children, in 1622, 1627, 1633, and at an unknown date.
d)	d. 1622, 1627, 1633
e)	133 x 52 x 68 cm (fragmentary)
f)	Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 149-161. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Kohn, Hillel, and Gyula Zsakó. "A kolozsvári házsongárdi temető sírkövei 1700-ig" [Gravestones from the Házsongárd Cemetery in Cluj from before 1700]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 6, no. 5, 6 (1911): 294. Mihály, Melinda. "Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület középkori és kora újkori kőtára" [The medieval and early modern lapidary of the Transylvanian Museum Association]. In *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület Gyűjteményei* [The collections of the Transylvanian Museum Association], edited by Gábor Sipos, 163-164. Cluj-Napoca: Societatea Muzeului Ardelean, 2009. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 313-314, Cat. No. 256. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On one of the side panels (A) – – — – – SZOLITOT[– – –] MIHALY HAVANAK ELSO NAP. 1622 DIE [– – –] NEK FEL EZTENDEIEBEN 3 FEB 1627 S[– – –] 1633 DIE 31 AVG. HOLT MEG EGI KIS [– – –] AZ ELSO FIAM ANDORKO KI MEG ATTA [– – –] MEG * OS[1] KORABAN ITEM DIE 18 H[…]M [– – –] DOS KORABA AZ ATIA VRISTEN AZ […]O S[– – –] HIRVATHATATLAN KORNAT ELVEHSSEK MELIROL VA[– – –] NIEI LATASROL IRT KON(V)INEK 2 REZEBE AZ IO[– – –] NEKED ADOM AZ [– – –?]

1 The age is missing, it was marked with a small cross.

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	In the shield (B) H. A. H. I. H. T. H. P.

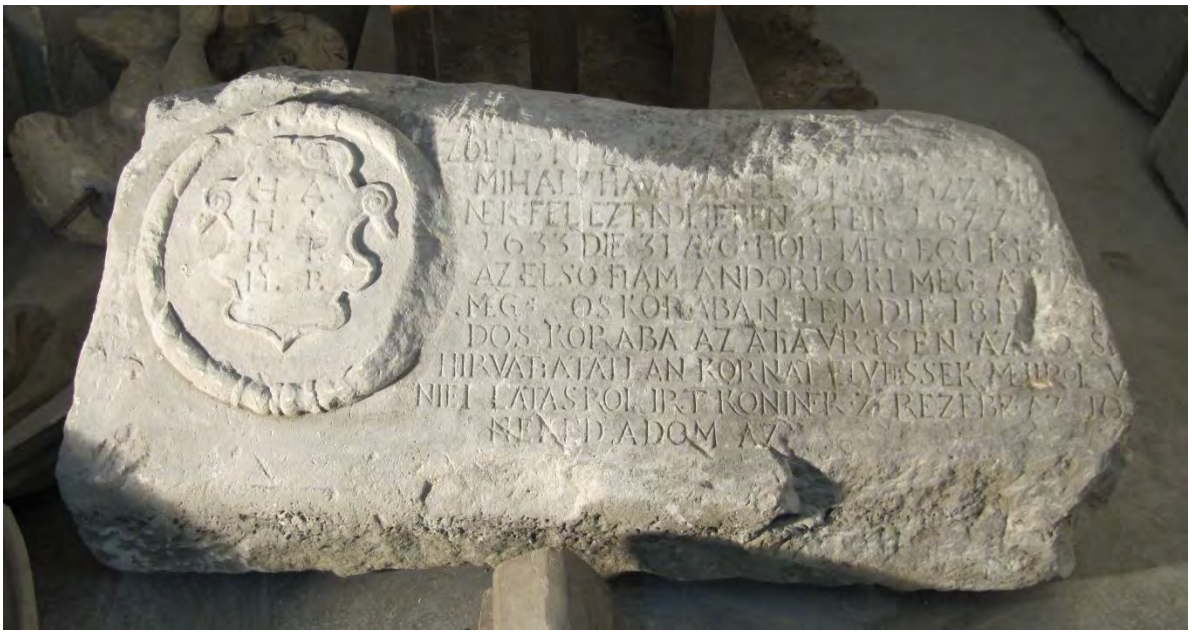

Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2012. © National History Museum of Transylvania

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Cat. No. 92

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**Erzsébet Farnasi** According to the inscription, she was the wife of Lőrinc Ghriti, a weaver as suggested by the symbol in the heraldry. She died in 1633.
d)	d. 1633
e)	51x 129 x 16 cm
f)	Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 164-166. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Kohn, Hillel, and Gyula Zsakó. "A kolozsvári házsongárdi temető sírkövei 1700-ig" [Gravestones from the Házsongárd Cemetery in Cluj from before 1700]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 6, no. 5, 6 (1911): 294. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 314-315, Cat. No. 257. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On the central panel (A) [IT] FEKSIK AZ ISTENB[E] NYVGOT BOLDOGH [EM]LEKEZETV GHRIT[I] [L]ORINCZ VRAMNAK IO ER [K]OLCZV S[...]G IGAZ SERELM [E]S HVTOS TARSA FARNASI ERZEBET ASSONY MELYNEK EZ VILAGHBOL VALO KI MVLASA DIE 13 OCTOBRIS ANN O 1633

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Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2012. © National History Museum of Transylvania

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 93

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**Wife of István Baczy** István Baczy or Bácsy was a butcher as suggested by the symbol in the heraldry. (A merchant called István Báchy was steward in Cluj in 1625.) His wife died in 1634. **Daughter of István Baczy** She died in the same year as her mother, which is also attested by the church registers. Flóra, Ágnes. "The Matter of Honour. The Leading Urban Elite in Sixteenth Century Cluj and Sibiu." PhD Thesis, 393. Budapest, Central European Universty, 2014. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 180-181. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988.
d)	d. 1634
e)	47 x 203 x 19 cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvár műemlékei* [Monuments in Cluj], 26, fig. 65. Kolozsvár [Cluj]: A Kolozsvári Református Kollégium Öregdiákjainak Egyesülete, 1935. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 180-183. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Kohn, Hillel, and Gyula Zsakó. "A kolozsvári házsongárdi temető sírkövei 1700-ig" [Gravestones from the Házsongárd Cemetery in Cluj from before 1700]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 6, no. 5, 6 (1911): 295. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 315-316, Cat. No. 258. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On the central panel (A) IT FEKSZIK BACZY IST VANNAK SZERELMES HAZAS TARSA EGY KED [V]ES LEANIAVAL EGIVT AZ KIKET ISTEN SZOLIT TOT KI EZ VILAGBOL ANNO D(OMINI) 1634. In the wreath (B) R: N. Sz: I.

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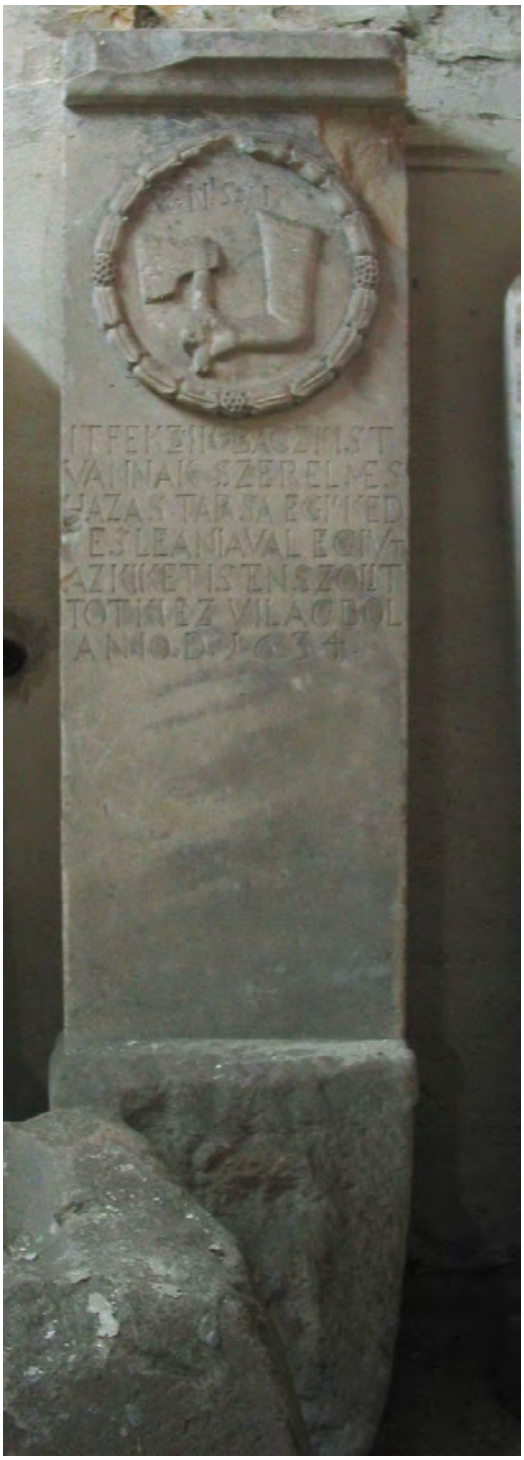

Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2007. © National History Museum of Transylvania

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Cat. No. 94

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**Unknown** The subject was a married woman who died in 1639, aged 34. Based on the church registers, Herepei identified her as the wife of János Veress. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 209-210. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988.
d)	d. 1639
e)	47 x 67 x 15 cm (fragmentary)
f)	Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 208-210. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 208-210 316, Cat. No. 259. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013
g)	On the central panel (A) [– – – – – –] [– – –]EC N[– – –] ES[.] CIVIS[– – –] VRBIS QVAE IN DO MINO EXPIRAVIT AN NO 1639 DIE 2 APRILLIS AETATIS SVA[E] ANNO 34 VIXIT CV[M] MARITO ANNOS 19 PIE SINE QVERELA

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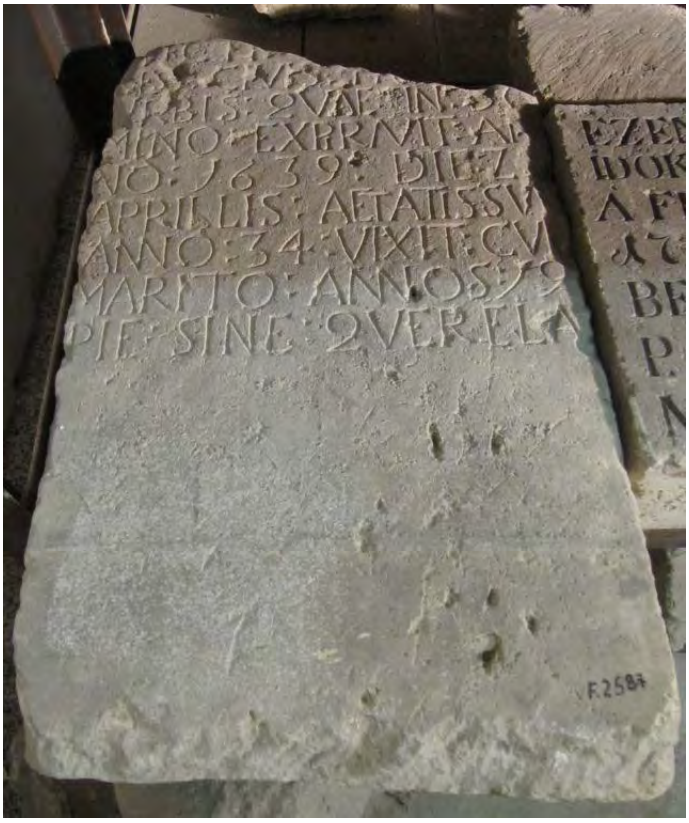

Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2012. © National History Museum of Transylvania

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 95

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**Kata, daughter of György Mészáros Tömösvári** According to the inscription, she died at the age of 11, in 1646. The first part of their father's double surname means butcher, which might have been his profession. **Borka, daughter of György Mészáros Tömösvári** She died in the same year as her sister, aged 8.
d)	d. 1646
e)	40 x 160 x 22 cm
f)	Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 250-256. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Mihály, Melinda. "Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület középkori és kora újkori kőtára" [The medieval and early modern lapidary of the Transylvanian Museum Association]. In *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület Gyűjteményei* [The collections of the Transylvanian Museum Association], edited by Gábor Sipos, 163. Cluj-Napoca: Societatea Muzeului Ardelean, 2009. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 316-317, Cat. No. 260. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On the central panel (A) IT FEKSZ MESZAROS {TE SZAROS} TEOEMOESVARI GEORGINEK KET SZEP LE IANIA AZ KIS KATA HOLT MEG 11 ESZTENDOS KO RABAN IVLIVS 20 NAPIA AZ MASIK BORKA 8 ESZ TENDOES KORABAN AVG VSTVSNAK 20 NAPIA 1646 ESZTENDOEBEN

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Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2007. © National History Museum of Transylvania

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 96

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**Miklós Fodor** According to the inscription, he was the son of Gergely Fodor, and he died in 1642 aged fourteen. Members of the Fodor family appeared among the administrative elite of Cluj. The ploughman's symbols in the heraldry suggest that Gergely Fodor dealt with agriculture. **Sofi (Zsófi) Fodor** She died in 1646, aged nine.
d)	d. 1642, 1646
e)	65 x 150 x 22 cm
f)	Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 257-264. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Kohn, Hillel, and Gyula Zsakó. "A kolozsvári házsongárdi temető sírkövei 1700-ig" [Gravestones from the Házsongárd Cemetery in Cluj from before 1700]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 6, no. 5, 6 (1911): 301. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 317-318, Cat. No. 261. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On the central panel (A) FODOR GERGELY HALOTTAI 1642 MEGH IRT ESZTENDO [FOLY]TABAN SZEP VIRAGH VASARNAP [TAJ]BAN FODOR MIKLOS SZALLA SIRBAN TIZENNIGI ESTENDOS KORBAN 1646 NEGI ESTENDOVEL VTANNA FODOR SOFI IS MEGH HALA KILENCZ ESTENDOS HOGI VALA SZINTE KIS ASZSZONI NAP TAIBA CZONTIOK IT NYVGZIK AZ SIRBA LELKEK ORVL MENYORSZAGBA. In the emblem (B) F(ODOR) G(ERGELY)

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Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2007. © National History Museum of Transylvania

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 97

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**Borka, daughter of István Szeczi Seres** According to the inscription, she died in 1646 aged five. The Szécsi or Seres family has been part of the elite in Cluj since the fifteenth century, including goldsmiths, masons, and office holders in the town. Herepei identified István Szécsi Seres as royal judge of Cluj in 1660. **Istók, son of István Szeczi Seres** He died in the same year as his sisters, aged five. **Kata, daughter of István Szeczi Seres** She also died in 1646, aged one. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 265-275.
d)	d. 1646
e)	52 x 174 x 22 cm
f)	Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 265-275, figs 22a, 22b, 22c. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Kohn, Hillel, and Gyula Zsakó. "A kolozsvári házsongárdi temető sírkövei 1700-ig" [Gravestones from the Házsongárd Cemetery in Cluj from before 1700]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 6, no. 5, 6 (1911): 302. Mihály, Melinda. "Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület középkori és kora újkori kőtára" [The medieval and early modern lapidary of the Transylvanian Museum Association]. In *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület Gyűjteményei* [The collections of the Transylvanian Museum Association], edited by Gábor Sipos, 163. Cluj-Napoca: Societatea Muzeului Ardelean, 2009. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 318, Cat. No. 262. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On the central panel (A) IT NYVGOSZNAK AZ VRBAN SZECZI SERES ISTVANNAK HAROM SZEP GIERMEKI KIK A(NNO) D(OMINI) 1646 HOLTAK MEG EDGI MAS VTAN: BORKA DIE 17 IVLY, IDEIENEK ANNOR(VM) 5 ESTVE, HORA 10, ISTOK D

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	IE 5 SEPT: IDEIENEK ANN(ORVM) 7 REGGEL HORA 10 KATA, DIE 16 SEPT IDEIENEK ANNOR(VM) DELVT AN HORA 4 KIKNEK AZ VR BOLDOG FEL TAMADAST AD GION AZ OROK ELETRE

Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2007. © National History Museum of Transylvania

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 98

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**Unknown** The fragmentary inscription suggests that the subject was probably a woman, who lived with her husband for eight years and died in 1646.
d)	d. 1646
e)	61 x 60 x 20 cm (fragmentary)
f)	Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 235-236. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 318-319, Cat. No. 263. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On the central panel (A) [– – –]ARS[– – –] [– – –] KI ELT AZ EO [– – –] [..]AL 8 ESTENDEIG HOLT MEGH 1646 ESTENDIEB EN 19 FEBRVARY KINEK AGYONI ISTEN BOLDOGH FEL TAMADAST AZ VTO LSO NAPON

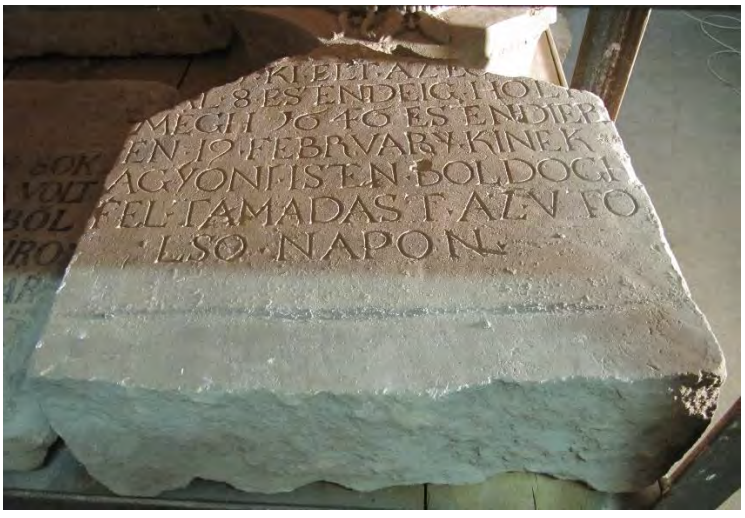

Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2012. © National History Museum of Transylvania

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 99

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**Borka Kovacz (Kovács), wife of László Vatai** According to the inscription, she was the daughter of Bálint Kovács, and died in 1659. Based on the guild documents, László Vatai was a tailor. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 329. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988.
d)	d. 1659
e)	53 x 152 x 20 cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvár műemlékei* [Monuments in Cluj], p. 27, fig. 63. Kolozsvár [Cluj]: A Kolozsvári Református Kollégium Öregdiákjainak Egyesülete, 1935. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 328-329. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Kohn, Hillel, and Gyula Zsakó. "A kolozsvári házsongárdi temető sírkövei 1700-ig" [Gravestones from the Házsongárd Cemetery in Cluj from before 1700]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 6, no. 5, 6 (1911): 333. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 319-320, Cat. No. 264. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On the central panel (A) ANNO 1659 IT FEKZIK AZ VRBAN EL NYVGOT VATAI LAZLO FELE SEGE KOVACZ BALINT LEANA BORKA ASSONI HOLT MEGH DIE 19 MAY KINEK AZ VR ISTEN AGYON BOLDOH FEL TAMADAST AZ VTOLSO NA PON

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Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2007. © National History Museum of Transylvania

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 100

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**Christina Polyik** Daughter of János Polyik, who died in 1678, in the plague. János Polyik was vice-captain of Cluj; he fled there with his family from Oradea, after the latter was taken over by the Ottoman forces in 1660 and Cluj was turned into a frontier fortress. He probably received some estates around Cluj. He was the curator of the Calvinist Church in Cluj. He died in 1697, aged 65 according to his funerary coat of arms painted on textile and preserved in the Calvinist church in Cluj. **Ioseph (József) Polyik** Son of János Polyik, who also died in 1678, in the plague **Female child with the surname Török** Step-daughter of János Polyik, who also died in 1678, in the plague. **Sára Török** Step-daughter of János Polyik, who also died in the same year, in the plague, aged 12. Entz, Géza, András Kovács, and György Szabó. *A kolozsvári Farkas utcai templom címerei* [Coat of arms in the church in Farkas (Mihail Kogălniceanu) Street in Cluj], 75, Cat. No. 74. Budapest - Kolozsvár: Balassi - Polis, 1996. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 363-364. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988.
d)	d. 1678
e)	49 x 109 x 25 cm (fragmentary)
f)	Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 359-365. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Kohn, Hillel, and Gyula Zsakó. "A kolozsvári házsongárdi temető sírkövei 1700-ig" [Gravestones from the Házsongárd Cemetery in Cluj from before 1700]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 6, no. 5, 6 (1911): 337. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 320, Cat. No. 265. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On the central panel (A) [I]TT FEKSZIK NEMZETES [P]OLYIK IANOS VRAMNAK [K]OLOSVAR VAROSANAK VICZ[E] [K]APITANNYANAK KET EDES [G]YERMEKE: POLYIK CHRISTINA

CEU eTD Collection

	[.] ESZTENDÖS POLYIK IOSEPH HOLNAPI ES KET MOSTOHA [L]EANYI: TŐRŐK [– – –] [..]ESZTEND: TÖRÖK SARA 12 ESZTEND: KIK ISTENBEN NYUGOTTANAK EL AZ 1678 [D]IK ESZTEN[DEI] PESTISBEN

Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2007. © National History Museum of Transylvania

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 101

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**Erzsébet Mezgedi Vaida** Based on the inscription, she was born in 1636 as daughter of László Mezgedi Vaida of Belényes (Beiuş), who belonged to the lower nobility. She married Mihály Kabos of Gyerőmonostor (Mănăstireni) who died in 1670. They probably fled to Cluj after the Ottoman Turkish occupation of Oradea in 1660. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 368-369. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 6, 4. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1860.
d)	d. 1682
e)	39 x 196 x 20 cm (broken into two pieces)
f)	Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 367-369. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Kohn, Hillel, and Gyula Zsakó. "A kolozsvári házsongárdi temető sírkövei 1700-ig" [Gravestones from the Házsongárd Cemetery in Cluj from before 1700]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 6, no. 5, 6 (1911): 337. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 320-321, Cat. No. 266. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On the central panel (A) [I]T NYVGSZIK AZ VRBAN [NÉ]HAI NEMES ES NEM [Z]ETES MEZGEDI VAIDA [E]RSEBET ASZONY AZ [N]EHAI NEMES ES NEM [Z]ETES BIHAR VARMEGYEI BELINYES VAROSSABAN LAKOZO MEZGEDI VAIDA LASZLO VRAM FELNEVELT EDES LEANYA AZ NEMES ES NEMZETES KOLOS VARMEGYEI MAGYAR GYEROMONOSTO [RI] KABOS MIHALY VRAM KEDVES HŰTÖS TARSA KI IS

CEU eTD Collection

	AZ Ö LELKET AIANLOTA AZ Ö TEREMTÖ MEG VALTO VRA NAK ISTENENEK ELETENEK 46 IDEIEBEN 1682 ESZTENDO BELI SZENT MIHALY HAVANAK [.] NAPJAN

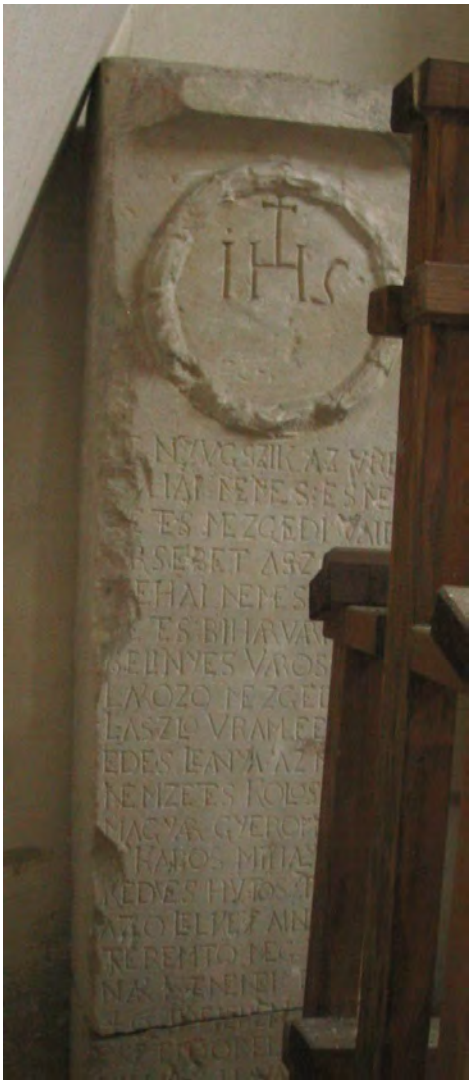

Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2013. © National History Museum of Transylvania

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Cat. No. 102

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**Márton Sobaser** Based on the inscription, he was born in 1649. The gravestone displays a noble coat of arms, so he was from among the lower nobles residing in the town. The church registers testify that he was Antitrinitarian, and the number of bell tolling on his death also suggests that he was a relatively high-ranking person. Herepei hypothesized based on the surname that he was of German origins. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 391-393. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988.
d)	d. 1693
e)	47 x 132 x 23 cm
f)	Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 391-393. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 320-322, Cat. No. 267. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On the central panel (A) IT FEKSZIK AZ ISTENBEN BOLDOGUL KIMULT NE HAI SOBASER MARTON AZ KITIS ISTEN KI SZOLI TOT EZ VILAGBOL ELE TENEK NEGYVENNEGYE DIK ESZTENDEJEBEN SZ GEORG HAVANAK 7 NAPJAN AZ KINEK IS AZ VR AGYON BOLDOG FEL TAMADAST AZ UTOLSO NAPON ANNO 1693

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Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2013. © National History Museum of Transylvania

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 103

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**Kata Szalai** She was wife of Mihály Szathmárnémethi, professor in the Calvinist college in Cluj. Mihály Szathmárnémethi was born around 1667 in Satu Mare. He studied in Cluj from 1683, then in Franeker, sponsored by Governor György Bánffy. He was Bánffy's court priest when he returned, in 1694, then professor of humanities and languages in the Calvinist college in Cluj from 1696. He married Kata Szalai in the same year, but she died in less than a year, in 1697, soon after her infant daughter. The cause of death was probably connected to childbirth. The inscription indicates the day of their funeral, but Herepei demonstrated that it is not correct according to the church registers. Mihály Szatmárnémeti later re-married, widowed, then married again. He died in 1709. **Kati Szathmárnémethi** Based on the church registers, she died nine days before her mother, at an early age. **Six children of Mihály Szálai and Anna Szakmári** Secondary subjects, they died in 1820 according to the inscription. Gaal, György. *Tört kövön és porladó kereszten. Pusztuló múlt és fájó jelen a házsongárdi temetőben* [On broken stone and vanishing cross. Disappearing past and painful present in the Házsongárd Cemetery], 129. Kolozsvár: Stúdium, 2009. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 397-398. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988.
d)	d. 1697 (secondary subject d. 1820)
e)	49 x 121 x 19 cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvár műemlékei* [Monuments in Cluj], fig. 62. Kolozsvár [Cluj]: A Kolozsvári Református Kollégium Öregdiákjainak Egyesülete, 1935. Gaal, György. *Tört kövön és porladó kereszten. Pusztuló múlt és fájó jelen a házsongárdi temetőben* [On broken stone and vanishing cross. Disappearing past and painful present in the Házsongárd Cemetery], 26-27, 129. Kolozsvár: Stúdium, 2009. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 396-400 and fig. 31. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 322-323, Cat. No. 268. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.

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g)	On the central panel (A) IT FEKSZIK ISTENBEN BOLDO GVL KIMVLT TISZTELETES TVDOS SZATHMAR NEME THI MIHALY VRAMNAK KED VES HITES TARSA SZALAI KATA ASZSZONY ES KATI NEVÜ KISLEANYKAJA KIKET A HALAL EZEN SIRALMAS 1697 ESZTENDÖBEN ELETEKNEK VIRAGJABAN KIVAGVAN LÖT ELTEMETE SEK SZ(ENT) JAKAB HAVANAK 29 NAPJAN KIKNEK ADGION AZ VR BOLDOG FELTAMA DAST On the back side of the stone (B) NE A HALAL VAS KEZEVEL MELY KEGYETLEN TSAPAST TET E SIR NEMA MELYSEGIBE HAT TESTVERT EL TEMETET ELTEK TAVASZI REGGELEN MINT EGY HERVASZTO MORD SZEL FUVA EL E VIRAGOKAT FAJDALOM MAR EGY SEM EL SZÁLAI MIHÁLY S SZAKMÁRI ANNA MINT ERZŐ SZÜLEK KESEREGNEK E HAMVAKÉRT MERT A REMÉNYT ELVESZTEK DE MINT KÖZÖS MINDNYAJUNKAL EZ A FELSÖBB VÉGEZET JERTEK IDE S HADJÁTOK OTT AZT AZ ÁRNYÉK ÉLETET AO 1820 Die X augusti

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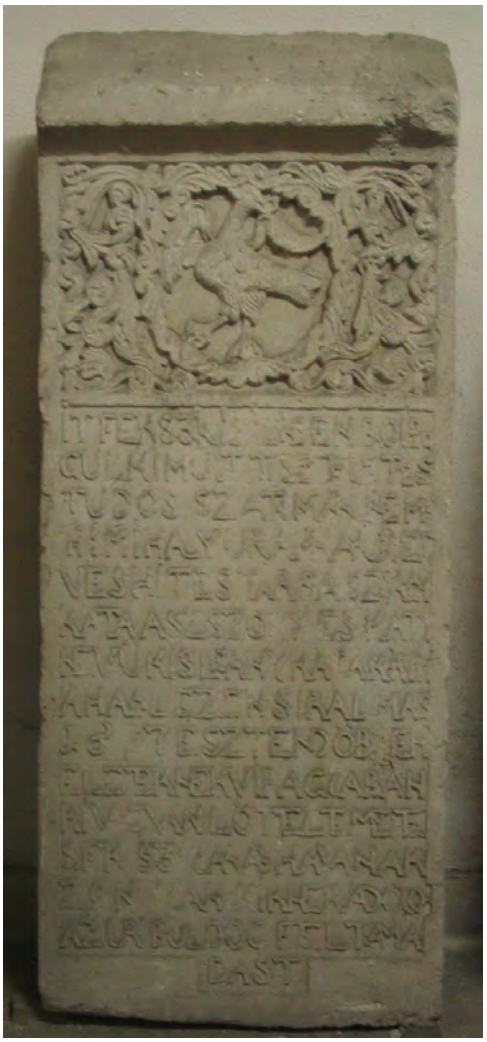

Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2007. © National History Museum of Transylvania

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Cat. No. 104

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Unknown*
c)	**A female member of the Henczel family** According to the inscription, she died in 1581 aged 27, during childbirth. The family was from Baia Mare (Rivulus Dominarum), and they owned a house in Cluj in 1592. The ledger probably came from one of the churches in Cluj. Mihály, Melinda. "A Híd utcai Henczel- és Hensler-ház" [The Henczel and Hensler house in Híd Street]. In *Liber discipulorum. Tanulmányok Kovács András 65. születésnapjára* [Papers for the sixty-fifth birthday of András Kovács], edited by Zsolt Kovács, Emese Sarkadi Nagy and Attila Weisz, 197-219. Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület: Kolozsvár [Cluj], 2011.
d)	d. 1581
e)	65 x 173 x 22 cm
f)	Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 329-330, Cat. No. 278. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	Border inscription (A) HIC SEPVLTA IACET GENERO: SA [DO]MINA […] HENCZ[EL] RIVVLIENSIS QVE OBYT TERTIA DIE IANVARI ANNO DOMINI 1581 In the upper part of the central panel (B) BIS DENIS VITAE SEPTEM IAM IVNXERAT ANNOS MORTE PV[E]RPERY CVM PETYT AS[T]RA GRAVI On the central panel, above the blazon (C) G M

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Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © National History Museum of Transylvania

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Cat. No. 105

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Someşeni – Szamosfalva, Bornemissza Castle, originally probably from the Calvinist church*
c)	**Ladislaus (László) Mikola** According to the inscription, he died in 1601, aged seven. The inscription also says that he was the son of Paulus (Pál) Mikola, and the memorial was set up by his brother, János; the latter two do not appear in the known genealogy. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables]. Vol. 7, 486-487. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1860.
d)	d. 1601
e)	137 x 55 x 21 cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 223, 331 and fig. 279. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 333-334, Cat. No. 282. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	Border inscription (A) VRN[A] [NOBILI]S INDOLIS PVERO LADIS[LAO][– – –] [– – –]ENS IN DOMINO[1] XV FEB(RVARII) MDCI On the central panel (B) MICOLIDV(M) HIC SITA SVNT PVBES IVVENISQ(VE) SENEXQ(QVE): HAEC SIMVL VT VIDEA(N)T- REGNA SACRATA DEI: NVNC LADISSLAO PAV[L]I DE SEMINE NATO: SEPTENI IANO A FRATRE SACRATA QVIES

1 Here a secondary inscription can be seen: MC

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Cat. No. 106

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Iernut – Radnót, Calvinist church*
c)	**Clara (Klára) Bogáti** Klára Bogáti was the daughter of János Bogáti and Magdolna Bánffy of Losonc; Iernut was the possession of the Bogáti or Bogáthi family until 1575. She married Antonius (Antal) Kendi who was executed for the order of Queen Isabelle in 1558 (see **Cat. No. 7** and **Cat. No. 19**). Based on the inscription, she died before her husband, in 1554. Kis, Bálint. "Erdély régi családairól" [On ancient Transylvanian families]. *Turul*, no. 4 (1891): 174-179. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables]. Vol. 6, 199-200. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1860.
d)	d. 1554
e)	57 x 180 x 20 cm
f)	Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 335-336, Cat. No. 282. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	In the upper part of the central panel (A) ANNO DOMINI 1554. 26 OCT OB(RIS) OBIIT GENE ROSA D(OMINA) CLARA BOGATI, CONIV NX EGR(EGII) DOMI(NI) ANTONI DE KEND

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Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2016. © National History Museum of Transylvania

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 107

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Tirimia – Nagyteremi, Calvinist (that time Unitarian) church*
c)	**Georgius (György) Sükösd** Members of the Sükösd family named themselves "of Nagyteremi" after their estate in Tirimia. György Sükösd was born around 1589. He did not hold any important state positions, sources inform only about his mission as a legate of Prince Gábor Bethlen. According to the tradition, he re-built the castle for his family in Racoş (Alsórákos, Ratsch), on the ruins of a former medieval monastery. He also owned a house in Alba Iulia. His wife was Elizabet (Erzsébet) Borsvai, who was the patron of the memorial according to the inscription. György Sükösd died in 1631, aged 42, and the family died out with him or with his son. His last will as well as the invitation for his funeral ceremony has survived. Kelemen, Lajos. "1631. máj. 12. Nagyteremi Sükösd György temetési meghívója" [Invitation for the funeral of György Sükösd of Nagyteremi, May 12, 1631]. *Genealógiai Füzetek* (1904): 76. Kelemen, Lajos. "Nagyteremi Sükösd György síremléke" [Funeral monument of György Sükösd of Nagyteremi]. In *Művészettörténeti tanulmányok* [Sudies in art history], 173-174. Bucharest: Kriterion, 1977. Medgyes, Lajos. "Sükösd Györgyről" [On György Sükösd]. *Nemzeti Társalkodó*, no. 1 (1840): 180-181. Orbán, Balázs. *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból* [Description of the Székely Land from a historical, archaeological, natural geographical, and ethnographic point of view], 195, 201-202. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/. Tüdős S., Kinga. *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3. Erdélyi nemesek és főemberek végrendeletei 1600-1660* [Transylvanian testaments, vol. 3. Last wills of Transylvanian noblemen and aristocrats 1600-1660], 101-106. Târgu Mureș: Mentor Kiadó, 2008.
d)	1632 (d. 1631)
e)	125 x 255 x 102 cm (as installed now; fragmentary, re-built)
f)	Aggházy, Mária. *A barokk szobrászat Magyarországon* [Baroque sculpture in Hungary], 15-21. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1959. Balogh, Jolán. "A reneszánsz építészet és szobrászat Erdélyben. Stílustörténeti vázlat" [Renaissance architecture and sculpture in Transylvania. A stylistic-historical overview]. *Magyar Művészet* 10 (1934): 154. Balogh, "A késő renaissance és korabarokk művészet," 562; Jolán Balogh, "A Korarenaissance. Késő renaissance" (Early Renaissance. Late Renaissance), in *A magyarországi művészet története* (The history of art in Hungary), ed. Dezső Dercsényi and Anna Zádor (Budapest: Corvina, 1970 [1955, 1966]), 244-245 Éber, László. "Erdélyi szobrászati emlékek" [Sculptural monuments in Transylvania]. *Művészet* 8 (1909): 177-178. Kovács, András. *Késő reneszánsz építészet Erdélyben 1541–1720* [Late Renaissance architecture in Transylvania, 1541-1700]. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2003.

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	Mihály, Melinda. "Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület középkori és kora újkori kőtára" [The medieval and early modern lapidary of the Transylvanian Museum Association]. In *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület Gyűjteményei* [The collections of the Transylvanian Museum Association], edited by Gábor Sipos, 165-166. Cluj-Napoca: Societatea Muzeului Ardelean, 2009. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History], 31, 66, 129-131, Cat. No. 285 PhD thesis, Cluj-Napoca, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	Tomb chest, border inscription (A) MONVMENTVM G(ENEROSI) D(OMINI) GEORGII SWKOESD DE N(AGY) TEREMI QVI PLACIDE IN DOMINO OBDORMIVIT DIE 24 MARTII 1631 AETATIS SVAE 42 QVOD FIERI CVRAVIT G(ENEROSA) DO(MI)NA ELIZABETA BORSVAI IN DVLCEM MARITI SVI RECORDAT(IONEM). Tomb chest, top, left from the figure (B) HOC MONVME(N) TVM EXTRVXIT PETRVS DIOSZE GI CLAVDIPOLIT ANVS A(NNO) D(OMINI) 1632 Tomb chest, on the front side (C) FIDES QVEMQVE SALVVM FACIT SPES SPE VIVO SPE MO RIAR CHA[RITA]S OM[NI]A SVFFERT IVSTICIA EST SVVM CVIQVE TRIBVE RE Tomb chest, right short side, around the image (D) [SVM QVI NO]N [CVRO QVIS AVT QVA(LIS) NIL MIHI DIG(N)ITAS PAPA(LIS) NEC VALET MAESTAS RE(GALIS)

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	STVLTVS ET SAPIE(N)S AEQVA(LIS) DIVES ET PAVPER EST (MORTALIS) NO(N) IVVAT HIC SE EXCVS(ARE) NEC AD APOSTOLI(CA) SE(DEM) APPE(LLARE) DONA PRO(M)IT(ERE) AVT DON(ARE) SEV CLA(M) SE VE(LLE) (ALIENARE) PACEM NO(N) MECVM EST TRACT(ARE) NEC DICO QVA(N)DO QVIS VEL QVA [OM]NIA [MIHI SVB]DITA FORMOSITAS ELOQV ENTIA VIRILITAS MAGNI FICE(N)TIA MAIESTAS PRVDE(N)TIA QVIA CINIS FVMVS ET VMBRA Tomb chest, right short side, on the scroll (E) VIGILATE QVIA NESCIT[IS] QVA HORA [D](OMI)N(V)S VENIET MAT(THAEVS) Tomb chest, left short side, in the wreath (F) G(EORGIUS) S(WKOESD) On the inscription panel (G) MARMOREVM DECVS HOC VIRTVTE GEORGI(I) ALTA ET PRISCA MERVIT NOBILITATE SWKOESD. QVI PATRIAE NAT(VS) PATRIAE QVOQ(VE) VIXIT IN VSVM NAM BELLI ET PACIS TEMPORE IVSTVS ERAT. MILLE ET SEXCENTOS TITAN EXEGERAT AN(N)OS LVSTRAQ(VE) SEX TANTVM MORS NEGAT ATRA VIRVM. DIGN(VS) ERAT NVMERARE DIES HOC TEMPORE PLVRES DIGNIOR EST ASTRIS VISVS AT ILLE DEO. OCTO LVSTRA DVOSQ(VE) AN(N)OS DATA TEMPORA VIXIT EXTREMVM CLAVSIT MARTIVS IPSE DIEM. CVIVS OB EGREGIAS FLOREBIT GLORIA DOTES IGNEA CONSPICVVS DVM ROTAT ASTRA POLVS. In the tympanum (G) G(EORGIUS) S(WKOESD) 1631

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Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2007. © National History Museum of Transylvania

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Cat. No. 108

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Unknown*
c)	**Unknown**
d)	First half of the seventeenth century
e)	55 x 48 x 24 cm (fragment)
f)	Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 339-340, Cat. No. 286. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On the central panel (A) [– – –]RE VIATOR AMPLAS [– – –] [– – –]O[–]CIPE VERBA VRIT ET A[– – –] [– – –]STI DIRE ROGANTEM GLORIA [– – –] [– – –]RE DIEM GRATIF[– – –] [– – –]OMINE DICTA TERRA T[– – –] [– – –]TA SALONIS ARI[–]O[– – –] [– – –]NETORIS[– – –] – – — – –

Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2012. © National History Museum of Transylvania

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 109

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Unknown*
c)	**Unknown**
d)	Seventeenth century
e)	14 x 17 x 5 cm (fragment)
f)	Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 340, Cat. No. 287. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On the central panel and on a border (A) – – – – – – [– – –]ARI[– – –] [– – –]M SIGEM[– – –] [– – –]RGINIS A[– – –] [– – –]GESI[– – –] – – – – – –

Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2012. © National History Museum of Transylvania

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 110

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Unknown*
c)	**Unknown**
d)	Second half of the sixteenth – first half of the seventeenth century
e)	42 x 16 x 9 cm (fragment)
f)	Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 340, Cat. No. 288. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	–

Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2012, © National History Museum of Transylvania

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 111

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Unknown*
c)	**Unknown**
d)	Second half of the seventeenth century
e)	8 x 30 x 19 cm (first fragment) 7 x 28 x 18 cm (second fragment)
f)	Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 341, Cat. No. 289. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On the central panel, first fragment (A) – – – – – [– – –]kk(—– –) – – – – – On the central panel, second fragment (B) – – – – – [– – –]jk [– – –]ent [– – –]ak [– – –]ets – – – – –

Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2012. © National History Museum of Transylvania

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 112

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Unknown*
c)	**A member of a family called Iuhos (Juhos)** According to the inscription, the subject died in 1623. The gravestone was probably set up in a cemetery in Cluj, presumably the Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery, since the Latin name of the town is mentioned in the text.
d)	d. 1623
e)	44 x 51 x 28 cm (fragment)
f)	Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 341, Cat. No. 289. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On one of the side panels (A) [– – –]O CLAWDIO [P]OLITA[– – –] [– – –] [ANNO] D(OMI)NI MDCXXIII DIEB[– – –] [– – –]LITO OBDORMIVIT [– – –] [– – –] POSVIT. – – – – – On the other side panel (B) D[...] [H]AC SVB MOLE IVHOS REQV[– – –] [– – –]VI VIRTVTE SIR[.] NOME[–]FAM[– – –] [– – –]O COLOSSI NI[– – –] [– – –]O IAM LVS[– – –]T[– – –] – – – – –

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Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2012. © National History Museum of Transylvania

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 113

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**Ioannes (János) Varadiensis (Váradi)** Herepei identified two János Váradi in Cluj in these years, a merchant and a blacksmith; the subject could be either of them. The name suggests that he moved to Cluj with those who fled the Ottoman Turkish conquest of Oradea in 1598. Based on the inscription, he died in his fifties, between 1600 and 1609. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 58. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988.
d)	d. 1600-1609
e)	58 x 34 x 24 cm (fragment)
f)	Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 58. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 342, Cat. No. 291 (as the tomb of an unknown subject). Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On one of the side panels (A) QVAERIS IN HOC TVM[VLO][– – –] CONDITA ET RED [– – –] IOANNES FVERAM CH[– – –] COGNOMEN PV[– – –] SED VARADIENSIS [– – –] Other fragments lost by now[1] – – – – – – [COMP]LEVI VITAE MVNIA – – – – – – – – – – – – AC CHRISTVS AD ASTRA VOC[AVIT] – – – – – – – – – – – – VIXI LVSTRIS BIS QVINQ[VE] – – – – – – – – – – – – IOANNES 160[.] – – – – – – – – – – – – PLANGITE SO[–] – – – – – –

1 The text was transcribed by János Herepei, but it might not be reliable, since his transcription of the known piece was erroneous. See Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető*, 57.

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Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2012. © National History Museum of Transylvania

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Cat. No. 114

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Unknown*
c)	**Unknown** The cartwrights' emblem on the gravestone indicates the profession of the subject who was probably buried in one of the cemeteries in Cluj, presumably the Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery.
d)	Seventeenth century
e)	42 x 17 x 17 cm (fragment)
f)	Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 342-343, Cat. No. 292. Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On one of the side panels (A) DOM[S] CONS[– – –] QVEM[– – –] TAL[– – –] NAMQ[– – –] EX[– – –]

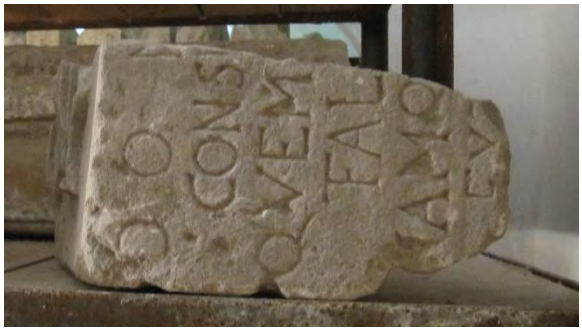

Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2012. © National History Museum of Transylvania

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Cat. No. 115

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, National History Museum of Transylvania
b)	*Unknown*
c)	**Member of the Mikola family** Based on the inscription, the subject was a member of the Mikola family, perhaps Ferenc Mikola, son or grandson of the vice-voivode László Mikola (see **Cat. No. 293**). The stone probably originated from the Calvinist church in Cluj-Someşeni, with the other Mikola memorials. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables]. Vol. 7, 486-487. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1860.
d)	c. 1580-1600
e)	50 x 58 x 21 cm (fragment)
f)	Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei " [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History] PhD thesis, 253, Cat. No. 163 (without identifying it as a tomb monument and the name). Cluj, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, 2013.
g)	On the central panel (A) [– – –]S MIKOL[– – –] [– – –] [P]OSSET HABERE [– – –] [– – –]SO PATRIAMQ(VE) DEVMQ(VE) [– – –] RELLIGIONE[1] FIDE: [– – –]I COELI ACCEPTURI SI INAV[.][2] EST [– – –]CTVS COELI: TVVMQ(VE) CHORO: [– – –] NVNC TRANSILVANIA LVGET: [– – –]DOLET ESSE VIRO [– – –]M AB ORIGINE[– – –]

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1 The double L is because of the verse
2 I and S in ligature, the letters are damaged,

Photo: Melinda Mihály, 2012. © National History Museum of Transylvania

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Cat. No. 116

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**Petrus (Péter) Kovásznai** He was born in 1616 or 1617. He studied in Debrecen (1637) and Sárospatak (from 1639), then he served as rector in Mád. He continued his theological studies abroad: in Leiden (1643), Groningen (1643), Franeker (1644), and in England, from where he returned in 1645. From 1646, he was pastor in Fóny and Nagyecsed. He was accused with Puritanism by the Calvinist synod in 1646, but he kept on to his views even later, despite the strict judgment. From 1655, he was pastor in Oradea, but he was deprived from his chair and condemned to prison. He was set free for the intervention of Princess Zsuzsanna Lórántffy. He escaped from the Ottoman conquest to Transylvania in 1660, and became the court priest of the Kemény, then the Rhédei family. He was pastor in Cluj from 1662, then dean and bishop from 1668. According to the inscription, he died in 1673, aged 57. His funeral ceremony was a prominent event, with several speeches and verses by Calvinist intellectuals. The church distributed so-called funerary charts with his eulogy on the occasion, printed on paper, and the first part of the text on that was the same as the inscription on the gravestone. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 346-349. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988 Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 231, No. 2346. Fontes Rerum Scholasticarum. edited by Bálint Keserű Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992.
d)	d. 1673
e)	38 x 106 x 20 cm
f)	Gaal, György. *Tört kövön és porladó kereszten. Pusztuló múlt és fájó jelen a házsongárdi temetőben* [On broken stone and vanishing cross. Disappearing past and painful present in the Házsongárd Cemetery], 160-161. Kolozsvár: Stúdium, 2009. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 344-352 and figs 27a-b. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Kohn, Hillel, and Gyula Zsakó. "A kolozsvári házsongárdi temető sírkövei 1700-ig" [Gravestones from the Házsongárd Cemetery in Cluj from before 1700]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 6, no. 5, 6 (1911): 335.
g)	On the central panel (A) HIC IACET [REVE]RENDVS AC CLARIS SIMVS DOMINVS PETRVS KOVASZNAI ECCLESIARVM ORTHO

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	DOXARVM IN TRANSYLVA NIA EPISCOPVS FRATRVM IN COMITATV KOLOS AC TRACTV KALOTA SZEG SENIOR ECCLESIAE DE NIQ(VE) ORTHODOXAE CLA VDIOPOLITANAE MINISTER OBYT ANNO DOMINI 1673 DIE 21. IVLY AETA TEM AGENS 57. ANNORVM VNA TIBI FVERAT VITAE PRO TEM PORE CVRA: QVAE LIBET HOC PV NCTO LINEA DVCTA TIBI: NEM PE TVAM GENTEM VACVAM FER VORE REFORMANS: OMNE TIBI HOC FVERAT RELLIGIONIS OP(VS) EXEMPLARIS ERAT CVNCTIS SACRA FVNCTIO VITAE. IN TE MANSVETVS SPIRITVS IGNIS ERAT.

Source: http://wms.elte.hu/hazsongard/kepek/094.jpg

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 117

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**János Szilágyi** According to the inscription, he died in 1676. **Anna Szilágyi** Daughter of János Szilágyi, who died in 1674, aged six. **Borica Szilágyi** Daughter of János Szilágyi, who died in 1676, being six months old.
d)	d. 1676
e)	43 x 75 x 23 cm
f)	Gaal, György. *Tört kövön és porladó kereszten. Pusztuló múlt és fájó jelen a házsongárdi temetőben* [On broken stone and vanishing cross. Disappearing past and painful present in the Házsongárd Cemetery], 161-162. Kolozsvár: Stúdium, 2009. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 357-358 and fig. 28. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Kohn, Hillel, and Gyula Zsakó. "A kolozsvári házsongárdi temető sírkövei 1700-ig" [Gravestones from the Házsongárd Cemetery in Cluj from before 1700]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 6, no. 5, 6 (1911): 336.
g)	On the central panel (A) A(NNO) 1676 DYE 24 IANVARI MVLT KI EZ VILAGHBOL EO MAGA SZILAGI JANOS VR EGY KIS ANN(A) NEVV KEDV [E]S LEANYKAIA MELY (H)OLT HAT ESZTEND SZ[1] (K)ORABAN 1674 ESZTENDOBEN DYE 10 AVGVSZTI VGYAN 1676 ESZTENDOBEN EGY KISZ KEDVES BORIC ZA NEVV HATT HOLNAPI LEANYKAIA MVLT KI EZ VILAGBOL DYE 10 FEBRVARY

1 The word was distorted from ESZTENDOS, perhaps by a renovation.

CEU eTD Collection

Source: Gaal, György. *Tört kövön és porladó kereszten. Pusztuló múlt és fájó jelen a házsongárdi temetőben* [On broken stone and vanishing cross. Disappearing past and painful present in the Házsongárd Cemetery], second figure page. Kolozsvár: Stúdium, 2009.

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 118

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**Felten Waida** According to the inscription, he died in 1599.
d)	d. 1599
e)	_ x _ x _ cm
f)	Gaal, György. *Tört kövön és porladó kereszten. Pusztuló múlt és fájó jelen a házsongárdi temetőben* [On broken stone and vanishing cross. Disappearing past and painful present in the Házsongárd Cemetery], 26-27, 35, 177. Kolozsvár: Stúdium, 2009.
g)	Upper part of the central panel (A) HIE LIGT BEGR ABEN DER ERSAM FELTEN WAIDA VELCHER IM HERR ENTSLAFEN IST, AM XVI TAG IVNI 1599 Lower part of the central panel (B) HODIE MIHI CRAS TIBI

CEU eTD Collection

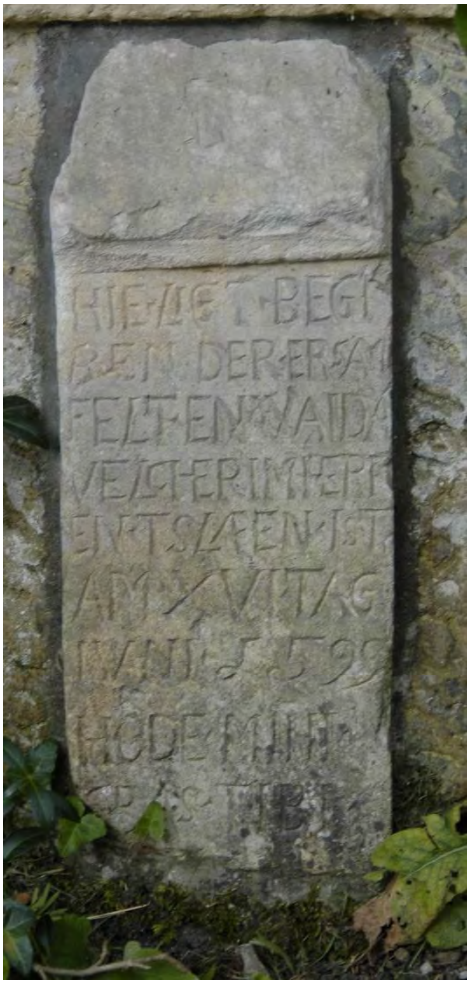


Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 119

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**Samuel Járai** He was born in 1590 in Turda, as a son of an Antitrinitarian priest. He studied in Cluj, then abroad. After he returned, he was school lector in Cluj, then became Antitrinitarian priest in Rimetea (Torockó) in 1622. He married in the same year. He was preacher in Cluj from 1623, then pastor and dean from 1632. He died in 1643 aged 53. Four priests delivered sermons at his funeral ceremony, including the bishop. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 227. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 238, No. 2404. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992.
d)	d. 1643
e)	212 x 81 x 54 cm
f)	Gaal, György. *Tört kövön és porladó kereszten. Pusztuló múlt és fájó jelen a házsongárdi temetőben* [On broken stone and vanishing cross. Disappearing past and painful present in the Házsongárd Cemetery], 93. Kolozsvár: Stúdium, 2009. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 226-228. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Kohn, Hillel, and Gyula Zsakó. "A kolozsvári házsongárdi temető sírkövei 1700-ig" [Gravestones from the Házsongárd Cemetery in Cluj from before 1700]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 6, no. 5, 6 (1911): 299.
g)	On one of the side panels (A) EXVVIAS ANIMAE SAMVELIS HEV IARAINI MARMORIS HAC SVBTER MOLE RECONDIT HVMVS QVEM VIRTVS PRAECLARA VIRVM DECORAT ABVNDE CVI SEMPER FAMA VIVERE POSSE DEDIT VIRIBVS INGENII LOCVPLES PIETATE FIDE(QVE) CONSPICVVS VERI CVLTOR ERATQ(VE) DEI VRBE HAC SYNCERVS PER BIS DVO LVSTRA MINISTER VERE CH(R)ISTICOLAS EST MODERATVS OVES INTEREA PAROCHI PLVS QVAM DVO MVNERE LVSTRA HAC IPSA CELEBRI FVNCTVS IN VRBE FVIT QVINQVAGINTA AVI TRES IAM COMPLEBAT ET ANNOS CANEBAT MIXTA PRIMA SENECTA COMA

CEU eTD Collection

	TVNC FATI OPPRESSIT VIGILANTIA[1] CORPORE LIBER SPIRITVS [– – –] O [–][2] On the other side panel (B) HIC IACET ADMODVM [R]EVERENDVS CLARISSIMVS NECNON ERVDITIONE PIETA TE CAETERISQVE VLRTVTIBVS[3] CONSPICVVS VIR SAMVEL IARAI QVI HAC IN ECCLESIA CLA[V] DIOPOLITANA VERBI DIVINI FIDELISSIMVS PRAECO PER ANNOS IX ECCLESIASTICO RVMQVE REDITUUM VIGILLANTISSIMUS DISPENSA{TO}TOR PER ANNOS XI MAGNO CVM DIVINI PECVLII E(M)OLVMENTO FLORVIT. VIXIT ANNOS LIII OBDORMIVIT IN DOMINO DEO PIE AC FELICITER ANNO CHRISTI SALVATORIS NATI MDCXLIII DIE XXII NOVEMBRIS REQVIESCAT IN PACE RESVRGAT AD GLORIAM

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011

CEU eTD Collection

1 Based on Herepei, *A Házsongárdi temető*, 226.
2 The last line does not appear in Herepei's transcription.
3 Sic!

Cat. No. 120

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**Anna Filstich** Based on the inscription, she was born in 1615. The Filstich family was a Saxon family of goldsmiths, guild masters. The house of Péter Filstich was situated on the northern side of the main square. Péter Filstich was a financial adviser of Prince Gábor Bethlen. His son, Lőrinc Filstich, Anna's father, converted to Calvinism in 1622; he was the first Calvinist judge of the town, from 1641. Anna's mother was his first wife, Anna Stenczel. Anna Filstich's husband was Gáspár Wicey who died fifteen years after her. The Wicey family is known in Cluj from the 1520s, the members of the family were goldsmith masters, town judges. They were also Calvinists from the first decade of the seventeenth century. Gáspár Wicey was an educated man with a significant book collection in his library. Anna probably died in childbirth. **Daughter of Anna Filstich and Gáspár Wicey** Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 304-310. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. **Péter Fojfalvi** Secondary subject. According the inscription, the son of Péter Fojfalvi and Sára Stenzel, who died as a child in 1773. He was a distant relative of the primary subject on her mother's side.
d)	d. 1650 (secondary subject d. 1773)
e)	_ x _ x _ cm
f)	Gaal, György. *Tört kövön és porladó kereszten. Pusztuló múlt és fájó jelen a házsongárdi temetőben* [On broken stone and vanishing cross. Disappearing past and painful present in the Házsongárd Cemetery], 80, 96. Kolozsvár: Stúdium, 2009. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 302-311 and figs 23a-b. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988.
g)	On one of the side panels (A) IT NIVGSZIK AZ I(STE)NB(EN) BOLDOGVL KI MVLT WICEY GASPAR NAK KEDVES HAZASTARSA FILSTICH ANNA EGY KIS LEANIKAIAVAL KI HOLT MEG DIE 26 IANVARY AN(NO) 1650 ELETENEK PENIGH 35 ESZTENDEYEB IOB KEONYVENEK 19 RESZEB(EN) 25 26 VERSEIB(EN) EN IS IOL TVDO(M) HOGY AZ EN MEGVALTO(M) EL ES HOGY AZ VTOLSO EMBER AZ FEOLDBEOL FELTAMAD TOVABBA MINEK VTANNA AZ FERGEK AZ EN TESTEMET MEGRAGHIAK ES MINEK VTANNA FELEBREDEK EBBEN AZ TESTB MEGLATOM AZ ISTENT

CEU eTD Collection

	On the other side panel (B) ANO 1773 DIE 4TA AVGVSTI HOLT MEG NEMES ÉS NEMZETES FOJFALVI NAGY IANOS ÉS STENCEL SÁRÁNAK EGY NY PÉTER NEVU KISTSI FIJAK

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 121

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, in the wall of the town fortifications
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery, in the wall of the Bethlen crypt*
c)	**Istók Nyírő** According to the inscription, he was the son of János Nyírő, and died in 1585. János Nyírő was a goldsmith, who was steward in Cluj in 1619, and councilor in 1621 and 1622. The inventory of his possessions taken after his death survived. Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 158. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Flóra, Ágnes. "The Matter of Honour. The Leading Urban Elite in Sixteenth Century Cluj and Sibiu." PhD Thesis, 412. Budapest, Central European Universty, 2014.
d)	d. 1585
e)	59 x 36 x ? cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 52, 158, 194, and fig. 191. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Gaal, György. *Tört kövön és porladó kereszten. Pusztuló múlt és fájó jelen a házsongárdi temetőben* [On broken stone and vanishing cross. Disappearing past and painful present in the Házsongárd Cemetery], 13. Kolozsvár: Stúdium, 2009. Jakab, Albert Zsolt. *Ez a kő tétetett... : Az emlékezet helyei Kolozsváron (1440-2012). Adattár* [Places of memory in Cluj. Data collection], 41, Cat. No. 63. Kolozsvár: Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság, Nemzeti Kisebbségkutató intézet, 2012. Jakab, Elek. *Kolozsvár története. Második kötet oklevéltárral. Újabb kor. Nemzeti fejedelmi korszak (1540-1690)* [History of Cluj. Second volume with archival documents. Modern Age. The period of the national princes, 1540-1690], 225. Budapest: Szabad kir. Kolozsvár város közönsége, 1888. Lőwy, Dániel, János Demeter V., and Lajos Asztalos. *Kőbe írt Kolozsvár* [Cluj written in stone], 58-59. Kolozsvár: Nis, 1996. Nagyajtai Kovács, István. "Vándorlások Kolozsvár' várfalai körül 1840-ben májusban" [Wandering along the city walls of Cluj in May 1840]. *Nemzeti Társalkodó*, no. 9 (1840): 68-69.
g)	Inscription (A) IT NIVGSIK ISTENBE NIRW IANNOS FYA ISTOK HALALA LEOT PWNKOST HAVANAK 12 NAPIAN ANNO 1585

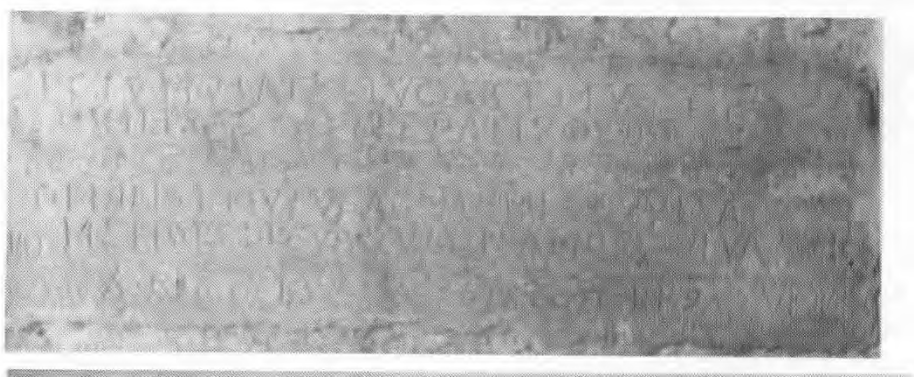
CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 122

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, in the wall of the town fortifications
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, in the wall of the town fortifications*
c)	**Lucas (Lukács) Szőlősi** According to the inscription, he was son of Lukács Szőlősi, who is called noble and presented as *literatus*, man of letters. He died in 1574.
d)	d. 1574
e)	_ x _ x _ cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 375. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Gaal, György. *Tört kövön és porladó kereszten. Pusztuló múlt és fájó jelen a házsongárdi temetőben* [On broken stone and vanishing cross. Disappearing past and painful present in the Házsongárd Cemetery], 13. Kolozsvár: Stúdium, 2009. Jakab, Albert Zsolt. *Ez a kő tétetett... : Az emlékezet helyei Kolozsváron (1440-2012). Adattár* [Places of memory in Cluj. Data collection], 34, Cat. No. 47. Kolozsvár: Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság, Nemzeti Kisebbségkutató intézet, 2012. Lőwy, Dániel, János Demeter V., and Lajos Asztalos. *Kőbe írt Kolozsvár* [Cluj written in stone], 46, fig 14/a. Kolozsvár: Nis, 1996.
g)	Inscription (A) HIC TVMVLAT(VS) E(ST) LVCAS FILIVS NOBILIS [LV]CAE LITERATI ZEOLEOSI O FI(LI) INGENVE [– – –]RMI LOQVELA MEMOR E(ST) LI(N)GVA DVLCIS AMORE TVA AN(NO) DO(MINI) 1574 3 DIE OCTOBR(IS)

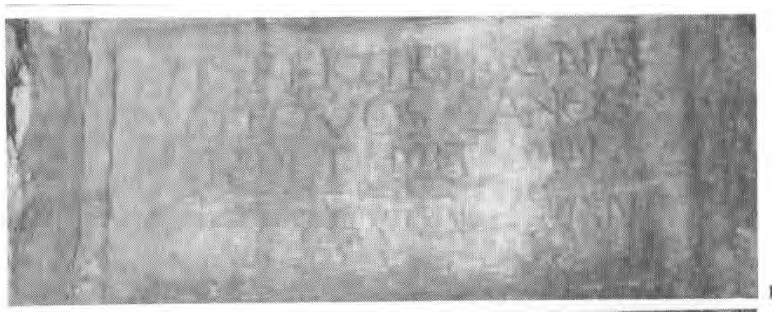


Source: Lőwy, Dániel, János Demeter V., and Lajos Asztalos. *Kőbe írt Kolozsvár* [Cluj written in stone], fig. 14/a. Kolozsvár: Nis, 1996.

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 123

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, in the wall of the town fortifications
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, in the wall of the town fortifications*
c)	**János Bányai Ötvös** His name suggests that he was a goldsmith. The inscription says that he died in 1574.
d)	d. 1574
e)	55 x 27 x ? cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 194, and fig. on 195. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Deák, Farkas. "Magyar feliratú sírkövek a XVI. századból" [Funeral monuments from the sixteenth century with Hungarian inscription]. *Archaeológiai Értesítő* (1879): 358-359. Jakab, Albert Zsolt. *Ez a kő tétetett... : Az emlékezet helyei Kolozsváron (1440-2012). Adattár* [Places of memory in Cluj. Data collection], 34, Cat. No. 48. Kolozsvár: Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság, Nemzeti Kisebbségkutató intézet, 2012. Lőwy, Dániel, János Demeter V., and Lajos Asztalos. *Kőbe írt Kolozsvár* [Cluj written in stone], 48, fig. 15/b. Kolozsvár: Nis, 1996.
g)	Inscription (A) IT FEKZIK BANAI OTOVOS IANOS HOLT MEG MIN D ZENT NAPIAN 1574



Source: Balogh, Jolán. *Pákei Lajos rajzai Kolozsvár müemlékeiről* [Drawings by Lajos Pákei about the monuments in Cluj], 186, fig. 5/b. Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek. Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1944; Lőwy, Dániel, János Demeter V., and Lajos Asztalos. *Kőbe írt Kolozsvár* [Cluj written in stone], 48, fig. 15/b. Kolozsvár: Nis, 1996.

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 124

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, in the wall of the town fortifications
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, in the wall of the town fortifications*
c)	**Borbála, daughter of Gergely Választó** Gergely Választó was a goldsmith master. His name refers to the process of refining gold. He is mentioned as a representative of the goldsmiths' guild of Cluj negotiating from the guild from Sibiu in 1577. His daughter, Borbála was the wife of Antal Ötvös, whose name suggest that he was a goldsmith as well. He was mentioned in the guild documents related to a strike in 1573. Based on the inscription, Borbála died in 1574. Deák, Farkas. *A kolozsvári ötves legények strikeja 1573-ban és 1576-ban : székfoglaló értekezés* [The srike of goldsmith apprentices in Cluj in 1573 and in 1576: inauguration speach], 3 Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1886.
d)	d. 1574
e)	33 x 20 x ? cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 193-194. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Deák, Farkas. "Magyar feliratú sírkövek a XVI. századból" [Funeral monuments from the sixteenth century with Hungarian inscription]. *Archaeológiai Értesítő* (1879): 358. Jakab, Albert Zsolt. *Ez a kő tétetett... : Az emlékezet helyei Kolozsváron (1440-2012). Adattár* [Places of memory in Cluj. Data collection], 33, Cat. No. 46. Kolozsvár: Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság, Nemzeti Kisebbségkutató intézet, 2012. Jakab, Elek. *Kolozsvár története. Második kötet oklevéltárral. Újabb kor. Nemzeti fejedelmi korszak (1540-1690)* [History of Cluj. Second volume with archival documents. Modern Age. The period of the national princes, 1540-1690], 225. Budapest: Szabad kir. Kolozsvár város közönsége, 1888. Lőwy, Dániel, János Demeter V., and Lajos Asztalos. *Kőbe írt Kolozsvár* [Cluj written in stone], 48, fig. 15/c. Kolozsvár: Nis, 1996. Nagyajtai Kovács, István. "Vándorlások Kolozsvár' várfalai körül 1840-ben májusban" [Wandering along the city walls of Cluj in May 1840]. *Nemzeti Társalkodó*, no. 9 (1840): 68.
g)	Inscription (A) IT FEKZYK VALAZTO GERGOLY LEANIA BORBARA A'ZONY OTOVOS ANTALNE HOLT MEG NAGBODOG A'ZONY NAPYAN 1574

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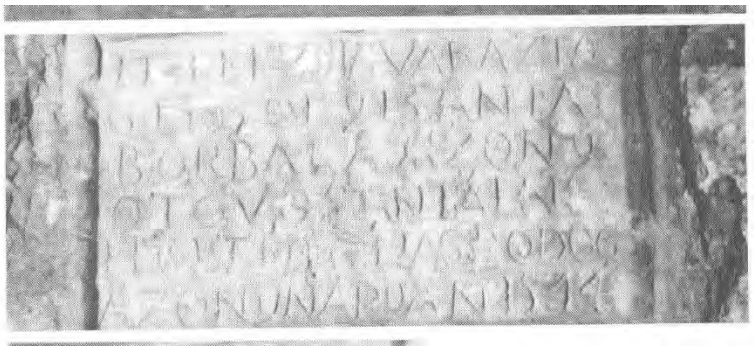
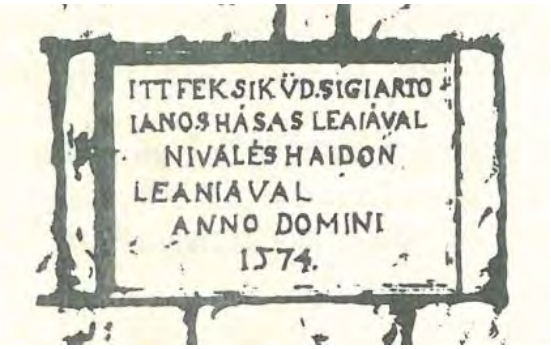


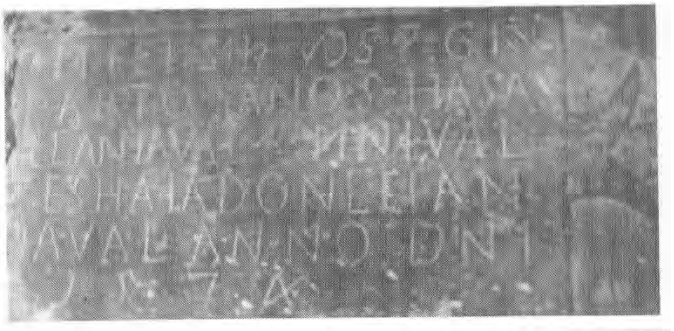
Source: Balogh, Jolán. *Pákei Lajos rajzai Kolozsvár müemlékeiről* [Drawings by Lajos Pákei about the monuments in Cluj], 186, fig. 5/a. Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek. Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1944; Lőwy, Dániel, János Demeter V., and Lajos Asztalos. *Kőbe írt Kolozsvár* [Cluj written in stone], 48, fig. 15/c. Kolozsvár: Nis, 1996.

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 125

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, in the wall of the town fortifications
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, in the wall of the town fortifications*
c)	**János Íjgyártó Senior** **A married daughter of János Íjgyártó Senior** **An unmarried daughter of János Íjgyártó Senior**
d)	d. 1574
e)	53 x 26 x ? cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 194. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Deák, Farkas. "Magyar feliratú sírkövek a XVI. századból" [Funeral monuments from the sixteenth century with Hungarian inscription]. *Archaeológiai Értesítő* (1879): 358. Jakab, Albert Zsolt. *Ez a kő tétetett... : Az emlékezet helyei Kolozsváron (1440-2012). Adattár* [Places of memory in Cluj. Data collection], 33, Cat. No. 45. Kolozsvár: Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság, Nemzeti Kisebbségkutató intézet, 2012. Lőwy, Dániel, János Demeter V., and Lajos Asztalos. *Kőbe írt Kolozsvár* [Cluj written in stone], 47-48, fig. 15/a. Kolozsvár: Nis, 1996.
g)	Inscription (A) IT FEKSIK VDS IGI ARTO IANOS HASAS LEANIAVAL [...]MNIVAL ES HAIADON LEIAN IAVAL ANNO D(OMI)NI 1574





Source: Balogh, Jolán. *Pákei Lajos rajzai Kolozsvár müemlékeiről* [Drawings by Lajos Pákei about the monuments in Cluj], 186, fig. 6/a. Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek. Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1944; Lőwy, Dániel, János Demeter V., and Lajos Asztalos. *Kőbe írt Kolozsvár* [Cluj written in stone], 48, fig. 15/a. Kolozsvár: Nis, 1996.

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Cat. No. 126

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, in the wall of the town fortifications
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, in the wall of the town fortifications*
c)	**Kata, daughter of János Tölcséres Pécsi** Based on the inscription, she died in 1595.
d)	d. 1595
e)	_ x _ x _cm
f)	Gaal, György. *Tört kövön és porladó kereszten. Pusztuló múlt és fájó jelen a házsongárdi temetőben* [On broken stone and vanishing cross. Disappearing past and painful present in the Házsongárd Cemetery], 13. Kolozsvár: Stúdium, 2009. Jakab, Albert Zsolt. *Ez a kő tétetett... : Az emlékezet helyei Kolozsváron (1440-2012). Adattár* [Places of memory in Cluj. Data collection], 42, Cat. No. 64. Kolozsvár: Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság, Nemzeti Kisebbségkutató intézet, 2012.
g)	Inscription (A) IT FEKZIK PECHI THOLHERES IA NOS LEANJA KATA A(NNO) D(OMINI) 1595

Photo: 2003

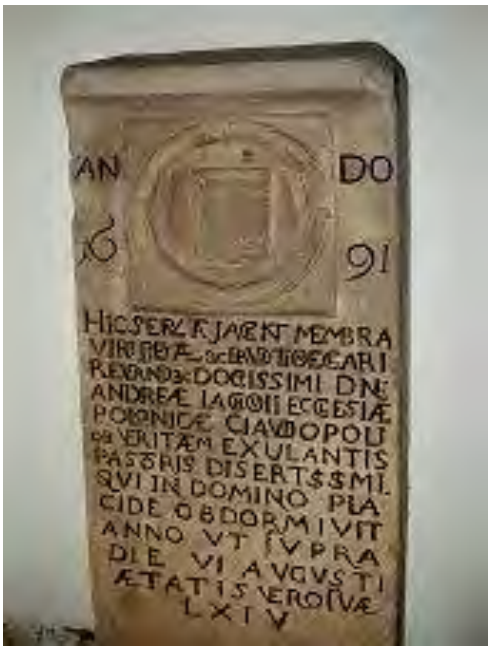
CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 127

a)	Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Unitarian church, porch
b)	*Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg, Central (Házsongárd) Cemetery*
c)	**Andreas Lachovius** Lachovius (or Andrzej Lachowski) was born in 1627, in Mękarzów, Poland. He got connected to Socinianism due to his his family, which probably determined his education too. He started his career as a teacher in Kiev, then became pastor in Lusławice from 1653. In 1657, he was a member of the Antitrinitarian committee sent to Charles X Gustav King of Sweden. Since the committee was not successful in their mission, Antitrinitarian dogmas were banned in Poland in 1660, and Antitrinitarians were forced to convert or to leave the country. About four or five hundred people moved to Transylvania, including Lachovius, who took his community from Lusławice. In 1666, he was elected as school rector in Cluj, and he was the priest of the Polish Unitarian community in the town from 1672. They bought a house for their liturgies in 1680. His first wife died in 1675, his second wife was called Sára Gutzi. Lachovius died in 1691. His descendants changed their name to the Hungarian form “Lászlóczki”. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 383-384. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Rácz, Norbert. "Otthonra lelni a hitben. Rövid emlékezés Lachovius Andrásra (1627–1691) és az Erdélyben letelepedett lengyel unitáriusokra" [Finding home in faith. A brief commemoration of András Lachovius and the Polish Unitarians who settled in Transylvania]. *Unitárius Közlöny* 24 (84), no. 3 (1990): 11-13.
d)	d. 1691
e)	46 x 113 x 25 cm
f)	"Lachovius András síremléke". *Keresztény Magvető* 6 (1885): 383-384. Gaal, György. *Tört kövön és porladó kereszten. Pusztuló múlt és fájó jelen a házsongárdi temetőben* [On broken stone and vanishing cross. Disappearing past and painful present in the Házsongárd Cemetery], 17, 135. Kolozsvár: Stúdium, 2009. Herepei, János. *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez* [Old tombstones from the Házsongád Cemetery. Data on the cultural history of Cluj], 383-385. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. Jakab, Albert Zsolt. *Ez a kő tétetett... : Az emlékezet helyei Kolozsváron (1440-2012). Adattár* [Places of memory in Cluj. Data collection], 73-74, Cat. No. 118. Kolozsvár: Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság, Nemzeti Kisebbségkutató intézet, 2012.
g)	On the central panel (A) AN(NO) DO(MINI) 1691 HIC SEPVLTA JACENT MEMBRA VIRI PIETATAE AC ERVDITIONE CLARI(SSIMI) REVEREND(ISSIMI) ac DOCTISSIMI D(OMI)N(I) ANDREAE LACHOVII ECCLESIAE POLONICAE CLAVDIOPOLI(TANAE)

CEU eTD Collection

	OB VERITATEM EXULANTIS PASTORIS DISERTISSIMI. QVI IN DOMINO PLA CIDE OBDORMIVIT ANNO VT SVPRA DIE VI AVGVSTI AETATIS VERO SVAE LXIV



Source: https://www.welcometoromania.ro/Cluj/Cluj_Biserica_Unitariana_m.htm

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 128

a)	Comlod – Komlód, Calvinist Church, in the southern wall of the nave
b)	*Comlod – Komlód, Calvinist Church*
c)	**Cosma (Kozma) Pethritievith (Petrichevich) Horváth** The Petrichevich Horváth family originated from Croatia, their ancestors can be traced back to the eleventh century. The family moved to Transylvania in the first half of the sixteenth century, due to the advancement of the Ottoman occupation. The word "Horváth" in their name, meaning Croat, refers to their origins. Kozma was born in 1523, possibly still in Croatia. His father was identified as either Miklós or György Perrichevich in the genealogical literature. His career started as supervisor (provisor) of the castle of Brâncovenești (Marosvécs, Wetsch), then he was captain of Alba Iulia. He was captain and prefect of the Castle of Făgăraș from 1576, and councilor of the Prince from 1588. He was Antitrinitarian, and it was a tradition in his family to support the Antitrinitarian religion. Based on the inscription, he died in 1590, at the age of 67. **Barbara (Bobála) Petki** Her father was János Petki, her mother was Orsolya Lázár, both from the ranks of the most powerful Székely families. Her brother was Mihály Petki (**Cat. No. 137**). Borbála and her husband were guardians of Mihály's sons after his death. They had at least three children of their own: György, Franciscus (Ferenc), who was the patron of the memorial based on the inscription, and a daughter whose funeral monument survived in Dârjiu (**Cat. No. 138**). The inscription also says that Borbála Petki died in 1595. **Iuditha (Judit) Petrichevich Horváth** Daughter of Franciscus (Ferenc) Petrichevich Horváth, commemorated with her grandparents. She died as a child in 1598. Balogh, Judit. "A Derzsi Petki család felemelkedése a 16. század második felében" [The rise of the Petki of Derzs family in the second half of the sixteenth century]. In *Székelyföldi karrierek. Az udvarhelyszéki nemesség hatalomszerzési lehetőségei a 16. század második felében* [Carriers in the Székely Land. Power acquisition strategies of the nobility in Udvarhelyszék in the second half of the sixteenth century], 211. Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2011. Lázár, Miklós. *Erdély főispánjai (1540-1711). Külön lenyomat a Századok 1887—1889-ki folyamaiból* [County heads in Transylvania, 1540-1711. Offprint from the Századok periodical], 207-208. Budapest: Az Atheneum R. Társ. Könyvnyomdája, 1889. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 5, 156-157. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1859. Petrichevich Horváth, Emil. *A Petrichevich család általános története* [A general history of the Petrichecich family], 304-330. Budapest: Petrichevich Horváth Emil, 1934. Petrichevich Horváth, Emil. *A Petrichevich család történetének regesztái* [Abstracts from the history of the Petrichevich family], 69-111. Pécs: Dunántúl Pécsi Egyetemi Könyvkiadó és Nyomda, 1942.

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	"Petrityvity-Horváth Kozma önéletírása. 1634-1660". [Biography of Kozma Petyrityvity-Horváth]. In *Történelmi kalászok.1603-1711* [Gleanings from history], edited by Gábor Daniel and Kálmán Thaly, 2-3. Pest: Lauffer és Stolp, 1862. Trócsányi, Zsolt. *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690* [The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690], 32. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980.
d)	d. 1590, 1595, 1598
e)	86 x 132 x ? cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 318 and figs 87-88. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985.
g)	On the central panel (A) GENEROSO DOMINO COSMAE HORVATH PETHRI TIEVITH, OB PRAECLARAS EIVS VIRTVTES SER(ENISSI)MO QVON DAM STEPHANO REGI POLONIAE, CAETERISQ(VE) TRANSI LVANIAE PRINCIPIBVS IN SVMMO HONORE HABITO ANNO D(OMI)NI 1590, DIE 28 APRILIS, AETATIS VERO SVAE 67. ET G(ENEROSAE) D(OMINAE) BARBARAE PETKI, CONSORTI EIVS DEM DILECTISSIMAE A(NNO) D(OMINI) 1595, DIE 7 FEBRVAR[II] EXTINCTIS PARENTIBVS SVIS CHARISSIMIS: NEC [NO]N FILIOLAE IVDITHAE, A(NNO) D(OMINI) 1598, DIE 9 APRILI(S) [...]S[1] FRANCISCVS HORVAT PETHRITIEVITH MEMORIAE[2] ERGO POSVIT

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[1] Lázár, *Erdély főispánjai*, 208 transcribed this line as „e vivis sublatae Franciscus Horvát" but there is not enough space for this.
[2] After Lázár, *Erdély főispánjai*, 208.

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 129

a)	Comlod – Komlód, Calvinist Church, in the northern wall of the nave
b)	*Comlod – Komlód, Calvinist Church*
c)	**Anna Petrithevith (Petrichevich) Horváth** She was born in 1620 as daughter of György, who was son of Kozma Petrichevich Horváth (**Cat. No. 128**). His mother was Erzsébet Béldi. She was the first wife of Ákos Barcsai, later Prince of Transylvania, who that time served in the court of Prince György Rákóczi and was appointed as warden (*banus*) of Lugoj and Caransebeș in 1644. No children of theirs is known. Lázár, Miklós. *Erdély főispánjai (1540-1711). Külön lenyomat a Századok 1887—1889-ki folyamaiból* [County heads in Transylvania, 1540-1711. Offprint from the Századok periodical], 182. Budapest: Az Atheneum R. Társ. Könyvnyomdája, 1889. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 5, 156-157. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1859. "Petrityvity-Horváth Kozma önéletírása. 1634-1660". [Biography of Kozma Petyrityvity-Horváth]. In *Történelmi kalászok.1603-1711* [Gleanings from history], edited by Gábor Daniel and Kálmán Thaly, 2-3. Pest: Lauffer és Stolp, 1862. Trócsányi, Zsolt. *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690* [The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690], 23. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980.
d)	d. 1645
e)	88 x 177 x ? cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 318. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985.
g)	Border inscription (A) ANNO 1645 ANNA HORVATH PETRITHEV GENIS [– – –] [– – – – – –] PRIMARI AVLA FAMILIARIS.. CONIVAX[1] OBYT 28 MAY AETATIS SVAE XL ANNO On the central panel (B) NON SVM MVTA PROPIVS SVCCEDE VIATOR STRYPS[2] ANTIQVA MEO FVNERE TOTA BVIT[3] PRAESENTIS VT RES NON MIHI PAVCVLA FVLSIT FVLSIT ET EGREGY PAX MIHI

[1] Sic, instead of CONIVNX
[2] Sic, instead of STYRPS
[3] Sic, instead of FUIT

CEU eTD Collection

	FIDA TORI ATTAMEN HEV NVLLVM MORS AESTIMA(T) ARGVMENTVM ET STEMMA ET DOS PER FVR[–]A TORO IN MAIO QVINTO ET VICENO ANNO AVFEROR ANNA NON IVVAT OBNITI RITE SED IRE IVVAT

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 130

a)	Criș – Keresd – Kreisch, Bethlen Castle, in the courtyard
b)	*Criș – Keresd – Kreisch*
c)	**Unknown** Probably a member of the Bethlen family.
d)	Seventeenth century
e)	82 x ? x 20 cm (fragment)
f)	–
g)	–

Photo: Cătălin Săvulescu, 2013

Cat. No. 131

a)	Criș – Keresd – Kreisch, Bethlen Castle, in the park
b)	*Criș – Keresd – Kreisch, Lutheran church, in front of the main altar*
c)	**Susanna (Zsuzsanna) Kamuthy** Daughter of Wolfgangus (Farkas) Kamuthi and Kata Mojzes. Farkas Kamuthi was one of the most powerful Transylvanian aristocrats, *főispán* (head) of Torda County, councilor, general of the Székelys, and legate of the prince with several important diplomatic missions. György Sebestyén read Zsuzsanna's age at death as 18 on the memorial, but she must have been born earlier than 1613, since she married Franciscus (Ferenc) Bethlen of Bún in 1627. The list of her dowry has been preserved. Ferenc Bethlen was that time master of the table in the princely court, but later, after the death of his wife, became master of the court and councilor, as well as *főispán* of Fehér County. Zsuzsanna died in 1631, and the inscription on the memorial suggests that her two daughters also died in the same year. Her last will written in Criş survived from 1629. Lázár, Miklós. *Erdély főispánjai (1540-1711). Külön lenyomat a Századok 1887—1889-ki folyamaiból* [County heads in Transylvania, 1540-1711. Offprint from the Századok periodical], 14-15, 117-119. Budapest: Az Atheneum R. Társ. Könyvnyomdája, 1889. Lukinich, Imre. *A Bethleni gróf Bethlen család története* [The history of the Bethlen of Bethlen family], 149-154. Budapest: Aetheneum, 1928. Lukinich, Imre. "Keresdi báró Bethlen Ferenc, 1601-1653" [Baron Ferenc Bethlen of Keresd, 1601-1653]. *Századok* (1908): 677-696, 781-805, 884-904. Trócsányi, Zsolt. *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690* [The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690], 25, 29, 391, 394. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980. Tüdős S., Kinga. *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3. Erdélyi nemesek és főemberek végrendeletei 1600-1660* [Transylvanian testaments, vol. 3. Last wills of Transylvanian noblemen and aristocrats 1600-1660], 100-101. Târgu Mureș: Mentor Kiadó, 2008.
d)	d. 1631
e)	100 x 190 x 28 cm
f)	Biró, József. *Erdélyi kastélyok* [Castles in Transylvania], 167. Budapest: Új Idők Irodalmi Intézete, 1943. Buzogány, Dezső. "A kisbúni Bethlen-kastély és 17. századi története" [The Bethlen Castle in Topa and its seventeenth-century history]. *Református Szemle*, no. 1 (2002): 21-33. Gündisch, Gustav. "Der Hermannstädter Bildhauer und Steinmetz Elias Nicolai". In *Studien zur siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte*, edited by Gustav Gündisch, Albert Klein, Harald Krasser and Theobald Streifeld, 244-245. Cologne: Böhlau, 1976. Lukinich, Imre. *A Bethleni gróf Bethlen család története* [The history of the Bethlen of Bethlen family], 122 (drawing by György Sebestyén). Budapest: Aetheneum, 1928. Seraphin, Fr. Wilhelm. "Zwei in Kronstadt gefundene Grabsteine". *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 31 (1908): 141. Szádeczky, Lajos. "Az Apafiak sírboltja és hamvai" [The grave vault and corporal remains of the Apafi family]. *Századok* (1909): 187. Szádeczky, Lajos. "Az ebesfalvi és keresdi kastély" [The castles in Dumbrăveni and Criș]. *Vasárnapi Újság* 52, no. 45 (1905): 717-719.

CEU eTD Collection

g)	Border inscription (A) HOC MONVMENTVM ERIGEBAT IN PERPETVAM MEMORIAM CHARISS(IMAE) SVAE[1] CONIVGIS MARITVS DILECTISS(IMVS)[2] GENEROSVS DOMINVS [FRANCISCVS BET]HLEN DE BVN On the central panel (B) Hic iacet Generosa ac M[agn]i(fica)[3] D(omi)na SVSANNA KAMVTHI ([4]F(i)lia Spectabilis ac Magnifici D(omi)ni WOLPHGANGI KAMVTHI zc zc)[5] Vna cum duabus s[u]is Chariss(imis) filia bus BARBARA et ELIZABETHA BETHLEN quae pla[ci]dis[sime in][6] D(omi)no obdormivit in Vn[ius Veri][7] DEI et filii [e]ius Iesu Chri(ist)i[8] V[e]ra c[og]ni(tione) A(nn)o 16[..][9] die 19 Ian AEtat(is) [...][10] On a second frame within the border, on the lower side (C) [...]NI[C]OLA...SIA..A[11]

[1] The inscription was transcribed by József Köpeczi Sebestyén in his drawing in Lukinich, *A Bethleni gróf Bethlen család*, fig. 122. His transcription has several mistakes, but it could be used to reconstruct some of the damaged parts.
[2] Based on the transcription by Sebestyén
[3] Here Sebestyén's transcription is Magni(fica). The letters are damaged by now, only a part of them is visible, but the word was clearly abbreviated.
[4] (in the original inscription
[5] (in the original inscription
[6] The word is abbreviated, but it is not clear how, since the letters are no longer visible.
[7] Sebestyén read it like lleri; based on this, Veri can be restored
[8] Chri is visible on the stone, Sebestyén read it as an abbreviation
[9] Sebestyén read it as 1631.
[10] Sebestyen read it as 18.
[11] Sebestyén read as SCVLP: ELIA[...]c[.]ai M: SERVATIVS CIBIN, but this could not be the original text since the still legible letters do not allow such a reconstruction.

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Photo: Cătălin Săvulescu, 2013

Cat. No. 132

a)	Criș – Keresd – Kreisch, Bethlen Castle, in the park
b)	*Criș – Keresd – Kreisch, Lutheran church, in front of the main altar*
c)	**Georgius (György) Bethlen** Son of Gergely Bethlen and Orsolya Kállai. He was a member of the Princely Council from 1559. He married Klára Thoroczkai in 1567. They had four children: Gergely, Zsigmond, György, and Zsófia. Based on the inscription, he was over fifty years when he died in 1589. Lukinich, Imre. *A Bethleni gróf Bethlen család története* [The history of the Bethlen of Bethlen family], 43, 49-51. Budapest: Aetheneum, 1928. Trócsányi, Zsolt. *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690* [The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690], 25. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980.
d)	d. 1589
e)	90 x 87 x ? cm (fragment)
f)	Lukinich, Imre. *A Bethleni gróf Bethlen család története* [The history of the Bethlen of Bethlen family], 47 (drawing by György Sebestyén). Budapest: Aetheneum, 1928.
g)	On the central panel (A) [EGRE]GII DOMINI HIC CONDVNTVR ME(M)BRA GEORGI [GENE]RE DE BE[T]HLE[N] [–] DE STIRPE NAT[I] [MORTE]M OBIT PLACIDA[– – –]RVE(–) QVI GLORIAE ET FA[MAE] [– – –] [E]RAT [BI]S[1] VIC[E]NOS DECE(M)Q(UE) E[T] [– – –] [A]N(N)OS [– – –] [EX H]AC[2] VIT[A][– – –] [– – –]AET[A]S NAMQ[VE] [– – –] – – – – – –

[1] Based on the transcription by József Köpeczi Sebestyén in his drawing in Lukinich, *A Bethleni gróf Bethlen család*, fig. 40.

[2] Based on the transcription by Sebestyén

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Photo: Cătălin Săvulescu, 2013

Drawing by György Sebestyén from 1927. Source: Imre Lukinich, *A Bethleni gróf Bethlen család története* [The history of the Bethlen of Bethlen family] (Budapest: Aetheneum, 1928), 47.

Cat. No. 133

a)	Cristian – Keresztényfalva – Neustadt-Burzenland, Lutheran church, in the eastern wall of the choir
b)	*Cristian – Keresztényfalva – Neustadt-Burzenland, Lutheran church*
c)	**Anna, wife of Michael Maius** She was the wife of a local pastor, Michael Maius based on the inscription. Michael Maius from Braşov studied in Wittenberg in 1617. When he returned, he served as preacher in Braşov, then as pastor in Bod (Botfalu, Brenndorf) and in Cristian. Anna died in 1631, aged 25. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 187. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992 **Marcus Franciscus** Secondary subject of the memorial; pastor in Cristian who died in 1719.
d)	d. 1631 (secondary subject d. 1719)
e)	71 x 166 x ? cm
f)	Gündisch, Gustav. "Der Hermannstädter Bildhauer und Steinmetz Elias Nicolai". In *Studien zur siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte*, edited by Gustav Gündisch, Albert Klein, Harald Krasser and Theobald Streifeld, 224-225. Cologne: Böhlau, 1976. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 167. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	On the inscription plaque (A) IN PIGNVS VERI AMORIS, MONV MENTVM HOC POSVIT MICHAEL MAIVS, HVIVS LOCI PASTOR, ANNAE, CONIVGI SVAE LECTIS SIMAE, IN CHRISTO PIE DEFVN CTAE, ANNO CHR(IST)I 1631 DIE 22 APRILIS, AETATIS SVAE 25. On the inscription plaque (B) HIC QUOQ(UE) JACET DEFuNCT(US) VIR REV(ERENDUS) D(OMINUS) MARCUS FRANCISCII 1719 D(IE) 8 MAJ On the frame (C): Ich weis das mein Erlöser lebt / und er wird mich [herna]ch aus der Erden [auferwe] cken / und werde [– – –] Gott sehen / Job 19 On the left pilaster (D): GOTtes Lamb herr Jhesu Crist

CEU eTD Collection

	On the right pilaster (E): Dein werther Tod mein Leben ist. On the scroll of the putto (F): [Quod tu es eg]o fui, q(uo)d ego su(m), tu eris.

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 134

a)	Cricău – Boroskrakkó – Krakau, Calvinist church, in the floor of the choir
b)	*Cricău – Boroskrakkó – Krakau, Calvinist church*
c)	**Krisztina Csáki** Daughter of Gábor Csáki, wife of István Bethlen of Iktár. István Bethlen was younger brother of Prince Gábor Bethlen, *főispán* (head) of Hunyad (Hunedoara) and Máramaros (Marumureş) counties. Later he was appointed as governor (1626) and prince (1630) of Transylvania. In 1623, he married his second wife, so Krisztina Csáki passed away before these events. They had five children: Gábor, István, Péter, Katalin, Anna, and Druisiana. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 2, 72, vol. 3, 77. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1858-1859.
d)	d. before 1623
e)	Three fragments: 85 x 86 x ? cm, 42 x 43 x ? cm, 35 x 36 x ?cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) [– – – – – –] [– – –]MSIM[– – –] [– – –]RBET [–] MO[– – –] [– – – – – –] On the central panel (B) [– – –]FIDES[– – –] [– – –] [CHRISTI]NA CZAKI[– – –] [– – –]TE VIRI[– – –] [– – –]QVID C[–]TVS [– – –] TAI [– – –]TATE [–]OTIS [– – –]NTA NOME [– – –]N [– – –]VEI [– – –] [– – –] RATOS[1] [– – –]OS [– – –]EMATES [– – –]OS [– – –]MO

[1] Re-carved

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Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012

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Cat. No. 135

a)	Dârjiu – Székelyderzs – Unitarian church, in the porch
b)	*Dârjiu – Székelyderzs – Unitarian church*
c)	**Catharina (Kata) Kornis** She was born in 1581 as daughter of Farkas Kornis, royal judge of Udvarhely Seat (Udvarhelyszék), and his second wife, Krisztina Bethlen. She married János Petki, who was son of Mihály Petki (**Cat. No. 137**). The sister of Mihály, Kata Petki was the first wife of Farkas Kornis, preceding Kata's mother. János was the first member of the Petki family who had good education thanks to the guardianship of Kozma Petrichevich Horváth (**Cat. No. 128**). He was placed in the court of Prince Zsigmond Báthory, and his career continued with state offices, first time in his family. He held offices and carried out diplomatic tasks in the service of Prince Mózes Székely, István Bocskai, Zsigmond Rákóczi: he was treasurer, councilor, royal judge and, from 1605, Captain of Udvarhelyszék. His influence extended over the entire Székely nation. Prince Rákóczi appointed him as his chancellor, of which he resigned in 1608, with the death of the Prince. Under the rule of Prince Gábor Báthory, his influence decreased. He was not Székely Captain anymore but *főispán* (head) of Doboka (Dăbâca) County. He was a highly educated Humanist, on the Antitrinitarian faith. His career ended in 1611, when he took part in a riot against the Prince, and the Diet sentenced him to death and forfeiture of all his property. He died due to his illness in 1612, and left behind Kata Kornis as his widow. She died in 1637. They had three daughters: Ilona, Zsuzsanna, and Barbara (Borbála) who was wife of György Apafi (**Cat. No. 66**) and the patron of the funeral monument according to the inscription. Balogh, Judit. "A Derzsi Petki család felemelkedése a 16. század második felében" [The rise of the Petki of Derzs family in the second half of the sixteenth century]. In *Székelyföldi karrierek. Az udvarhelyszéki nemesség hatalomszerzési lehetőségei a 16. század második felében* [Carriers in the Székely Land. Power acquisition strategies of the nobility in Udvarhelyszék in the second half of the sixteenth century], 203-222. Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2011. Balogh, Judit, and Ildikó Horn. "A hatalomépítés útjai: a homoródszentpáli Kornis család története" [Ways of building power: the history of the Kornis of Homoródszentpál family]. *Századok* 142 (2008): 849-896.
d)	1641 (d. 1637)
e)	_ x _ x _ cm
f)	Dávid, László. *A középkori Udvarhelyszék művészeti emékei* [Monuments of the medieval Udvarhely Seat], 265. Bucharest: Kriterion, 1981. Doroftei, Doina Paula. Inscripţii în limba latină din bisericile României, din perioada 1290-1850, cu privire specială asupra bisericilor maghiare din Transilvania [Latin inscriptions in churches in Romania in the period between 1290-1850, with special focus on the Hungarian churches in Transylvania], 75-77. Bucharest: Editura Muzeului Naţional al Literaturii Române, 2013. Orbán, Balázs. *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból*. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/51.html (accessed 11.26.2015).

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g)	On the pilasters (A) Dixit Dominus: Ecce ego aperio tumulos vestros et educam vos ex tumulis vestris. Ezech. 37. v-12.[1] On the central panel (B) D(EO) O(PTIMO) M(AXIMO) S(UPREMO) Obiit 1637 21 octob(ris) Magnifica cubat heic cum lecta IOHANNI, PETKI KORNISIU(M) CATHARINA decus Quinquaginta et sex praeclare Vixerat annos Sed i(n) ter deno et septimo at huius obit BARBARA defunctae grata et laudata GEORGI APAFII Vidua hec jam m[onumen]ta facit A(nno) 1641. die 8 april(is)

Source:
http://www.hereditatum.ro/muemlekek/kepgaleria.html?muemlek=1710#prettyPhoto[gallery]/17/

[1] I did not have the chance to re-visit the site after the cleaning of the stone in 2011, and the inscription was only partly legible in its previous state of conservation. Balázs Orbán transcribed the text in the mid-nineteenth century, so I used his version to complement the legible parts. Orbán, *Székelyföld*, http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/51.html (accessed 30. 07. 2017).

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 136

a)	Dârjiu – Székelyderzs – Unitarian church
b)	*Dârjiu – Székelyderzs – Unitarian church*
c)	**Benedictus (Benedek) Cheffeei (Cseffei)** The Cseffei family appeared in the sources in the second half of the sixteenth century. Benedek was scribe of the minor chancellery in 1576. He was husband of Kata Petki, who was cousin of Mihály Petki (**Cat. No. 137**) and Borbála Petki (**Cat. No. 128**), and the patron of the memorial according to the inscription. (Maybe another Benedek was *magister curiae* in the court of Judit Kerecsényi, niece of Prince István Báthory in 1576.) They had three sons: Ferenc, Kristóf, and János; the former two also worked as scribes in the minor chancellery. The inscription of the memorial says that Benedek Cseffei died in 1578, at the age of 61. Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 339. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Monok, István. "Cseffei László 1592-1662". *Századok* 122 (1988): 623-624. Petri, Mór. *Szilágy vármegye monographiája* [Monograph of Szilágy County], vol. 5, 283-284. Budapest: Franklin-Társulat nyomdája, 1903. Trócsányi, Zsolt. *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690* [The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690], 366. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980.
d)	d. 1578
e)	87 x 120 x 23 cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 339, 383, and fig. 284. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Doroftei, Doina Paula. *Inscripţii în limba latină din bisericile României, din perioada 1290-1850, cu privire specială asupra bisericilor maghiare din Transilvania* [Latin inscriptions in churches in Romania in the period between 1290-1850, with special focus on the Hungarian churches in Transylvania], 66-67. Bucharest: Editura Muzeului Naţional al Literaturii Române, 2013.
g)	On the central panel (A) GENEROSO DOMINO BENEDICTO CHEFFEEI SENIORII PACIS ET BELLI LAVDIBVS[1] INSIGNI OB PRAECLARASQ(VE) EIVS VIRTVTES PRINCIPIBVS HVIVS REGNI TRAN(SILVA)NIAE PERCHARO A(NNO)D(OMINI) M D LXXVIII AETATIS VERO SVAE LXI

[1] Written as LAVDIRVS

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	PLACIDE[1] IN D(OMI)NO OBDORMIENTE: GENEROSA DOMINA CATHERINA PETKI

Source: Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], fig. 284. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985.

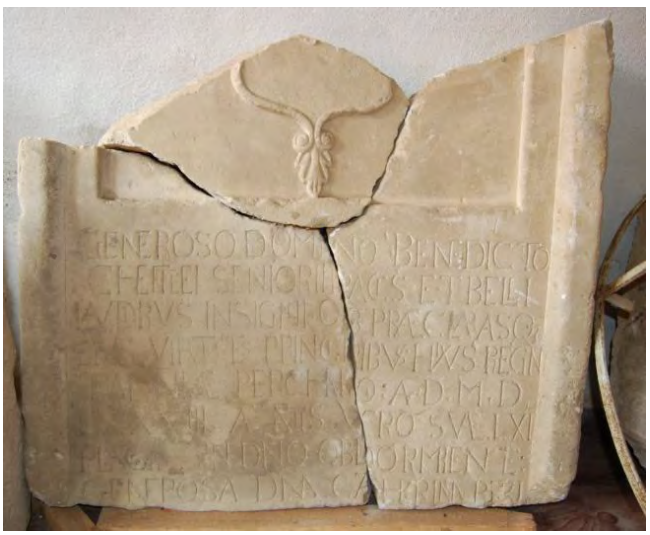

Photo: 2013. Source: http://www.hereditatum.ro/muemlekek/kepgaleria.html?muemlek=1710#prettyPhoto[gallery]/30/

[1] I did not have the chance to see the memorial; the inscription was transcribed based on the photo published by Jolán Balogh. The parts marked here as reconstructed are not visible in the photo, I used the transcription offered by Balogh and Doroftei. Balogh, however, gave PLACITE instead of PLACIDE, which might be an error. Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*, 339, fig. 284; Doroftei, *Inscripţii*, 66.

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 137

a)	Dârjiu – Székelyderzs – Unitarian church, at the entrance
b)	*Dârjiu – Székelyderzs – Unitarian church*
c)	**Michael (Mihály) Petchius (Petki)** The Petki family appeared in the Székely elite in the fifteenth century. They acquired private estates in the territory of the noble counties too, and their successful marriage strategy solidified their position within the Székely elite. Mihály was son of János Petki and Orsolya Lázár. He continued the efforts of his father, and contributed to the rise of the family by his military role as well as by estate acquisitions. He extended his possessions in Dârjiu, confirming its role as the main residence of the family. He was royal judge of Udvarhely Seat between 1571 and 1580, and after this, he was appointed as royal judge of Maros Seat. He was Antitrinitarian, like most of his family. His wife was Margit Daczó. They had two sons: Ferenc and János Petki, whose wife was Kata Kornis (**Cat. No. 135**). The inscription on the funeral monument mentions two more daughters: Judit and Anna. Since it says that Judit was named after her mother, this suggests that Petki had a second wife called Judit. Balogh, Judit. "A Derzsi Petki család felemelkedése a 16. század második felében" [The rise of the Petki of Derzs family in the second half of the sixteenth century]. In *Székelyföldi karrierek. Az udvarhelyszéki nemesség hatalomszerzési lehetőségei a 16. század második felében* [Carriers in the Székely Land. Power acquisition strategies of the nobility in Udvarhelyszék in the second half of the sixteenth century], 203-222. Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2011.
d)	d. 1582
e)	90 x 200 x 22 cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 221-222, 340, and figs 275-276. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Doroftei, Doina Paula. *Inscripţii în limba latină din bisericile României, din perioada 1290-1850, cu privire specială asupra bisericilor maghiare din Transilvania* [Latin inscriptions in churches in Romania in the period between 1290-1850, with special focus on the Hungarian churches in Transylvania], 68-70. Bucharest: Editura Muzeului Naţional al Literaturii Române, 2013 Emődi, Tamás. "Monumente funerare figurative renascentiste din Transilvania" [Renaissance figural funeral monuments in Transylvania]. In *Artă românească, artă europeană. Centenar Virgil Vătăşianu* [Romanian art - European art. The centenary of Virgil Vătăşianu], edited by M. Porumb and A. Chiriac, 136. Oradea: Editura Muzeului Ţării Crişurilor Oradea, 2002. Emődi, Tamás. "A Telegdi család és a reneszánsz művészet néhány emléke a 16. századi Bihar és Bereg vármegyékben" [The Telegdy family and some Renaissance monuments in Bereg and Bihar County in the sixteenth century]. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 47, no. 3-4 (1998): 182.

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g)	On the central panel (A) PETCHIVS ECCE IACET RIGIDA SVB MOLE MICHAEL POSTVBI IAM VITAE DEBITA FINIS ADEST BATHOREIS PLACVIT MATVRIS FIRMIOR ANNIS PRI(N)CIPIBVS QVORVM NVMINE FVLTVS ERAT COGNATIS CHARVS FVERAT IVCVNDVS AMICIS OFFICYS SVMMOS DEMERVITQ(VE) VIROS ASTREAM DONEC VIXIT TELLVRE COLEBAT ATQ(VE) INOPVM LARGA DAMNA LEVABAT OPE POST MODO IAMQ(VE) VIRI FLORENS AETATE VIGEBAT LVSTRAQ(VE) SEX ANNIS VICERAT ILLE TRIBVS CHRISTVS QVINGENTOS ET MILLE PEREGERAT ANNOS ATQ(VE) OCTO DICIES ET SVPER HOSCE DVOS BIS SENO RADIANS SEPTEMBER FVLSERAT ORBE IMPIA CVM FATI LICIA PARCA SECAT CVIVS CLARA VOLAT TOTO IAM FAMA SVB ORBE HVNC MOERENS LACRIMIS POSTERA TVRBA VOCAT PIGNORIBVS CONIVNX CARISSIMA QVINQ(VE) RELICTIS QVEM FLET ET AETERNVM CVPIT ESSE POLVM IOANNES PRIMVS FRANCISCVS DEINDE SECVNDVS TERCIA MATRIS HONOS NOMEN JVDIT HABET ANNA PVDICICIAE CVSTOS RIA QVARTA VOCATVR DVLCIS IMAGO MATRIS POSTERAM [.]GRIS EST

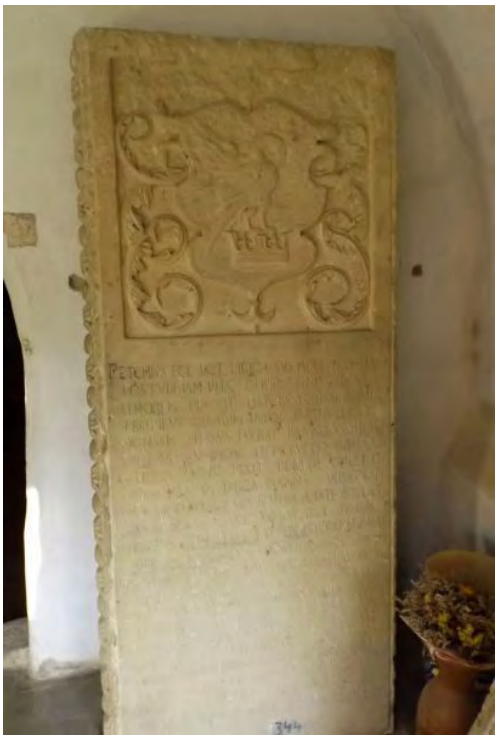

Photo: 2015, source:
http://www.hereditatum.ro/muemlekek/kepgaleria.html?muemlek=1710#prettyPhoto[gallery]/19

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 138

a)	Dârjiu – Székelyderzs – Unitarian church
b)	*Dârjiu – Székelyderzs – Unitarian church*
c)	**Daughter of Kozma Petrichevich Horváth** Based on the inscription, a daughter of Kozma Petrichevich Horváth and Borbála Petki (**Cat. No. 128**), who died as a child.
d)	Last quarter of the sixteenth century
e)	_ x _ x _ cm
f)	Doroftei, Doina Paula. *Inscripţii în limba latină din bisericile României, din perioada 1290-1850, cu privire specială asupra bisericilor maghiare din Transilvania* [Latin inscriptions in churches in Romania in the period between 1290-1850, with special focus on the Hungarian churches in Transylvania], 71-73. Bucharest: Editura Muzeului Naţional al Literaturii Române, 2013.
g)	On the central panel (A) EPITAPHIVM [– – –] GENEROSI D(OMI)NI CO[SMAE] HORVATH PETC[–]SS[–] DIS MATRIS SIM[V]L ET SPES MAXIMA T[–]S PESTIFERA EXTI(N)CTA EST MORTE TENELLA ROS A HIC[–] CASTA CVIVS SITA CORPORIS OSSA QVIESCV(N)T SPIRITV(S) – – –

CEU eTD Collection

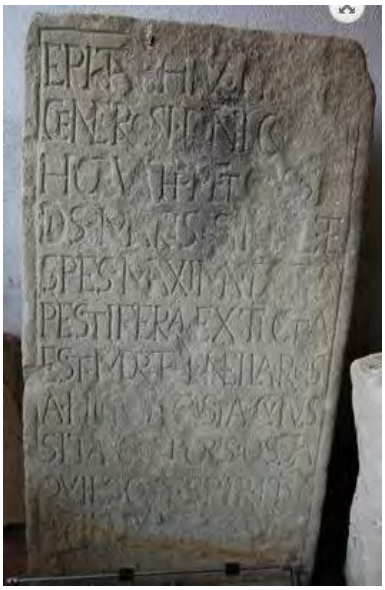

Photo: 2013. Source:
http://www.hereditatum.ro/muemlekek/kepgaleria.html?muemlek=1710#prettyPhoto[gallery]/29/

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 139

a)	Deva – Déva – Diemrich, Calvinist church, in the wall of the northern aisle
b)	*Deva – Déva – Diemrich, Calvinist church*
c)	**Caterina (Katalin) Bajoni (Bajomi)** The Bajomi family was named after their estate (Boianu Mare) in Bihar (Bihor) County. Katalin was daughter of Benedek Bajomi, supporter of János Szapolyai. Her husband was Domokos Dobó, castellan of Deva and the inscription of the funeral monument suggests that probably he was also vice-voivode of Transylvania. Based on the inscription, Katalin as well as her infant son died in the plague in 1554. Pokoly, József. *Az erdélyi református egyház története* [History of the Transylvanian Reformed Church]. 5 vols Budapest: Franklin, 1904-1905. Sarkadi Nagy, Emese. "Adatok az eltűnt dévai templom történetéhez" [Data on the history of the disappeared church in Deva]. In *Építészet a középkori Dél–Magyarországon. Tanulmányok* [Architecture in the medieval Southern Hungary. Studies], edited by Tibor Kollár, 935-965. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2010. **Son of Katalin Bajomi** Based on the inscription, he died as an infant on September 8, 1554.
d)	d. 1554
e)	_ x _ x _ cm
f)	Sarkadi Nagy, Emese. "Adatok az eltűnt dévai templom történetéhez" [Data on the history of the disappeared church in Deva]. In *Építészet a középkori Dél–Magyarországon. Tanulmányok* [Architecture in the medieval Southern Hungary. Studies], edited by Tibor Kollár, 951-954, fig. 31. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2010.
g)	Border inscription (A)[1] FILIUS MATREM PRECES SIT MORIENS SEXTO DIE MATER VERO OBYT DECIMA QUARTA DIE MENSIS SEPTEMBRIS IN DEWA ANNO D(OMINI) 1554 On the central panel (B) QVAM TEGIT VRNA BREVIS DOMINAM CATERINA VOCATA EST ET SATA DE CLARA STIRPE BAIIONIS ERAT NVPER ERAT CONIVNX

[1] Emese Sarkadi-Nagy reconstructed the text based on the nineteenth-century transcription by Gábor Téglás (1902), since the text as strongly repainted in the early-twentieth-century transfer of the stones and it is hardly legible now. Sarkadi-Nagy, "Adatok," 954.

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	DOMINICI CASTA DOBONIS CVM REGERET DACOS MONTICO(L)ASQ(VE) GETAS FATA BREVEM DEDERE VITAM MATRI SOBOLIQ(VE) CLAVDENTES AMBO PESTE FURENTE DIE [– – –] DVM R[–] IN L[–]TES [–]TIS FVERIT [–]BET [–]ER ET STERNIT IVVENES STER NIT ET ILLA SENES HOC IGITVR TVMULO POSI TI NVNC RITE QVIESCVNT DONEC EOS DOMINVS EVOCET ATQ(VE) BEET

Source: Sarkadi Nagy, Emese. "Adatok az eltűnt dévai templom történetéhez" [Data on the history of the disappeared church in Deva]. In *Építészet a középkori Dél–Magyarországon. Tanulmányok* [Architecture in the medieval Southern Hungary. Studies], edited by Tibor Kollár, 951, fig. 31. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2010.

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 140

a)	Deva – Déva – Diemrich, Calvinist church, in the northern wall of the choir
b)	*Deva – Déva – Diemrich, Calvinist church*
c)	**Andreas (András) Sándor (of Torda)** In 1555, he was documented in Wittenberg as a student of the university. He was Calvinist priest in Turda from 1560, then in Deva between 1567 and 1579, and superintendent of the church from 1577. József Pokoly, *Az erdélyi református egyház története* (History of the Transylvanian Reformed Church), vol. 4, 76, vol. 5, 217. Budapest: Franklin, 1904-1905. Sarkadi Nagy, Emese. "Adatok az eltűnt dévai templom történetéhez" [Data on the history of the disappeared church in Deva]. In *Építészet a középkori Dél–Magyarországon. Tanulmányok* [Architecture in the medieval Southern Hungary. Studies], edited by Tibor Kollár, 951-952. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2010. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 8. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992.
d)	d. 1579
e)	_ x _ x _ cm
f)	Sarkadi Nagy, Emese. "Adatok az eltűnt dévai templom történetéhez" [Data on the history of the disappeared church in Deva]. In *Építészet a középkori Dél–Magyarországon. Tanulmányok* [Architecture in the medieval Southern Hungary. Studies], edited by Tibor Kollár, 951-954, fig. 31. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2010.
g)	Border inscription (A)[1] EPITAPHIUM CLARISS(IMI) VIRI D(OMI)NI AND[RE] AE SANDOR PASTORIS ECCLESIAE[2] DEVEN(SIS) ET SUPEREN[T]EN(DENTIS) ECC[LE]SIARVM HVNGARICUM IN TRANSSILVANIA CATHOL[I]CAM FIDEM PROFITEN(TIVM) OBIT ANNO AETATIS 50 MDLXXIX On the central panel (B) SIQVIS ADES QVI NOSTRA CVPIS MONVMENTA VIDERE CVIVS ET HOC TVMULO MEMBRA SEPVLTA CVBENT ANDREAS SANDOR TORDENSIS NOMINE DICOR NAMQ(VE) MIHI HOC TANTVM MORS SUPERESSE SINIT ORNARAT DOMINVS VIVVM ME MVNERE MAGNO ET CLARVM NOMEN FECERAT ILLE MIHI

[1] Emese Sarkadi-Nagy reconstructed the text based on the nineteenth-century transcription by Gábor Téglás (1902), since the text as strongly repainted in the early-twentieth-century transfer of the stones and it is hardly legible now. Sarkadi-Nagy, "Adatok," 954.
[2] now written as ECCLERSIAE

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	NAM SVPERINTENDE(N)S[1] EGO NOSTRAE G(EN)TIS HABEBAR HVIC VOLVIT CHRISTVS[2] ME INVIGILARE MEVS IN CVIVS VERO SACRA NVNC AEDE QVIESCO DEV[E]NSIS POPVLI PRESBITER IPSE FVI QVAE DVRVM POTVIT MIHI MORTIS ADIMERE FATVM ILLA SVB HOC TANTVM MARMORE CLAVSA IACENT TV TAMEN ESTO MEMOR QVI SPECTAS NOSTRA SEPV(L)CRA ESTO MEMOR QVID NAM POST BREVE TEMPVS ERIS ES QVOD ERAM SED ERIS QVOD SVM NON TEMPORE MVLTO NAM MORS EST CVNCTIS PERSOLVENDA VALE

Source: Sarkadi Nagy, Emese. "Adatok az eltűnt dévai templom történetéhez" [Data on the history of the disappeared church in Deva]. In *Építészet a középkori Dél–Magyarországon. Tanulmányok* [Architecture in the medieval Southern Hungary. Studies], edited by Tibor Kollár, 952, fig. 32. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2010.

[1] now written as SVPERIETENDES
[2] now in a distorted form

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 141

a)	Deva – Déva – Diemrich, Calvinist church, in the southern wall of the choir
b)	*Deva – Déva – Diemrich, Calvinist church*
c)	**Sophia (Zsófia) Suliok (Sulyok)** She was born in 1536 as the daughter of István Sulyok of Lekcse and Klára Kende. She married János Geszti, and lived in Slavonia until 1562, his death. They had six sons, and when she widowed, the only living heir, Ferenc, Captain of Deva hosted her in his curia in Deva. She died there in 1590. Sarkadi Nagy, Emese. "Adatok az eltűnt dévai templom történetéhez" [Data on the history of the disappeared church in Deva]. In Építészet a középkori Dél–Magyarországon. Tanulmányok [Architecture in the medieval Southern Hungary. Studies], edited by Tibor Kollár, 952. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2010.
d)	d. 1591
e)	_ x _ x _ cm
f)	Sarkadi Nagy, Emese. "Adatok az eltűnt dévai templom történetéhez" [Data on the history of the disappeared church in Deva]. In *Építészet a középkori Dél–Magyarországon. Tanulmányok* [Architecture in the medieval Southern Hungary. Studies], edited by Tibor Kollár, 951-954, fig. 31. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2010.
g)	On the central panel (A) [1] HIC SEPULTA EST GENEROSA ET MAGNIFI CA DOMINA SOPHIA SULIOK DE LEKCHE RELICTA VIDVA MAGNIFICI OLIM DOMI NI IOANNIS GEZTI DE GEST MATER VERO MAGNIFICI DOMINI FRANCIS CI GEZTI FILIA OLIM DOMINI STEPH ANI SULIOK DE LEKCHE EX DOMINA KALARA KENDE FILIA OLIM KENDE BANI NATA VIXIT CUM MARITO ANNOS 19 EI SEX FILIOS PROCREANS WOLFGANGUM FRANCISCUM LADISLAUM IOANNEM ET ITERUM IOANNEM POST REMO NICOLAUM QUOS OMNES VI VENTE MARITO CHARISSIMO IN REGNO SCLAVONIAE SE PELIVIT SOLUM FRANCISCUM POST SE HEREDEM VIVEN TEM MANENTEM RELIQUENS MARITUS VE RO ANNO 1562 DIE 15 DECEMBRIS

[1] Emese Sarkadi-Nagy reconstructed the text based on the nineteenth-century transcription by Gábor Téglás (1902), since the text as strongly repainted in the early-twentieth-century transfer of the stones and it is hardly legible now. Sarkadi-Nagy, “Adatok,” 954.

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	IN EODEM REGNO SCLAVONIAE IN ARCE SUA SZENTLEORINCZ VOCATA DEFUNCTUS IBID EM IN TEMPLO SANCTI LAURENII SEPUL TUS EST VIXIT POST EUM IN VIDVITA TE ANNOS 28 OBIIT TANDEM IN OPIDO DE VA IN CVRIA FILII SUI FRANCISCI SUB ARCE EIUSDEM SITA ANNO 1590 DIEI 14 MA RTII ID EST SABATO PROXIMO ANTE DO MINICAM REMINISCERE POST MERIDIEM HORA SEPTIMA ANNO AETATIS SUAE 64 SEPULTA EST IBIDEM IN OPIDO DEVA IN TEMPLO SANCTI NICOLAI DOMINICA OCULI IN MERIDIE

Source: Sarkadi Nagy, Emese. "Adatok az eltűnt dévai templom történetéhez" [Data on the history of the disappeared church in Deva]. In *Építészet a középkori Dél–Magyarországon. Tanulmányok* [Architecture in the medieval Southern Hungary. Studies], edited by Tibor Kollár, 952, fig. 33. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2010.

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 142

a)	Dumbrava – Gyerővásárhely, Calvinist church, in the northern wall of the church
b)	*Dumbrava – Gyerővásárhely, the old Calvinist church demolished in 1831*
c)	**Elizabet (Erzsébet) Mikola** She was born in 1533 as the daughter of László Mikola, Vice-Voivode of Transylvania (**Cat. No. 293**) and Anna Kemény. She married Caspar (Gáspár) Gyerőfi. Their son, probably János, was the patron of the memorial. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables]. Vol. 4, 467; vol. 7, 486. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1859-1860.
d)	d. 1575
e)	66 x 159 x ? cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 221-222, 264-265. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Herepei, János. *Bocskai Gábor egeresi síremléke és mestere* [The funeral monument of Gábor Bocskai in Aghireș and its master], 9-10. Kolozsvár [Cluj]: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1947. Herepei, János. *A kalotaszegi templomok, cintermek és temetők régi sírkövei* [Old gravestones in the churches, churchyards and graveyards in the Kalotaszeg region], 67-71. Kolozsvár: Művelődés, 2001.
g)	On the central panel (A) CASPARIS HAC SAXI SVB MOLE [– – –] VXOR MIKOLAE STIRPIS ELIZA[BET] [– – –] HEC PIETATIS AMANS PRVDENS [– – –] EXEMPLVM CASTI GRANDE PVDO[– – –] AMOVE QVATER DENIS BINOS ADIEC[– – –] CVM FRAGILES NOVIT CORPORIS[–]EX[– – –] [F]ILIVS HAE CHARAE POSVIT MONVMEN[– – –] EXIGVVM GRATAE MENTIS VT ESSET[– – –] ANNO 1575 15 IAN[VARII] On the blazon (B) E(LIZABET) M(IKOLA)

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 143

a)	Făgăraș – Fogaras – Fugreschmarkt, Calvinist church, in the western wall of the church, under the western gallery
b)	*Făgăraș – Fogaras – Fugreschmarkt, the old Calvinist church destroyed in 1704*
c)	**Mária Apafi** Daughter of Mihály Apafi Prince of Transyvania and Anna Bornemissza. She was born in 1665 and lived less than a month according to the inscription.
d)	d. 1666
e)	62 x 126 x ? cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription continued on the central panel (A) D(EO) O(PTIMO) M(AXIMO). MONVMENTVM ILL(VSTRISSI)MAE AC CEL S(ISSI)MAE INFANTIS D(OMINAE) D(OMINAE) MARIAE APAFI FILIAE ILL(VSTRISSI)MI AC CELS(ISSI)MI PRINCIPIS D(OMINI) D(OMINI) MIC HAELIS APAFI D(OMINI) G(ENEROSI) PRINC(IPIS) TRAN(SYLVANIAE) PAR(TIVM) REG(NI) HVNG(ARIAE) D(OMINI) ET SIC(VLICORVM) COM(ITIS) VNICAE DILECTAE NATAE ANNO MDCLXV XII DECEMB(RIS) FOGARASINI DENATE VERO IBID(EM) ANN(O) MDCLXVI XXI IAN(VARII) On the central panel (B) INFANS ILLVSTRIS CELSO DE SEMINE NATA ANTE DIEM VITAE SPICVL MORTIS HABET CORPORIS HOC TVMVLO REQVIES CONCESSA NEC VLLOS CASVS PASSARVIT MENTE BEATA SILET IGNORANS MVNDVM COELOS MIGRAVIT IN ALTOS INTER FOELICES GAVDIA PLENA TENET.

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 144

a)	Fântânele – Gyulakuta – Gielekonten, Calvinist church, in the northern wall of the nave
b)	*Fântânele – Gyulakuta – Gielekonten, Calvinist church*
c)	**Georgius (György) Lázár** Son of János Lázár (grandson of János Lázár, see **Cat. No. 70**), originating from an old Transylvanian noble family. In 1649, he was assessor of the Princely Court of Justice, and from 1652, protonotary of the Prince. He was an excellent lawyer, a key figure of the state in this respect. Between 1658 and 1660, he was a member of the Princely Council. He was legate of Prince György Rákóczi II, and lieutenant under Prince Ákos Barcsai. In 1660, János Kemény decided to chase away Barcsai from the throne, and Lázár was killed by a man of Kemény on 29 November 1660, which is narrated by the inscription on the memorial. György Lázár married twice, first Erzsébet Apafi, then Ilona Nemes, the latter mentioned in the text as patron of the memorial. It also mentions their son, Emericus (Imre) Lázár, as the patron of the memorial. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 7, 51. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1860. Orbán, Balázs. *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból* [Description of the Székely Land from a historical, archaeological, natural geographical, and ethnographic point of view], vol. 4, 59. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. Online edition by Arcanum Adatbázis Ltd., 2003. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/152.html (accessed 16 October 2017) Trócsányi, Zsolt. *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690.* [The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690], 31. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980. Szabó, András Péter. "Haller Gábor – egy 17. századi arisztokrata életpályája" (The career of Gábor Haller, a Transylvanian aristocrat in the seventeenth century), 225. PhD Thesis. Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Budapest, 2008.
d)	d. 1660
e)	78 x 177 x ? cm
f)	Doroftei, Doina Paula. *Inscripţii în limba latină din bisericile României, din perioada 1290-1850, cu privire specială asupra bisericilor maghiare din Transilvania* [Latin inscriptions in churches in Romania in the period between 1290-1850, with special focus on the Hungarian churches in Transylvania], 99-102. Bucharest: Editura Muzeului Naţional al Literaturii Române, 2013. Orbán, Balázs. *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból* [Description of the Székely Land from a historical, archaeological, natural geographical, and ethnographic point of view], vol. 4, 59. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. Online edition by Arcanum Adatbázis Ltd., 2003. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/152.html (accessed 16 October 2017).
g)	Border inscription (A) D(EO) O(PTIMO) M(AXIMO) S(VPREMO) MEMORIAE SP(ECTABILIS) ac G(ENEROSI) D(OMINI) GEORGII LAZAR ILLVS(TRISSIMI) PR(INCIPIS)

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	TRAN(SYLVANIAE) CO[N]S(ILIARII) INTIMI TAB(VLAE) PROTON(OTARII) [DE]CIM(ARVM) AREND(ATORIS)[1] SEDIS MAROS CAPIT(ANEI) SVPR(EMI) A SICARIIS JOH(ANNIS) KEMENY OCCISI 1660 29 NOV(EMBRIS) SVMPT(IBVS) G(enerosae) D(ominae) HELENAE NEMES D(ominae) G(enerosae) Inscription panel (B) VADIS AN EXPECTAS? VEL QVAERIS FORTE VIATOR HAEC RVBE FACTA SI BI QVID VELIT ARA LEGE ME FERA BARBARIES PRAEDANTIS MILITIS ARCV CEMÉNY DISCERPSIT FRE GIT ET ENSE CAPVT. RVDERA PER SALT(VS) IA CUERUNT CORPORIS ALTOS PVLSABANT SOLIDVM MEM BRA CRVENTA SOLVM. CAVSAM SI QVAERIS FVERAT MENS NESCIA FALSI. COELVM ANIMAM GYALAKUT FISSILE CORP(VS) HABET EMERICVS LAZAR D(OMINVS) F(ECIT) F(IERI) 1666

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[1] These parts are not legible because they have been whitewashed. The reconstruction is based on Orbán, *Székelyföld*, whose transcription is, however, not accurate.

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 145

a)	Fântânele – Gyulakuta – Gielekonten, Calvinist church, in the northern wall of the nave
b)	*Fântânele – Gyulakuta – Gielekonten, Calvinist church*
c)	**Johannes (János) Caspar (Gáspár) of Szövérd** He was first head of the court of the Princess, then head of the Princely Court of Gábor Bethlen, between 1619 and 1625, as well as royal judge and captain of Maros Seat. He was resident legate at the Ottoman Porte in 1617-18. He was Calvinist. She married Kata Sapharit (widow of János Lázár, see **Cat. No. 70**), then, after her death, Zsófia Bethlen. He died on his way home from the Ottoman Porte, in 1626, which is narrated by the inscription as well. Kelemen, Lajos. "Mennyezet- és karzatfestmények a XVII. századból" [Painted wooden ceilings and galleries from the seventeenth century]. In *Művészettörténeti tanulmányok I* (vol. 1 Studies in art history), ed. Margit B. Nagy and Attila Szabó T., 43-50. Bucharest: Kriterion, 1977. Trócsányi, Zsolt. *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690.* [The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690], 392. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980. Szabó, András Péter. "Haller Gábor – egy 17. századi arisztokrata életpályája" (The career of Gábor Haller, a Transylvanian aristocrat in the seventeenth century), 101. PhD Thesis. Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Budapest, 2008.
d)	d. 1626
e)	88 x 189 x ? cm
f)	Doroftei, Doina Paula. *Inscripţii în limba latină din bisericile României, din perioada 1290-1850, cu privire specială asupra bisericilor maghiare din Transilvania* [Latin inscriptions in churches in Romania in the period between 1290-1850, with special focus on the Hungarian churches in Transylvania], 96-98. Bucharest: Editura Muzeului Naţional al Literaturii Române, 2013. Orbán, Balázs. *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból* [Description of the Székely Land from a historical, archaeological, natural geographical, and ethnographic point of view], vol. 4, 59. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. Online edition by Arcanum Adatbázis Ltd., 2003. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/152.html (accessed 16 October 2017)
g)	Border inscription (A) MOLE SVB HAC CLA VDVNT IANVM PIA FATA BENIGNE CASPA[R] [P]RA[E] [CL]ARVM SEMPER VBIQ(VE) VIRVM Inscription panel (B) GENEROSI D(OMI)NI IOAN(N)IS CASPAR DE Sze ÖVERD SE(RENI)SSI(M)I AC POT(ENTI)SSI(M)I D(OMI)NI D(OMI)NI GAB RIELIS DEI GRA(TIA) S. R. I(MP) P(ARTIVM) R(EGNI) H(VNGARIAE) D(OMINVS) ET SICV(L)OR(VM) CO(MI)T(I)S

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	AC OPVLIAE RATIB(ORVM)Q(VE) DV(C)IS SVPREMI CV RIAE MAGISTRI ET CAPITANEI SEDIS SICVLICALIS MAROS QVI POSTQ(V)A(M) LEGATIONE APVD TVRCARVM IMPERATOREM FELICITER FVN CTVS FVISSET IN REDEVNDO GRAVI MORBO CORREPTVS IN ITINERIS CVRSV IN CAMPO BOKORESTINO TRANSALPI INENSI OBDORMIVIT ET IN COELESTE [–]τὸν [– – –][1] SPIRI TV COMMENDAVIT ANNO DO(MI)NI MDCXXVI CALENDAS IVLY AETAT(I)S SVAE LV

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012

[1] One more illegible Greek word

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 146

a)	Fântânele – Gyulakuta – Gielekonten, Calvinist church, in the northern wall of the nave
b)	*Fântânele – Gyulakuta – Gielekonten, Calvinist church*
c)	**János Lázár** His wife was Kata Sapharit, who was the patron of the memorial. The inscription as transcribed by Balázs Orbán also says that he was royal judge of Maros Seat. According to Iván Nagy, he died in 1607. Doroftei, Doina Paula. *Inscripţii în limba latină din bisericile României, din perioada 1290-1850, cu privire specială asupra bisericilor maghiare din Transilvania* [Latin inscriptions in churches in Romania in the period between 1290-1850, with special focus on the Hungarian churches in Transylvania], 96. Bucharest: Editura Muzeului Naţional al Literaturii Române, 2013. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 7, 51. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1860. Orbán, Balázs. *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból* [Description of the Székely Land from a historical, archaeological, natural geographical, and ethnographic point of view], vol. 4, 59. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. Online edition by Arcanum Adatbázis Ltd., 2003. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/152.html (accessed 16 October 2017) Szabó, András Péter. "Haller Gábor – egy 17. századi arisztokrata életpályája" (The career of Gábor Haller, a Transylvanian aristocrat in the seventeenth century), 225. PhD Thesis. Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Budapest, 2008.
d)	Early seventeenth century (d. 1607?)
e)	82 x 169 x ? cm
f)	Orbán, Balázs. *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból* [Description of the Székely Land from a historical, archaeological, natural geographical, and ethnographic point of view], vol. 4, 59. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. Online edition by Arcanum Adatbázis Ltd., 2003. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/152.html (accessed 16 October 2017)
g)	Border inscription (A) [– – – – – –] [– – – – – –] [– – – – – –] [– – –]ISSIMAE FIERI CVRAVIT QVAE [– – –] ANNOS LV Iis HVI[– – –][1] On the central panel (B) (epitaph verse, not legible)

[1] Orbán, *Székelyföld*: "Supr. Comes Sed. Sic. Maros Memoriae D. Christinae Sapahri consortis carissime fieri cvravit."

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 147

a)	Florești – Szászfenes, Calvinist church, in the floor
b)	*Florești – Szászfenes, Calvinist church*
c)	**Kata** The legible part of the inscription says that the name of the subject was Kata, and her father was probably called Mihály. She died in 1623, in the last third of the year.
d)	d. 1623
e)	_ x _ x _ cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription ending On the central panel (A) [– – –]ZO ALAT [– – –] ELL N[IVGV]T AZ VR[BAN [– – –][1]623 EZTEN[DO][–] [– – –] [M]IHALINAK [– – –] EZE[– – –] KA TA NEVEO[– – –] [– – –]BERNEK 23 [NAP] IAN

Photo: Attila Weisz, 2013

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 148

a)	Gârbova – Szászorbó – Urwegen, Baroque Lutheran church, under the open porch
b)	*Gârbova – Szászorbó – Urwegen, medieval Lutheran church*
c)	**Johannes (Johann) Hellwig** The inscription says that he came from Agnita (Szentágota, Agnetheln), and he served as pastor at Gârbova for sixteen years. Gyula Halaváts saw a chalice in the possession of the local church with the inscription IOANNES HELVIGIVS SENT AGATENSIS 1645. Johann Hellwig died in 1653, aged 66 or 69.
d)	d. 1653
e)	90 x 188 x ? cm
f)	Bielz, Julius. "Porträtkatalog der Siebenbürger Sachsen". *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 49 (1936-38): 39. Halaváts, Gyula. "Úti jegyzetek Kelnek, Vingárd, Szászorbó környékéről" (Travelogue from the area of Câlnic, Vingard, and Gârbova). *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 27 (1907): 217. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 120. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	Border inscription (A) [TVM]VLVS R(EVERE)NDI ET CLARISS(IMI) VIRI D(OMI)NI IOHANNIS HELVIGII SZENTAG(OTENSIS) PASTORIS ECCL(ESI)AE ORBOCEN(SIS) MERITISS(IMI)[1] CVM IAM ANNOS 16[2] FIDELITER IN OFFI CIO IBIDEM SVDASSET PLACIDE I(N) D(OMI)NO VITA DEFVNCTI A(nn)o 1653 DIE 25 IAN(VARII) AETA(TIS) SVAE 6[–][3] On the pilasters (B) CERTAMEN CLARVM CERTAVI QVID MODO RESTAT DEPOS(I)TVM EST VITAE[4] IAM DIADEMA MEAE

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[1] Reconstructed based on Halaváts, *Úti jegyzetek* and Roth, *Deutsche Plastik*. The funeral monument is in the open porch of the church, the gate of which was locked, so I could not get close enough, I could only take photos from outside.
[2] Roth, *Deutsche Plastik*: 10; I was not able to get close enough to read it.
[3] Probably 60 or 66 based on the surviving fragment of the number.
[4] Reconstructed based on Roth, *Deutsche Plastik*; it was not visible from outside the gate.

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 149

a)	Gârbova – Szászorbó – Urwegen, Baroque Lutheran church, under the open porch
b)	*Gârbova – Szászorbó – Urwegen, medieval Lutheran church*
c)	**Petrus Calopeus** The inscription says that he was born in Zlatna (Zalatna, Schlatten), a mining town, and he received his education in Braşov. His studies were documented in Wittenberg in 1553. In the same year, he returned to Transylvania, and was appointed as pastor in Braşov. In 1588, he served in Amnaş (Omlás, Hamlesch) then in Gârbova. The inscription also says that he died in a horse accident in 1569. The epitaph verse was signed by Georg Melas, pastor in Sibiu (**Cat. No. 242**). Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700.* (Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700), 224. Fontes Rerum Scholasticarum Ed. Bálint Keserű 4. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992
d)	d. 1569
e)	92 x 169 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 59. Hermannstadt [Sibiu]: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Bielz, Julius. "Porträtkatalog der Siebenbürger Sachsen". *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 49 (1936-38): 14. Halaváts, Gyula. "Úti jegyzetek Kelnek, Vingárd, Szászorbó környékéről" (Travelogue from the area of Câlnic, Vingard, and Gârbova). *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 27 (1907): 215, fig. 6. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 126. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	Border inscription (A) REVEREN(DO) VIRO D(OMI)NO PETRO CALOPEOO PASTORI ECCL(ESI)AE VRBE GEN(SIS) FIDELI, VXOR ET LIBERI MOESTI POS(VERVNT) OB(IIT) XXIIII IVN(II) In the lower half of the central panel (B) SCHLATINA ME GENVIT FVL VO CELEBRATA METALLO SED DEDIT INGENIVM CVL TA CORONA MIHI. PETRVS EGO DICOR, PETRI QV(O)QVE MVNERE FVNCTO, CVRA FVIT DOCILEM PAS CERE VT IPSE GREGEM. OCCVBVI INFOELIX CVRSV

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	RAPTATV(S) EQVORVM, HIPPOLYTO SIMILIS MORI BVS ATQVE NECE: ANNO 1569 G(EORGIVS) MEL(IVS) C(IBINENSIS)

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 150

a)	Gârbova – Szászorbó – Urwegen, Baroque Lutheran church, under the open porch
b)	Dobârca – Doborka – Dobring, Lutheran church, in the floor of the choir in front of the altar
c)	**Andreas Czeky** He was pastor in Reciu (Szebenrécse, Rätsch), then in Gârbova and Dobârca for 21 years as the inscription says. The register of the local church presents him as "vir gigante staturae et minandi roboris." Gyula Halaváts saw a liturgical plate and a chalice in the possession of the church with an inscription "Legatum quod in usum S Coenae Suig memoriam Clar. Domin(us), D. Andreas Czeki, Past, Dobr, obiuit Ano 1692 Die 12 May". He also states to have seen the small golden ring with a carved gemstone head depicting a bearded male figure which Czeky's figure wears on the portrait. He died in 1635, at the age of 63. Halaváts, Gyula. "Úti jegyzetek Kelnek, Vingárd, Szászorbó környékéről" (Travelogue from the area of Câlnic, Vingard, and Gârbova). *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 27 (1907): 220-221.
d)	d. 1685
e)	103 x 220 x ? cm
f)	Halaváts, Gyula. "Úti jegyzetek Kelnek, Vingárd, Szászorbó környékéről" (Travelogue from the area of Câlnic, Vingard, and Gârbova). *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 27 (1907): 219-221. Krasser, Harald. "Sigismund Möss, Bildhauer und Schnitzler zu Hermannstadt". In *Studien zur Siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte* ed. Gustav Gündisch, Albert Klein, Harald Krasser and Theobald Streifeld, 275-276. Cologne: Böhlau, 1976.
g)	Border inscription (A) TVMVL(VS) R(EVERENDI) ET CL(ARISSIMI) VIRI D(OMI)N(I) ANDREAE CZEKŸ ORBACENSIS ECCL(ESI)AE HVIVS DOBORCEN(SIS) PER ANNOS PLVS MINVS XXI ANTISTITIS FIDELISS(IMIS) QVI PLACIDE IN D(OMI)NO OBIIT A(nn)o MDCLXXXV DIE XXIII APR(ILIS) AET(ATIS) SVAE PR(O)P(RI)E 63. On the panel in front of the figure (B) SYMBOLVM AVXILIVM CHRISTI ORNAT. HEV QVONDAM VALIDVM, NVNC SED SINE ROBORE, ROBVR, ET SVB MARMOREO PONDERE, POND(VS) INERS! SIM TIBI QVAE SOLE(.) VIS[1], BENEDICTI FVNERIS HOSPES TERRA! TIBI FVIT HAVD NAM PIA VITA, GRAVIS. SPIRITVS, AETHEREIS, SOSPES VERSATVR IN VLNIS; CAETERA, MORS RAPVIT LIVIDA MANET HONOS

[1] There is a sign of abbreviation but it is not clear how to resolve it.

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	On the shields held by the putti (C) HODIE MIHI [C]RAS T[IBI]

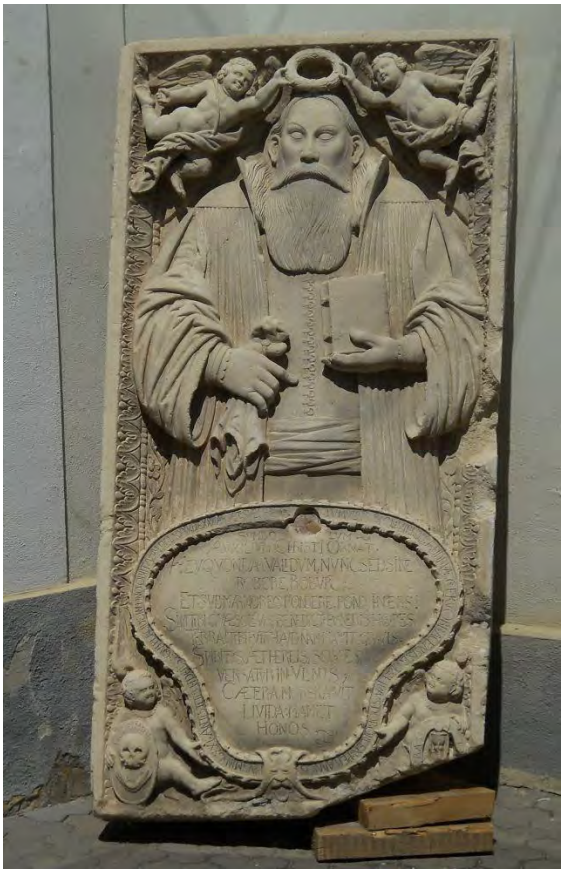

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 151

a)	Gilău – Gyalu – Julmarkt, Calvinist church, in the yard, on the southern side of the church
b)	*Gilău – Gyalu – Julmarkt, Calvinist cemetery*
c)	**Judit Decsi, wife of Ferenc Szárászi** Based on the inscription, she was the widow of the Calvinist priest Ferenc Szárászi from Debrecen, who translated the Heidelberg Catechism into Hungarian in 1604. Her funeral monument suggests that she ended up in the Transylvanian Principality and died there in 1633.
d)	d. 1633
e)	41 x 90 x 16 cm
f)	Herepei, János. *A kalotaszegi templomok, cintermek és temetők régi sírkövei* [Old gravestones in the churches, churchyards and graveyards in the Kalotaszeg region], 17-18. Kolozsvár: Művelődés, 2001.
g)	On the central panel, above the emblem (A) REVERTATVR PVLVIS IN TER RAM QVEM ADMO[DV]M ERAT: SPI RITVS REVERTATVR AD DEVM QVI DEDIT ILLVM[1] On the central panel, below the emblem (B) IT NVGSZK AZ VRBAN[2] AZ NEH AI SZARALSZI FERENC PAPNAK MEG HAGIATOT ARVAIA DECSI IV DIT AZONI AN(N)O DOMINI 1633 DIE ZI NOVE MBRIS

[1] Disappeared by now, after Herepei, *A kalotaszegi templomok*, 18.
[2] The damaged parts were reconstructed after Herepei, *A kalotaszegi templomok*, 18.

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 152

a)	Gilău – Gyalu – Julmarkt, Calvinist church, in the yard, on the southern side of the church
b)	*Gilău – Gyalu – Julmarkt, Calvinist cemetery*
c)	**Johannes (János) Jezerniczki** **Stephanus (István) Jezerniczki** Based on the inscription, they were sons of Stephanus (István) Jezerniczki and Christiana (Krisztina) Veres, and both died at an early age. The Jezerniczki family was from the middle nobility, its members held administrative offices in the service of the prince, at his Gilău estate. Herepei, János. *A kalotaszegi templomok, cintermek és temetők régi sírkövei* [Old gravestones in the churches, churchyards and graveyards in the Kalotaszeg region], 22-23. Kolozsvár: Művelődés, 2001.
d)	d. 1633
e)	52 x 118 x 19 cm
f)	Herepei, János. *A kalotaszegi templomok, cintermek és temetők régi sírkövei* [Old gravestones in the churches, churchyards and graveyards in the Kalotaszeg region], 22-23. Kolozsvár: Művelődés, 2001.
g)	On the central panel (A) SVB HAC ERECTA MOLE GENEROSI D(OMINI) STEPHANI IEZERNICZKI ET CHRIS TIANAE VERES FILII DILE CTI IOANNES ET STEPH ANVS IEZERNICZKI PLACIDE IN DEO VIVO QVI ESCVNT MORTVI SVNT IN TENERA AETATE ANNO D(OMINI) 1633 MENSE DECEMBRINO

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 153

a)	Gilău – Gyalu – Julmarkt, Calvinist church, in the yard, on the southern side of the church
b)	*Gilău – Gyalu – Julmarkt, Calvinist cemetery*
c)	**Barbara (Borbála) Váradi** Based on the inscription, she was the wife of Mattheus (Máté) Veres and she died in 1634. Máté Veres was from the ranks of the middle nobility. He did not have possessions in Kolozs County, so he was probably an officer of the prince at his Gilău estate. **Stephanus (István) Veres** Based on the inscription, he was the elder son of Barbara (Borbála) Váradi and Mattheus (Máté) Veres. He died before or in 1634. **Susanna (Zsuzsanna) Veres** Based on the inscription, she was a daughter of Barbara (Borbála) Váradi and Mattheus (Máté) Veres. She died before or in 1634. **Maria (Mária) Veres** Based on the inscription, she was a daughter of Barbara (Borbála) Váradi and Mattheus (Máté) Veres. She died before or in 1634. **Rebecca (Rebeka) Veres** Based on the inscription, she was daughter of Barbara (Borbála) Váradi and Mattheus (Máté) Veres. She died before or in 1634. Herepei, János. *A kalotaszegi templomok, cintermek és temetők régi sírkövei* [Old gravestones in the churches, churchyards and graveyards in the Kalotaszeg region], 27. Kolozsvár: Művelődés, 2001.
d)	d. 1634
e)	63 x 90 x 21 cm
f)	Herepei, János. *A kalotaszegi templomok, cintermek és temetők régi sírkövei* [Old gravestones in the churches, churchyards and graveyards in the Kalotaszeg region], 27. Kolozsvár: Művelődés, 2001.
g)	On the central panel (A) SVB ERECTO LAPIDE ISTO QVIESCIT BARBARA VARADI CONIVNX MATTHEI VERES CVM FILIO MAIORI STEPHANO VERES ET TRIBVS FILIABVS SVSANNA MARIA ET REBECCA

CEU eTD Collection

	MORTVA EST AN(NO) 1634 28 DIE FEBRVARII[1] On the central panel, secondary inscription (B) E TMO

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012

[1] This part of the inscription is not visible now due to the installation of the tombstone; it was reconstructed based on Herepei, *A kalotaszegi templomok*, 27.

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 154

a)	Gilău – Gyalu – Julmarkt, Calvinist church, in the yard, on the southern side of the church
b)	*Gilău – Gyalu – Julmarkt, Calvinist church or cemetery*
c)	**István Fábián(?)** He was mentioned in 1642 as István Fábián of Fejérvár and Marosszentimre; that time he was bailiff of the Porumbacu (Porumbák, Oberbornbach) estate of the prince. He was court judge in Gilău until 1648 or 1649, then in Gherla (Szamosújvár, Neuschloss) between 1650-56. It is not clear due to the fragmentary text whether he was also the subject of the memorial or just the patron. **Dániel Fábián** He was the son of István Fábián. **One or more further son(s)/daughter(s) of István Fábián** It is not clear due to the fragmentary text. Herepei, János. *A kalotaszegi templomok, cintermek és temetők régi sírkövei* [Old gravestones in the churches, churchyards and graveyards in the Kalotaszeg region], 29-30. Kolozsvár: Művelődés, 2001.
d)	d. 1649
e)	73 x 142 x 23 cm
f)	Herepei, János. *A kalotaszegi templomok, cintermek és temetők régi sírkövei* [Old gravestones in the churches, churchyards and graveyards in the Kalotaszeg region], 29-30 Kolozsvár: Művelődés, 2001.
g)	Border inscription (A) ITT NVKSZIK CZAK EO MAGA[1] [MIN]D PORRA LESZEN AZ KI EO MAGZATINAK EPIT EMLEKEZETET A PRED SALOM IV 2 HIJABAN VAL[OSAGOK][2] [N]AK [HIJABAN] VAL[OSAGA] […]VAT É MINDENEK EZ A HIJABAN VAL[OSAG]A A(NN)O On the central panel (B)[3] IT · NEMZETES · FABIAN ISTVANAK [– – –]MAR[.] MAZG [– – –]ZAN [– – –]ANI TE[– – –]T AZ EZER HAT

[1] It is not legible anymore, this is Herepei's transcription, but the last word is probably not correct based on the number and the visible parts of the fonts. Herepei, *A kalotaszegi templomok*, 30.

[2] This is Herepei's transcription, but the number of the biblical part is not correct, since this is a paraphrase of Ecclesiastes 1,1.

[3] The inscription is fragmentary, some missing parts were supplied based on Herepei's transcription.

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	[– – –]SZELI [– – –] [H]ALAL HALAL MAR[– – –] TE KI IEM[– – –] [FABIA]N DANIEL [– – –]A AN M[– – –]EL EZ REM [– – –] [– – –] [AN]NO DOMINI 1649 [– – –] 28 [– – – – –]

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 155

a)	Hărman – Szászhermány – Honigberg, Lutheran church, set up at the wall of the Romanesque chapel on the southern side of the choir
b)	*Hărman – Szászhermány – Honigberg, Lutheran church*
c)	**Anna Roth** The inscription say that she was the wife of Simon Roth, and she died in 1614.
d)	d. 1614
e)	53 x 117 x 20 cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) DVRCH CHRISTI TODT VND WNDEN ROTH WERD ICH ERLOST VOM EWIGEN TODT In the middle of the panel (B) RVHET IM HERRN AN NA HERR SI MO(N) ROTH HAVSF(RAU) 22 IANVA(R) 1614.

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Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 156

a)	Hărman – Szászhermány – Honigberg, Lutheran church, set up at the wall of the Romanesque chapel on the southern side of the choir
b)	*Hărman – Szászhermány – Honigberg, Lutheran church*
c)	**Andreas Schoppelius** The inscription says that he was pastor in Hărman for eight years, and he died in 1694, aged 55. **Franciscus** Secondary subject of the memorial, who was also pastor in Hărman (Mellemontis) and in Măieruș (Szászmagyarós, Nussbach), and who died in 1733 based on the inscription.
d)	d. 1694 (secondary subject d. 1733)
e)	80 x 155 x 25 cm (fragmentary)
f)	–
g)	On the central panel (A) CHRISTO LIBERA TORI SACR(OR)V(M) HIC SITUS est REVER(ENDVS) D(OMI)N(VS) ANDR(EAS) SCHOP PELIVS ECC(LESIAE) Honigb(ergensis) Pastor ann(is) 8 OBIIT Anno MDCXCIV XII. Nov(embris) Aet(atis) 55 On the central panel (B) HVIC ASSOCIATVS PRAE D(ICATOR) CHRIST(I): FRANCISC(VS) [Q]VONDAM ECC(LESIAE) NVSBACHEN SIS IN (PER) AN(N)VM MELLEMON(TIS) [P]AST(OR) FID(ELIS) AN(NO) 1733 D(IE) – – – – – –

CEU eTD Collection

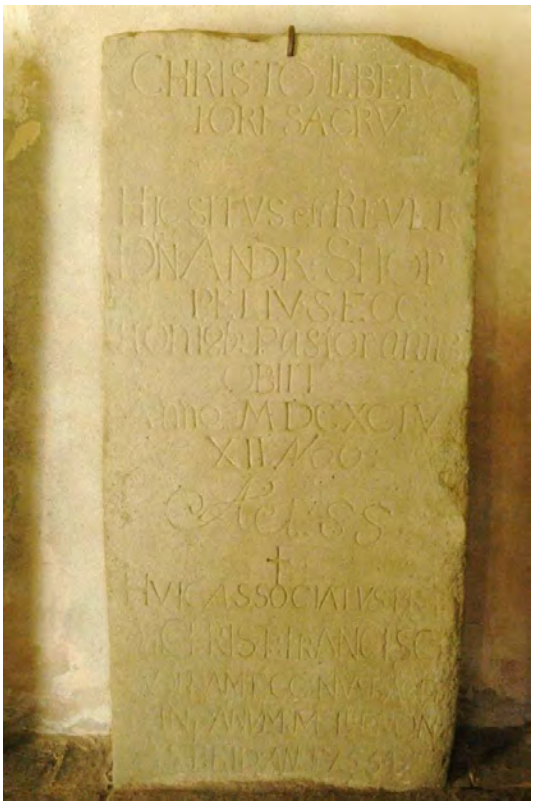


Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

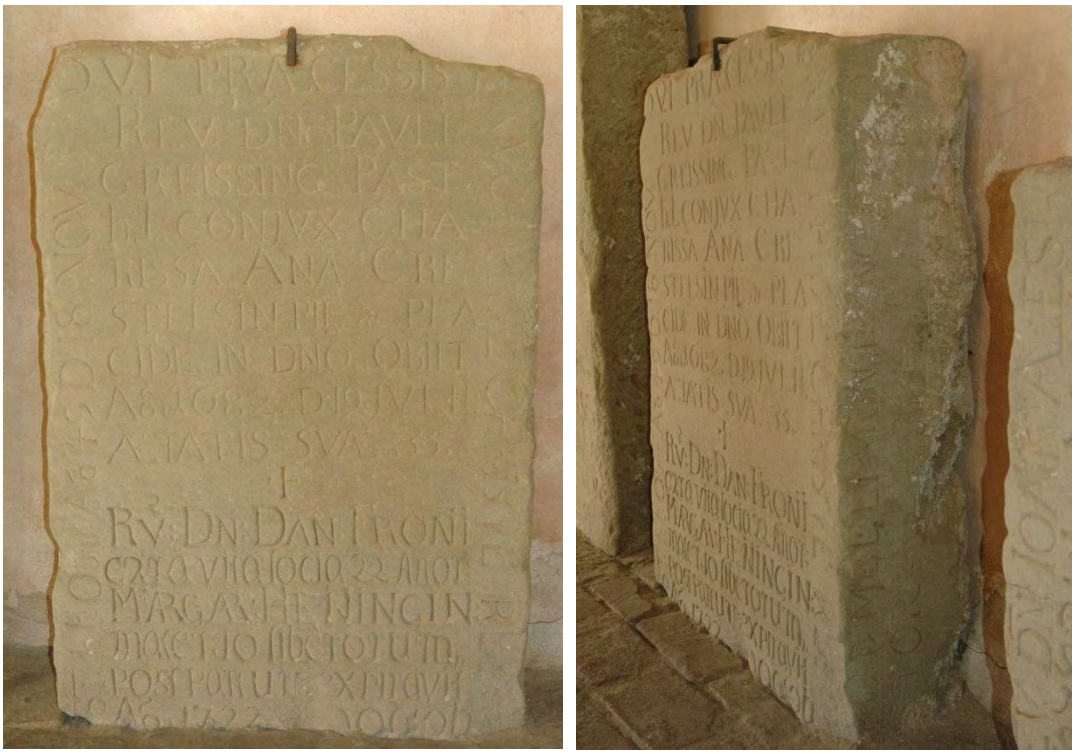
CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 157

a)	Hărman – Szászhermány – Honigberg, Lutheran church, set up at the wall of the Romanesque chapel on the southern side of the choir
b)	*Hărman – Szászhermány – Honigberg, Lutheran church*
c)	**Anna Crestelsin** Based on the inscription, she was the wife of Paulus (Paul) Greissing, pastor probably in Hărman. She died in 1682, at the age of 33. **Unknown** The fragmentary border inscription refers to a subject who died at the age of 49. **Margaretha Henningin** Secondary subject. She was the wife of Daniel Fronius, pastor in Hărman for 22 years, whose funeral mnument is also found in the chapel. The inscription says that they had ten children, and that Margaretha died after giving birth, in 1722. **Unknown** Tertiary subject. The fragmentary inscription refers to a pastor in Hărman who died in 1770.
d)	d. 1682 (secondry subjects d. 1722, 1770)
e)	75 x 105 x 21 cm (fragmentary)
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) QVI PRAECESSIS – NVCI PRAE CHRISTE RE [– – –] – – – – – – [– – –] ST hl Obiit A(nn)o(rum) 49 D(IE) 18 NOV(EMBRIS) On the central panel (B) REV(ERENDI) D(OMI)N(I) PAVLI GREISSING PAST(ORI) h.l. CONJUX CHA RISS(IM)A AN(N)A CRE STELSIN PIE ac PLA CIDE IN D(OMI)NO OBIIT A(nn)o 1682 D(IE) 19 JVLII AETATIS SVAE 33. On the central panel (C) R(E)V(ERENDI) D(OMI)N(I) DANIEL(IS) FRONII cara vitae socia 22 An(n)oru(um) MARGAR(ETHA) HEN(N)INGIN

CEU eTD Collection

	mater 10 liberorum post partum expiravit A(nn)o 1722 – – –b – – – – – – On the left side (D) [– – –] PAST(OR) MELLIMONT(IS) AN(N)O 1770 [– – –]STOR 15



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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 158

a)	Hărman – Szászhermány – Honigberg, Lutheran church, set up at the wall of the Romanesque chapel on the southern side of the choir
b)	*Hărman – Szászhermány – Honigberg, Lutheran church*
c)	**Johannes Alesius** Pastor, probably in Hărman, who died in the late seventeenth – early eighteenth century. **Daniel Fronius** Secondary subject. Pastor in Hărman for 28 years based on the inscription, who died in 1743, aged 71. **Joseph Teutsch** The fragmentary inscription says that he died at the age of 67.
d)	Late seventeenth – early eighteenth century (secondary subject d. 1743)
e)	75 x 86 x 26 cm (fragmentary)
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) REV D(OMI)N IOAN(NES) ALESI(VS) [– – –] – – – – – – [– – –]OR AD REG(N)I TE()DO GA[– – –] – IA VERA IV[– – –] On the central panel (B) OSSA SOCIATA VIRI M-E VEN(ERANDI) AC CLAR(ISSIMI) D(OMI)N(I) DANIELIS FRONII A B C D PAST ECCL(ESI)AE Brend Mellim(ontis) p(er) 28 annos Fidel(issimi) QVI OBIT D(IE) 31 AUGUST(I) A(NN)O 1743 VI XIT a(nn)os 71 mens(es) 7 et CASTISS(IM)AE COSTAE sup(er) Nominatae AETER NA eorom[1] MEMORIA SI(...) o(...) in hoc perituro lapide certe p(er) corda Bonor(um) et Amicor(um) mortui mortalia sectamini

[1] Sic, instead of eorum

CEU eTD Collection

	On the right side (C) [– – –] [O]BIIT IOSEPH TEVTSC[H] AET 67

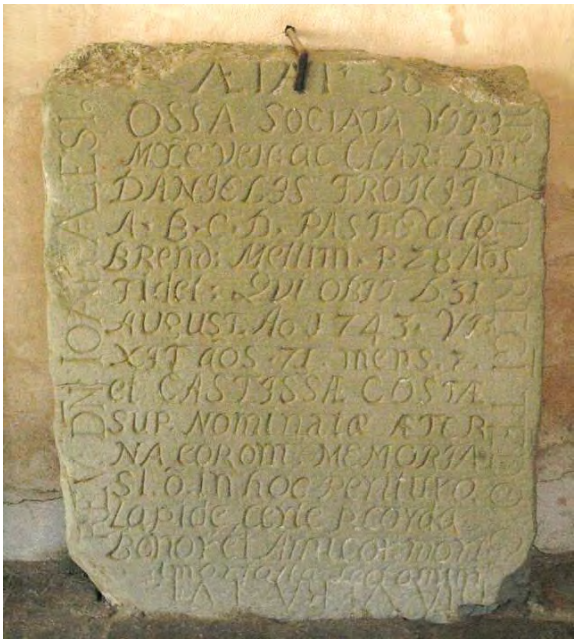
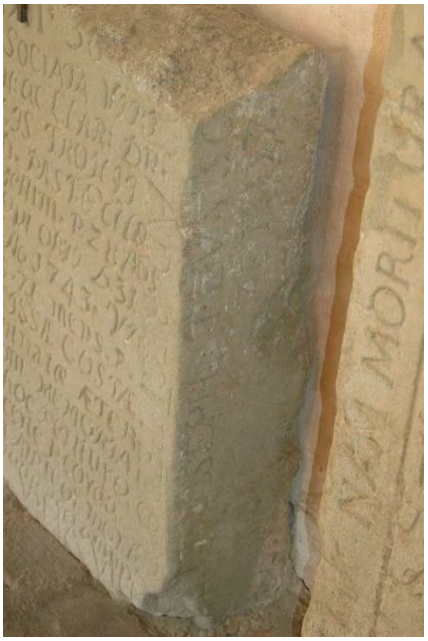

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 159

a)	Hărman – Szászhermány – Honigberg, Lutheran church, set up at the wall of the Romaesque chapel on the southern side of the choir
b)	*Hărman – Szászhermány – Honigberg, Lutheran church*
c)	**Anna Mederiana** The inscription says that she died in 1651, aged 10. **Martha Shoppeliana** The inscription says that she died in 1692, aged 4. **Paulus Teutsch** The inscription says that she died in 1718, aged 7 and his funeral took place almost three months after his death.
d)	d. 1651, 1692 (secondary subject d. 1718)
e)	73 x 139 x 22 cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) QVOD MORIOR MUN DO CHRISTO POST TRIS[–]A VIVO [– – –] HIC [– – –] [– – –] EREMI NAM MORITURA FU[–] On the central panel (B) ANNA MEDERIANA obiit A(nn)o Ch(risti) 1651 14 jun(ii) A(nn)o aetatis suae 10. MARThA SHOP PELIANA OBIIT Anno 1692 3 Apr(ilis) aetat(is) 4 A(nn)o 1718 D(ie) XV SEP(TEMBRIS) H(ORA) MAT(ATUTINA) 1 OBIT PAULUS TEUTSCH Jun(ii) III hoc[1] no(c)te A(nn)o aet(atis) 7mo

[1] Sic, instead of hac

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 160

a)	Hărman – Szászhermány – Honigberg, Lutheran church, set up at the wall of the Romaesque chapel on the southern side of the choir
b)	*Hărman – Szászhermány – Honigberg, Lutheran church*
c)	**Lucas Seuler** The inscription says that he was pastor in Hărman for fourteen years, and he died 1667, aged 50.
d)	d. 1667
e)	82 x 181 x 21 cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) Crux Agni in vitae libru(m) virtutae Columba Meic[– – –] vitam [– – –] fata fra[– – –] [– – –]re felicem Mecum vis esse, viator in Cruce fac vivas, fac moriare DEI. On the inscription plaque (B) R(evere)n(dus) D(omi)n(us) LVCAS SEVLERVS Past(or) Honig spergen(sis) per an(nos) xiv Ob(it) 1667 d(ie) 27 jan(uarii) AEt(atis) 50.

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Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 161

a)	Ighiu – Magyarigen – Calvinist church, lapidary on the ground floor of the tower
b)	*Benic – Borosbenedek, Calvinist church*
c)	**Unknown** Benic was the property of the Telegdi family, then of Sándor Kendi (d. 1594), later of the Jesuites and Prince György Rákóczi I. Emődi, Tamás."Monumente funerare figurative renascentiste din Transilvania" [Renaissance figural funeral monuments in Transylvania]. In *Artă românească, artă europeană. Centenar Virgil Vătăşianu*, edited by M. Porumb and A. Chiriac, 141, fig. 5. Oradea: Editura Muzeului Ţării Crişurilor Oradea, 2002.
d)	Late sixteenth century
e)	59 x 40 x _ cm (fragment)
f)	Emődi, Tamás. "A Telegdi család és a reneszánsz művészet néhány emléke a 16. századi Bihar és Bereg vármegyékben"[In [The Telegdy family and some Renaissance monuments in Bereg and Bihor counties in the sixteenth century]. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 47, no. 3-4 (1998): 182. Emődi, Tamás."Monumente funerare figurative renascentiste din Transilvania" [Renaissance figural funeral monuments in Transylvania]. In *Artă românească, artă europeană. Centenar Virgil Vătăşianu*, edited by M. Porumb and A. Chiriac, 141, fig. 5. Oradea: Editura Muzeului Ţării Crişurilor Oradea, 2002.
g)	–

Source: Tamás Emődi, “Monumente funerare figurative renascentiste din Transilvania” [Renaissance figural funeral monuments in Transylvania], in *Artă românească, artă europeană. Centenar Virgil Vătăşianu* [Romanian art - European art. The centenary of Virgil Vătăşianu], ed. M. Porumb and A. Chiriac (Oradea: Editura Muzeului Ţării Crişurilor Oradea, 2002), 141, fig. 5.

Cat. No. 162

a)	Matei – Szentmáté – Mathesdorf, Calvinist church, in the churchyard
b)	*Matei – Szentmáté – Mathesdorf, Calvinist, that time Lutheran church*
c)	**Unknown** Though the depiction of the coat of arms is not visible anymore, the subject was clearly of noble rank. The most important estate owner in Matei was the Kendi family in the sixteenth century, then, from 1615, the Haller family. This funeral monument was probably installed for a Kendi, since it can be dated to the late sixteenth century, probably the 1580s. The church was used by the Lutheran Saxon community until the second half of the seventeenth century. Kádár, József. *Szolnok-Dobokavármegye monographiája.* (A monograph of Szolnok-Doboka County), vol. 5, 146-148. Dés: Szolnok-Dobokavármegye közönsége, 1900-1901.
d)	Late sixteenth century (1580s?)
e)	113 x 170 x 20 cm (fragmentary?)
f)	–
g)	On the central panel, above the coat of arms (A) – – – – – – [– – –]NO[– – –] [– – –] AC [– – –] [– – –]WARTE[– – –] [– – –]ESCENT[– – –] [– – –] OBI[T] [– – –] On the central panel, under the coat of arms (B) [– – –] S[– – –]EO[– – –] [– – –]TVMV[– – –] [– – –]MAT[– – –] – – – – – –

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 163

a)	Matei – Szentmáté – Mathesdorf, Calvinist church, at the wall under the western gallery and in the chancel arch
b)	*Matei – Szentmáté – Mathesdorf, Calvinist (that time Lutheran) church*
c)	**Barbara (Borbála) (Drugeth) of Homonna** Daughter of Antonius (Antal) (Drugeth) of Homonna, third wife of Franciscus (Ferenc) Kendi (**Cat. No. 7** and **Cat. No. 19**). She died in 1560. The memorial consists of two parts that both give a clue to the identity of the subject. A large slab bears no inscription but the coat of arms of the Drugeth of Homonna family. A separate inscription plaque bears an inscription which says that Borbála's two sons, Volfgangus (Farkas) and Franciscus (Ferenc) Kendi installed her memorial. Kovács, András. "A szászmátéi református templom 16. századi síremlékéről" (The sixteenth-century funeral monument of the Lutheran church in Matei). *Művelődés* 42, no. 1 (1993): 44. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 6, 198-199. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1857-1868.
d)	d. 1560
e)	_ x _ x _ cm
f)	Kovács, András. "A szászmátéi református templom 16. századi síremlékéről" (The sixteenth-century funeral monument of the Lutheran church in Matei). *Művelődés* 42, no. 1 (1993): 44.
g)	On an inscription panel walled into the chancel arch of the church (A)[1] DEO MAXIMO MANIB(US)Q(VE) SACRVM BARBARA ANTONII FILIA GENTIS HOMONNEAE DECVS FRANCISCI KENDII MAGNANIMI HEROIS VXOR VOLFGANGI ET FRANCI SCI FILIORVM MATER SVAVISS(IMA) CASTITATIS PIETATIS PVDICI TIAE ORNAMENTVM HOC CONDITVR TVMVLO VIXIT OBIIT ANNO MDLX MENSE MAII DIE SEXTO FILII MOESTI M(AT)R(I) KARISS(IMI) P(OSVERVNT)

[1] After Kovács, "*A szászmátéi református templom*," 44. I did not have the chance to see the monument.

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Source: https://erdelyi-templomok.weebly.com/erdeacutelyi-koumlzeacutepkori-templomok--bisericimedievale-din-transilvania.html

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 164

a)	Mediaș – Medgyes – Mediasch, Lutheran church, in the wall of the choir
b)	*Mediaș – Medgyes – Mediasch, Lutheran church*
c)	**Christianus (Christian) Schaesaeus (Scheser)** He was born in Mediaş around 1534-36. His father was seat judge in Mediaş. He attended school in Braşov and Bardejov (Bártfa, Bartfeld, today in Slovakia) and university in Wittenberg where his presence was documented in 1556. After returning to Transylvania, he was first, in 1558, preacher in Cluj, then in Dupuş (Táblás, Tobsdorf) in 1561. He was pastor in Mediaş from 1569. He was a Humanist poet and scholar, his most well-known work is *Runiae Pannonicae* published in Wittenberg in 1571: an epic poem on the events between 1540 and 1571 in Hungary, Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia. The inscription on the memorial says that he received the *Poeta Laureata* title from Prince István Báthory. He died in 1585. Schuller, Hermann. *Christian Schesäus als Lyriker.* Mediasch [Mediaș]: Kommissionsverlag, 1927. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700.* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 34-35. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992. Teutsch, Georg Daniel. "Schesäus, Christian". In *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 31, 139. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot 1890.
d)	d. 1585
e)	86 x 192 x 26 cm
f)	Avram, Alexandru. *Topografia monumentelor din Transilvania. Municipiul Mediaş.* [Topography of monuments in Transylvania. Municipality of Mediaş], 24 Sibiu: Muzeul Naţional Brukenthal, 2006.
g)	Border inscription (A) EPITAPHIVM IN OBITVM REVERENDI ET CLARISSIMI VIRI DOMINI CHRISTANNI SCHAESAEI PASTORIS MEDIENSIS ET P(OETA) L(LAVREATVS) QVI OBIIT A(NNO) D(OMINI) 1585 DIE IVLII XXX Lower panel (B) HOC SVA CHRISTANNVS TVMVLO TEGIT OSSA SCHESAEVS PASTOR IN HAC CHRI(STI) QVI FVIT VRBE GREGIS MENS DIVINA VIRO NATV(S)Q(VE) AD MAXIMA PECTVS NESTORIS ELOQVIV(M) VLNA MARONIS ERAT ILLE HO(M)I(N)ES PARITER CA(N)TV SVPEROSQ(VE) MOVEBAT IN SACRO FACERET CV(M) PIA VERBA LOCO NEC CALAMO SEGNIS TOTV(M) MONIME(N)TA P(ER) ORBE(M)

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	INVGENI[1] SPARSIT NON MORITVRA SVI HEROV(M) PVLORO[2] CELEBRAVIT CARMINE MANES ET CECINIT PVGNAS PAN(N)ONIS ORA TVAS HINC VATE(M) VIRIDI PRAECINXIT TE(M)PORA LAVRV REX STEPHANVS BELLO CO(N)SILIOQ(VE) POTENS SVBQ(VE) LYCAONIO QANTV(M)VIS AXE SEDERET AVXIS[3] CVM SCRIPTIS MVNERIBVSQ(VE) SVIS CARMINA NVNC D(OMI)NO CANIT I(M)MORTALIA CHR(IST)O CARMINIS ET PRECIVM NE MORIATVR LI(CE)T

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

[1] Sic, instead of INGENI
[2] Sic, instead of PVLCHRO
[3] an alternative spelling for AVSIS

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Cat. No. 165

a)	Mediaș – Medgyes – Mediasch, Lutheran church, in the wall of the choir
b)	*Mediaș – Medgyes – Mediasch, Lutheran church*
c)	**Barbara Theilesius born Schlemmer** She was the wife of Georg Theilesius who was pastor in Mediaş before he was elected as Saxon Lutheran bishop in 1627. Barbara probably died still in Mediaş between 1621 and 1626, and his widowed husband might have had prepared the memorial later, in the 1630s-40s (he died in 1647). Seivert, Johann. "Skizze der Superintendenten Augsburgischer Konfession, im Grosfürstenthum Siebenbürgen." *Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift* 2 (1791): 17-18.
d)	1630s-40s (d. 1621-26)
e)	87 x 188 x ? cm
f)	Avram, Alexandru. *Topografia monumentelor din Transilvania. Municipiul Mediaş.* (Topography of monuments in Transylvania. Municipality of Mediaş), 24. Sibiu: Muzeul Naţional Brukenthal, 2006. Gündisch, Gustav. “Der Hermannstädter Bildhauer und Steinmetz Elias Nicolai”. In *Studien zur siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Gustav Gündisch, Albert Klein, Harald Krasser and Theobald Streifeld, 223-224. Cologne: Böhlau, 1976.Roth Roth, Victor. “Barbara Theillesius sírköve” [Funeral monument of Barbara Theilesius]. *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 44 (1910): 97-101.
g)	Border inscription (A) IN HOC [T V]MVLO IACET BARBARA SCHLEMMERIANA, OLIM CONIVX REVE RENDI GEORGY THEILESI PASTORIS ECCL(ESI)AE MEDIEN(SIS) [– – –]NO OBYT A(NN)O 162[–] [D]OMINICA ROGA[TIONVM] Right pilaster (B) Christus ist mein Leben Left pilaster (C) Sterben ist mein gewin Above the figure, in the cloud (D) [Damaged Hebrew fonts] Lower frame (E) [– – –]SE[–] ELIAS NICOLAI FLE[– – –]

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 166

a)	Mediaș – Medgyes – Mediasch, Lutheran church, in the wall of the choir
b)	*Mediaș – Medgyes – Mediasch, Lutheran church*
c)	**Simon Kirtscherus (Kirtscher)** He was born in 1559. His studies were documented at the Wittenberg university in 1589. After his return to Transylvania, he was pastor in Mediaş. His diary, with the title *Diarium Ecclesiae Mediensis*, has survived. He died in 1621, aged 62. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700.* (Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700), 246. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992.
d)	d. 1621
e)	86 x 181 x ? cm
f)	Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 126. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	Border inscription (A) R(EVERE)NDVS AC CLARISSIMVS VIR DOMINVS [SIM]ON KIRTSCHERVS MEDIENSIS [– – –] – – – – – – [– – –] [M]AII AETATIS AVTE[M] SVAE ANNO 62 Panel on the lower part (B) CVM FEX CVM LI MVS CVM RES VI LISSIMA SIMVS VNDE SVPERBI MVS IN TERRA M TERRA REDIM(VS)

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 167

a)	Mediaș – Medgyes – Mediasch, Lutheran church, in the wall of the choir
b)	*Mediaș – Medgyes – Mediasch, Lutheran church*
c)	**Petrus (Peter) Gotterbaumer (Gotterbarmet)** Mayor in Mediaș between 1609 and 1616, then again between 1620 and 1623. In 1614, there was a riot against him in the town, and the epitaph verse refers to this. He died in 1623, aged 64. Anonym. "Die Bürgermeister von Mediasch". *Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift* 7, no. 2 (1801): 107, 181.
d)	d. 1623
e)	90 x 186 x ? cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) SEPVLCHRVM PRVDEN(TIS) CIRCV MSPECTI ET CONSVLTISSIMI VIRI DOMINI PETRI GOTTERB AVMI CONSVLIS CIVITA(TIS) HVIVS MEDIENS(IS) QVI OBIIT ANNO MDCXXIII DIE 13 IVNII AETATIS V(ERO) 64 Panel on the lower half (B) CORRVMPIT SV MMOS NOBIS E N PARVA CRVET[1] MAGNATES HOS IAM FALC E NECATQVE SVA OCCVBVIT NOSTER QVI A PRAECLAR ISSIMVS VOBIS CONSVL QVI PATRIAE LVX QVE PATER Q VE SVAE In the emblem (C) P(ETRVS) G(OTTERBAVMER)

[1] not clear, standing for CRVENTA

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 168

a)	Mediaș – Medgyes – Mediasch, Lutheran church, in the wall of the choir
b)	*Mediaș – Medgyes – Mediasch, Lutheran church*
c)	**Unknown (Bauman? …bauman?)** According to the tomb inscription, he originated from Vienna, and he was royal judge in Mediaş. He died in 1630.
d)	d. 1630
e)	89 x 186 x ? cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) PRVDENS AC C[IRCVMSPECTVS] [– – –]BAVMAN WIENENSIS AVSTRIAE, P. T. RE GIVS IVDEX HVIVS VRBIS PLACIDE OBIIT A(NN)O CHR(IST)I 1630 MARTY 5 AETAT(IS) SVAE LV. On the inscription panel (B) CONDIMVS HIS[1] MOESTI RARVVM PIETATE PARE(N)TEM CAESAREA ALMANIAE QVVM PROCVL VRBE SATVM REGIVS HIC VRBIS GER MANO PECTORE IVDEX PRO MERITIS LVCTV FVNERA PLENA TVLIT In the shield (C) P?D?(…) B(…) In the lower left corner, secondary incision (D) F(…) N(…)

[1] Sic, instead of HIC

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Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 169

a)	Mediaș – Medgyes – Mediasch, Lutheran church, in the wall of the choir
b)	*Mediaș – Medgyes – Mediasch, Lutheran church*
c)	**Georg May (?)** Based on the inscription, the subject was a pastor in Mediaş, who died in 1632, aged 60. It was probably Georg May, who was priest in Mediaş between 1628 and 1632. Avram, Alexandru. *Topografia monumentelor din Transilvania. Municipiul Mediaş* [Topography of monuments in Transylvania. Municipality of Mediaş], 24. Sibiu: Muzeul Naţional Brukenthal, 2006.
d)	d. 1632
e)	85 x 176 x 27 cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) MONVMENTVM REVEREN(DI) AC [– – –] [PAS]TORIS[– – –] EN QV[I] [– – –] 20 AVG(VSTI) ANNO 1632 AETAT(IS) [S] VAE 60 On the inscription plaque (B) AD MORTEM [– – – – – –] [– – – – – –] [– – – – – –] [– – – – – –] [– – – – – –] [– – – – – –] [– – – – – –] [– – – – – –]

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 170

a)	Mediaș – Medgyes – Mediasch, Lutheran church, in the wall of the choir
b)	*Mediaș – Medgyes – Mediasch, Lutheran church*
c)	**Simon Zacharias** Mayor of Mediaş between 1607 and 1609. According to the inscription, he was the eleventh mayor of the town, and the first mayor Simon Pellio, was his ancestor. He died in 1612, aged 42. Anonym. "Die Bürgermeister von Mediasch". *Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift* 7, no. 2 (1801): 107.
d)	d. 1612
e)	85 x 179 x ? cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) SEPVL[CH]RVM [–]LOTATAE PIE [TAT]IS INTEGRITATISQVE VIRI SIMONIS ZACHAR(IAE) CLARISS(IMI) PATRICIORVM MEDIEN(SIVM) STEMM(ATE) PROGNATI XI[..]O [–]VI [–]EDE[–] PIE IN D(OMI)NO OBDORM(IT) ANN(O) 1612 7 MAY AETATIS SVAE 42 On the inscription panel (B) HVIVS AVVS SIMEON PRI MVS CONSVL MEDIENSIS VNDECIMVS SIMEON HIC CONSVL IN VRBE NEPOS QVOS GENVS OFFICIVM NOMEN, CONIVNXIT NVNV(M)[1] CONTIGVAS DEVS HOS IVS SIT HABERE DOMOS DEFVNCTI IN CHRIST(IC)OLAE FIDE MORTE RESVRGENT ATQVE REDEMPTORI CARMINA LAETA CANE(N)T In the emblem (C) M(AGISTER) S(IMON) Z(ACHARIAS)

[1] Sic, instead of IN VNV(M)

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Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 171

a)	Mediaș – Medgyes – Mediasch, Lutheran church, in the wall of the choir
b)	*Mediaș – Medgyes – Mediasch, Lutheran church*
c)	**Andreas Fleischer (Gräf)** Mayor of Mediaş in 1616-17 and 1619-20. He died in 1620. Anonym. "Die Bürgermeister von Mediasch". *Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift* 7, no. 2 (1801): 108.
d)	d. 1620
e)	90 x 180 x 27 cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) [– – – – – –] [– – – – – –] [– – – – – –] ET [– – –]ENTA[– – –] [A]N(NO) D(OMINI) 16[20] On the inscription panel (B) OENOTRIAE TERRAE QVONDAM DVX MVNIA SED CONSVLIS ACCESSIT SP LENDIDA SCEPTA VIRI OBRVIT HVNC TIMIDO ELECTO PROH VIX PEDE [-] MORTI[– – –] IN[– – –] AE P P[– – –]ES H[– – –]VI E[– – –]ME N[– – –]VS AE[– – –]EVO CET CHRISTVS AD ASTRA POLI In the emblem (C) A(ndreas) G(raf)

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 172

a)	Moșna – Muzsna – Meschen, Lutheran church, in the floor of the sacresty
b)	*Moșna – Muzsna – Meschen, Lutheran church*
c)	**Simonus (Simon) Hartmann** He originated from Mercheașa (Mirkvásár, Streitfort). He studied in Toruń in 1616. After his return, he served as notary in Sighişoara. He was the rector of the college in the town between 1619 and 1621, and he reformed the operation of the school. Later he served as pastor in Şeica Mică, then in Moșna, and the inscription mentions one more place that might be Copșa Mică (Kiskapus, Kleinkopisch) or Copșa Mare (Nagykapus, Gross-Kopisch). The epitaph verse emphasizes his excellent knowledge of languages including Greek and Hebrew. He died in 1639, aged 54. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700.* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 257. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992.
d)	d. 1639
e)	92 x 185 x ? cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) [– – –] Reverendi ac Clarissimi Viri D(omini) SIMONIS HARTMANNIS [STREID]TFORTENSIS, Ecclesiae Muirsensis A[– – –]tilis Vigilantissimi, nec non Venerabilis [– – –] [...]ico[..]m Deca [...] Ge [...]foeliciter in Dno obÿt anno 1639 [...] [...] vero 54 On the central panel (B) Hic iac[e]t HARTMANNI venerabile corpus et [– –] Sed pia M[en]s [s]uperum lecta beat[.] [– –]ol[– –] Eximias ejus Virtutes nosse Viator Gestaq(ue) Praeclari si velis ipsa Viri Curia Schesburgi, Schola itemq(ue), Ecclesia tandem Lecta Cappuschini, lecta deinde Deo Kisselkini etiam Muschnae, tanti monumenta Doloris meritum nempe rogata dabunt Hebraea et Graia atq(ue) alÿs dare dogmata lingvis Noverat, ac dictis iungere facta suis. Hinc tulit infidae livoris spicula turbae Christi et Magnatum gratiam ad i[– –] tulit Eripit Vndeno hunc vita curr[– – –] JEHOVA Lustro delicÿs in[– – –] [– – –] poli,

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	[– – –] s[– – –]pias L[– – –]o sibi F[– – –] reg[– –]da est Huius ad ex[– –– –]um Vitae Fideiq(ve) [– – –] Around the shield (C) PASTOR SIMON HARTMANNIS STREIDTFORTENSIS

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

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Cat. No. 173

a)	Oradea – Nagyvárad – Grosswardein, Rhédey Mausoleum, built into the wall
b)	*Sâniob – Szentjobb, Calvinist church*
c)	**Franciscus (Ferenc) Rhédey** The Rhédey family was a wealthy noble family already in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, but no member held any important state office. The father of Ferenc, Pál, excelled in the wars against the Ottomans in the 1560s and he received estates in the Kingdom of Hungary from Ferdinand of Habsburg for his services. Both Ferenc and his brother, Pál followed their father in their military career, which started in the Hungarian Kingdom under Habsburg rule. Ferenc was captain of the castle of Fiľakovo (Fülek, Fileck, today in Slovakia). In 1599, the Diet requested his punishment from the ruler for certain issues. Soon he appeared in Transylvania supporting Mózes Székely in his struggle for the throne. Then he joined István Bocskai, and he became one of the leaders of his military campaign in the Hungarian Kingdom. Later he supported the claim of Gábor Báthory for the throne. In return, in 1608 he was appointed as *főispán* (head) of Bihar County, captain of Oradea, and he became a member of the Princely Council. He kept these offices until his death. He got married in 1608, with Kata Károlyi, widow of Dénes Bánffi (their son was Ferenc Rhédey, Prince of Transylvania in 1657). Thus, he became brother-in-law of Gábor Bethlen, prince from 1613. He was among those who were closest to the prince as attested by their correspondence. He was the leader of Bethlen's military campaigns into the Kingdom of Hungary. He got ill during a campaign in 1621, and this is when he wrote his last will, in which he requested, among others, to have a tomb monument ordered for him from Cluj. He was taken captive by the captain of the castle of Fiľakovo and he died there. His body was transported to Sâniob, his main estate he received in 1607 from Prince Zsigmond Rákóczi. He rebuilt the fortified residence there that was originally a medieval Benedictine, later Pauline monastery. The former monastic church was taken over by the Calvinists; Rhédey had it renovated, and he was buried there. Kata Károlyi was also buried in the church, though she married István Bethlen, brother of the prince (and later prince himself) after Rhédey's death. The fortification and the church were demolished in the first half of the eighteenth century, and the remains of the tomb monument were moved to the family mausoleum in Oradea by 1808. Komáromy, András. "A kis-rédei gróf Rhédey családról" [On the Count Rhédey family of Kis-Réde]. *Turul* 1 (1883): 130-132. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal.* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 9, 742-747. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1862. Trócsányi, Zsolt. *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690.* [The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690], 33. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980. Tüdős S., Kinga. *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 3. Erdélyi nemesek és főemberek végrendeletei 1600-1660.* [Transylvanian testaments, vol. 3. Last wills of Transylvanian noblemen and aristocrats 1600-1660], 80-83. Târgu Mureș: Mentor Kiadó, 2008.
d)	d. 1621
e)	105 x 194 x ? cm (only the top of the tomb chest; three fragments have also been preserved from the side panels)

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f)	Emődi, Tamás. “Monumente funerare figurative renascentiste din Transilvania” [Renaissance figural funeral monuments in Transylvania]. In *Artă românească, artă europeană. Centenar Virgil Vătăşianu* [Romanian art - European art. The centenary of Virgil Vătăşianu], ed. M. Porumb and A. Chiriac, 141-142. Oradea: Editura Muzeului Ţării Crişurilor Oradea, 2002. Emődi, Tamás. “A Telegdi család és a reneszánsz művészet néhány emléke a 16. századi Bihar és Bereg vármegyékben” [The Telegdy family and some Renaissance monuments in Bereg and Bihar County in the sixteenth century]. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 47, no. 3-4 (1998): 179. and fig. 6 and 7 on 181, 192, note 20. Ipolyi, Arnold. “A középkori szobrászat emékei Magyarországon” [Medieval sculptural monuments in Hungary]. *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Évkönyvei* 10, no. 13 (1863): 68-70. Mikó, Árpád. “A szentjobbi monostor és vár történetéhez; Katalógus” [On the history of the monastery and castle in Sâniob; Catalog]. In *Váradi kőtöredékek* [Stone fragments in Oradea], ed. Teréria Kerny, 260-263. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1989. Nagy, Iván. “Rhédey Ferenc epitaphiuma” [The epitaph of Ferenc Rhédey]. *Századok* 8 (1874): 355-356.
g)	Inscription (A) The inscription of the funeral monument is known in two transcriptions from the eighteenth century, one by Sámuel Dobai Székely (published by Iván Nagy 1874) and one by Máté Simon (published by Mikó 1989, 263). It is provided here after Dobai Székely. On one long side of the tomb chest (A) Hoc cubat in tumulo funus lacrymabile Rhéde[1] Francisci herois, magnanimique ducis, Cujus trius[2] charis coelesti pectus alebat Nectare, Mars[3] prudens, consilium alma fides. Marte potens patrias defendit ab hostibus oras, Hine Eques auratus nomen et omen habet. Consilio rexit populum prudenter, avitae Legis devotus cultor amabat iter. Hoc iter ipse fide in Christum mediante peregit, Pro quo coelestes sumpsit alumnus opes. On the other long side of the tomb chest (B) Discite regnicolae[4] titulos qui fertis avitos Heroe a tanto jussa timere Dei. Discite pro patriea tellure, aerisque[5] Sabaoth

[1] Simon: lachrymabile Rhédey
[2] Simon: Trina
[3] Simon: meus
[4] Simon: OI Vos Regnicolae
[5] Simon: arisque

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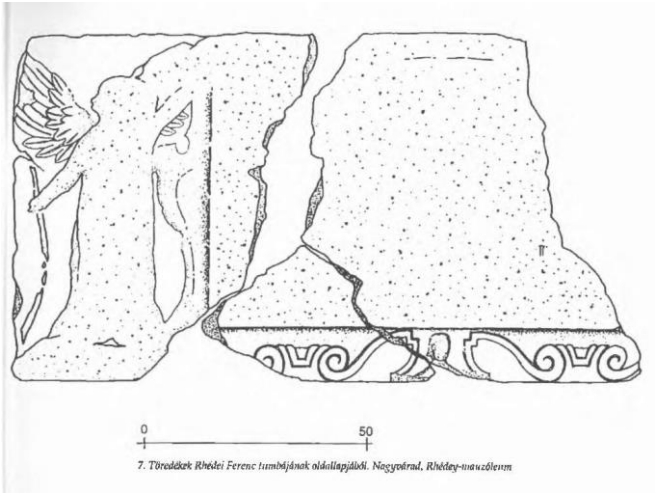
	Fortiter immoto[1] mortis adire[2] vices. Immoritura[3] brevem pensarit gloria mortem Corporis, exemplum sumite[4] busta ducis Cujus humata licet requiescant membra sepulchro, Spiritus at[5] sanctis gaudet in axe choris, Discite Christicolae. Patriae Pater optime, terrae In gremio et Christi dulce quiesce sinu.



7. Töredékek Rhédei Ferenc tumbájának oldallapjáról. Nagyvárad, Rhédey-mauzóleum

Source: photo: http://thomas-sz.com/web_adel/szentjobi_szabo/eletrajzok/fontos_kapcsolatok/rhedey_ferenc.html

Drawing about the fragment of the side panel: Emődi, Tamás. "A Telegdi család és a reneszánsz művészet néhány emléke a 16. századi Bihar és Bereg vármegyékben" [The Telegdy family and some Renaissance monuments in Bereg and Bihar County in the sixteenth century]. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 47, no. 3-4 (1998): 181, fig. 7.

[1] Simon: immotas
[2] Simon: obire
[3] Simon: Immoritur
[4] Simon: summite
[5] Simon: ast

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Cat. No. 174

a)	Pericei – Szilágyperecsen, Calvinist church, in the wall of the southern porch
b)	*Pericei – Szilágyperecsen, Calvinist church*
c)	**A member of the Báthori family (Elek?)** Elek Báthori appears in the sources first in 1542, and he was still underage in 1555. He married Anna Jakcs of Kusaly, they had seven or eight children. He died in 1587. Emődi, Tamás. "Monumente funerare figurative renascentiste din Transilvania" [Renaissance figural funeral monuments in Transylvania]. In *Artă românească, artă europeană. Centenar Virgil Vătăşianu* [Romanian art - European art. The centenary of Virgil Vătăşianu], ed. M. Porumb and A. Chiriac, 139-141. Oradea: Editura Muzeului Ţării Crişurilor Oradea, 2002. Emődi, Tamás. "Perecsen, református templom" [Pericei, Reformed church]. In *A középkori és koraújkori Kraszna és Közép-Szolnok vármegyék műemléki topográfiája* (Monument topography of Kraszna and Közép Szolnok counties), in press.
d)	Last two decades of the sixteenth century
e)	95 x 180 x ? cm (fragment, only the top of the tomb chest)
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 220, 327-328, fig. 267. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Emődi, Tamás. "A Telegdi család és a reneszánsz művészet néhány emléke a 16. századi Bihar és Bereg vármegyékben" [The Telegdy family and some Renaissance monuments in Bereg and Bihar County in the sixteenth century]. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 47, no. 3-4 (1998): 182-183. Emődi, Tamás. "Monumente funerare figurative renascentiste din Transilvania" [Renaissance figural funeral monuments in Transylvania]. In *Artă românească, artă europeană. Centenar Virgil Vătăşianu* [Romanian art - European art. The centenary of Virgil Vătăşianu], ed. M. Porumb and A. Chiriac, 139-141. Oradea: Editura Muzeului Ţării Crişurilor Oradea, 2002. Emődi, Tamás. "Perecsen, református templom" [Pericei, Reformed church]. In *A középkori és koraújkori Kraszna és Közép-Szolnok vármegyék műemléki topográfiája* (Monument topography of Kraszna and Közép Szolnok counties), in press. Petri, Mór. *Szilágy vármegye monographiája* [Monograph of Szilágy County], vol. 4, 235-236. Budapest: Franklin-Társulat nyomdája, 1901-1904
g)	–

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Photo: Adrian Andrei Rusu. Drawing: Emődi, Tamás. “A Telegdi család és a reneszánsz művészet néhány emléke a 16. századi Bihar és Bereg vármegyékben” [The Telegdy family and some Renaissance monuments in Bereg and Bihar County in the sixteenth century]. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 47, no. 3-4 (1998): 183.

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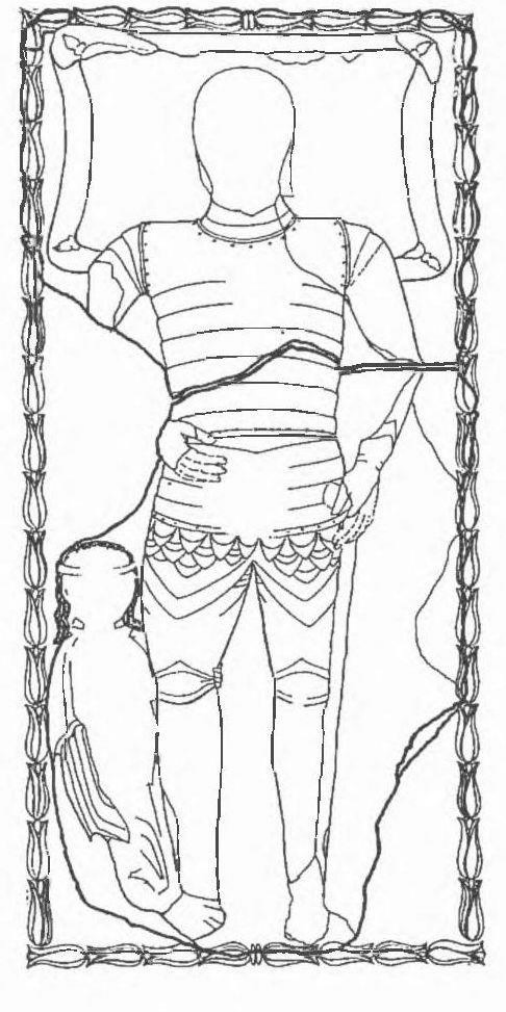
Cat. No. 175

a)	Pericei – Szilágyperecsen, Calvinist church, in the wall of the southern porch
b)	*Pericei – Szilágyperecsen, Calvinist church*
c)	**A member of the Báthori family (Ferenc?)** Ferenc Báthori appears in the sources first in 1589-99. He married Zsuzsanna Strausz. He died between 1599 and 1602. Emődi, Tamás. "Monumente funerare figurative renascentiste din Transilvania" [Renaissance figural funeral monuments in Transylvania]. In *Artă românească, artă europeană. Centenar Virgil Vătăşianu* [Romanian art - European art. The centenary of Virgil Vătăşianu], ed. M. Porumb and A. Chiriac, 139-141. Oradea: Editura Muzeului Ţării Crişurilor Oradea, 2002. Emődi, Tamás. "Perecsen, református templom" [Pericei, Reformed church]. In *A középkori és koraújkori Kraszna és Közép-Szolnok vármegyék műemléki topográfiája* (Monument topography of Kraszna and Közép Szolnok counties), in press.
d)	Early seventeenth century
e)	82 x 182 x ? cm (fragment, only the top of the tomb chest)
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 220, 327-328. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Emődi, Tamás. "A Telegdi család és a reneszánsz művészet néhány emléke a 16. századi Bihar és Bereg vármegyékben" [The Telegdy family and some Renaissance monuments in Bereg and Bihar County in the sixteenth century]. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 47, no. 3-4 (1998): 182-183. Emődi, Tamás. "Monumente funerare figurative renascentiste din Transilvania" [Renaissance figural funeral monuments in Transylvania]. In *Artă românească, artă europeană. Centenar Virgil Vătăşianu* [Romanian art - European art. The centenary of Virgil Vătăşianu], ed. M. Porumb and A. Chiriac, 139-141. Oradea: Editura Muzeului Ţării Crişurilor Oradea, 2002. Emődi, Tamás. "Perecsen, református templom" [Pericei, Reformed church]. In *A középkori és koraújkori Kraszna és Közép-Szolnok vármegyék műemléki topográfiája* (Monument topography of Kraszna and Közép Szolnok counties), in press. Petri, Mór. *Szilágy vármegye monographiája* [Monograph of Szilágy County], vol. 4, 235-236. Budapest: Franklin-Társulat nyomdája, 1901-1904
g)	–

CEU eTD Collection



Source: Emődi, Tamás. “A Telegdi család és a reneszánsz művészet néhány emléke a 16. századi Bihar és Bereg vármegyékben” [The Telegdy family and some Renaissance monuments in Bereg and Bihar County in the sixteenth century]. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 47, no. 3-4 (1998): 183.

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 176

a)	Prejmer – Prázsmár – Tartlau, Lutheran church, at the wall of the northern aisle
b)	*Prejmer – Prázsmár – Tartlau, Lutheran church or churchyard*
c)	**Step(han) Bathasiler** The inscription says he died at the age of 37.
d)	Seventeenth century
e)	24 x 52 x 12 cm
f)	–
g)	On the central panel (A) Hie liegt Step(han) Ba thasiler seins alt(e)rs 37 Wo(– – –)

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 177

a)	Prejmer – Prázsmár – Tartlau, Lutheran church, at the wall of the northern aisle
b)	*Prejmer – Prázsmár – Tartlau, Lutheran church*
c)	**Michael Basti** The inscription says that he was *familiaris aulae* of the Prince of Transylvania, so served in the court. He was probably from the middle ranks of the nobility. He died in 1586. **Unknown, with R.C.A. initials** Secondary subject who died in 1641.
d)	d. 1586 (secondary subject d. 1641)
e)	74 x 170 x 26 cm
f)	Doroftei, Doina Filimon. *Lexicul inscripţiilor în limba latina din bisericile săsesti* [A lexicon of Latin inscriptions in the Saxon churches], 10. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2007.
g)	Border inscription (A) [H]IC SEPULT(VS) EST EGREGI(VS) DOMIN(VS) MICHAEL BASTI FAM[I LI]ARIS AVLAE ILLVSTRIS(SIMI) D(OMI)NI PRINCI(PIS) TRANSSILVA(N)IAE On the central panel (B) OBIIT 17 DIE MENSIS SEPT(EMBRIS) A(NNO) D(OMINI) 1586. On the central panel, secondary (C) R(…) C(…) A(…) 1641

CEU eTD Collection

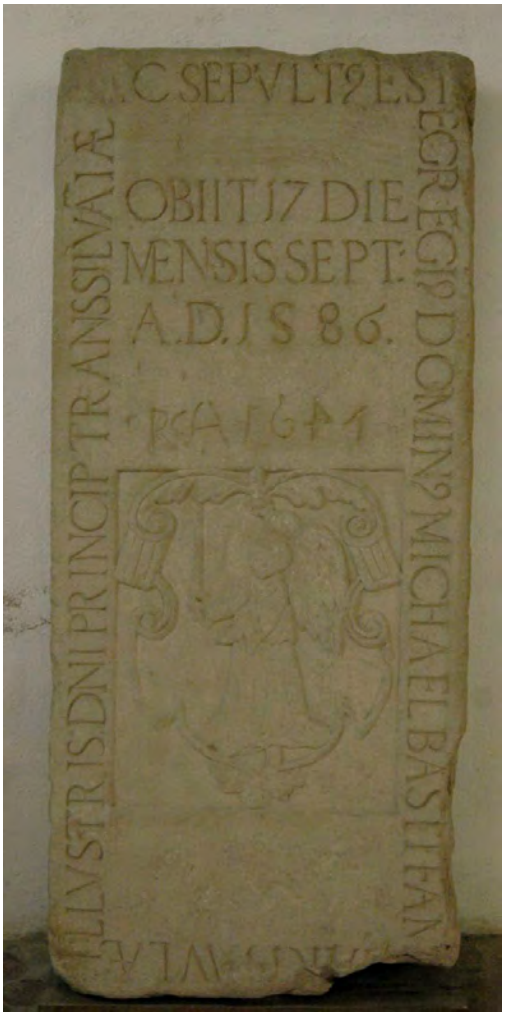


Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 178

a)	Prejmer – Prázsmár – Tartlau, Lutheran church, at the wall of the northern aisle
b)	*Prejmer – Prázsmár – Tartlau, Lutheran church*
c)	**Petrus (Peter) Fronius** Based on the inscription, he was a priest who died in 1610. The Fronius family belonged to the elite of Braşov, several members of the family took part in the town leadership as council members, priests, and intellectuals. **Iacobus (Jacob) Ieckelius (Jeckel)** Based on the inscription, he was pastor in Prejmer who died in 1692, aged 56.
d)	d. 1610
e)	84 x 185 x 17 cm (fragmentary, cut along the right edge)
f)	Doroftei, Doina Filimon. *Lexicul inscripţiilor în limba latina din bisericile săsesti* [A lexicon of Latin inscriptions in the Saxon churches], 25. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2007.
g)	Border inscription (A) REVERENDVS DOMINVS PETRVS [F]RO[N]IVS [– – –] PATRIA[E] MIGRAVIT DIE DECI[M] [A] AVGVSTI ANNO MILESIMO SESCEN[TESIMO D[E]CIMO AETATIS SVAE 58 On the lover inscription plaque (B) OBIIT HICQ(VE) IACET PLVR(IMVS) REVER(ENDVS) D(OMINVS) IACOB(VS) IECKELI(VS) PASTOR PRAS(MARIENSIS) A(NN)O 1692 D(IE) 1 MAY AETAT(IS) SVAE 56

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Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 179

a)	Mănăstirea Prislop (Silvașu de Sus)– Felsőszilvás, Greek Orthodox church, at the wall of the pronaos
b)	*Mănăstirea Prislop (Silvașu de Sus)– Felsőszilvás, Greek Orthodox church*
c)	**Saphyra (Zamfira)** She was daughter of Moise (Moses) Viovode of Walachia. Her first husband was István Keserű (**Cat. No. 311**). In 1570, the widow married the Antitrinitarian Stanislaw Nisowski, secret councilor, diplomat, and cup bearer of John Sigismund, who came from Poland with Queen Isabelle. She took the Keserű estates with her and her children to this second marriage. Niezowski gained more and more influence in the court of Isabelle, and later also in the court of John Sigismund; from 1565 he was a councilor. He converted to Antitriniatarism, he was one of the closest associates of the ruler. He was one of the four executors of his last will. Still, he was no able to accumulate large estates. By marrying Zamfira he became the guardian of her children with Keserű, so he could handle their estates. He died in 1573, and Zamfira widowed once again. She had a third husband, Pál Márkházi, but that marriage was dissolved. Zamfira chose her burial place based on her own, Greek Orthodox denomination. The Orthodox monastery in Prislop was built or re-built by Zamfira. The inscription on the ledger narrates the story of her family origins, her first two marriages, but neglects the third, unsuccessful one. The tomb inscription is problematic in one respect: she could not die in 1580 at the age of 44, she must have been at least five years older by that time. The monument was probably erected by her son, János Keserű, later the comes (*főispán*) of Fehér County. Ildikó Horn, *Hit és hatalom. Az erdélyi unitárius nemesség 16. századi története* [Faith and Power. The sixteenth-century history of the Unitarian nobility in Transylvania] (Budapest: Balassi, 2009), 192-196. Kovács, András. "Date privind viaţa Zamfirei, fiica lui Moise-Vodă" [Data on the life of Zamfira, the daughter of Moise-Vodă]. *Anuarul Institutului de istorie şi arheologie Cluj-Napoca* 27 (1987): 349-374.
d)	d. 1580
e)	_ x _ x _ cm
f)	Halaváts, Gyula. "A felsőszilvási monostor temploma" (The church of Mănăstirea Prislop). *Erdélyi Múzeum* 29 (1912): 93-95. Kovács, András. "Date privind viaţa Zamfirei, fiica lui Moise-Vodă" [Data on the life of Zamfira, the daughter of Moise-Vodă]. *Anuarul Institutului de istorie şi arheologie Cluj-Napoca* 27 (1987): 349-374. Vătăşianu, Virgil ed. *Istoria artelor plastice în România* [The history of fine arts in Romania], vol. 1, 420, fig. 429. edited by George Oprescu. 2 vols. Bucharest: Meridiane, 1970
g)	Border inscription (A) SAPHYRA FILIA MOISHI PRI(N)CIPIS TRANSALPINORV(M) RELICTA MAG(NIFI)CI STANISLAI NI SOWSKY MORITVR AN NO 1580 DIE MENSIS MARTY ANNO AETATIS SVAE XLIIII

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	On the central panel (B) SAPHIRA MOISINI DVCIS INCLITA FILIA TANDEM HAC POSVIT MORIENS FLEBILE CORPVS HVMO KESERIO IN PRIMIS VXOR DVLCISSIMA CLAVSIT LVMINA F(V)IT CONSORS DEINDE NISOWSKI TVA SI GENVS EXCVTIAS NICHIL HAC MAGE NOBILE SVB TRANSALPINO TERRA VALACHA POLO VIDET HVIC AVIS ET GENITOR PRINCEPS SI CA(E)TERA SPE(CTES)[1] HVIVS MOESTAE VIRVM DACIA VTRAMQVE GEMIT TV QVICV(M)QVE VIDES SAPHIRA(E) H(A)EC MONVMENTA VEN(VSTAE) SAPHYRA DIC SAPHIR NOMINE DIGNA FVIT

Photo: Dragos Nastasoiu, 2014

[1] Provided after Halaváts and Kovács

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 180

a)	Richiș – Riomfalva – Reichesdorf, Lutheran church, at the wall of the sacristy
b)	*Richiș – Riomfalva – Reichesdorf, Lutheran church*
c)	**Georgius (Georg) Peltzius (Peltz)** The inscription says he was from Braşov. He died in 1638 after he served twelve years as pastor in Richiş.
d)	d. 1638
e)	81 x 179 x 24 cm
f)	Doroftei, Doina Filimon. *Lexicul inscripţiilor în limba latina din bisericile săsesti.* (A lexicon of Latin inscriptions in the Saxon churches), 27-28. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2007. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 118-119. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	Border inscription (A) MONVMENTVM REVERENDI ET CLARISS(IMI) VIRI D(OMI)NI GEORGII PELTZII CORONEN(SIS) QVI OBIIT ANNO 1638 8 DECEMB(RIS) AETAT(IS) SVAE 47 PASTORATVS VERO 12 On the central panel (B) Peltzius hic recubat post ultima fata, Georgius Vir gravis Eloquiis vir pietate gravis Inclÿta cui cunas de derat lucemq(ue) Corona Anovit ast Vatem concio Reichuinia Mole Sepulchrali pro bat Uxor Filioliq(ue) Quae fuerit pietas inq(ue) Virum inq(ue) patrem Under the central panel (C) Jacob Strawo Bildhawer

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 181

a)	Richiș – Riomfalva – Reichesdorf, Lutheran church, at the wall of the sacristy
b)	*Richiș – Riomfalva – Reichesdorf, Lutheran church*
c)	**Franciscus Elisius** He studied in Tübingen in 1587. His brother, Micheal was also educated abroad. After his return, he was pastor in Richiş, the inscription says that he served for thirty years. He died in 1593, at the age of 59. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700.* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 54. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992.
d)	d. 1593
e)	82 x 173 x 20 cm
f)	Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 127. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	Border inscription (A) OBIIT DIE XXIII OCTOB(RIS) A(NN)O 1593 FRANCISCVS ELISIV[S] [– – –]IBN: PASTOR HVIVS ECCLESIAE REICH. W. ANNO MINISTR(ATI) XXX AETATIS LIX On the inscription plaque (B) REQVIESCAT IN PACE AETERNA BEATI MORTVI QVI IN DOMINO MORIVNTVR ET QVI DOCTI FVERVNT FVL GEBVNT QVASI SPLENDOR FIRMAMENTI ET DOMINVS ABSTERGET O(MN)EM LACHRIMAM FORVM ET MORS VLTRA NON ERIT SED VITA AETERNA IN REGIONE VIVORVM AMEN. HAEREDES POSVERVNT PIETATIS ERGO

CEU eTD Collection

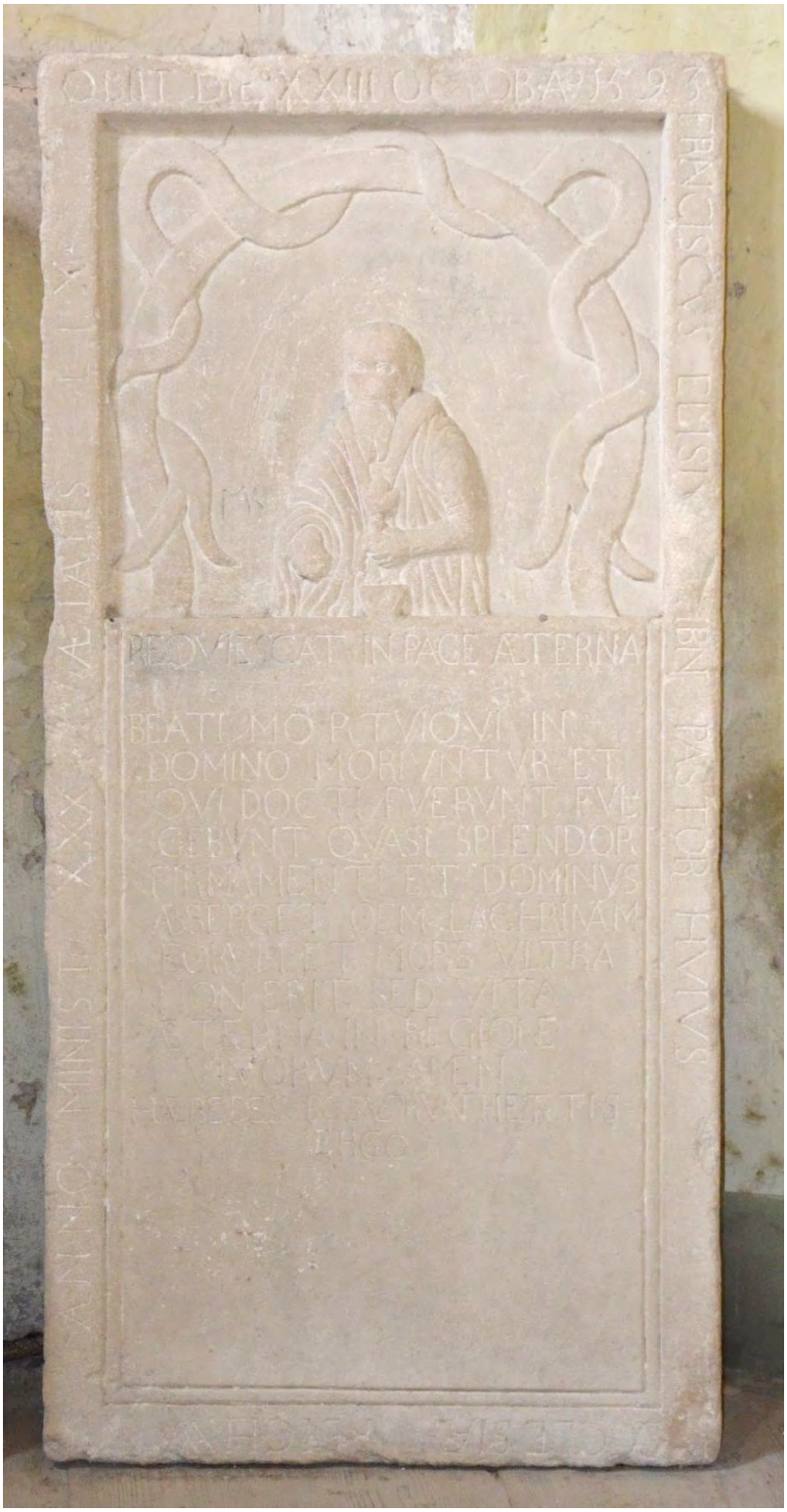

Photo: Ciprian Firea, 2012. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 182

a)	Săcueni – Székelyhíd, Calvinist church, in the northern wall
b)	*Săcueni – Székelyhíd, Calvinist church*
c)	**Thomas (Tamás) Zólyomi of Albis** The Zólyomi family was one of the most wealthy and influential families in the second half of the sixteenth century in Bihar County. They had a fortified residence in Săcueni. Tamás was son of László Zólyomi. His wife was Katalin Csáky. Their children were György, László, Anna, Magdolna, and Miklós. Emődi, Tamás. "Monumente funerare figurative renascentiste din Transilvania" [Renaissance figural funeral monuments in Transylvania]. In *Artă românească, artă europeană. Centenar Virgil Vătăşianu* [Romanian art - European art. The centenary of Virgil Vătăşianu], ed. M. Porumb and A. Chiriac, 138, 139, 143, fig. 2. Oradea: Editura Muzeului Ţării Crişurilor Oradea, 2002. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal.* (Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables), vol. 12, 425. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1865. Szálkai, Tamás. "Az Albisi Zólyomi család története" [The history of the Zólyomi of Albis family]. In *Érmelléki kalauz*, ed. János Veliky, 48. Debrecen: Hatvani István Szakkollégium, 2005.
d)	1588
e)	_ x _ x _ cm
f)	Emődi, Tamás. "A Telegdi család és a reneszánsz művészet néhány emléke a 16. századi Bihar és Bereg vármegyékben" [The Telegdy family and some Renaissance monuments in Bereg and Bihar County in the sixteenth century]. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 47, no. 3-4 (1998): 179, 180, fig, 5, 192, note 19. Emődi, Tamás. "Monumente funerare figurative renascentiste din Transilvania" [Renaissance figural funeral monuments in Transylvania]. In *Artă românească, artă europeană. Centenar Virgil Vătăşianu* [Romanian art - European art. The centenary of Virgil Vătăşianu], ed. M. Porumb and A. Chiriac, 138, 139, 143, fig. 2. Oradea: Editura Muzeului Ţării Crişurilor Oradea, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A)[1] EPITAPHIVM GENEROSI ET MAGNIFICI DO(MI)NI D(OMINI) THOMAE Z[O]LIOMI DE ALBE ANNO QVIQVAGIN[– – –] NATVS IN CHRISTO OBDORMIT A(NNO) [D](OMINI) 1588 22 MARTII

[1] After Emődi, "A Telegdi család," 192.

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Source: Photo collection of the Érmellék Reformed Diocese, http://ermellek.blogspot.hu/p/fotoalbum.html

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 183

a)	Sălard – Szalárd, Calvinist church
b)	*Sălard – Szalárd, Calvinist church*
c)	**Unknown**
d)	d. 1570
e)	70 x 95 x 29 cm (fragment)
f)	Borzási, Gyula, and Tamás Emődi. *Szalárd, református templom* [Sălard, reformed church], 9, with figure. Erdélyi műemlékek, vol. 20. Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Utilitas, 1996. Mikó, Árpád. "Késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékek a Magyar Királyság területén (1540-1690)" [Late Renaissance and Early Baroque funeral monuments in the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom, 1540-1690]. In *Idővel paloták... Magyar udvari kultúra a 16-17. században* [Palaces in time... Hungarian court culture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries], ed. Nóra G. Etényi and Ildikó Horn, 648. Budapest: Balassi, 2005.
g)	Border inscription (A) [– – – – – –] AN(N)O D(OMI)NI 1570 [– – – – – –]

Photo: Dragos Nastasoiu, 2014

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 184

a)	Szalárd – Sălard, Calvinist church
b)	*Szalárd – Sălard, Calvinist church*
c)	**Unknown**
d)	Sixteenth or seventeenth century
e)	14 x 67 x 23 cm (fragment)
f)	–
g)	Inscription (A) – – – – – – SI[– – –] L[– – –] – – – – – –

Photo: Dragos Nastasoiu, 2014

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 185

a)	Sânpaul – Kerelőszentpál, Haller Castle, in the wall at the main entrance
b)	*Sânpaul – Kerelőszentpál*
c)	**Unknown** Probably a member of the Haller family. It might have belonged to the same structure as **Cat. No. 186**.
d)	First half of the seventeenth century
e)	110 x 112 x 33 cm
f)	Orbán, Balázs. *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból* [Description of the Székely Land from a historical, archaeological, natural geographical, and ethnographic point of view], vol. 4, 59. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. Online edition by Arcanum Adatbázis Ltd., 2003. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/185.html (accessed 16 October 2017)
g)	On the scroll (A)[1] NVMINIS A[– – –]ICTA GERENDA SE[– – –]

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013

[1] Orbán, *Székelyföld*: "Numinis ads… Fofac… X. Gerenda se"

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 186

a)	Sânpaul – Kerelőszentpál, Haller Castle, in the wall at the main entrance
b)	*Sânpaul – Kerelőszentpál*
c)	**Unknown** Probably a member of the Haller family. It might have belonged to the same structure as **Cat. No. 185**.
d)	First half of the seventeenth century
e)	131 x 75 x ? cm
f)	Kovács, András. *Késő reneszánsz építészet Erdélyben 1541–1720.* [Late Renaissance architecture in Transylvania, 1541-1700], 16, Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2003. Orbán, Balázs. *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból* [Description of the Székely Land from a historical, archaeological, natural geographical, and ethnographic point of view], vol. 4, 59. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. Online edition by Arcanum Adatbázis Ltd., 2003. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/185.html (accessed 16 October 2017)
g)	On the scroll (A)[1] Cursum consumavi, de reliquo reposita est mihi corona justitiae psml. T… D 4

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013

[1] The text has disappeared by now, provided after Orbán, *Székelyföld*.

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 187

a)	Sânpaul – Kerelőszentpál, Haller Chapel (“Imola”)
b)	*Sânpaul – Kerelőszentpál, Haller Chapel (“Imola”)*
c)	**Kata Kornis** She was born in 1639 as daughter of Ferenc Kornis, *főispán* (head) of Kolozs County and Kata Wesselényi (see **Cat. No. 67**). She was wife of János Haller (see **Cat. No. 191** and **Cat. No. 192**). She died in 1696, aged 57. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 6, 359. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1860.
d)	d. 1696
e)	upper edge: 56+57 cm; lower edge: 51+48 cm x 170 x ? cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) IT FEKSZIK AZ TEKENTETES ES NA(GYSA)GOS KORNYS KATA ASZSZONY AZ TEKETES ES NA(GYSA)GOS [– – –] [– – – – – –] [HALLER] KÖY HALLER IANOS HAZASTARSA ELTE EK 57 ES(Z)T(ENDÖT) On the central panel (B) AN(N)O 1696 SZ(ENT) ANDRÁS HAVANAK 16 NAP JAN VETE KI LELKIT ISTE(N) E VILAGBOL KERLEK VALAKI TEMETESEM LA TOD IS(TEN)HEZ VALO SZERET(ETE)DER KERY ÖRÖK NYUGODALMAT ES BOLDOG FELTAMADAST TESTE(M) NEK ES LELKEMNEK KI ERŐSZ FELSÉGINEK RÁD SZALJON ALDAS

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 188

a)	Sânpaul – Kerelőszentpál, Haller Chapel (“Imola”)
b)	*Sânpaul – Kerelőszentpál, Haller Chapel (“Imola”)*
c)	**Judit Kendi** Daughter of Ferenc Kendi. She was wife of István Haller (see **Cat. No. 192**). Her husband wrote about her death and funeral in 1635 in his diary. Lukinich, Imre. “Haller Gábor (1550—1608) és Haller István (1591—1657) családi feljegyzései” [Family notes by Gábor Haller and István Haller]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* (1903): 536. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 6, 199. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1860.
d)	d. 1635
e)	upper edge: 58+58 cm; lower edge: 58+57 cm x 206 x? cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) VRI[– – –] N [– – –]TEMBEN FELTEM ES TISTELTEM [– – –] MEG HOLT [– – –]ARI O BVNOS [– – –]DGI BODOG FELTAMADAST On the central panel (B) EN KENDI IVDI[T] [– – –]OS KENDI FERENCZ [– – –] TEKINTETES ES NA(GYSA)GOS H[ALLER ISTV]ANNAK SZER ELM[ET]ES KE[– – –] TARSA. ELETEMNE[K] [– – –] [ESZ]TENDEJEBEN AZ M DC XX [ESZ]TEN[DOB]EN MINDSZENT [– – –]AN – – – – – –

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Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 189

a)	Sânpaul – Kerelőszentpál, Haller Chapel (“Imola”)
b)	*Sânpaul – Kerelőszentpál, Haller Chapel (“Imola”)*
c)	**Borbála Torma** She was daughter of György Torma and Borbála Huszár of Brenhida, and second wife of István Haller II (d. 1710). She died in 1697, aged 28. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 11, 254. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1865.
d)	d. 1697
e)	73 x 177 x 28 cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) TVDOM HOGY AZ EN MEG VALTOM EL ES AZ VTOLSO NAPON AZ FÖLDBÖL FELTAMADOK ES ISMET KÖR[– – –] [– – – – – –] [– – –]EMNEB LATOM MEG AZ EN ISTENEMET Iob: XIX.IX.2.[1] On the central panel (B) ÉN FEKSZEM IT TORMA BORBARA A’ TEKINTETES N(AGYSA)GOS HALLER ISTVAN VR KEDVES H(AZAS)TARSA ATTAM MEG LELKEMET AZ ÉN TEREMTÖMNEK ELETEMNEK 28 ESZTENDEIEBEN SZ(ENT) ANDRAS HAVANAK 3. NAPIAN MIDÖN IRNÁNAK M.DC.XCVII. ESZTENDÖBEN. MIG ELTEM SZERETTEM AZ EN ISTENEMET EN IS VARO[M] AZ ELETNEK CORO[– – –] – – – – – –?

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1 From the Káldi Bible Translation (1626): “Mert tudom, hogy az én Megváltóm él, és az utolsó napon a földből feltámadok; és ismét körűlvétetem bőrömmel, és az én testemben látom meg Istenemet.”

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 190

a)	Sânpaul – Kerelőszentpál, Haller Chapel (“Imola”)
b)	*Sânpaul – Kerelőszentpál, Haller Chapel (“Imola”)*
c)	**Wife of Stephanus (István) Kamuthy** She was probably a female member of the Haller family. István Kamuthy was the patron of the memorial, so it was prepared still in his lifetime. According to Iván Nagy, he died in 1638. However, a handwritten note in a book provides the date of his death as 1644 (“Generosus Dominus Stephanus Kamuthi de Szent Lazlo Illustrissimi Principis Domini nostri clementissimi aula familiaris obyt Anno Domini 1644 Die 11 Januarÿ …”) Muckenhaupt, Erzsébet. *A Csíki Székely Múzeum "Régi Magyar Könyvtár"-a. Katalógus* / Colecţia Biblioteca Maghiară Veche a Muzeului Secuiesc al Ciucului. Catalog / Old Hungarian Library Collection of the Szekler Museum of Ciuc. Catalogue. I. 1498-1710, 65. Csíkszereda – Miercurea Ciuc: Csíki Székely Muzeum – Muzeul Secuiesc al Ciucului – Szekler Museum of Ciuc, 2009. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 6, 60. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1860.
d)	d. before 1644
e)	89 x 194 x 24 cm
f)	Orbán, Balázs. *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból* [Description of the Székely Land from a historical, archaeological, natural geographical, and ethnographic point of view], vol. 4, 59. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. Online edition by Arcanum Adatbázis Ltd., 2003. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/185.html (accessed 16 October 2017)
g)	Border inscription (A) [– – –] AMORE [– – –] [– – –]NBIS DE CONIVGE SVA CHARISSIMA GE[– – –] [– – –] STEPHANVS KAMVTHI DE SZENT LASZLO HOC MONVMENTVM POSVIT Inscription panel (B) [– – –]A[– – –] [– – –]OCMO[– – –] [– – –]RC[– – –] E[– – –] PE[– – –] LL[– – –] NE[– – –] O[– – –] VN[– – –]

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	E[– – –] QV[– – –]

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 191

a)	Sânpaul – Kerelőszentpál, Haller Chapel ("Imola")
b)	*Sânpaul – Kerelőszentpál, Haller Chapel ("Imola")*
c)	**Johannes (János) Haller of Hallerkő** He was born in 1626 as son of István Haller (**Cat. No. 192**) and Judit Kendi (**Cat. No. 188**). He was member of the Princely Council in 1660 and in 1664-1690, *főispán* (head) of Torda County from 1661, and treasurer from 1678. His wife was Kata Kornis (**Cat. No. 187**). He was in captivity in the late 1670s – first half of the 1680s for uprising against the Prince, and he wrote two literary works there (*Hármas historia* [Triple history] and *A békességes tűrésnek Paizsa* [Shield of peaceful suffering]). After this, he again received state offices: he was responsible for the state revenues, he was sent as a legate to Vienna, and from 1690, he was again *főispán* (head) of Torda County as well as treasurer. He retired from his offices in 1695. He died in 1697. **Cat. No. 193** is also his memorial. Lázár, Miklós. *Erdély főispánjai (1540-1711). Külön lenyomat a Századok 1887—1889-ki folyamaiból.* [County heads in Transylvania, 1540-1711. Offprint from the Századok periodical], 124-125. Budapest: Az Atheneum R. Társ. Könyvnyomdája, 1889. Trócsányi, Zsolt. *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690.* [The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690], 28. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980.
d)	d. 1697
e)	upper edge: 58+57 cm; lower edge: 52+51 cm x 205 x ? cm
f)	Orbán, Balázs. *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból* [Description of the Székely Land from a historical, archaeological, natural geographical, and ethnographic point of view], vol. 4, 59. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. Online edition by Arcanum Adatbázis Ltd., 2003. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/185.html (accessed 16 October 2017)
g)	Border inscription (A) HIC IACET IL(LVSTRI)MVS [B]ARO IOA(N)NES DE HALLERKÖ QVI FVIT SACRAE CAES(AR)AE[1] RE[GIS] [– – –] [– – –] [CONSILIARI]U[S] INTIMVS T[R]ANS[...]T THE [SAURARIUS] [– – –] [TORD]ENSIS SVPREMVS COMES[2] On the central panel (B) CAESARE S(ACRAE) AQUILIS PAT RIAEQ(UE) ACCEPTE IOANNES [– – –]O PATRIA[E] COLUM[...]

1 The letters were distorted by re-paint

2 Lázár: "Hic jacet illmus B. Joannes Haller de Hallerkő, qui fuit sacre caes. Mattis Consiliarius intimus, Trans. Thesaurarius, Comis Tordensis supr. Comes."

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	CAESARE[– – –][1] – – – – – –

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013

1 The text was distorted by re-paint

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 192

a)	Sânpaul – Kerelőszentpál, Haller Chapel ("Imola")
b)	*Sânpaul – Kerelőszentpál, Haller Chapel ("Imola")*
c)	**Stephanus (István) Haller of Hallerkő** He was born in 1591 as son of Gábor Haller and Ilona Bocskai (**Cat. No. 77**). He was *főispán* (head) of Küküllő County from 1616. In 1637-39, he was head of the Diet and the Princely Court of Justice. He was sent as legate to Vienna and Poland. His first wife was Judit Kendi (**Cat. No. 188**), his second wife was Anna Barkóczi. He was one of the wealthiest aristocrats in Transylvania. He had his primary residence built in Sânpaul, from a sixteenth-century fortified *castellum*, and he did some constructions on the family's residence in Albeşti too. He was Catholic, and it was a source of conflict with his son, Gábor, that the latter turned Calvinist. He died in 1657, aged 66. Lázár, Miklós. *Erdély főispánjai (1540-1711). Külön lenyomat a Századok 1887—1889-ki folyamaiból* [County heads in Transylvania, 1540-1711. Offprint from the Századok periodical], 80-82. Budapest: Az Atheneum R. Társ. Könyvnyomdája, 1889. Szabó, András Péter. "Haller Gábor – egy 17. századi arisztokrata életpályája" (The career of Gábor Haller, a Transylvanian aristocrat in the seventeenth century), 17, 87-92. PhD Thesis. Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Budapest, 2008. Trócsányi, Zsolt. *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690* ([The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690], 28. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980.
d)	d. 1657
e)	90 x 200 x ? cm
f)	Orbán, Balázs. *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból* [Description of the Székely Land from a historical, archaeological, natural geographical, and ethnographic point of view], vol. 4, 59. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. Online edition by Arcanum Adatbázis Ltd., 2003. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/185.html (accessed 16 October 2017)
g)	Border inscription (A) INSIG(NIS) SP(ECTABI)LIS AC MAG(NIFI)CI D(OMINI) D(OMINI) STEPHANI HALLER DE HALLERKÖ SVP(REMI) COM(ITIS) COMIT(ATI) DE KIKELLÖ[– – –] – – – – – – [– – –] ANNO 1657 DIE [–] NOV(EMBRIS)[1] AETATIS VERO SVAE 66 MEN(SE) 8 DIE 20. Central panel (B) INCLITA ROMANI SVSPEXIT CAESARIS AVLA BIS ME LEGATVM TERRA POLONA SEMEL CONSILIO GRATVS MEMINIT GENS DACICA TERNIS PRINCIPIBVS BINIS SANGVINE IVNCTVS ERAM HOC NWC SARCOPHAGO CLADOR: TV VIVE VIATOR ET MIHI PROPITIVM REDDE PRECANDO DEVM

1 Distorted to MW by re-paint

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 193

a)	Sânpaul – Kerelőszentpál, Haller Chapel ("Imola")
b)	*Sânpaul – Kerelőszentpál, Haller Chapel ("Imola")*
c)	**Johannes (János) Haller of Hallerkő** He was born in 1626 as son of István Haller (**Cat. No. 192**) and Judit Kendi (**Cat. No. 188**). He was member of the Princely Council in 1660 and in 1664-1690, *főispán* (head) of Torda County from 1661, and treasurer from 1678. His wife was Kata Kornis (**Cat. No. 187**). He was in captivity in the late 1670s – first half of the 1680s for uprising against the Prince, and he wrote two literary works there (*Hármas historia* [Triple history] and *A békességes tűrésnek Paizsa* [Shield of peaceful suffering]). After this, he again received state offices: he was responsible for the state revenues, he was sent as a legate to Vienna, and from 1690, he was again *főispán* (head) of Torda County as well as treasurer. He retired from his offices in 1695. He died in 1697. **Cat. No. 191** is also his memorial. Lázár, Miklós. *Erdély főispánjai (1540-1711). Külön lenyomat a Századok 1887—1889-ki folyamaiból.* [County heads in Transylvania, 1540-1711. Offprint from the Századok periodical], 124-125. Budapest: Az Atheneum R. Társ. Könyvnyomdája, 1889. Trócsányi, Zsolt. *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690.* [The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690], 28. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980.
d)	d. 1697
e)	76 x 164 x 21 cm
f)	Orbán, Balázs. *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból* [Description of the Székely Land from a historical, archaeological, natural geographical, and ethnographic point of view], vol. 4, 59. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. Online edition by Arcanum Adatbázis Ltd., 2003. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/185.html (accessed 16 October 2017)
g)	Central panel (A) ÁLY MEG UTON IARO VEGY PELDAT ROLAM EN FEKSZEM IT HALLER IANOS HALLER ISTVANAK ES KEN DI IUDITNAK FIA ATYAI AGROL REGI NEMZET ANYAMROL SCI TIABOL KIJÖtt KAPITANYOK KÖZÜL EGIKTÖL UGYMINT KEVENDTÖL VET TEM EREDETET: MIG ELTEM AZ ERDELYI FEJEDELEMNEK ES RO MAI CSASZARNAK VOLTAM TANACSA EZEKKEL NEM DICSEKEDEM HANEM TANUSAGUL IRTAM HOG AKARKI VOLTAM IS VALAHA MOST AZ FÖLD PORABAN FEKSZEM:

CEU eTD Collection

	NEM HASNAL NEMES NEM ZETEM HANEM VOLT REMENSE GEM AZEN TEREMTÖ ISTENEM BEN AZ Ö SZENT FIANAK AZ UR JESUS CHRISTUSNAK SZENVE DESENEK ES HALALANAK ERDEMEBEN SZERETEM AZ EN IO ISTENEMET: V RAM AZ SZERETETTEL EDGYÜT TAMASZ FELEN GEM KOPORSOMBOL

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 194

a)	Sânpaul – Kerelőszentpál, Haller Chapel ("Imola")
b)	*Sânpaul – Kerelőszentpál, Haller Chapel ("Imola")*
c)	**Krisztina Haller** She was wife of János Petki of Királyhalma (**Cat. No. 195**). They were both Catholics, they were the patrons of the Holy Virgin side altar in the church of the Franciscan monastery in Călugăreni. The date of her death is generally provided as 1686, but the invitation for her funeral survived from 1683. Köblös, Zoltán. "Haller Krisztina Petki Jánosné temetési meghívója" [Invitationof the funeral of Krisztina Haller, wife of János Petki]. *Genealógiai Füzetek* 6 (1908): 126. Lázár, Miklós. *Erdély főispánjai (1540-1711). Külön lenyomat a Századok 1887—1889-ki folyamaiból.* [County heads in Transylvania, 1540-1711. Offprint from the Századok periodical], 125. Budapest: Az Atheneum R. Társ. Könyvnyomdája, 1889. Mihály, Ferenc, ed. *Mária-tisztelet Erdélyben. Mária-ábrázolások az erdélyi templomokban. Kiállítási katalógus* [Veneration of the Virgin in Transylvania. Representations of the Virgin in Transylvanian churches. Exhibition catalog], 121. Székelyudvarhely [Odorheiu Secuiesc]: Haáz Rezső Múzeum, 2010.
d)	d. 1683
e)	71 x 173 x ? cm
f)	Orbán, Balázs. *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból* [Description of the Székely Land from a historical, archaeological, natural geographical, and ethnographic point of view], vol. 4, 59. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. Online edition by Arcanum Adatbázis Ltd., 2003. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/185.html (accessed 16 October 2017)
g)	Border inscription (A) A MELISEGBOL KIALTOTTAM VRAM HOZZAD VRAM HALGASD MEG AZ E[– – –] OROK ELETBE TAMAZD FEL A TE SZO[– – –] VDVESSEGNEK ISTENE On the central panel (B) EN FEKSZEM IT TEKINTETES NEMZETES KIRALIHALMI PET KI IANOSNAK SZERELMES ES KEDVES HAZAS TARSA HALLER KIRISTINA AZ TEKIN TETES ES NAGYSAGOS HALLER KOY HALLER IA NOSNAK ES RVSZKAY [K]ORNYS KATA ASZONNAK

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	[– – –] ELETEMNEK [– – –] TI EN A[– – –]

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 195

a)	Sânpaul – Kerelőszentpál, Haller Chapel ("Imola")
b)	*Sânpaul – Kerelőszentpál, Haller Chapel ("Imola")*
c)	**Ioannes (János) Petki of Királyhalma** He was born in 1630, as son of István Petki, captain of Csík, and Erzsébet Sükösd. The Petki family appeared in the Székely elite in the fifteenth century. They acquired private estates in the territory of the noble counties too, and their successful marriage strategy solidified their position within the Székely elite in the sixteenth century. János Petki was royal judge of Csík, Gyergyó, and Kászon Seats, and assessor of the Princely Court of Justice between 1678 and 1685. His wife was Krisztina Haller (**Cat. No. 194**). They were both Catholics, they were the patrons of the Holy Virgin side altar in the church of the Franciscan monastery in Călugăreni. He died in 1668, aged 38. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 9, 271. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1862. Trócsányi, Zsolt. *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690.* [The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690], 360. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980.
d)	d. 1686
e)	68 x 196 x ? cm
f)	Orbán, Balázs. *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból* [Description of the Székely Land from a historical, archaeological, natural geographical, and ethnographic point of view], vol. 4, 59. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. Online edition by Arcanum Adatbázis Ltd., 2003. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/185.html (accessed 16 October 2017)
g)	Border inscription (A) HIC IACET SPECTABILIS AC GENE ROSVS D(OMINUS) IOANNE(S) PETKI DE KIRALYHALMA [– – –]CA [– – –][1] CZIK GYE[RGYO] KASZON TAB[– – –][2] IN D(OMI)NO AETA(TIS) SVAE 38 IAN(UARII) 6 1686 On the central panel (B) QUI FVERAM LEGUM VIN DEX PRAESESQVE SVPREMVS IVSTITIA CLAVDOR CARCERE CERNEREVS PETKI AGENS QVAMVIS TITV LIS SPECIOSA IOANNEM

1 Orbán, *Székelyföld*: Supremus trium Sedium Siculicalium
2 Orbán, *Székelyföld*: Tab. jud. Assessor Obijt

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	ME DEDE[R]I[T] [M]VN[D]O QVI VE [NE]RANDVS [ER]AM VXB[– – –]C[– – –]SZEP[– – –][1] SVPER AD[– – –][2] OCTO IVPITE[R] OCT[A]VO SAE[–] PRO[3] CELLA FVIT ERGO MEOS SZEPH[IR]O[S] [– – –] SIC AQ[–]ONE [.]V[.]A[–][4] [– – –]S[– – –]TVA[–] [– – – – – –][5]

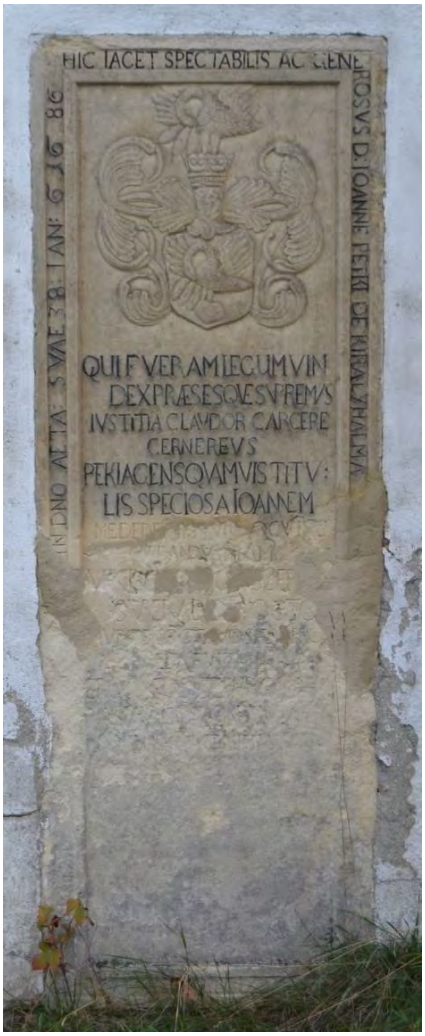

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013

1 Orbán, *Székelyföld*: Vixi bene tricens sephiris
2 Orbán, *Székelyföld*: addidit
3 Orbán, *Székelyföld:* Jupiter vitavo saeva procella fuit – the surviving letters do not allow this reading.
4 Orbán, *Székelyföld*: aquiline fugatus
5 Orbán, *Székelyföld*: percipis hunc metuas Lector Amade tuis

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 196

a)	Sânvăsii – Nyárádszentlászló, Unitarian church, in the floor of the ground floor of the tower on the northern side of the choir
b)	*Sânvăsii – Nyárádszentlászló, Unitarian church, in the floor of the ground floor of the tower on the northern side of the choir*
c)	**Matthias (Mátyás) Sigér** The Sigér family owned estates in Sânvăsii. János Sigér was treasurer of Prince Zsigmond Báthory. He gave the church to the Antitrinitarians around 1580. Mátyás might have been his brother or son, who was 30 years old when he died in 1586. Orbán, Balázs. *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból* [Description of the Székely Land from a historical, archaeological, natural geographical, and ethnographic point of view], vol. 4, 59. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. Online edition by Arcanum Adatbázis Ltd., 2003. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/158.html (accessed 16 October 2017)
d)	d. 1586
e)	95 x 206 x 36 cm
f)	Doroftei, Doina Paula. *Inscripţii în limba latină din bisericile României, din perioada 1290-1850, cu privire specială asupra bisericilor maghiare din Transil*vania. [Latin inscriptions in churches in Romania in the period between 1290-1850, with special focus on the Hungarian churches in Transylvania)] 207-209. Bucharest: Editura Muzeului Naţional al Literaturii Române, 2013. Kelemen, Lajos. "Nyárádmenti műtárgyak az 1900. évi párizsi világkiállításon (Marosvásárhely 58. sz., 1899)" [Artworks from along the Niraj river at the World Expo in Paris in 1900]. In *Művészettörténeti tanulmányok 2*, ed. Margit B. Nagy, 262. Bucharest: Kriterion, 1984. Orbán, Balázs. *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból* [Description of the Székely Land from a historical, archaeological, natural geographical, and ethnographic point of view], vol. 4, 59. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. Online edition by Arcanum Adatbázis Ltd., 2003. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/158.html (accessed 16 October 2017)
g)	Border inscription (A) OBIIT IN DOMINO IN OPPIDO SAXONUM PRASMAR XXIIII OCTOB(RIS) M D XXXCVI SVAE VERO AETATIS ANNO XXL Inscription panel (B)[1] Hic cubat ecce brevi Matthias stirpe Sigeri Exitu tristi quem lapis arte tegit,

[1] The text is not legible any more, it is provided after Orbán, *Székelyföld*, 59.

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	Ingenio Felix, felix et flore juventae Et prisco patrum stemmate clarus erat Hic coluit numen ferventi pectore salum Pulchraq(ue) virtutum jam documenta dabat, Lustra sed implenti quatuor cum messis in herba Esset adhuc viridi falce resecta perit. Nam que non cineri nec novit parcere gazis, Mors rapuit corpus spiritus astra subit.

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 197

a)	Saschiz – Szászkézd – Keisd, Lutheran church, in the southern wall of the choir
b)	*Saschiz – Szászkézd – Keisd, Lutheran church*
c)	**Martinus Rosalerus** He was born in 1587 in Râșnov, (Barcarozsnyó, Rosenau). He studied in Königsberg in 1622. He served as pastor even before that, in Archiud (Szászerked, Arkeden; 1619) and in Bod (Botfalu, Brenndorsf; 1621). From 1631, he was pastor in Saschiz as well as dean. The inscription says that he installed the memorial for his daughter, who died in 1638, and for himself. He died in 1650, aged 67. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700.* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 165. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992. **Sara Rosalerus** Daughter of Martinus, she died in 1638. **Johann Gchesbr** Secondary subject **Wife of Johann Gchesbr** Secondary subject
d)	d. 1638, 1650
e)	85 x 181 x ? cm
f)	Gündisch, Gustav. "Der Hermannstädter Bildhauer und Steinmetz Elias Nicolai," In *Studien zur siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Gustav Gündisch, Albert Klein, Harald Krasser and Theobald Streifeld, 140. Cologne: Böhlau, 1976. Marcu Istrate, Daniela. *Saschiz – Keisd*, 37. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2011. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 140. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	Border inscription, upper part (A) HOC SIBIMET CHARISQ(VE) SVIS POSVIT MONV(M)ENTV(M) MARTINVS ROSALERVS PAST(OR) KYZD(ENSIS) Border inscription, lower part (B) [– – –] Joha(nn) Gchesbr Sepulti dies 47 Nec [..] Co(n)iug 2 Mem[– – –] Upper inscription panel (C) Denascor Anno 1650 die 21 Aug(usti) Aeta(tis) 67

CEU eTD Collection

	Hic mea jam placide ROSALERI membra quiescunt MARTINI; hic populu(m) coelica jussa doce(n)s Lustra fere quatuor: vitam pertaes(us) acerbam In coelo jam me gaudia qua(n)ta mane(n)t Lower inscription panel (D) OBIT IN INITIO ANNO D(OMI)NI 1638 29 (Decem)br(is) Roslerianarum putresco hic alba Rosarum Sara Pare(n)tis en Filia chara meis Sed putrescam, esto in Chr(ist)o rursum revirescam Extremu(m) dederit cu(m) tuba laeta die. Around the crown (E) VINCENTI DABITVR Around the roses (F) Per multas tribulationes oportes nos introie Regnum Coelorum. On the scroll of the putto (G) Non[– – –] Sem[– – –]Nepos piebd: 2

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 198

a)	Saschiz – Szászkézd – Keisd, Lutheran church, in the choir, standing behind the altarpiece
b)	*Saschiz – Szászkézd – Keisd, Lutheran church*
c)	**Michael Conradus (Conrad)** He studied in Wittenberg in 1544. He was priest in Roadeș (Rádos, Radenthal) until 1544, then pastor as well as dean in Saschiz, for fifteen years as it is stated in the inscription. He died in 1572. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700.* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 184. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992.
d)	d. 1572
e)	79 x 169 x 25 cm
f)	Marcu Istrate, Daniela. *Saschiz – Keisd*, 37. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2011.
g)	Border inscription (A) QVI TRIA L [V]STRA DEI VERBVM TOTIDEMQ(VE) PER ANNOS HIC DOCVI PLACIDE POST MEA FATA CVBO R(EVERENDVS) D(OMINVS) MICHA EL CONRA DVS OBIIT 8 FEB(RVARII) 1572

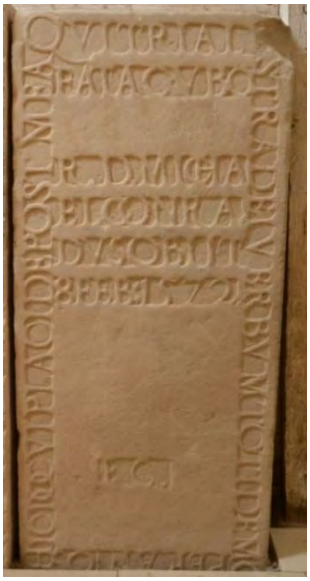

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 199

a)	Saschiz – Szászkézd – Keisd, Lutheran church, in the choir, standing behind the altarpiece
b)	*Saschiz – Szászkézd – Keisd, Lutheran church*
c)	**Lucas (Lukas) Kuschius (Kusch)** He was born in Sighişoara in 1581. He studied in Wittenberg in 1603. After his return to Transylvania, he was pastor in Daia (Szászdálya, Denndorf), Criț (Szászkeresztúr, Deutschkreuz; 1615-22), then in Saschiz. He died in 1631 because of arthritis as it is stated in the inscription. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700.* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 155. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992.
d)	d. 1631
e)	85 x 176 x 25 cm
f)	Marcu Istrate, Daniela. *Saschiz – Keisd*, 37. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2011.
g)	Border inscription (A) MORTVVS ARTHR ITIDE, VI KAL(ENDAS) OCTOB(RIS) ANNO SALV[TIS] [– – –]D[.] SVPRA M(…) AETATIS L: PASTORATVS KYZD(ENSIS) X On the central panel (B) KVSCHI(VS) HIC IACEOQ(VE) TEGOR Q(VE) HOC MARMORE LVCAS. LVCAS QVEM RAPVIT MORTIS AVARA MANVS. ESTO SED RAPIAR RES- TANT SOLATIA, QVOD ME IN CHRISTI MANIBVS VIVERE NEMPE SCIO. VIXI NODOSA VEXA- TVS SAEPE PODAGRA IAM DOLOR O(M)NIS ABIT GAVDIA VERA MANENT.

CEU eTD Collection

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 200

a)	Sebeș – Szászsebes – Mühlbach, Lutheran church, under the western gallery, set against the wall
b)	*Sebeș – Szászsebes – Mühlbach, Lutheran church, in the choir*
c)	**Benedictus (Benedict) Iustus (Just)** He was seat judge in Sebeș in 1558, and royal judge in 1559, 1561, 1562, and 1564. He resigned in 1563 and served as councilor. He represented his town in various cases in the Saxon *Universitas*, and he was a member of the delegation of the Saxon nation sent to John Sigismund to discuss the situation of the Saxon Lutheran church. He died in 1572. Gündisch, Gustav, and Theobald Streitfeld. "Die Grabsteine der Mühlbacher evangelischen Stadtpfarrkirche," 91-93. In *Studien zur siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Gustav Gündisch, Albert Klein, Harald Krasser and Theobald Streifeld. Cologne: Böhlau, 1976
d)	d. 1572
e)	85 x 193 x 17 cm
f)	Gündisch, Gustav, and Theobald Streitfeld. "Die Grabsteine der Mühlbacher evangelischen Stadtpfarrkirche," 91-93. In *Studien zur siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Gustav Gündisch, Albert Klein, Harald Krasser and Theobald Streifeld. Cologne: Böhlau, 1976.
g)	Border inscription (A) MOLE SVB HAEC BENEDITI IVS[T]I MEMBRA QVI ESCVNT CVI PIETAS VERV[M] NOMEN HA[B]ERE DED[IT] On the central panel (B) BEATI MORTVI QVI IN DOMIN(O) MORIVNTVR. OBIIT 12 DIE NOVEMBRIS ANNO 1572 In the shield (C) B(ENEDICTVS) I(VSTVS)

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 201

a)	Sebeș – Szászsebes – Mühlbach, Lutheran church, under the western gallery, set against the wall
b)	*Sebeș – Szászsebes – Mühlbach, Lutheran church, in the choir*
c)	**Martinus Clausenburger** Based on the fragmentary inscription and the image, he was probably a priest and his wife set up the memorial.
d)	Late sixteenth – early seventeenth century
e)	89 x 162 x ? cm
f)	Gündisch, Gustav, and Theobald Streitfeld. "Die Grabsteine der Mühlbacher evangelischen Stadtpfarrkirche," 93-94 and fig. 34. In *Studien zur siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Gustav Gündisch, Albert Klein, Harald Krasser and Theobald Streifeld. Cologne: Böhlau, 1976.
g)	Border inscription (A) [– – –]R(A)VIT AERIGENDVM RELICTA VI[D]VA A[M]PLISSIMI VIRI MARTINI CLAVSE(N)BVRGER CA[– – –]O[–]IS[– – –] [– – – – – –] [– – –]IS[– – –]CRAEMEGI[– – –]PASTORIS ECCL[ESIAE] [– – –] [– – –] OCTOBRIS AETAT[IS] [– – –] On the central panel (B) ESAIA 56 JVSTVS CO[L]LECTVS EST A FACIE MALLITIAE QVI AMBVLAVIT IN DIR ECTIONE SVA H[A]BEBIT PA CEM ET REQVIE[S]CE[T] IN CVBILI SVO

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 202

a)	Sebeș – Szászsebes – Mühlbach, Lutheran church, under the western gallery, set against the wall
b)	*Sebeș – Szászsebes – Mühlbach, Lutheran church, in the choir*
c)	**Unknown** Based on the fragmentary inscription, he was a member of the town council who died in 1657.
d)	d. 1657
e)	91 x 93 x 13 cm (fragment)
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) [– – – – – –] [– – –]R[.] SENAT[OR] [– – –]] [– – – – – –] [– – –]AN(N)O SALVTIS 1652 A[– – –] On the tabula ansata (B) B[– – –]NCEI – – – – – –

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 203

a)	Șeica Mică – Kisselyk – Klein-Shelken, Lutheran church, in the southern wall of the choir
b)	*Șeica Mică – Kisselyk – Klein-Shelken, Lutheran church*
c)	**Michael Oltardt** He was pastor in Șeica Mică for twenty years according to the inscription. He died in 1623, aged 50.
d)	d. 1623
e)	88 x 196 x 29 cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. "VIXI DUM VOLUI. An Unknown Work of the Sculptor Elias Nicolai - The Funerary Plate of Pastor Thomas Bordannus (+1633)." *Brukenthal. Acta Musei* 7, no. 2 (2012): 256. Bielz, Julius. "Porträtkatalog der Siebenbürger Sachsen". *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 49 (1936-38): 62. Gündisch, Gustav. "Der Hermannstädter Bildhauer und Steinmetz Elias Nicolai," 230-231. In *Studien zur siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Gustav Gündisch, Albert Klein, Harald Krasser and Theobald Streifeld, 215-256. Cologne: Böhlau, 1976. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 120. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	Border inscription (A) CONDITVS SVB HOC TVMVLO IACET R(EVERE)NDVS D(OMI)N(VS) MICH AEL OLTARDT CIBIN(ENSIS) OLIM PASTOR ECCL(ESI)AE HVIVS PER ANNOS 20 FIDEL ISS(IMVS) MORTVVS AN(NO) SAL(VTIS) 16 23 DIE II AVG(VSTI) AETAT(IS) 50. Lower panel (B) CREDO VENATIS, MORS! ME QVE(R)IS SAEPE PETEBAS INTERITVM, TELIS, ES MINITATA MIHI; AST MAGE, NEQVITIA(M) EX EMPTVM COELOQ(VE) LOCATVM VICTOREM STATVIS POST FVRIBVNDA PETE!

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 204

a)	Sfântu Gheorghe – Sepsiszentgyörgy – Gergen, Székely National Museum, in the courtyard, at the entrance
b)	*Budila – Bodola - Bodila/Bodeln*
c)	**Kelemen Béldi** Béldi came from an old and prominent Székely family. They owned a manor house in Budila, which was reconstructed by Kelemen, son of János Béldi and Kata Becz. He held some of the most important state positions as Captain of Háromszék, General of the Székely (from 1624), and councilor of the Prince (1625-27), thus, he could significantly increase the rank and fortune of his family. His wife was Mária Bánffi, their two sons were János and Pál. Kelemen died in 1627. Balogh, Judit. *A székely nemesség kialakulásának folyamata a 17. század első felében* [The formation process of the Székely nobility in the first half of the seventeenth century], 6. Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2005. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 1, 278. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1857. Trócsányi, Zsolt. *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690* [The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690], 25-26. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980.
d)	d. 1627
e)	86 x 194 x 55 cm (top of the tomb chest); 60 x 45 x 18 cm (side panel)
f)	Orbán, Balázs. *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból* [Description of the Székely Land from a historical, archaeological, natural geographical, and ethnographic point of view]. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. On-line edition: Arcanum Adatbázis Ltd., 2003. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/242.html (accessed 16 October 2017).
g)	On the side panel (A) TVMVLVS GENEROSI D(OMINI) CLEME(N)TIS BELDI DE VZON TRIVM SEDIVM SICVLVM SEPSI KISDI ET ORBAI SVPREMI CAPITANI VEL LICII VERO EXPEDITIO(NI)BVS V[...]O[...]SC[.] G[.]E[– – –]S[–] RELI PROP G [.]CEP[–]S GO SPEC[– – –]S[–] STADIO[– – –]SV[– – –][1] 1627 D(IE) 6 [– – –][2]DE[–] DD

[1] Balázs Orbán read “Aetatis XXX” here, though he is not very reliable, e.g. he read the date as 1677. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/242.html

[2] Orbán read “febr” here.

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2009

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 205

a)	Sfântu Gheorghe – Sepsiszentgyörgy – Gergen, Székely National Museum, in the courtyard, at the entrance
b)	*Hăghig – Hídvég, inside or in the churchyard of the Calvinist church*
c)	**Tamás Nemes of Hídvég** He was chief captain of Háromszék in 1615, and assessor of the Princely Court of Justice in 1639. His wife was Zsuzsanna Mikó of Hídvég. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 8, 125. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1861. Trócsányi, Zsolt. *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690* [The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690], 360. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980.
d)	d. 1642
e)	93 x 203 x 50 cm
f)	Orbán, Balázs. *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból* [Description of the Székely Land from a historical, archaeological, natural geographical, and ethnographic point of view]. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. On-line edition: Arcanum Adatbázis Ltd., 2003. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/113.html (accessed 16 October 2017).
g)	Inscription (A) (not legible anymore, Balázs Orbán read the name of Tamás Nemes on the stone)

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 206

a)	Sfântu Gheorghe – Sepsiszentgyörgy – Calvinist church, in the southern wall
b)	Sfântu Gheorghe – Sepsiszentgyörgy – Gergen, Calvinist church
c)	**Franciscus (Ferenc) Daczó of Sepsiszentgyörgy** The Daczó family was a székely noble family whose genealogy can be traced back to the fifteenth century. They had a manor house in Sfântu Gheorghe in the sixteenth century. There were two members of the family called Ferenc in the late sixteenth century, one was son of István, the other was son of Pál. That Ferenc whose memorial was set up in the Calvinist church died in Mediaş according to the inscription, in 1602, aged 55. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 3, 218-219. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1858.
d)	d. 1602
e)	_ x _ x _ cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) ENSIBVS IN VAR IIS DVM PRO TE PATRIA PV[GNANS] [– – –] [– – – – – –] [ME R]EVOCAT PATRIA CHARA VALE On the central panel (b) HIC IACET G(ENEROSVS) D(OMINVS) FRANCISCVS DACZO DE SEP SI SZENT GEOR GI, QVI OBIIT IN VRBE MEDI ENSI ANNO LV AETATIS SVAE 21 IAN(VARII) ANNO VE RO SALVTIS 1602 [S]CIO QVOD REDEMP TOR MEVS VIVIT[1]

[1] After Balázs Orbán

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2010

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 207

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Brukenthal National Museum
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Hospital church*
c)	**Unknown, with the initials T.W.** Based on the emblem on the memorial, he was a member of the tanners' guild.
d)	d. 1574
e)	52 x 112 x 15 cm
f)	Albu, Ioan, and Petre Beşliu Munteanu. "Tombstones of the Brukenthal Museum Collection." *Brukenthal. Acta Musei* 6, no. 1 (2011): 104 and fig. 8E. Beşliu Munteanu, Petre. *Spitalul medieval din Sibiu* [The medieval hospital in Sibiu], 69, 104, fig. 36. Sibiu: Honterus, 2008.
g)	On the central panel (A) TW 1574 NASCIMVR AC OMNES SVMAM PROPERAMVS AD HORAM ET NIHIL HAEC VITA EST QVIA LABOR AT QVE DOLOR

Source: Albu, Ioan, and Petre Beşliu Munteanu. "Tombstones of the Brukenthal Museum Collection."*Brukenthal. Acta Musei* 6, no. 1 (2011): fig. 8E.

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 208

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Brukenthal National Museum
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church or cemetery*
c)	Unknown
d)	Third quarter of the sixteenth century
e)	33 x 52 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 4-75, Cat. Nr. 68, fig. 33. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A)[1] – – – – – – [– – –]RIE DEFVNCTAE A[– – –] – – – – – –

CEU eTD Collection

[1] The transcription of the text is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

Cat. No. 209

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Brukenthal National Museum
b)	*Criş – Keresd – Kreisch, Bethlen castle*
c)	**Kata Kemény** The memorial displays the coat of arms of the Kemény family, based on which the tomb can be related to the second wife of Ferenc Bethlen (d. 1653 or 1654), Kata Kemény, since it was seen around the Bethlen Castle in Criş in the first decades of the twentieth century (though it is inventoried in the museum as an item of unknown provenance). They got married in 1633. Kata Kemény was still alive in 1657 according to the autobiography of her brother, János Kemény; she probably died in 1697. Ferenc Bethlen was master of the table, master of the court from 1638, assessor of the Princely Court of Justice between 1637 and 1648, councilor from 1648, and *főispán* (head) of Fehér County from 1640 until his death. Lukinich, Imre. *A Bethleni gróf Bethlen család története* [The history of the Bethlen of Bethlen family], 154. Budapest: Aetheneum, 1928. Lukinich, Imre. "Keresdi báró Bethlen Ferenc, 1601-1653." *Századok* (1908): 677-696, 781-805, 884-904. Miroslav Marek, "Genealogy.eu," http://genealogy.euweb.cz/hung/bethlen2.html (accessed April 20, 2017). Szalay, László, ed. *Kemény János önéletírása*, 14. Magyar Történelmi Emlékek. Pest: Heckenast Gusztáv, 1856. Trócsányi, Zsolt. *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690* [The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690], 25, 359. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980.
d)	d. 1679?
e)	71 x 207 x 26 cm
f)	Albu, Ioan, and Petre Beşliu Munteanu. "Tombstones of the Brukenthal Museum Collection." *Brukenthal. Acta Musei* 6, no. 1 (2011): 104 and fig. 1A. Gündisch, Gustav. "Der Hermannstädter Bildhauer und Steinmetz Elias Nicolai." In *Studien zur siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte*, edited by Gustav Gündisch, Albert Klein, Harald Krasser and Theobald Streifeld, 246-247. Cologne: Böhlau, 1976.
g)	–

CEU eTD Collection

Source: Albu, Ioan, and Petre Beşliu Munteanu. "Tombstones of the Brukenthal Museum Collection."*Brukenthal. Acta Musei* 6, no. 1 (2011): fig. 1A.

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 210

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the northern transept*
c)	**Lucas (Lukas) Leo (Löw)** He was born in 1575. In 1629, he was steward in Sibiu, and seat judge in 1639. The tomb inscription also lists the orator of the hundreds among his offices. He died in 1641, aged 66. Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 160. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Seivert, Johann. "Chronologische Tafel der Provinzialbürgermeister, Stuhlrichter und Stadhannen in Hermannstadt". *Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift* 2 (1791): 70.
d)	d. 1641
e)	91 x 192 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, xliiii, 159-160, Cat. No. 170, 322, 325, 332, fig. 77. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A)[1] MONUMENTUM AMPLISSIMI PRUDE(NTIS) AC CIRCUMSP(ECTI) D(OMI)NI LUCAE LEONIS QVONDAM CENTUM VIRORUM ORATORIS SENATORIS, VILLICI, NEC NON SE DIS IUDICIS CIBIN(IENSIS) QVI OBIIT ANNO D(OMI)NI 1641. DIE 26 (DECEM)BR(IS) AETAT(IS) SUAE 66. On the central panel (B) Hoc sua marmoreo jussit sub pondere LUCAS Ossa redinari, post pia fata. LEO. Haud voluit vivus cognomen, ferre LEONIS, Virtutis merito ni foret ipse LEO. Aedibus ergo suis privata negotia curans Aurifabrile obiit Strenuus artis opus. Post ubi consiliis subiit maturior aetas Publicaq(ve) illius cura poposcit opem: Ore Pericleo causas ORATOR agebat, In medium dempto CONSULUITq(ve) metu. Nec parce nimis hospitibus nimium nec avare, Dapsilis ast tribuit VILICUS urbis opes. Muneribus nu(n)quam corruptus deniq(ue) SEDIS Legibus est functus IUDICIS officio.

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

CEU eTD Collection

	Transylvana utinam generaret terra LEONES Quamplures; foret heic bestia nulla LUPUS On the arch (C) LUCAS LEO

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 211

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor at the eastern end of the norther aisle*
c)	**Petrus (Peter) Kamner** He was born in 1566. He was steward in Sibiu in 1609, and seat judge from 1615 to 1617. He was a member of the council until his death in 1621, when he was 55 years old. Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 134. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Seivert, Johann. "Chronologische Tafel der Provinzialbürgermeister, Stuhlrichter und Stadhannen in Hermannstadt". *Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift* 2 (1791): 69.
d)	d. 1621
e)	88 x 182 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 133-134, Cat. No. 143, 327, fig. 66. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) [1] SEPVLTVRA PROVIDI AC CIR CVMSPECTI VIRI DOMINI PETRI KAMNERI, SENA[TO]RIS VRBIS CIBINIEN(SIS) INTEGERRIMI. QVI PLACIDE IN CHR(IST)O OBIIT XXV. OCTOB(RIS) ANNO 1621. AETATIS SVAE, LV. On the central panel (B) EPITAPHIVM PETRVS CIBINI NATVS DE STEMMATE CLARO [I]N DOMINO MORITVR VIXIT VT ANTE DEO: OSSA QVIDEM IAM NVNC HOC SVNT SVB MARMO RE TECTA KAMNERI MENS ESTAT POTIORE LOCO.

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

CEU eTD Collection

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 212

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the choir*
c)	**Dominicus (Dominik) Rosenauer (Hochteufel)** He was born in 1650. He was member of the town council in Sibiu, and, according to the inscription, he died in 1612, aged 52, as a prisoner of the town. It also says that his son, the mayor Laurentius set up the memorial for his father in 1636, 14 years after his death.
d)	d. 1636
e)	92 x 188 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 152-153, Cat. No. 163, 322, 325, fig. 73. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) [1] SEPVLTVRA VIRI AMPLISS(IMI) AC CIRC VMSP(ECTI) D(OMI)NI DOMINICI ROSENAWERS SENAT(ORIS) QVONDAM VRBIS CIBIN(IENSIS) MERITISS(IMI) QVI DVRANTE ADHVC IPSA VRBIS CAPTIVITATE IN D(OMI)NO OBIIT A(NN)O 1612. 26 (DECEM)BR(IS) AET(ATIS) SVAE 52. On the central panel (B) Qvas pater inferias, tibi qvae funebria solvam Munera? qvae meritis prae mia digna tuis? Namq(ve) mihi sumptus alimentaq(ve) larga dedisti Cum puer in studys erudi endus eram. Pro qvibus officys qvamqvam tibi nulla rependi Dona, nisi haec luctus haec monimenta dedi. Prestiti enim Filius Laurentius nempe tuus A(nn)o 1636.

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

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Cat. No. 213

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor in the western part of the southern aisle*
c)	**Paul Paulinus** Based on the inscription, he was a member of the town council in Sibiu. The heraldry on the memorial displays a butcher’s symbol referring to his profession. He died in 1606. **Iohannes (Johann) Paulinus** He was the son of Paul Paulinus, who died in 1604, as a child as suggested by the formulation of the tomb inscription.
d)	d. 1606, 1606
e)	94 x 183 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, xxxvii, xliv, 122-123, Cat. No. 130, 328, fig. 58. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) [1] SEPVLTVRA PROVIDI ET CIRCVMSPECTI VIRI DOMINI PAVLI PAVLINI AMPLISS(IMI) REIPVB(LICAE) CIBINEN(SIS) SENATORIS OPTIMI E T IOHANNIS PAVLINI FILIOLI CHAR ISS(IMI) QVORVM ILLE OBIIT AN(N)O D(OMI)NI 1606 DIE 7 IANVARII HIC VERO AN(N)O 1604 Lower part of the central panel (B) HAC CVBAT EXIGVA PAVLVS PAVLINVS IN VRA QVI IN PATRIA PRAESTANS VRBE SENATOR ERAT HAEC EADEM GNATVM MANSIT SORS TRISTIS IANVM AVDIRE EXTREMAM GESTIT VTERQ(VE) TVBAM On the shied (C) P(AVL) P(AVLINVS) C(– – –) N(– – –) H(– – –)

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 214

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the western hall (“Ferule”)*
c)	**Andreas List** He was the son of Christoph List, who was born in Villach, and probably arrived to Transylvania as a representative of the Fuggers; he was administrator of the salt chamber of Turda. The family settled down in Sibiu, where Christoph List was a member of the town council in 1536. He had three sons: Sebastian, Andreas, the subject of this memorial, and Johann, who is mentioned as the patron of the memorial together with his father. Johann received nobility in 1554, and was appointed as Bishop of Győr in the Hungarian Kingdom as well as chancellor of King Ferdinand I. Andreas List died in 1561. Sophia List, who later married Johann Rewel (**Cat. No. 235**), was either his widow or his daughter. Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 53. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
d)	d. 1561
e)	96 x 192 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, Iv, 52-53, Cat. No. 48, 322, Fig. 21. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) [1] SEPVLTVRA ANDREE LISTII FILII CHRISTOPHORI LISTII SENATORIS CIBINIEN(SIS) ET EX HAC VITA EVOCATI ANNO D(OMI)NI 1561 DIE 9 OCTOBRIS INTER HORAM 7 et 8 POST MERIDIE(M) In the upper half of the central panel (B) MOLE SVB HAC TEGITVR PROPERATO FVNERE CAMPOS LISTII ANDREE RAPTVS IN ELYSIOS FRATER IN AVGVSTI FERDNANDI CESARIS AVLA MOESTVS OB HOC MOESTO CV(M) GENITORE DOLET POSVIT HEC GENITOR DILECTO EPITAPHIA NATO FRATER AT HEC FRATRI TRISTIA DONA SVO SI PROBITAS MORV(M) GENERIS SI SPLENDOR HONESTAS

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

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	CANDOR ET INTEGRITAS FATA MOVERE QVEANT TALIBVS INSTRVCTVS POTERAT VIR TVTIBVS ANNOS LISTIVS ANDREAS VIVERE PERPETVOS

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 215

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor in the eastern part of the northern aisle, at the foot of the pulpit*
c)	**Tobias Sifft** He was born in 1593- He was steward in Sibiu in 1639-40, then seat judge in 1643-45, and mayor in 1650. He died in 1651, probably in the plague. Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 176. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Seivert, Johann. *Kurze Geschichte der Provinzial Bürgermeister von Hermannstadt in Siebenbürgen*, 168. Hermannstadt (Sibiu): Martin Hochmeister, 1792. Seivert, Johann. *Kurze Geschichte der Provinzial Bürgermeister von Hermannstadt in Siebenbürgen*, 91. Hermannstadt (Sibiu): Martin Hochmeister, 1792.
d)	d. 1651
e)	92 x 189 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, xlvi-xlvii, lviii, 175-176, Cat. No. 190, fig. 86. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Gündisch, Gustav. "Der Hermannstädter Bildhauer und Steinmetz Elias Nicolai." In *Studien zur siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte*, edited by Gustav Gündisch, Albert Klein, Harald Krasser and Theobald Streifeld, 241. Cologne: Böhlau, 1976. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 105. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	Border inscription (A) [1] [D(EO) O(PTIMO)] M(AXIMO) S(ACRVM) SEPVLTVRA AMPLISS(IMI) AC CONSVLTISS(IMI) VIRI DO(MI)[NI T]OBIAE SIFFT, CONSVLIS QVONDAM [VRBIS C]IBIN(IENSIS) MERITISS(IMI) [O]BIIT ANNO CHRISTI 1651. DIE [10] MARTI. AETATIS SVAE 58. In the lower half of the central panel (B) EPITAPHIVM. Ec quis in hac tumba requiescit morte peremptus? Umbra refer functi corporis? En TOBIAS. Quod genus hic vitae, quas est sectatus et artes Vivus adhuc? functi corporis Umbra refer? URBIS honoratus rexit bene CONSUL habenas Iuraq(ue) CIBINIAE civibus aequa tulit. Acer erat scelerum vindex, et cultor Honesti.

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

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	Hei nos, hei cives! hei cadit ante diem! Quis vero hoc Elogo decoravit carmine marmor? Pro meritis gratum quem decet esse, CLIENS: Haec IS scripta dabat, quo nota nepotibus essent Venturis olim: Caetera tumba tegit. On the lower frame of the inscription panel (C) Fecit ELIAS NICOLAI On the scroll of the putto (D) HODIE MIHI CRAS TIBI

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 216

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the southern transept*
c)	**Iohannes (Johann) Reusner** He was born in 1574 or 1575. He was notary in Sibiu between 1624 and 1626 probably following his father’s footsteps, steward in 1626, seat judge in 1632, and mayor in 1633 and again in 1637, in which year he died, aged 63. His wife passed away before him according to the inscription. Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 155-156. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Seivert, Johann. "Chronologische Tafel der Provinzialbürgermeister, Stuhlrichter und Stadhannen in Hermannstadt". *Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift* 2 (1791): 70. Seivert, Johann. *Nachrichten von Siebenbürgischen Gelehrten und ihren Schriften*, 350. Pressburg (Bratislava): Weber und Korabinsky, 1785. Seivert, Johann. *Kurze Geschichte der Provinzial Bürgermeister von Hermannstadt in Siebenbürgen*, 89-90. Hermannstadt (Sibiu): Martin Hochmeister, 1792.
d)	d. 1637
e)	88 x 179 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 154-156, Cat. No. 165, fig. 74. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	On the tabula ansata (A) [1] MEMORIAE POSTERITATIS Quo tendis, Heus! Viator? siste paululum: Et cum pauca cognoveris, abito. Lower half of the central panel, left column (B) IOHANNIS REVSNERI Consulis Cibiniensis, Quod terra tegi potuit, Morbus, & mors rapuit: Quod terrae superesse nequiit Deus sustulit. VIR FVIT Solidissima prudentia, Multiplici Svaviloquentia, Per rara patientia,

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

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	Hilariq(ue) beneficientia, Principi, Regniq(ue) Procerib(us) fidus, Reipub(Hcae) Gnauvs, Civib(us) Charus, Patriae amans, Publico studens, P[ri]uati negligens. Lower half of the central panel, rigth column (B) Condimenta vitae habuit Miserias, laborem, itinera, Molestias: Et quod tristissimum, Calamitosum Viduitatis, experiri statum. Sed et haec condijt Verâ et sincera fide, Diuino amore puro, Pietate inculpata, Quibus fuit inexplebilis. CAETERVM SIC VIXIT, Vt neminem facile laederet, Nec tu iam mortuum laede, Sed in rem tuam abi Lower frame of the inscription panel (D) Mortuus A(nn)o 1637, 8. (decem)br(is) AEtat(is) 63. Consul(atus) vero 2do.

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 217

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the southern aisle*
c)	**Paulus Ludovicus (Paul Ludwig)** He was born in 1576. In 1616, he was steward in Sibiu, in 1617-22 seat judge, then, between 1623 and 1625, mayor. The document of the grave visitation of the Lutheran church in 1692 identified him as a weaver. His daughter, Katharina was the wife of the Cluj merchant Lukas Stein. Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 137. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Seivert, Johann. "Chronologische Tafel der Provinzialbürgermeister, Stuhlrichter und Stadhannen in Hermannstadt". *Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift* 2 (1791): 69. Seivert, Johann. *Kurze Geschichte der Provinzial Bürgermeister von Hermannstadt in Siebenbürgen*, 84. Hermannstadt (Sibiu): Martin Hochmeister, 1792.
d)	d. 1626
e)	78 x 183 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, xxxvii, lvii, lix, 93, 136-137, Cat. No. 146, fig. 67. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) [1] BEATE RELIGIOSAQUE FIDE CEU COELITES ABSOLUTO VITAE HODIPORIO CHR(IST)I SALVATORIS INDULCENTIA IMPERIUM MORTIS LUIT INQUE HOC KOMITHRION REDIIT AMPLISS(IMUS) ET CONSULAT(US) VIR D(OMINUS) PAUL(US) LUD(OVICUS) A(NNO) 1626. 7. OCT(OBRIS) AET(ATIS) SUAE 50. HEBDOM(ADAS) II On the lower inscription panel (B) Hic datur optatam LUDOVICO attingere metam, Hoc mea florescent 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

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

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	Accumula(n)s, PAULI nomine magnus eram. Siste gradus igit(ur) tumulum Philo christe Viator Inspice, dic: PAULI molliter osza cubent. On the frame separating the two panels (C) SIC TRANSIT GLORIA MUNDI

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 218

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the choir*
c)	**Iohannes (Johann) Waida** He was born in 1536. He was elected as mayor of Sibiu in 1581 directly from his seat in the Hundreds’ Council, which was an unusually large shift. He held the office of the mayor three times: in 1581-1586, in 1592-1593, and from 1597 until his death in 1599, when he was 63 years old. His wife Anna, born Vahin, was also buried in the parish church. Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 108. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Seivert, Johann. *Kurze Geschichte der Provinzial Bürgermeister von Hermannstadt in Siebenbürgen*, 36-37. Hermannstadt (Sibiu): Martin Hochmeister, 1792.
d)	d. 1599
e)	82 x 186 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 107-108, Cat. No. 109, fig. 54. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) [1] SEPVLTVRA NOBILIS, PRV DENTIS ET CIRCVMSPECTI DOMINI, D(OMI)NI IOHANIS WAIDAE AMPLISS(IMI) REIPVB(LICAE) CIBINIEN(SIS) CONSVLIS DIG NISS(IMI) [PLAC]IDE IN CHR(IST)O OBDOR[MIEN(TIS) A]N(NO) D(OMI)NI 1599. 23 APR(ILIS) [AETAT(IS)] 63 In the lower half of the central panel (B) MOLE SVB HAC RECVBANT WAIDAE PIA ME(M)BRA IOHANNIS. IVDICIO MAGNI CONSILIOQ(VE) VIRI. QVI VIRTVTE, FIDE, ET PATRIAE TELLVRIS AMORE CONSVLIS EMERVIT SVSTI NVISSE DECVS. PERQ(VE) NOVEM AESTATES SVM MA CVM LAVDE REGEBAT QVOD MVNVS VIGILES IMPO SVERE PATRES. PVBLICA PRIVATIS DVM PRAE

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

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	FERT COM(M)ODA REBVS ET PATRIAE IN PRIMIS CON SVLVISSE STVDET. SPIRITVS AETHEREAS PE TIIT, QVA VENERAT, ARCES VRNA NIHIL PRAETER PVTRE CADAVER HABET. On the plaque in the bottom right corner (C) VIVE MEMOR LETHI

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 219

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the southern aisle,*
c)	**Colomannus (Kolomann / Klemens) Gotzmeister** He was born in 1574. His parents were wealthy merchants in Sibiu, Kolomann Gotzmeister and Elisabeth born Brelft. He was steward in Sibiu in 1606, then was elected as royal judge in 1613 with an unusually large shift, skipping the steps of being a councilor and mayor in his career. He was donated nobility by Prince Gábor Báthory. His wife was Anna, daughter of the town pastor Johann Auner. They had three sons: Klemens, Johann, and Paul. Gotzmeister died in 1633, aged 59. His funerary shield has also been preserved. Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 150-151. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Seivert, Johann. Die Grafen der Sächsischen Nation und Hermanstädtischen Königsrichter im Großfürstenthume Siebenbürgen. *Ungrisches Magazin* 2, 1782: 160-162.
d)	d. 1633
e)	91 x 190 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, xviii, lix, 149-150, Cat. No. 159, fig. 71. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 133. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	Border inscription (A) [1] MON[VMEN]TVM MEMO[RI]AE G(ENE)R(O)SI ET DIG(NI)TATE AMP(LISSIMI) V(IRI) D(OMINI) D(OMI)NI COL(O)MANNI GOTZMEIST(ERI) REGII [IV]D(ICI) CIB(INIENSIS) COMIT(IS) SAX(ONUM) ET CONS(ILIARII) PRINCIP(IS) TRA(NSILVAN)IAE MERITISS(IMI) PLACI DE IN D(OMI)NO OBEVNTIS A(NN)O 1633 DIE 14 OCTOB(RIS) AETAT(IS) SVAE 59 On the inscription panel (B) Aequus Aristidem et Rhadamanthum mente gerebat Colmanus, Patriae portus et aura suae Quod Pelicanus amans fortisq(ue) figura Leonis Denotat, illud erat ciuibus, ecce suis Rebus in aduersis; duplicato clarus honore; Iudicis atq(ue) urbis Regia sceptra tenens. Aulae Consultor uarios auertere casus Et doctus uarias saepe subire uices.

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

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	Gens patria hunc Comitem, uocat hunc Aula alma Dynastam, Colmannum his titulis posthuma secla uident

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 220

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the southern aisle*
c)	**Michael Agnetler (Lang)** He was born in 1586. He was steward in Sibiu in 1630-34, then seat judge. In this position, he was sent as a legate to the Ottoman Porte. He was elected as mayor of Sibiu in 1636, then as royal judge in 1639. He was a philosopher and physician in terms of his profession. He died in 1645, aged 59. His epitaph made of wood and alabaster has also survived. Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 162-163. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Seivert, Johann. "Chronologische Tafel der Provinzialbürgermeister, Stuhlrichter und Stadhannen in Hermannstadt". *Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift* 2 (1791): 70. Seivert, Johann. *Nachrichten von Siebenbürgischen Gelehrten und ihren Schriften*, 2. Pressburg (Bratislava): Weber und Korabinsky, 1785. Seivert, Johann. *Kurze Geschichte der Provinzial Bürgermeister von Hermannstadt in Siebenbürgen*, 87-89. Hermannstadt (Sibiu): Martin Hochmeister, 1792. Seivert, Johann. Die Grafen der Sächsischen Nation und Hermanstädtischen Königsrichter im Großfürstenthume Siebenbürgen. *Ungrisches Magazin* 2, 1782: 393-397.
d)	d. 1645
e)	83 x 200 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 161-162, Cat. No. 173, fig. 78. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 134. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	Upper inscription panel (A) [1] MEMORIAE POSTERITATIS NE pergas, Heus! VIATOR! qvin potius, si vacat, accede: Et postqvam pauca cognoveris Rem tuam curatum, abito. Lower half of the central panel (B) Hic situs est, cognoscere vis? MICHAEL AGNETLER REGIUS IUDEX CIBINIENSIS VIR FUIT Ingenij Virtute et solertia magnus,

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

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	Consilio promptus, religione purus, Vita integerrime acta clarus, Collapsorum locorum, instaurator diligentissim(us) QVI SENATOR EXISTENS. Ob prudentiam singulärem, Ad CONSULATUM Urbis, Et deinde consensu sereniss(imi) Principis Ad REGIUM IUDICATUM progress(us), De Repub(lica) patr(ia), et omnibus bonis, Bene, pro virili non destitit mereri. Obijt A(nn)o Chr(isti) 1645 Aetat(is) 59 die 17 maij. V(IRI) D(OMINI) (P]UE[Rl P]OSUERE MOESTISS(IMI)

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 221

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the western hall (“Ferule”)*
c)	**Andreas Literatus** Based on the symbolic heraldry as well as his name, he was probably a clerk or notary in Sibiu. His wife was Anna Graf who was the patron of the memorial according to the inscription. He died in 1662 aged 47, but the memorial was set up only sixteen years later.
d)	d. 1678
e)	74 x 185 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, xlvii, 207-208, Cat. No. 232, fig. 98. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 136. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	Border inscription (A) [1] HOC MONUMENTUM AMOR CONJUGALIS ANNAE GRAFFIANAE MORTUO VIVENS, VIRO NOBILI ET STRENUO, D(OMINO) AN DREAE LITERATI, QUI AN(NO) (16)62 14 MART(II) OB(IIT) AET(ATIS) 47 ERIGI CURAVIT AN(NO) 1678 On the upper inscription panel (B) MORTU(U)S UT VIVAS, VIV(US) MORIARIS, OPORTET, ASVESCE ERGO PRIUS, QUAM MORIARE, MORI

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 222

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the Ferula*
c)	Unknown
d)	c. 1655
e)	93 x 214 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 182-184, Cat. No. 198, fig. 91. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Gündisch, Gustav. "Der Hermannstädter Bildhauer und Steinmetz Elias Nicolai." In *Studien zur siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte*, edited by Gustav Gündisch, Albert Klein, Harald Krasser and Theobald Streifeld, 242. Cologne: Böhlau, 1976.
g)	On the arch (A)[1] CHRIST(US) Vt E TUMULO REDIT, UT PRAEDIXERAT ANTE, CONCIDIt ILLA TREMENS CVSTODIA CAECA SEPULCHRI On the side of Christ's tomb (B) Scim(us) Christ(um) surrexisse a Mortui(s) Vere Tu nobis Victor Rex Miserere. On the top of Christ's tomb (C) S ur exi cum Vic toria Mortis frac ta Potentia On the scroll above Christ (D) EGO SUM WIA WITA ET WERITAS In the upper part of the lower inscription panel (E) Ich weis das mein Erloeser lebet v(nd) er wird mich hernach aus der Erden aufferwecken, v(nd) werde mit disser meiner Haut vmbgebn werden, v(nd) werde in meinem Fleisch Gott sehen. Den selben werde ich mir sehe, vnd meine augn werdn in schauen, v(nd) kein fremd(e)rs

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

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	On the scroll of the putti (F) HODIE MIHI CRAS TIBI

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 223

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the choir*
c)	**Georg Clogner (Glockner, Clockner)** He was born in 1636. He was preacher in Sibiu, then appointed as pastor of Slimnic in 1654. According to Szabó-Tonk, he was pastor in Şura Mare (Nagycsűr, Gros-Scheuern) between 1652 and 1655. The authors distinguish another priest with the same name who was born in Guşteriţa (Szenterzsébet, Hammersdorf), studied in Sibiu in 1642 and in Königsberg in 1646, then served as pastor in Miercurea Sibiului (Szerdahely, Reussmarkt), then in Gârbova in 1653, in Sebeş in 1681. The daughter of the pastor in Slimnic was Margaretha, the wife of royal judge Valentin Frank of Franckenstein (**Cat. No. 269**). Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 196, Cat. No. 212. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 76. Fontes Rerum Scholasticarum. edited by Bálint Keserű Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992.
d)	d. 1670
e)	76 x 186 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 195-196, Cat. No. 212. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) [1] HAECCE MONIMENTI STRUCTURA SPECTAT RE(VERE)ND(UM) ET PRAECL(ARUM) VIRUM D(OMI)NUM GEORGIUM CLOGNERUM OLI[M] PAST(OREM) ECCL(SIAE)AE STOLTZVAR(ENSIS) FIDELEM ANNO 1670 DIE 19 F(E)B(RUARII) AETATIS 44 On the two sides of the shield (B) G(EORG) C(LOGNER) On the central panel, under the shield (C) ANCHORA MEA CHRISTVS On the central panel, under the cherubim (D)

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

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	VIVENDO MORIMUR DENIQVE MORENDO VIVEMUS Above and under the death head (E) HODIE MIHI CRAS TIBI

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 224

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the choir*
c)	**Petrus (Peter) Rihelius (Besodner)** Peter Rihelius was born around 1593 in Cristian (Keresztényszíget, Grossau). He studied in Sibiu in 1614-19, then in Tübingen (1626), Strasbourg (1626), Darmstadt (1627), Marburg (1627). In 1628, he returned to Sibiu as lector, and in 1631 he became the rector at the Lutheran College. Still in 1631, he was appointed as pastor in Şura Mare (Nagycsűr, Gros-Scheuern), and in 1642, as town pastor in Sibiu. He died in 1658, aged 55. Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 170. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Seivert, Johann. *Nachrichten von Siebenbürgischen Gelehrten und ihren Schriften*, 33. Pressburg (Bratislava): Weber und Korabinsky, 1785. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 230. Fontes Rerum Scholasticarum. edited by Bálint Keserű Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992.
d)	d. 1648
e)	83 x 180 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, xviii, xxxix, xlv, lvi, 168-170, Cat. No. 181, fig. 82. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 139. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906. Haldner, Anna Maria. "Zwei unnbekannte Arbeiten des Bildhauers Elias Nicolai in Hermannstadt". *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde* 13 (1970): 62.
g)	Border inscription (A) [1] EPITAPHIVM REVERENDI ET [C]LARISSIMI VIRI DOMINI PETRI RIHELII PASTORIS ECCL(ESIAE) CIBINIENS(IS) DIGNISS(IMI) DOCTISSIMI MERI(TI)SSIMI QVI OBI IT ANNO DOMINI 1648 DIE 31 OCTOBRIS AETATIS VERO SVAE 55 In the inscription panel (B) Petrus eram, solido PETRAE Fundamine nixus, Dum fiuerent Vitae tela caduca meae. ulla hinc tempestas, non fulmina saeva potentum, Non qvae vana suis Viribus ira furit. Sed neq(ve) Tartareo, Qvae Monstra feruntur in antro,

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

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	Deturbare meâ Me Potuere PETRÂ. Vna aliqvid valuit Mors in me: sed neq(ve) totum Subdidit imperio trux licet illa suo. Scripta mihi Coelo sunt nomina, grataq(ve) multis Fama Volat fatum non subitura locis. Tv qvoq(ve) te victam Mors ipsa fatebere qvondam, In PETRÂ hâc PETRVS cum rediviuus ero. On the frame of the emblem (C) VITA MIHI CHRISTVS MORS MIHI LV CRVM Above the emblem (D) P(ETRUS) R(IHELIUS In the heart motif (F) יהוה

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 225

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the eastern wall of the northern transept
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church*
c)	**Margareta Budai (Ofner)** Daughter of Christoph Ofner (**Cat. No. 229**). She was the wife of Peter Haller Junior, the eldest son of the royal judge Peter Haller Senior. Her four children who passed away before her are also mentioned in the inscription without their names and depicted on the stone. **Unknown, with the initials G.L.C.** Secondary subject of the memorial.
d)	d. 1566
e)	80 x 165 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 57-58, Cat. No. 52, fig. 23. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 136-137, fig. XVI/2. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	Upper inscription panel (A) [1] EPITAPHIVM HONESTAE AC PIAE DOMINAE MARGARETAE BVDAI EGREGII PETRI HALLER IVNIORIS CONSORTIS QVAE OBIIT XV. IAN(VARII) M. D. LXVI On the lower inscription panel (B) QVAE MIHI QVATERNI RAPVERV(N)T PIGNORA PARTVS HAEC EADEM VITAM FATA TVLERE MEAM SIC STATVIT DE ME DOMINI FIRMATA VOLVNTAS IN CVIVS CAPIO GAVDIA VERA SINV. On the lower inscription panel, secondary inscription (C) G(…) L(…) C(…) 15[..] On the lower inscription panel, secondary inscription (D) 1580

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 226

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church*
c)	**Agatha Iungk (Jung)** She was the wife of Anthonius (Anton) Jung, and according to the tomb inscription, she followed her husband to Sibiu from somewhere else, far from the town. Anton Jung named as *iuratus*, lawyer in the inscription was, according to Albu, councilor in Sibiu until 1568, then royal judge of Miercurea Sibiului (Szerdahely, Reussmarkt) from 1569. According to Schiller, he was from Cluj, and he studied in Wittenberg, then he became pastor in Gârbova, and in 1570, he had to defend himself at the synod in Mediaş against the charges of heresy. Agatha Jung died in 1567. Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 59. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Schiller, W. "Ein Grabsteinfund auf dem Huetplatz". *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 13 (1900): 93.
d)	d. 1567
e)	95 x 175 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, lii, lvi, 58-59, Cat. No. 54, 283, fig. 25. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Schiller, W. "Ein Grabsteinfund auf dem Huetplatz". *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 13 (1900): 85-87, 93.
g)	Border inscription (A) [1] SEPVLTURA HONESTAE AC PIAE MATRONAE AGATHAE CONIVGIS PRVDEN(TIS) AC CIR CVMSP(ECTI) D(OMINI) ANTHONII IV(N)GK IVRATI CIVIS CIBINIEN(SIS) QVAE OBIIT 22 NOVEMB(RIS) 1567 Inscription plaque (B) HIC PROCVL A PATRIA LEPIDVM COMITATA MARITV(M) TON BION EN ΧΡΙΣΤΩ ΕΞΕ ΤΕΛΕΣΣΑ EMON SIC DOMINO PLACVIT QVI VITAM PR(A)EBET ET AVFERT ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤ‘ ΕΝ ΚΟΣΜΩ ΟΣΣ’ΕΘΛΗΣ(Ε)Ι ΤΕΛΕΙ AT TV PELLE ANIMO TRIS TES VIR CHARE DOLORES

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

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	ΜΗΤΕ ΑΕΙ ΚΛΑΙΩΝ ΟΜΜΑ ΤΑ ΦΘΕΙΡΕ ΤΑΛΑS TEMPVS ENIM VENIET CVM IVNCTI GAVDIA AGEM(VS) ΗΜΑΤΑ ΜΗΤΕ ΓΕΡΑΣ ΜΗ ΤΕ ΛΑΧΟΝΤΑ ΤΕΛΟΣ In the shield (C) I(VNGK) A(NTONIVS) 1567 Under the poem (D) G(EORG) M(ELAS) C(IBINIENSIS)

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 227

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the choir*
c)	**Mathias Hebler** He was born in Krupina (Korpona, Karpfen, today in Slovakia) as the son of a priest, Andreas Hebler. He studied in Wittenberg in 1546. From 1551, he was teacher in the Lutheran college in Sibiu. He was inaugurated as priest in 1553. He served as preacher in Sibiu from 1553. He was town pastor in Sibiu from 1555, and elected as Saxon Lutheran bishop in 1556. He died in 1571. His son, Andreas, was also a priest following his studies in Oderafrankfurt. Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 67. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 10, 177. Fontes Rerum Scholasticarum. edited by Bálint Keserű Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992.
d)	d. 1571
e)	85 x 180 x ? cm
f	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, xvii, 66-67, Cat. No. 62, fig. 29, 322, 331-332. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) [1] SEPVLTVRA REVERENDI VIRI MATHIAE HEBLERI PASTORIS ECCL(ESI)AE CIBINIE(NSIS) ET SVPERIN TEND(ENTIS) [ECCL(E)S(I)]AE SAX[ONICAE …] OB[IIT] IN CHRISTO 18 SEPTE(MBRIS) AN(NO) 1571 On the central panel (B) MATTHIAE HEBLERI SITA SVNT HOC OSSA SEPVLCHRO QVEM RAPVIT CELERI MORS INIMICA MANV SAXONICAE SVPERINTENDENS DIGNISSIMVS ORAE ET VIGILANS ISTA PASTOR IN VRBE FVIT SECTARVM FVRIAS RABIEMO(VE) PEROSVS INIQVAM DEFENDIT FIRMA DOG

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

CEU eTD Collection

	MATA SANCTA FIDE ET VARIOS INTER DE REL LIGIONE TVMVLTVS ASSERVIT LAVDES MAXI ME CHRISTE TVAS [PRO] OVIBVS AETERNAE [COEL]ESTIA MVNERA VITAE [PER]PETVISQ(VE) CAPIT GAV DIA PLENA BONIS In the shield (C) M(ATTHIAS) H(EBLER) C(IBINIENSIS)

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 228

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the southern aisle*
c)	**Mathias Ponsler** He was councilor in Sibiu, then steward in 1548-1550, and seat judge from 1566 to 1568. **Iohannes (Johann) Schapert** Secondary subject of the memorial. **Iohannes (Johann) Wolb (Wolbert)** Tertiary subject of the memorial. **Iohannes (Johann), son of Johann Wolb (Wolbert)** Tertiary subject of the memorial. **Catharina, daughter of Johann Wolb (Wolbert)** Tertiary subject of the memorial.
d)	d. 1573 (secondary subject d. 1649)
e)	90 x 186 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, xxvi, 70-71, Cat. No. 64, 171, Cat. No. 184, 250-251, Cat. No. 283, 328, 330, fig. 30. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) [1] [HIC JACET CI]RCVMSPECTVS VIR D(OMINVS) MATIAES PONSLER POSTQVAM ANNOS VITAE LXX SENATORIAE VERO DIGNITATIS XXXIII […] On the inscription panel (B) DIGNVS ERAT TERRIS PONSLER DVM VITA DARETVR MORTALIS CVRSV QVAE VELVT VNDA FVGIT CONSILIOS I(N)Q(VIT) IDEM MVLTOS IVVIT QVIBVS HAESIT ANXIA MENS DVBIIS REBVS OPEMQVE TVLIT IVDICIO ABSOLVIT PVROS ET CRIMINE SONTES IVSTITIAE IVSSIT LEGE

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

CEU eTD Collection

	SVBIRE CRVCES SED QVONIAM MAGIS HIC CO LVIT PIETATE(M) TONANTEM NVNC QVOQVE COELESTI SEDE RECEPTVS AGIT VT TAMEN HIS MANEAT SVA SANCTA MEMORIA TERIS ILLI POSTERITAS HAEC MONVMENTA DEDIT 1573 In the coat of arms (C) M(ATHIAS) P(ONSLER) Above the coat of arms, secondary inscription (D) H(ERR) IOHANES SCHAPERT WEISBECK 1649 25 MA rti s Outer border inscription, secondary inscription (E) [– – –] CIRCVMSPEC[TI D(OMINI)] VIRI IOHAN(NIS) WOLB ET LIBEROR(VM) IOHANNIS CATHARINAE [– – – – – –]

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 229

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the western hall (“Ferule”)*
c)	**Cristophorus (Christoph) Offner** Wealthy merchant in Sibiu. One of his daughter married Peter Haller Junior, son of the royal judge Peter Haller (**Cat. No. 225**), the other one Kyrillus Greising, seat judge in Braşov.
d)	d. 1574
e)	98 x 193 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, xxxvii, 71-72, Cat. No. 65, 323, fig. 31. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) [1] SEPVLTVRA CONSTA NTIS(S)IMI ET INTEGER(RI)MI VIRI DO(MI)NI CHRISTOPHO RI OFNERI CIVIS REIP(VBLICAE) CIBI(NIENSIS) QVI E VIVI DECES(S)IT AN(N)O 1574 15 IVNII On the inscription panel (B) CRISTOPHORVS CVNCTOS INFRACTO PECTORE CASVS OFFNERVS SVPERANS HOS TENET ECCE LARES CIVICA GRANDILOQVO[2] TA XABAT CRIMINA VERBO AVXILII PARITER PAV PERIS AVTOR ERAT COMMODA NON LVCRV(M) SPECTABAT FORTITER VRBIS ROBORIS HAEC IGITVR QVERCEA SIGNA GERIT

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.
[2] Sic!

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Cat. No. 230

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, above the entrance of the sacresty in the choir
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, above the entrance of the sacresty in the choir*
c)	**Leodegar de Montaignac** According to the inscription, he was a French legate going to the Ottoman Porte, who died in Sibiu, and was buried there. The memorial was set up by his brother, Balthasar.
d)	d. 1574
e)	110 x 120 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 73-74, Cat. No. 67, fig. 32. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	On the central panel (A) [1] LEODEGARIO DE MONTAIG NAC D(OMI)NO DE BRIVEZ AC REGIS CHRI(STIANISSI)MI FRANCIAE CONSILIARIO QVI CVM CONFECTIS OPTIME IN AVLA OTHOMANICA A CHRI(STIANISSI) MO REGE SIBI COMMISSIS NEGO TIIS HAC AD SVOS REVERTERETVR HIC POSTQVAM PER LV DIES ACV TISSIMO MORBO LABORAVIT TANDEM MORTVVS EST DIIE[2] XV OCTOBRIS AN(NO) SA(LVTIS) 1574 FRATER BALTASAR COMES ET HE RES EX TEST(AMENTO) POSVIT

Source: Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, fig. 32. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.
[2] Sic!

Cat. No. 231

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the western hall (“Ferule”)*
c)	**Servatius Weidner** He was member of the town council in Sibiu and steward in 1570-71.
d)	d. 1576
e)	99 x 198 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, xvii, 75-76, Cat. Nr. 70, 322, 335, fig. 34. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) [1] PRVDENTI ET CIRCVM SPECTO SERVATIO WEIDNERO SENATORI CIVITATIS CIBINIEN(SIS) QVI IN DOMİNO DEFVNCTVS EST 1576 19 SEPTEMB(RIS) LIBERI PIAE RECORD(ATIONIS) ERGO P(OSVERVNT) Above the shield (B) ET ERIT TANQVAM LIGNVM QVOD PLANTATV(M) EST SEC(VS) DE CVRSVS AQVAR(VM) In the upper corners (C) S(ERVATIUS) W(EIDNER) 1576 On the inscription panel (D) WEIDNERI SERVATA CVBANT [IN HOC] MEMBRA SEPVLCHRO [Q]VI INTE[GER] INSIGNI VIR PIETAT[E] FVI[T] P[O]SIT[VS] HOC CAE[–]DO[–]VE[..]ST QVOD IVS[TVS] SENAT[O]R, CIVIBVS EST I[V]ST[VM] FERRE SACRAS LA[VDE]S PORTVS ET VMBRA FVIT MVSAS SECTANTIBVS ILLE HOC, RVDE, QVOS [..T]RIO [–] TEMPORE V[IRTV]S [HA]BET ERGO QVOD MVSAS FOVIT VIRTVTIS AMORE ILLIVS AETERN[V]M GLORIA NOMEN HABET

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

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Cat. No. 232

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the choir*
c)	**Wife of Simon Miles** Simon Miles was steward in Sibiu in 1560- 1562, seat judge in 1562-1566, mayor in 1566-1576. According to the inscription, he was the patron of the memorial for his wife who died in 1576. Seivert, Johann. Kurze Geschichte der Provinzial Bürgermeister von Hermannstadt in Siebenbürgen, 28-33. Hermannstadt (Sibiu): Martin Hochmeister, 1792.
d)	d. 1576
e)	73 x 163 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 76-77, Cat. Nr. 71, 321, 332, fig. 35. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) [1] [– – – – – –] [– – – – – –] [– – – – – –] [– – – – – –] On the inscription panel (B) QVI BENE CONSILIIS PATRI AS FLECTEBAT HABENAS MILES IN HOC POSVIT CONIUGIS OSSA SOLO ILLA QVOD INGENVAE CVL TVM PIETATIS AMAVIT ET SANCTAE COLVIT RELLIGIONIS OPVS VIVIT IN AETERNA REQVIE SED INANE MARITI CORPVS HABET TELLVS HIC PENES OSSA VIRI ANNO D(OMI)NI 1576

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

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Cat. No. 233

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the choir*
c)	**Simeon (Simon) Miles** He was steward in Sibiu in 1560- 1562, seat judge in 1562-1566, mayor in 1566-1576. Seivert, Johann. *Nachrichten von Siebenbürgischen Gelehrten und ihren Schriften*, 290. Pressburg (Bratislava): Weber und Korabinsky, 1785. Seivert, Johann. *Kurze Geschichte der Provinzial Bürgermeister von Hermannstadt in Siebenbürgen*, 28-33. Hermannstadt (Sibiu): Martin Hochmeister, 1792.
d)	d. 1576
e)	73 x 180 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, Iv, 77-79, Cat. Nr. 72, 321, 332, fig. 36. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 128. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	Border inscription (A) [1] TVMVLVS EGREGII [PRVD(ENTIS) E]T CIRCVMSPECTI D(OMINI) SIMONIS MILITIS CONSVLIS CIBINI ENSIS IN D(OMI)NO [PIE DEFVN CTI N]OVEMBR(IS) D(IE) XII INTER H(ORAS) IX ET X ANTE MER(IDIEM) AN(N)O D(OMINI) M D LXXVI. On the inscription panel (B) POST VARIAS VITAE CVRAS PLACIDA(M)Q(VE) SENECTA(M) MILES IN HOC SIMEON CONDIDIT OSSA SOLO VNDECIES PATRIOS VIRTVTIS PRAEMIA FASCES SVSTINVIT SANCTI GRANDE LABORIS ONVS CLARVIT INSIGNI STVDIO RECTIQ(VE) BONIQ(VE) AC VERA SVMMI COGNITIONE DEI HINC MELIORE SVI CV(M) PARE RECEPTVS AD ASTRA VIVIT ET AETERNAE COM(M)ODA PACIS HABET

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

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Cat. No. 234

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the nave*
c)	**Salome Ursula Hedwig** Wife of Augustin Hedwig. **Augustinus (Augustin) Hedwig (Pellio)** He was steward in Sibiu in 1550, seat judge in 1550-1555, mayor from 1556 to 1565, and royal judge from 1566. He died in the plague in 1577. Seivert, Johann. Kurze Geschichte der Provinzial Bürgermeister von Hermannstadt in Siebenbürgen, 27-28. Hermannstadt (Sibiu): Martin Hochmeister, 1792. Seivert, Johann. “Die Grafen der Sächsischen Nation und Hermanstädtischen Königsrichter im Großfürstenthume Siebenbürgen.” Ungrisches Magazin 2, 1782: 145-147.
d)	d. 1567, 1577
e)	90 x 186 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, lv, lvi, 80-81, Cat. No. 75, 326, 339, fig. 37. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 30. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	Border inscription (A) [1] SELIG IST DE R IN G OTTES WEGEN GEHET VND IN SEIN GOT[TL]ICH WO RT STHEHET On the inscription panel (B) SALOME VRSVLA PRVDEN(TIS) ET CIRCVMSPECTI AVGVSTI NI HEDWIGK TVNC CO(N)SVLIS CIBINIEN(SIS) PIA CONIV(N)X IN D(OMI)NO DEFVNCTA 22 SEPTEM(BRIS) AN(N)O 1567 HIC QVI[ESC]IT E[XPE]CTA(N)S CV(M) O(MN)IBVS [–]I FI[–]A RES[V]RRE[CTIONEM]

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

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	Left side of the border (C) IDEM AVGVSTINVS HEDWIG REGIVS IVDEX HIC SEPVLTVS AN(N)O 1577 FEB(RVARII) 3

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Cat. No. 235

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church*
c)	**Iohannes (Johann) Rewel** Notary in Sibiu between 1574 and 1577. **Sophia Rewel, born List** Wife of Johann Rewel.
d)	d. 1577
e)	54 x 117 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 82-83, Cat. No. 77, fig. 38. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) [1] H[– – –] [SENA]TOR ET NOTAR CIBINIEN(SIS), AC SOPHIA [– – –] [– – – – – –] [– – –] IOH[ANNES] [– – –] OBIIT A(NNO) 1577 [DI]E 30 SEPTE[M]B(RIS) On the inscription panel (B) VNA PATRIS SOBO LES MOESTAE SPES V NA PARENTIS VIX BENE SARCOPHA GO NAT[A] RECONDOR HVMO AD CHRIST[VM] VENI O CHRISTVM [VI]SV RVS OLYMPI INFEROR AN[GE] LICO REGN[A BEA] TA SINV Next to the coat of arms (C) I(OHANNES) R(EWEL)

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

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Cat. No. 236

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the western hall (“Ferule”)*
c)	**Michael Heidel** He owned a house on the Grosser Ring in Sibiu, which suggests that he belonged to one of the prominent guilds or was a rich merchant. Based on the inscription, he died in 1580, aged 38. Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 87. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
d)	d. 1580
e)	103 x 212 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, lvi, 86-87, Cat. No. 83, 322 fig. 40. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) [1] TVMVLVS HONESTI VIRI MICHAELIS HEIDELII CIVIS CIBINIEN(SIS) IN DOMINO D [EF(VNCTI) 17] DECEMBR(IS) DIE HOR(A) XII P(OST) M(ERIDIEM) ANNO CHRI(STI) M D LXXX AETATIS VERO XXXVIII On the inscription panel (B) MOLE SVB HAC MICHAEL MODICA TVMVLATVS ARENA HEIDELIAE RECVBAT STIRPS GENE ROSA DOMVS CVI PECTVS PIETATIS AMANS MENS DEDITA CHRISTO MORIBVS AC VERIS SIC FVIT AVCTA BONIS ILLIVS VT PASSIM VITAM TESTEN [TV]R HONESTAM ANTE HOMINE[S] VIR[TV]S SPIRIT(VS) ANTE DEVM QVI FLAGRAS IGITVR SANCTO PIE TATIS AMORE OSSIBVS HEIDELII MOLLE PRE CARE SOLVM

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

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	Next to the coat of ams (C) M(ICHAEL) H(EIDEL)

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Cat. No. 237

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, probably in the floor of the northern aisle*
c)	**Wife of Georg Lutsch** The Lutsch family provided numerous town leaders in Sibiu. The husband of the subject and the patron of the memorial, Georg, is mentioned as mayor (*consul*) in the inscription, but no such mayor is known from Sibiu.
d)	d. 1581
e)	94 x 176 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 89-90, Cat. No. 87, fig. 41. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) [1] [– – – – – –] GEO[R]GI LVTSCH CONS(VLIS) [C]ON[IV G]I[S] QVAE [OBIIT IN D(OMI)NO A]NN[O D(OMI)NI] 1581 PIETATIS ET GRATAE MAE[–] CAVSA MARITV[S] M(ONVMENTVM) P(OSVIT)

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 238

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the western hall (“Ferule”)*
c)	**Anna Miles born Weidner** She was the daughter of Servatius Weidner, council member in Sibiu, and Anna Wohlgemuth (**Cat. No. 231**). Based on the inscription, she was the second wife of Gregorius Miles, who was probably the brother of mayor Simon Miles (**Cat. No. 233**). The inscription also says that she died in childbirth in 1582. Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 91. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
d)	d. 1582
e)	75 x 182 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 90-91, Cat. No. 89, 322, 336, fig. 42. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) [1] SEPVLTVRA ANNA[E] [C]ONIVGI[S] GR(EGOR)II [MILITIS] [– – –] [SECVNDAE] SVS CEP[TAE FILIOLAE 1582 MOR–] [D]ARVM [– – –] On the inscription panel (B) ANNA PENES TVMVLVM QVAE CO(N)DITVR ISTA P(A)RE(N)TV(M) FILIA WEIDNERI, MILI TIS VXOR, ERAT. FILIOLAM SOCIO LIQVIT POST FATA IVGALI, CORPORE TECTA IACET MENTE SED ASTRA COLIT CONDITVR HAC ETIAM DE CONIVGE FACTA SECVNDA FILIOLA EXIGVOS VT POTE NATA DIES.

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

CEU eTD Collection

Source: Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, fig. 42. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002

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Cat. No. 239

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the southern aisle*
c)	**Blasius Rhau (Szeorös)** He was steward in Sibiu in 1572-1573, seat judge in 1576, mayor from 1579 until his death in 1581. His wife was called Anna, who was the patron of the memorial based on the inscription. Flóra, Ágnes. "The Matter of Honour. The Leading Urban Elite in Sixteenth Century Cluj and Sibiu," 197. PhD Thesis, Central European Universty, 2014.
d)	1587 (d. 1581)
e)	97 x 186 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, xliv-xlv, 92-93, Cat. No. 93, 328, 330, fig. 45. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) [1] EGREGIO PRVDENTIQVE DOMINO BLASIO RHAV CONSVLI, IN D(OMI)NO OBD(ORMIENTI) ANNO 1581 ANNA VXOR ET FILII POSV(ERVNT) ANNO 1587 On the inscription panel (B) SI NON LIVOR INERS SI NON INIMI CA NEGASSET TVRBA PATER PATRIAE IVRE VOC ANDVS ERAM SED QVIA NIL FECISSE IVVAT SINE LAVDE PEREGI IVDICEM ET EMERITVM CONSVLIS OFFICIVM CONSVLIS OFFICIVM MAGNA QVI LAV DE PEREGIT ET PATRIAE MERVIT NOMEN HA BERE PATRIS RAVIVS HIC RECVBAT POPVLVS QVEM LVGET ADEMTVM CONSILIO SIMILEM VIX HABI TVRVS EI AVREA PERPETVAE SORTITVS NO

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.

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	MINA FAMAE SPIRITVS AT COELI REGNA BEATA COLIT

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Cat. No. 240

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church*
c)	**Michael Margref (Markgraf)** The emblem on the memorial suggests that he was a furrier. He died in 1590 aged 41.
d)	d. 1590
e)	91 x 195 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 94-95, Cat. No. 95, fig. 46. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) [1] SEPVLTVRA PRVDENTIS ET HONESTI VIRI MICHAELIS MARGREF QVI PUSTQ(VAM) ANNI XLI [– – –] [– – – – –] [– – –] [OBIIT] AN(N)O 1590 2 NOV(EMBRIS) On the central panel (B) QVISQVIS AD HOC MARMOR GRESSVM FERS, CANDIDELIE[2] NE PICEAT PAVCOS TVMVLI PERCVRRERE VERSVS CONDITVR IN GELIDA MICHAEL MARGGREWIVS VRNA QVI PVER VT DECVIT MVSAS QVAESIVIT HONESTAS SEDVS[3] IN TOTA COLVIT CONAMINE VITA PAVPERIBVS POSTQVAM LAETVS SVA DONA DEDISSET CONSILIISQ(VE) PIIS MVLTOS IVVISSET AMICS[4] NOLVIT HVNC SVPERESSE MAGIS MORS ATRA PARENTEM SED RAPVIT DECVS OMNE MEVM PROH IMPROBA FATA

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.
[2] Sic
[3] Sic, instead of SEDVLVS
[4] Sic, instad of AMICOS

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	C[OR]PVS HAPET[1] TELL(VS) ANIMA SET[2] SYTERA[3] CAELA [– – – – –] [– – – – –]

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[1] Sic, instead of HABET
[2] Sic, instead of SED
[3] Sic, instead of SYDERA

Cat. No. 241

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the southern aisle*
c)	**Iohannes Bavarus (Johann Bayer / Bayr)** He was councilor in Sibiu in 1582, seat judge in 1585, mayor between 1586 and 1592. The name suggests that his family originated from Bavaria. His grandfather, Franz Bayer was seat judge in 1560-63, then the political career of his father and himself (both called Johann) overlapped in time. Johann junior died young in 1592. Flóra, Ágnes. "The Matter of Honour. The Leading Urban Elite in Sixteenth Century Cluj and Sibiu," 195, 478. PhD Thesis, Central European Universty, 2014. Seivert, Johann. *Kurze Geschichte der Provinzial Bürgermeister von Hermannstadt in Siebenbürgen*, 38. Hermannstadt (Sibiu): Martin Hochmeister, 1792.
d)	d. 1592
e)	74 x 178 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, lvi, 96-97, Cat. No. 97, 329, fig. 48. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Krasser, Harald. "Sigismund Möss, Bildhauer und Schnitzler zu Hermannstadt." In *Studien zur Siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte* edited by Gustav Gündisch, Albert Klein, Harald Krasser and Theobald Streifeld, 266. Cologne: Böhlau, 1976. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 126, plate XVII/1. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	Above the coat of arms (A) [1] O(BIIT) 3 DIE IVNII 15 92 On the inscription panel (B) SIC OCVLOS BAVARVS SIC ORA MAN VSQ(VE) FEREBAM DVM MIHI PER CHRSTVM[2] VITA SVPERSTES ERAT ILLVSTRES PATRIAE FLECTEBAM CONSVL HABENAS VT RAPIT ATROCI ME FERA [P]ARCA MANV

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.
[2] Sic, instead of CHRISTVM

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Source: Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, fig. 48. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002; Marcu Istrate, Daniela. *Sibiu. Piaţa Huet. Monografie arheologică 1* [Sibiu, Huet Square: and archaeological monograph, vol. 1], 110, fig. 156. Alba Iulia: Editura ALTIP, 2007.

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Cat. No. 242

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church*
c)	**Georgius (Georg) Melas** He studied in Braşov in 1557, then in Wittenberg in 1562. He was school master in Richiş in 1559-61, then lector in Sibiu in 1565-68. He served as pastor in Cisnădie from 1570, Râșnov from 1578, Cristian in 1580-82, finally in Sibiu until his death in 1592. His wife was Martha born Wohlgemuth. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 67. Fontes Rerum Scholasticarum. edited by Bálint Keserű Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992.
d)	d. 1592
e)	83 x 173 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, xli, lvi, 100-101, Cat. No. 99, fig. 50. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) [1] R(EVERENDO) CLARISS(IMO) DOCTRINA VIRTVTE ET AVTORITATE PRAESTANTISS(IMO) [VIRO DOMINO GE]O[R]G[IO] MELA[S] PAST[O]RI ECC [L]ESIAE CIB(INIENSIS) DIGNISSIMO HOC MONVME(N)TVM P(OSVIT) A(LBERTVS) H(VET) I(VDEX) R(EGIVS) C(IBINIENSIS) E(IVS) H(ERES)[2] On the frame of the inscription panel (B) INVIDA CVI VIVO SPL ENDOREM TVRBA NEGAVIT HVIVS AMAT CINERE[S] GENS PILEATA SACROS On the inscription panel (C) ARTE MELAS CLARIA VEL LI(N)GVA PRO(M)TIOR ESSET INTER LAVRIGEROS LIS ERAT ORTA VIROS SVSTVLIT HANC LITE(M) DEVS ET NATVRA P(ER)EMTV(M) SEDIBVS AETHEREIS ASSERVERE MELAM

[1] The transcription of the texts is based on Albu, *Inschriften*.
[2] Or EX HEREDITATE, see Albu, *Inschriften,* 101.

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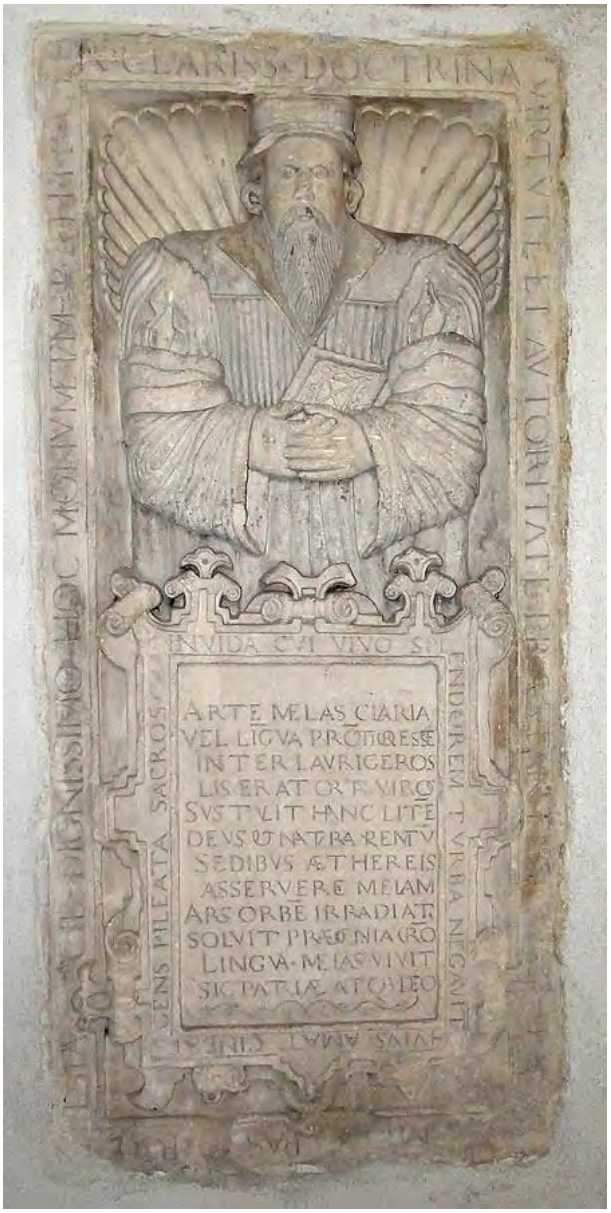
	ARS ORBE(M) IRRADIAT SOLVIT PRAECONIA C(H)R(IST)O LINGVA. MELAS VIVIT SIC PATRIAE ATQ(VE) DEO



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Cat. No. 243

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the northern transept*
c)	**Catharina Theil born Haller** Daughter of Tobias Haller of Hallerstein. Her husband was Georgius (Georg) Theil, who was town secretary and the patron of the memorial according to the inscription.
d)	d. 1595
e)	86 x 183 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 103, Cat. No. 103, 325, 332, fig. 51. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	On the central panel (A) HIC IACET SEPVLTA NOBILIS CATHARINA HALLER FILIA QVONDAM EGREGII THOBIAE HALLER DE HALLERSTAIN CONS ORS PRVDEN(TIS) ET CIRCVMSPECTI GEORGII THEIL SECRETARII CIBI NIEN(SIS) QVAE OBIIT DIEM SVVM VII DECEMBRIS ANNO M D XCV CVI DICTVS MARITVS SINCERI AMORIS ET PERHENNIS MEMORIAE ERGO HOC POSVIT MONVMENTVM

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Cat. No. 244

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the western hall (“Ferule”)*
c)	**Michael Helvig (Hellwig)** Based on the emblem on the memorial he was a weaver (though his name means furrier).
d)	d. 1591
e)	78 x 192 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 95-96, Cat. No. 96, 323, 335, fig. 47. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Upper inscription panel (A) HAC MICHAEL HELVIG PLA CIDE REQVI(E)SCIT IN VRNA PARS MELIOR COELO EST REDDITA CORPVS HVMO Lower inscription panel (B) Im 91 ior den 22 octob(ris) ist verschieden der er same vnd veise michel helvig vnd liegt alhie begraben

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Cat. No. 245

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the choir*
c)	**Petrus Lupinus (Peter Wolf)** He originated from Valchid (Válhíd, Waldhütten) He studied in Braşov from 1574, then he was pastor in 1588 in Nou (Szászújfalu, Neudorf), in Șeica Mică (1588-1592), finally in Sibiu until his death in 1597. He married Anna Stiffbauer in 1586. **Anna Wolf born Stiffbauer** She was the first wife of Peter Wolf according to the inscription. She died in 1595. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 226. Fontes Rerum Scholasticarum. edited by Bálint Keserű Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992.
d)	d. 1595, 1597
e)	79 x 204 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 106-107, Cat. No. 108, 322, fig. 53. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) [HIC SEPVLTVS EST] [CL]ARISS(IMVS) VIR [REVER(ENDVS)] PETRVS LVPINVS ECCLESIAE HVIVS PASTOR, CVM AN(N)A CONIVGE PRI MA QVAE OBIIT [ANNO SA]LVTIS M D XCIV XV MAII ILLE VERO M D XC[VII XXIII -APRILIS] On the inscription panel (B) QVAM AERNIS PETRAM PETRI TEGIT OSSA LVPINI NON LVPVS HIC CHRISTI PASTOR OVILIS ERAT HIC TOTV(M) PASCENS LVSTRV(M) VERBOQ(VE) RETVNDENS PETRONYNOS FALSOS ROMV LEOSQVE LVPOS CONIVGE CV(M) PRIMA TVMVLO REQVIESCIT EODEM SPIRITVS IN COELO GAVDIA PLENA TENET

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a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the northern aisle*
c)	**Georgius (Georg)** A Lutheran priest who died in 1603.
d)	d. 1603
e)	80 x 167 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 118, Cat. No. 125, 327, fig. 55. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 152, plate XXVIII. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	Border inscription (A) EPITAPHIVM REVER[ENDI ET] [CLARISS(IMI) VI]RI D[OMINI] G[EO RGII] [– – –] [PASTORIS] [– – –] [QVI OBIIT ANN]O DOMINI 1603 DIE 3 MENSIS NOVEMB(RIS) On the inscription panel (B) CLAVDITVR EXIGVA P[OS]T [FATA] GEORGIVS VRNA VIR GRAVIS, A PANIS NO[– – –] HABENS OMEN [N]OMEN HABET [– – –] [– – –] PA[– – –] QVI [– – –] [– – –]N [– – –] [– – – – –]

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Cat. No. 247

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the choir*
c)	**Lucas Enieterus (Lukas Enjetter / Enyedi)** He was member of the town council in Sibiu from 1578 to 1585, steward in 1586-87, seat judge from 1588 to 1593, and mayor from 1594 to 1597 and from 1598 to 1600. He was a tailor by profession. He died in the plague in 1603. His first wife was called Barbara, his second wife was Agnethe Bayer. **Agneta (Agnethe) Bayer** Second wife of Lucas Enjetter, probably the daughter of mayor Johann Bayer. She died in 1604. **Lucas Enieterus (Lukas Enjetter) Jr.** Son of Lucas Enjetter, he died in 1602. Flóra, Ágnes. "The Matter of Honour. The Leading Urban Elite in Sixteenth Century Cluj and Sibiu," 195, 482-483. PhD Thesis, Central European Universty, 2014. Seivert, Johann. *Kurze Geschichte der Provinzial Bürgermeister von Hermannstadt in Siebenbürgen*, 38-65. Hermannstadt (Sibiu): Martin Hochmeister, 1792.
d)	d. 1602, 1603, 1604
e)	92 x 168 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 119-120, Cat. No. 127, 321, fig. 56. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) [– – –] [NOBILIS ET CIRCVMSP(ECTVS)] [LV]CAS ENIETERVS CONSVL CIBINIEN(SIS) VNA CVM CONIVGE SVA CHARISS(IMA) AGNETA BAJERIN ET FILIO LVCA ENIETERO IVNIORE QVOR(VM) ILLE OBIIT A(NNO) D(OMINI) 1603 DIE 27 AVG(VSTI) HAEC AN(NO) 1604 19 IAN(VARII) FILIVS VERO AN(NO) 1602 26 MAII On the inscription panel (B) HIC RECVBAT PATER ET CONSVL PATRIAE PIVS VRBIS STIRPS ENIEDIACAE CLARA GENVSQ(VE) DOMVS HIC CVBAT ET VITAE COMES ET SOLAMEN ASYLVS AGNES BAVARICO PLAN TA PETITA SINV HIC IACET ET GNATVS, GENERIS PROMOTOR AVITI

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	VNICA TVMBA SIMVL PECTORA TRINA CAPIT

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a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the northern aisle*
c)	**Dorothea Schirmer** Wife of Michael Lutsch who was mayor of Sibiu later, from 1618.
d)	d. 1604
e)	81 x 177 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 120-121, Cat. No. 128, 327, 333, fig. 57. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) PVDICISSIMAE MATRONAE DOROTHE EAE[1] SCHIRMERIANAE CONIVGI PROVIDI D(OMINI) MICHAELIS LVTSCH ANNO AETATIS VICESI MO OCTAVO CONIVGII DECIMO QVARTO EXTINCTAE MARITVS MOERE[NS] HOC M(ONVMENTVM) POSVIT 1604 DIE 4 NO(VEMBRIS) Upper inscription panel (B) VIRTVS FORMA GEN(V)S PROBITASQ(VE) ORNATA PVDORE FOEMINEI DECORANT AGMINA CASTA CHORI Lower inscription panel (C) HIS THEODORA SVOS DVM FLORIBVS ORNAT AMORES AD DOMINVM VITAE EX HAC STATIONE MIGR AT

[1] Sic

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Cat. No. 249

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the northern aisle*
c)	**Leonard Kirtscher** Burgher in Sibiu, taylor by professon based on the emblem on the memorial. He died in 1606. **Margaretha Stihn** Wife of Leonard Kirtscher, she died in 1607.
d)	d. 1606, 1607
e)	80 x 182 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 123-124, Cat. No. 131, 327, fig. 59. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) TVMVLVS LAVDATISS(IMI) VIRI LE ONARDI KIRTSCHE(RI) CONCI(VIS) CIB(INIENSIS) ET CONIVGIS SVAE MARGA(RETHAE) STINIANAE OBIIT MARITVS 8 IANVA(RII) ANNO 1607 CONIVNX AVTEM ANNO 1606 IANVA(RII) DIE 10 On the inscription panel (B) POSTQ(VAM) ME LACHE SIS NECVIT PER VERSA FVRORE HVC MISEROS ARTVS CONTV LIT AL(M)A COHORS CONTENTVMQ(VE) DOMO FORE ME CVM CO(N)IVGE PARVA DIXIT ET INGE(N) TI MARMORE CLAVSIT OPVS VNO SIC TVM(V)LO REQVIESCIMVS AMBO MARITI MOX OPIFER CHR(I)STVS FOR SITA(N) ALTER ERIT

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Cat. No. 250

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the choir*
c)	**Iohannes (Johann) Roth** He was seat judge in Sibiu in 1530, mayor in 1539-41, and royal judge from 1543 until his death in 1556. He was murdered by rioting craftsmen in Sibiu. He was first buried outside the city without proper service, then he was exhumed, and in the same year buried in the choir of the parish church. Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, xxvii, 50. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Flóra, Ágnes. "The Matter of Honour. The Leading Urban Elite in Sixteenth Century Cluj and Sibiu," 213, 478. PhD Thesis, Central European Universty, 2014. Seivert, Johann. *Kurze Geschichte der Provinzial Bürgermeister von Hermannstadt in Siebenbürgen*, 24. Hermannstadt (Sibiu): Martin Hochmeister, 1792. Seivert, Johann. Die Grafen der Sächsischen Nation und Hermanstädtischen Königsrichter im Großfürstenthume Siebenbürgen. *Ungrisches Magazin* 2, 1782: 137-141.
d)	c. 1610-20 (d. 1556)
e)	83 x 190 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, xxvi, xlv, 49-50, Cat. No. 45, 329, fig. 20. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) [HIC SEPVLTVS EST C]IRCVMSPECTVS ET AMPLISS(IMVS) D(OMI)[N(V)S IO]HANNES ROTH CONSVL [CIBIN(IENSIS) ANIM]O SVO LONGE CHARISSIMO PIE IN DOMINO DEFUNCTO AN[NO D]O(MI)[NI 1556] On the inscription panel (B) RHOTIACAE GENTIS MAGNA SPES MAGNA IOANNES HIC RECVBO EXANIMIS PARVVLVS VMBRA CINIS IAM POTERAM BLANDIS SERMO(N)E(M) IVNGERE VERBIS INQVE PATRIS MOESTOS GAVDIA FERRE DIES NVNC QVIA CHRISTE TVA TAN DEM SV(M) MORTE REDETVS

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	DA GRADIS[1] TECVM VIVERE POSSE TAMEN

Source: Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, fig. 20. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.

[1] Sic, instead of GRATIS

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Cat. No. 251

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the nave*
c)	**Albertus Hutterus (Albert Huet / Pileus / Süveg)** He was born in 1537 as son of royal judge Georg Huet and Barbara Armbruster. He received his education in Sibiu, then in Vienna, in the Habsburg court. He returned to Sibiu and got elected as councilor. In 1577, he was appointed as royal judge. He married in 1575 Margaretha Homlascher, granddaughter of royal judge Augustin Hedwig. Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 125. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Flóra, Ágnes. "The Matter of Honour. The Leading Urban Elite in Sixteenth Century Cluj and Sibiu," 212-213, 246, 275-276. PhD Thesis, Central European Universty, 2014. Seivert, Johann. Die Grafen der Sächsischen Nation und Hermanstädtischen Königsrichter im Großfürstenthume Siebenbürgen. *Ungrisches Magazin* 2, 1782: 147-157. Seivert, Johann. *Nachrichten von Siebenbürgischen Gelehrten und ihren Schriften*, 184. Pressburg (Bratislava): Weber und Korabinsky, 1785.
d)	d. 1607
e)	62 x 163 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 124-125, Cat. No. 132, 326, 339, fig. 60. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 129, plate XV/1. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	On the inscription panel (A) D(EO) O(PTIMO) M(AXIMO) S(ACRVM) MAGNIFICO D(OMI)NO ALBERTO HVTT(ERO) VIRO NOBILI PRAECLARO MA GNO COMITI SAXONVM IVDICI REGIO CIBINIEN(SI) RVD(OLPHI) II ROM(ANORVM) IMP(ERATORIS) PRIN CIPVMQ(VE) TRANSYLVANIE CONSILIARIO NOBILISS(IMAE) ET ANTIQVISS(IMAE) STYRPIS ET FAMILIAE HVTT(ERIANAE) POST(RE)MO ET VLTIMO PATRI PATRIAE QVI XXIII APRILIS A(NNO) D(OMI)NI M DC VII AETATIS LXIX OFFICII VERO XXXI DIEM SVVM CLAVSIT

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	HAEREDES MOESTISS(IMI) AD MEMORIAM SE(M) PITERNAM P(IE) P(OSVERVNT)[1]

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[1] Albu resolved P P only as POSVERVNT, see Albu, *Inschrift*en, 124.

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Cat. No. 252

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church*
c)	**Petrus (Peter) Molnar** He was born in Băgaciu (Szászbogács, Bogeschdorf) in 1572. He was pastor in Șelimbăr (Sellemberk, Schellenberg) in 1600 and in Cisnădie in 1603. He died in 1608. Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 127. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
d)	d. 1608
e)	90 x 192 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 126-127, Cat. No. 135, 329, fig. 61. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) TVMVLVS R(EVERENDI) CLARIS(SIMI) DOCTRINA ET AV TORITATE PRAESTANTISS(IMI) VIRI D(OMINI) P(ETRI) M(OLNA)R(I) PASTORIS ECCL(ESI)AE HELTENSIS DIGNISSIMI QVI DIEM SVVM OBIIT ANNO M DC VIII CALENDIS AVGVSTI AETATIS VERO XXXVI On the inscription panel (B) MAG(N)A ERAT, O MOLNAR, TIBI GLORIA, FLECTERE POSSES ELOQVIIS MAGNOS QVOD GRAVITATE VIROS. MAIOR AT EXCVLTVS Q(VO)D CLARIS ARTIBVS IPSA STILLABAS SANCTI DOGMATA SANCTA DEI MAXIMA QVA(M) TRIBVET TIBI IVSTVS IN AETHER(E) IVDEX DA(N)DO PER VERAM PRAEMIA GRATA FIDEM

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Cat. No. 253

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the northern aisle*
c)	**Georgius (Georg) Hann** Based on the inscription, he was pastor in Șelimbăr (Sellemberk, Schellenberg) who died in 1610, aged 42.
d)	d. 1610
e)	87 x 177 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 127-128, Cat. No. 136, 327, fig. 62. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) TVMVLVS REVERENDI VIRI ERVDITIONE MVLTA CLARISSIMI DOMINI GEORGII HANNII PAST ORIS IN SCHELLEMB(ERG) [VI]GILA(N)TISS(IMI) HIC IN DO(MI)NO OBDOR(MIENTIS) ANNO AETATIS SVAE 42 DIE 3 IVLII A(NNO) D(OMINI) 1610 On the inscription panel (B) MORTVA LVCTIFICO PONV(N)TVR MEMBRA SEPVLCRO ACCIPIVNT ANIMAM COELICA TVRBA PIAM PROQ(VE) LABORE QVIES PRO VITA VITA REFVLGET MITIS ET EXTREMI IVDICIS HORA DATVR

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Cat. No. 254

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the northern aisle*
c)	**Gallus Lutsch** The Lutsch family was present in the town administration for several generations. The father of Gallus, Peter was seat judge. Gallus was member of the town council in 1584, he was steward in 1590, then seat judge in 1594-98 and 1601-1603, finally mayor from 1606 until his death in 1615. **Margaretha Doer** Wife of Gallus Lutsch Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, , 130-131. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Seivert, Johann. Kurze Geschichte der Provinzial Bürgermeister von Hermannstadt in Siebenbürgen, 68-86. Hermannstadt (Sibiu): Martin Hochmeister, 1792.
d)	d. 1615
e)	89 x 199 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, xliii, 130-131, Cat. No, 140, 327, 329, fig. 64. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) POST SVA FATA HVC POSVIT CVM C[O]NIV(GE) PV DI(CA) MARGAR(ETHA) DOER ARTVS RELIGIONE SACER PRVDENTI PRVDENTIA CONSPICVVS VIR DO(MI)N(V)S [G]ALL(VS) [L]VT[SC]H DECENNALI SVO CON[SVL] ATV PIE ABSOLVIT MORITVR VERO ANNO 16[15] DIE 30 IANV[A(RII)] INTER NONAM ET DECIMAM NOCTIS On the inscription panel (B) LVTSCHIADES IACET HAC GALLVS SVB SINDONE PICTA STELLA MAGISTRATES GLORIA VITA CHORI LVSTRA 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

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	In the coat of arms, on the scroll (C) EX AEQVO ET BONO IVS TITIA

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Cat. No. 255

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the northern aisle*
c)	**Iohannes (Johann) Roth** He was born in Buneşti (Szászbuda, Bodendorf). He was notary in Sibiu in 1598 and 1606, then, from 1616, mayor of the town. He died in 1617. **Dorothea Rawin (Rhau)** She was the wife of Johann Roth and daughter of mayor Blasius Rhau (**Cat. No. 239**). Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 132-133. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Seivert, Johann. *Kurze Geschichte der Provinzial Bürgermeister von Hermannstadt in Siebenbürgen*, 80. Hermannstadt (Sibiu): Martin Hochmeister, 1792.
d)	d. 1617, 1618
e)	99 x 212 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 132-133, Cat. No. 142, 325, fig. 65. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 137. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	Border inscription (A) SEPVLTVRA ET MEMORIA VIRI VT DIGNITATE AMPLISS(IMI) SIC ERVDITIONE PRAECLARI D(OMI)NI IOHANNIS ROTH, CONSVLIS REIPVB(LICAE) CIBI NIEN(SIS) MERITISS(IMI) ET PVDICISS(IMAE) LECTISS(IMAE)Q(VE) FOEMINAE DO ROTHEAE RAWIN CONIVGIS EIVSDEM DILECTISS(IMI) QVORVM ILLE ANNO CHR(IST)I 1617 DIE OCTOBRIS 1. HAEC VERO ANNO [CHR(IST)I 161]8 DIE MAII 2 PLACIDE BEATEQ(VE) IN D(OMI)NO OBIERE. Upper inscription panel (B) SI QVIS PRAECLARV(M) MONVME(N)TA ER(E)CTA VIRORVM IVRE TVLIT, FACTIS NOMINA DIGNA SVIS HEM TV IANE SACROS PARIO CVM MARMORE CIPPOS ES MERITVS VITAE PERPETVOSQ(VE) DIES INFRACTO FASCES ANI(M)O GERIS VRBIS ATROCES NEC REFVGIS VVLTVS HOSTIS ET A(N)TE TRVCIS. SQVALLE(N)TEM LACRI(M)IS PATRIA(M) GENTE(M)Q(VE) PATER(N)AM CONSILIO PRVDENS AVXILIOQ(VE) IVVAS. NVLLA TVAS IGITVR LAVDES NOME(N)Q(VE) TACEBV(N)T SECVLA POSTERITAS HAEC TVA FACTA CA(N)AT

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	SEDIBVS INSVPER ALTITHRO(N)IS AETER(N)A CAPESSAS PREMIA, PER CHRISTI REGNA BEATVS OVANS Lower inscription panel (C) HVNC SEQVERIS, DOROTHEA, TVVM FVGI ENTE MARITVM VITA ET IN HOC RECVBAS CO(N)TV(M)VLATA LOCO. NON FOR(M)AE SPLE(N)DOR NO(N) TE PIETASQ(VE) FIDESQ(VE) DE MORTIS POTVIT SVRRIPVISSE MANV. NO(M)INE NO(N) SOLV(M) DOROTHEA SED O(M)INE DICTA IVRA COLIS SOCY NON TEMERA(N)DA TORI. IVRE IGITVR CLARVS POST TRISTIA BVSTA SVPERSTES TE TVVS EX MERITO SIC TVEATVR HO(N)OS

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a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the northern aisle*
c)	**Daniel Klein** He studied in Wittenberg in 1588, then in Helmstedt in 1589. He was pastor in Cristian (Kereszténysziget, Grossau) from 1609. He died in 1628. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 40. Fontes Rerum Scholasticarum. edited by Bálint Keserű Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992. **Daniel Klein** Grandson of the pastor Danile Klein, who died in 1637 based on the inscription.
d)	d. 1628, 1637
e)	90 x 196 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, xlv, 112, 140-141, Cat. No. 150, 327, fig. 68. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) SEPULTURA SIVE MEMORIA PII CLA(RA) VIRTUTE AUTHORITATE PRAESTAN(TI) VIRI D(OMI)NI DANIELIS KLEIN PAS(TORIS) EC(CLESIAE) INSUL(AE) VIGILANTISS(IMI) QUI PLACIDE IN CHR(IST)O OBIIT ANNO MDC XXVIII. DIE XXII APRILIS. AETATIS SUAE LII. On the scroll (B) ECCE AGNUS DEI Q(UI) TOL(LIT) PEC(CATUM) MUNDI On the horizonthal frame in the middle (C) HOMO MEMENTO MORI On the inscription panel (D) INGENII LAUDES LINGVAE VO CISQUE LEPORES, NON CAPIT. EXIMIOS, PARVA TABELLA, TUAE SED TAMEN ES MERITUS, TUA FACTA INCISA NEPOTES MARMO REIS RELEGA(N)T, VIR VEN(E)R(AN)DE, NOTIS. QUANTUS ERAS, VIDIT STUDIIS ADDICTA IUVENTUS. QUAE COLIT

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	AONIDAS FLAVE CIBINE, TUAS RECTISONA UTQ(UE) DOCES DIVINA ORACULA LINGVA, TESTIS CHRI STIA DUM EST INSULA, CLARA VIRU(M) SIC QUOQ(UE) SACRATAE RECTOR, DUX SAEPE COHORTIS DAMNA LA BORATIS DILUIS ALTA RATIS. NULLA TUAS IGITUR RETICEBU(N)T SECULA LAUDES. CURAS. SYN CERAM PECTORIS ATQ(UE) FIDEM. SIC PLACIDAM IN CHR(IST)O VITAM SPARTA(M)Q(UE) RESIG(N)AS, ET CAPIS ASTRIFERO PRAE(M)IA TUTA POLO. On the right book cover (E) NEPOS DANIEL KLEIN OBIJT 10 APR(ILIS) 1637

Source: Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, fig. 68. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.

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Cat. No. 257

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the western hall (“Ferule”)*
c)	**Georgius (Georg) Jüngling** Mayor in Sighişoara from 1619 until his death in 1629. Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 142-143. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
d)	d. 1629
e)	72 x 179 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, xxxv, xliii, lix, 142-143, Cat. No. 152, 172, 324, 337, fig. 69. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 126. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	Border inscription (A) Hie verwar ich ein fromen man Herr [Geor]gius J[ün]gling w[a]r der [na]m [Hat gelebet sieben und sechzig jar Zur schis] burg Burgermeister war Sein ampt treib ihn in diese stadt Pleszlich der to[dt] ihn [tro]ffen hatt [Im tausend sechshunderten] jar Und ne[inzwensich] im Jenner war S[ein weib und kind] legten ihn her Der heiland sein er[loes]er [– – –] On the shield (B) G(eorg) I(üngling) On the inscription panel (C) Ich weisz dasz mein Erlö ser lebet un[d er wird m]ich hernach [a]us der Erden auffenvecken [...] Hiob 19

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Cat. No. 258

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the southern aisle*
c)	**Valentinus (Valentin) Seraphin** He was first royal judge of Miercurea Sibiului (Szerdahely, Reussmarkt), then, between 1629 and 1634, notary in Sibiu. He was elected as mayor in 1634, and also as royal judge in he same year. He died in 1639. His funerary shield has been preserved in the Lutheran church. He had many adversaries in the town. In 1645, his son was sentenced to prison, while his wife was burned as a witch. Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 157-158. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Seivert, Johann. Die Grafen der Sächsischen Nation und Hermanstädtischen Königsrichter im Großfürstenthume Siebenbürgen. *Ungrisches Magazin* 2, 1782: 162-163. Seivert, Johann. "Chronologische Tafel der Provinzialbürgermeister, Stuhlrichter und Stadhannen in Hermannstadt". *Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift* 2 (1791): 70 Seivert, Johann. *Kurze Geschichte der Provinzial Bürgermeister von Hermannstadt in Siebenbürgen*, 86-87. Hermannstadt (Sibiu): Martin Hochmeister, 1792.
d)	d. 1639
e)	88 x 182 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, xli, lv, 157-158, Cat. No. 167, 329, 331, fig. 75. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Krasser, Harald. "Sigismund Möss, Bildhauer und Schnitzler zu Hermannstadt." In *Studien zur Siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte* edited by Gustav Gündisch, Albert Klein, Harald Krasser and Theobald Streifeld, 267 and fig. 107. Cologne: Böhlau, 1976. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 110, plate XVIII/2. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	Border inscription (A) VALENTINVS SERAPHIN E[X] N[OT]ARIO ETT[1] CONSVL ET IVDE[X R]EGIVS CI[BIN IEN(SIS) ET COMES SAXON(VM) ANNO] 1[6]34 ET ANNO 1636 CO[N]SILIARIVS PRI(N)CIPIS OBIIT A(NNO) D(OMINI) [1639] DIE [20 IVNII] On the left shield (B) V(ALENTINVS) S(ERAPHIN)

[1] Sic

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Cat. No. 259

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall ("Ferule")
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the northern aisle*
c)	**Valentinus (Valentin) Frank** He was born in Reghin (Szászrégen, Regen) in 1590; his father was mayor there. He received his education in Sibiu, Znojmo, Vienna, and Strasbourg. His work "*Dissertatio de Calvinismo fugiendo ob depravationem et elusionem dictorum Sacrae Scripturae de reproborum indurationе*" was published in 1621. He was rector of the college in Sibiu in 1625, then town notary in 1626. He was steward in 1632-33, then mayor from 1639. He was elected as royal judge in 1645. He died in 1648, during an official mission in Norich (Újegyház, Leschkirch). In 1624, he married Agnethe, who was the daughter of pastor Daniel Klein (**Cat. No. 256**). Their son, Valentin Jr. was also royal judge in Sibiu, and he received nobility. Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 166-167, Cat. No. 180, 327, 329, 333, fig. 81. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Seivert, Johann. *Nachrichten von Siebenbürgischen Gelehrten und ihren Schriften*, 95-96. Pressburg (Bratislava): Weber und Korabinsky, 1785. Seivert, Johann. *Kurze Geschichte der Provinzial Bürgermeister von Hermannstadt in Siebenbürgen*, 89. Hermannstadt (Sibiu): Martin Hochmeister, 1792. Seivert, Johann. "Die Grafen der Sächsischen Nation und Hermanstädtischen Königsrichter im Großfürstenthume Siebenbürgen." *Ungrisches Magazin* 2, 1782: 397-402. Szinnyei, József. *Magyar írók élete és munkái* [Biography and works of Hungarian authors) Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1891. Online edition: Hungarian Electronik Library (Magyar Elektronikus Könyvtár], http://mek.oszk.hu/03600/03630/html/f/f05912.htm (accessed 17 October 2017) Trausch, Joseph. Schriftsteller-Lexikon oder biographisch-literärische Denk-Blätter der Siebenbürger Deutschen, 338. Kronstadt [Braşov]: Johann Gött&Sohn Heinrich, 1868.
d)	d. 1648
e)	91 x 204 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 166-167, Cat. No. 180, 327, 329, 333, fig. 81. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) MONIMENTVM GEN(E)R(O)SI PRND[1] ac CIRC(VM)SP(ECTI) D(OMINI) VALENTINI FRANK REGNENS(I)S CI(VITA)TIS CIB(INIENSIS) IUDICIS REGII ET SAXONVM COMITI et VIRI DE PATRIA OPTIME MERITI: IN CHR(IST)O SUPERATIS VITAE HUI(US) FRAGILITATIB(US) BEATE OBDORMIENTIS A(NN)O

[1] Sic, for PRVDENTIS

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	CHR(IST)I 1648 DIE 10 MAII AETATIS 57 On the inscription panel (B) Haec loca qui transis, consiste parumper, amice VALENTINI hic FRANK ossa sepulta jacent Qvis fuerit, qaeris? pietas, res, virtus et aequum Dicet et in sera posteritate canet. Consul erat patriae bis binos urbis et unum Annos: post Comitis claret honore tribus On the frame (C) Fecit Elias Nicolai

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Cat. No. 260

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the transept*
c)	**Iohannes (Johann) of Lulay** He was notary in Sibiu between 1492 and 1494, then seat judge in 1504-1506, royal judge from 1507. From 1519, he was also mayor of the town. He died in 1521. Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 38-39. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Seivert, Johann. *Kurze Geschichte der Provinzial Bürgermeister von Hermannstadt in Siebenbürgen*, 21. Hermannstadt (Sibiu): Martin Hochmeister, 1792. Seivert, Johann. “Die Grafen der Sächsischen Nation und Hermanstädtischen Königsrichter im Großfürstenthume Siebenbürgen.” *Ungrisches Magazin* 2, 1782: 299-302 **Iohannes (Johann) Stenzel** Secondary subject, he died in 1649. **Catharina Lotz** Secondary subject, she was the wife of Johann Stenzel.
d)	d. 1521, 1649
e)	122 x 208 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, xxv,xxxv, xli, lv, lv, 27, 38-39, Cat. No. 30, 171-172, Cat. No. 185, 322, 332, fig. 16. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Balogh, Jolán. *Az erdélyi renaissance (1460-1541)* [Transylvanian Renaissance, 1460-1541], 274. Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1943 Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 30. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	Border inscription (A) SEPVLTVRA NOBILIS AC EGREGII IOAN(N)I[S] D(E) LVLA IVDICIS REGII AC COMITIS CAMERE CIBINIEN(SIS) QVI E MEDIO VIVE(N)CIV(M) FATORVM VOCACIONE SVBLATVS CVIVS ANIMA DEO VIVAT M D XXI DIE VERO XII ME(N)SIS APRILIS On the inscription panel (B) MANIBVS N(OBILIS) P(OST) O(BITVM) D(OMINI) IOHANNIS STENTZELII ET Conjug(is) ej(us) D(OMINAE) CATHARINAE LOTZINN SACRVM A(NNO) D(OMINI) 1649

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	Membra sub hoc saxo posuit sua, nosce viator. Virtutum Exemplar Stentzeliana dom(us) Cuj pietas Cordi multus cuj semper in ore Sermo Dei, et vera cum charitate fides. Membra quidem huc posuit sed tantu(m) corporis illa Spiritus aetheria sede beatus ovat

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Cat. No. 261

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the western hall (“Ferule”)*
c)	**Georg Stolzemberger** He was a burgher in Sibiu, and a shoemaker by profession.
d)	First half of the seventeenth century
e)	66 x 182 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 172-173, Cat. No. 186, 324, 334, fig. 83. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) [– – – – – –] [– – –] G[E]ORG STOLZEMBERG[ER] MITBV[RGER] DISER STADT EH[RBAR] [– – –] D[ER] IST VERSCH[IE]DEN I[N] [– – –] On the inscription panel (B) I[C]H [V]E[ISS] DAS [ME]IN [ERLOE]S[ER] [LEB]ET VND ER VIRD MICH HERN[A]CH AVS DER ERDEN VND VE[R]DE MIT DISER MEINE[R] HAVT VMBGEBEN VERDEN VND VER DE IN MEINEM FLE ISCH GOT SEHEN DEN SELBEN VER DE ICH MIR SEHEN VND MEINE AVGEN VERDEN IN SCHAW EN VND KEIN FRE(M) DER IOB XIX Above the coat of arms (C) G(EORG) S(TOLZEMBERGER) [SCH]V STER

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Cat. No. 262

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the western hall (“Ferule”)*
c)	**Cristophor (Christoph) Offner** Wealthy merchant in Sibiu. One of his daughter married Peter Haller Junior, son of the royal judge Peter Haller (**Cat. No. 225**), the other one Kyrillus Greising, seat judge in Braşov. He died in 1574, and he had a funeral monument installed after that (**Cat. No. 229**). Still, he was commemorated on his grandson’s ledger too. **Christophor (Christoph) Greising** Probably son of Kyrillus Greising and Anna Ofner, daughter of Christoph Offner. He died in 1655. Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 79-180. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
d)	d. (1574), 1655
e)	85 x 196 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, xlii, xliv, lx, 179-180, Cat. No. 196, 323, 335, fig. 89. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 135. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	Border inscription (A) SEPVLTVRA NOBILIUM PRU(DENTIUM) AC CIR CUMSP(ECTORUM) VIROR(UM) CHRISTOPHORI OFFNERS CIVIS RE(I)P(UBLICAE) CIBIN(IENSIS) Et CHRiSTOPHORI GREISINGTES SENA[T(ORIS) RE(I)PUBLICAE)] CORONENS(IS) PREFATI CH(RISTOPHORI) OFFNERS AD[1] NEPOTIS QUOr(um) ILLe A(NN)o 1574 D(IE) 5 IUNII E MEDIO VIVENt(ium) FATUM VOCATIONE SVBLAt(us) Hic Vero A(NN)o 1655 D(IE) 24 NOV(EMBRIS) On the inscription panel (B) Quod nobis Terra parens Corpus mortale dedisti Accipis, en munus jam tibi redimus tuum Haec mirari nimis qui legis ista, discuti Memor esto aevum sic properare tuum Hinc animam, que a(n)te solo

[1] Sic, instead of AC

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	est Pater optime coelo Admitte, ut tecum sit Sine fine manens. Next to the shield (C) C(HRISTOPHOR) O(FFNER) Next to the crest (D) C(HRISTOPHOR) G(REISING)

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Cat. No. 263

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the southern aisle*
c)	**Michael Schwartz** Son of mayor Johann Schwartz. He was steward in Sibiu from 1652. His wife was Anna, the daughter of steward Andreas Jüngling. He died in 1655. Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 181-182. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
d)	d. 1655
e)	93 x 211 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, xxxvii,xli, lvii, 181-182, Cat. No. 197, 328, 338, fig. 90. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Gündisch, Gustav. "Der Hermannstädter Bildhauer und Steinmetz Elias Nicolai." In *Studien zur siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte*, edited by Gustav Gündisch, Albert Klein, Harald Krasser and Theobald Streifeld, 242. Cologne: Böhlau, 1976. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 140. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	Border inscription (A) MONVMENTUM VIRI CONSVLTISS(IMI) SPECTATISS(IMI) NECNON PRUDENTISS(IMI) DOMINI MICHAELIS SWARTZII QUONDAM SENATOR SENIORIS HUIUS U[RBIS FIDELISS(IMI) MERITISS(IMI) QUI OBIIT IN DO]MINO A(NN)O 1655 DIE 24 NOVEMBR(IS) AETATIS 39 On the inscription panel (B) Magnus in aestimio fama et super aethera notus SWARTIZIUS, hic tandem condit(us) ecce jacet. Neverat[1] hunc veluti pulchra(m), NATUra, corolla(m), Et fuit haec quoniam pulchra corolla, fuit Molliter hic igitur, donec lux ultima functos Vita & fungentes evocat, ossa Cubent! On the tomb (C) SEPULCHRUM CHRISTI VIVENTIS On the tomb cover (D) S u rexit

[1] Sic

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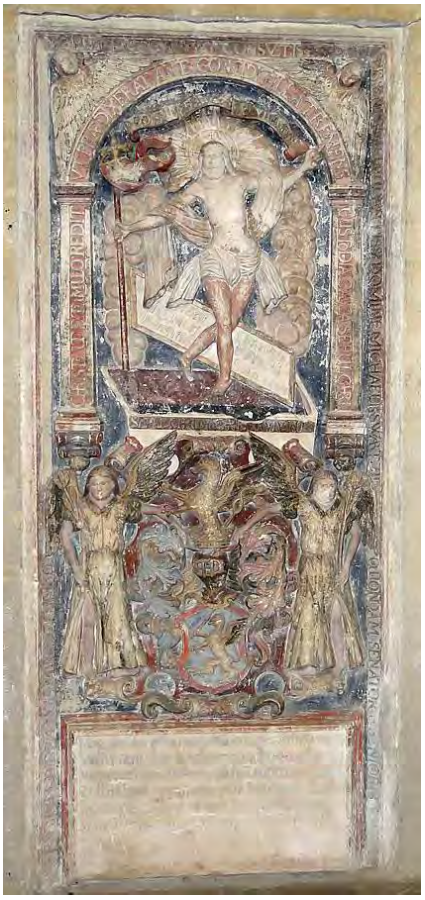
	cum Victo ri[a], Mort is Fracta Potentia Rom. I. C(apitulus) V(ersetum) On the scroll (E) EGO SUM RESU-REXIO & VITA. Io(hannes) 11 On the pilasters and the arch (F) CHRIST(US) UT E TUMULO REDIT VT PRAEDIXERAT ANTE CONCIDIT ILLA TREMENS CUSTODIA CAECA SEPULCHRI



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Cat. No. 264

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the western hall (“Ferule”)*
c)	**Valentinus (Valentin) Fleischer** City captain in Sibiu. **Gertrudis** Wife of Valentin Feischer. Their son, Andreas Fleischer, royal judge in Sibiu, was the patron of the memorial according to the inscription (**Cat. No. 265**).
d)	1663
e)	84 x 191 x 51 cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, xliii, lviii, 190-192, Cat. No.209, 324, 337, fig. 92. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	On a short side (A) ANIMA DEFUNCTI AD VIATOREM: DEXTRA TENET CLAVAM MEA: SED LIBITINA SAGITTIS SAEVA PETIT DIRIS PECTORA NOSTRA VIDE! SCILICET IMPERIO LE[T]HI SUNT SUBDITA CUNCTA DUX MACEDUM FORTIS MILES INERMIS ITEM On the other side (B) D(…) I(…) P(…)[1] VIRO PROVIDO MAXIMEQ(UE) STRENUO D(OMI)N(O) VALENTINO FLEISCHER CAPITANEO QUONDAM URB(IS) CIB(INIENSIS) FIDELISS(IMO) UT ET GERTRUDI CONIUGI EIUSD(EM) CHARISS(IMAE) PARENTIB(US) DILECTISS(IMIS) BEATAM HIC RESUR RECTIONE(M) SPECTANTIB(US) MONUMENTUM HOCCE PIETAS FILIALIS NATI ANDREAE FLEISCHERI IUDICIS REGII P(RO) T(EMPORE) CIBIN(IENSIS) ANNO C(HRISTI) MDCLXIII VIII ID(US) MAJI, POSUIT

[1] Albu, *Inschriften*, 192: DEO IN PIETATE or DEPOSITIO IN PACE or DEO IMMORTALI PARENTI

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Cat. No. 265

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the southern aisle*
c)	**Andreas Fleischer** Son of Valentin and Gertrude Fleischer (**Cat. No. 264**). In 1662, he was elected as royal judge in Sibiu. In 1663, he became secret councilor of Prince Mihály Apafi, and in 1669, he received nobility with a coat of arms. His wife was Anna Sifft. Their son, Tobias, was member of the town council in 1713. Andreas died in 1676. His painted wooden and alabaster epitaph has also been preserved in the Lutheran church. Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 203-204. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
d)	d. 1676
e)	90 x 217 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, xli, xliii, 203-204, Cat. No. 227, 329, 331, fig. 96. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Krasser, Harald. "Sigismund Möss, Bildhauer und Schnitzler zu Hermannstadt." In *Studien zur Siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte* edited by Gustav Gündisch, Albert Klein, Harald Krasser and Theobald Streifeld, 271. Cologne: Böhlau, 1976. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 112, fig. 23. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906. Roth, Victor. *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Siebenbürgens*, 145 and fig. 81. Strasbourg: Heitz, 1914.
g)	On the Crucifix (A) I(ESUS) N(ASARENVS) R(EX) I(VDAEORVM) On the inscription panel (B) SPECTABIL(IS) GENER(OSVS) AC AMPL(ISSIMVS) D(OMI)N(VS) AND REAS FLEISCHERVS ILLVSTR(ISSIMI) TRANSYL(VANIAE) PRINCIPIS CONSILIAR(IVS) INTIM(VS) MET ROP(OLIS) CIBIN(IENSI)S IVDEX REG(IVS) ET SAXONV M IN TRAN(SILVANI)A COMES OBYT IN D(OMI)NO ANNO MDC LXXVI DIE V MEN(SE) Fe(bruarii) AETAT(IS) LVI ANNOR(VM) M(ENSES) 2 IN TE D(OMI)NE SPERAVI NON CONFVNDAR IN AETERNV(M)

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Cat. No. 266

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the choir, in front of the altar*
c)	**Matthias Semriger** He was mayor in Sibiu in 1668-1672 and in 1674-1676, then royal judge from 1676 until his death in 1680. His painted wooden epitaph has also been preserved in the Lutheran church. **Catharina Schermer (Schirmer)** Wife of Matthias Semriger. She was the patron of the epitaph, and probably also of the funeral monument. Seivert, Johann. *Kurze Geschichte der Provinzial Bürgermeister von Hermannstadt in Siebenbürgen*, 128. Hermannstadt (Sibiu): Martin Hochmeister, 1792. Seivert, Johann. “Die Grafen der Sächsischen Nation und Hermanstädtischen Königsrichter im Großfürstenthume Siebenbürgen.” *Ungrisches Magazin* 2, 1782: 411-413.
d)	1681 (d. 1680)
e)	80 x 198 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, xli, xliii,xlix, 213-215, Cat. No. 240, 321, 338, fig. 101. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 113, fig. 33. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	In the cartouch on the table (A) In hoc LOCO Spectabilis ac Generosus D(OMI)N(US) MATTHIAS SEMRIGER Ill(ustrissimi) Prin(cipis) Cons(iliarius) Int(imus) Sax(onum) Com(es) et Civ(itatis) Cib(iniensis) lud(ex) Reg(ius) Cum chariss(ima) moderna Relicta CATTH(ARINA) SCHERMERIN Resuscitationem Salvatoris Expectat. Qui obdormivit An(no) 1680 Die 3 Apr(ilis) Aet(atis) S(uae) 50 On the shield held by the putto on the left (B) Ose(a) 13. V(ersetum) 14 E potestate Sepulchri redimam eos

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	a morte vindicabo eos. On the shield held by the putto on the left (C) Bern(erdus) in serm(onibus) Quid est certius morte et quid incer tius hora mortis Between the feet of the figure (D) S(IGISMUNDUS) M(OESS) B(ILDHAWER) 1681

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 267

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, in the floor of the western hall (“Ferule”)*
c)	**Georgius (Georg) Fabricius** He was member of the town council, then he was the leader of the Saxon troops to the siege of Vienna in 1683, and he died during the campaign. His wife was Barbara Adamin who was the patron of the memorial according to the inscription.
d)	d. 1683
e)	90 x 205 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 217-218, Cat. No. 246, 322, fig. 104. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	Border inscription (A) DEM FÜRS(ICHTIGEN) U(ND) W(OHL) W(EISEN) H(ERRN) GEORGIUS FABRICIUS WOHLBENAHMTEN RATHSHERREN ALLHIER et NACH DEM ER NACH VErRICHTETER EXPEDITION VOR WIEN WEGEN SCHEDWASSERS. BEY OFFEN GANTZ KRANCK IN On the frame of the inscription panel (B) HIESIGES VATTER LANDE KOMMEN UND BALD DR AUFF DAS HIMMLISCHE BE SUCHET IM JAHR 1683 SEINES ALTers 48. On the inscription panel (C) GRAB SCHRIFT HIER LIEGT EIN EHRENMANN, UND NICHT DER RUHM BEGRABEN, DEN ER IN HERMANNSTADT UON SEINER, REYSS BEKAM UND DASS DIE TUGEND IHN NICHT HÖHER HAT ERHABEN DAS MACHT EIN FREMDE QUELL DIE IHM SEIN LEBEN NAM. DOCH IST IHM DIESER TRANCK ZUM LEBENSNECTAR WORDEN. DENN WER IN IESU STIRBT, der LEBT IM GÖTTERORDEN GESTELLET UON DERO WITIB, BARBARA ADAMIN

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Source: Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, fig. 104. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002

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Cat. No. 268

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, western hall (“Ferule”)
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church*
c)	**Georg Hecht or Chwkas (Csukás)** He was mayor of Sibiu in 1492 and in 1495. He died in 1496. Seivert, Johann. Kurze Geschichte der Provinzial Bürgermeister von Hermannstadt in Siebenbürgen, 33-36. Hermannstadt (Sibiu): Martin Hochmeister, 1792. **Melchior Hermannus (Hermann)** Secondary subject of the memorial. He was a goldsmith by profession, he entered the guild in 1639. He was a member of the town council in 1658-1660, steward in 1666, and seat judge in 1667-1670 and 1676-78. Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 228-229. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
d)	d. 1496, after 1678
e)	107 x 207 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, xxxv, xli, liii, lv, lvi, lvii, 21-23, Cat. No. 18, 228-229, Cat. No. 258, fig. 9. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 29. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906. Roth, Victor. *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Siebenbürgens*, 51. Strasbourg: Heitz, 1914.
g)	Border inscription (A) [sepvltvra] nobilis vir(i) georgy hecht v[el] Chwkas dicti condam Magistir i civiv(m) Civitatis Cybin ien(sis) svorv(m)q(ve) heredv(m) qvi ob[iit a(nno) d(omini) 1496 d(ie)] [–] Re-carved part of the border inscription, secondary inscription (B) MELCHIOR HER MANNUS

CEU eTD Collection

Source: https://www.sibiu.org/evangelische-kirche/georg-hecht.htm © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 269

a)	Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Brukenthal National Museum
b)	*Sibiu – Nagyszeben – Hermannstadt, Lutheran church, on the forth pillar in the north*
c)	**Margaretha Glockner** She was the first wife of royal judge Valentin Franck. She died in 1692.
d)	d. 1692
e)	64 x 71 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, 229-230, Cat. No. 260. Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, 2002.
g)	On the scroll (A) Placavit Patrem Aeternum Per Meritum eius et [– – –]ia [– – –]d(om)ini Spes [VN]A Genus Huma(ni) On the inscription panel (B) Spectabilis, ac Generosae, D(omi)nae D(omin)NAE MARGARETHAE GLOCKNERIN THORO CONIUGI OB[E]DIE[NTI]A FILIAE, CURA NUTRICI, ET MATRI quae est nata A(n)no 1654 Die 8. Febr(uarii) denata An(no) 1692 Die 24 Aug(usti) Hora sept(ima) mat(utina) posuit mox moxa) secuturus, Maritus VALENTINUS FRANCK de FRANCKENSTEIN Olim Ill(ust)ri ac Cels(issimi) Prin(cipis) D(omi)n(i) D(omi)ni MICHAELIS A[PAFI Princ(ipis)] Regni. Tran[s(ilvani)ae cons(iliarius) int(imus)] Vero – – – – –

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Brukenthal Museum

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 270

a)	Sic – Szék – Secken, Calvinist church, in the southern porch
b)	*Sic – Szék – Secken, churchyard of the Calvinist church*
c)	**Elizabeth (Erzsébet) Tiszabecsi** **(Iuditha) Judit Tiszabecsi** **Anna Tiszabecsi** Three daughters of the Calvinist bishop Gáspár Tiszabecsi (see **Cat. No. 271**). There is only one date on the gravestone, so they probably all died in the same year, 1678.
d)	d. 1678
e)	47 x 128 x 18 cm
f)	Kádár, József. *Szolnok-Dobokavármegye monographiája* [A monograph of Szolnok-Doboka County], vol. 6, 414. Dés: Szolnok-Dobokavármegye közönsége, 1900-1901.
g)	On the central panel (A) MONVMENTVM 3 VIRGINVM CASTAR(VM) R(EVEREN)DI AC CLARIS D(OMINI) CASP(ARI) N(OSTRI) TISZABETSI EPISCO PI ORTH(ODOXARUM) IN TRANN(SYLVAN)IA EC CLESIAR(UM) FILIAR(UM) MEMORIAE SACRATVM CIPPO ERECTVM ELIZABETHAE IVDITHAE ET ANNAE TISZABETSI SZEKI NI DE MORTVIS 1678 17 JVLY SEPVLTIS QVIESCANT IN D(OMI)NO

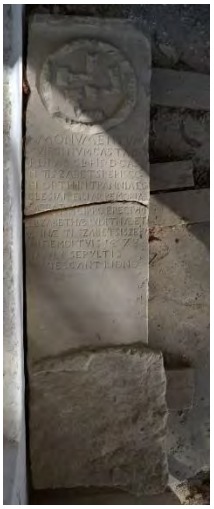

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 271

a)	Sic – Szék – Secken, Calvinist church, in the southern aisle
b)	*Sic – Szék – Secken, churchyard of the Calvinist church*
c)	**Gáspár Tiszabecsi** He was born around 1626 in Transylvania. His father was also a priest who was educated abroad. His brother, Tamás also attended foreign universities. Gáspár studied in Franeker (1650), Utrecht (1652), then received the magister title in Oxford in 1653. After his return to Transylvania, Gáspár was pastor in Retteg (1657), then in Sic from 1664, as well as deacon. He was elected as Calvinist bishop in 1673. In 1669, he received nobility. He died in 1678. Kádár, József. *Szolnok-Dobokavármegye monographiája* [A monograph of Szolnok-Doboka County], vol. 6, 414. Dés: Szolnok-Dobokavármegye közönsége, 1900-1901. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700.* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 64. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992.
d)	d. 1678
e)	75 x 50 x 189 cm
f)	–
g)	Inscription (A) (It is not legible.)

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 272

a)	Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church"), in the wall of the western part
b)	*Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church")*
c)	**Michael Grell (Gryll)** Michael Grell was a tinsmith according to the inscription, who held the position of seat judge in 1604 and 1605. After that, he was royal judge between 1606 and 1609. The inscription says that he died in 1613, aged 42. However, Roland Melzer found in the matricula that he died from a stroke at the age of 64. Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 93-94.
d)	d. 1613
e)	89 x 191 x 20 cm
f)	Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 93-94, fig. on 95.
g)	Border inscription (A) MICHAEL GRELL STANNARI VS MVNERA H[AE]C GERENS IVDICIS SEDIS BIENNIVM REGII QVAD RIENNIVM OBIIT FELICITER [IN] DOMINO ANNO CHRISTI 1613 DIE XI NOVE[M(BRIS)] AETATIS SVE 42 On the central panel (B) ASPICIS HUN[...]VTILIS TVMV[L]US [..]ORTE VIATOR LUMINIBVS CUIVS VI SCERA CONDAT HVMUS GRELLIUS HAC RECVBAT MI CHAEL SVB MOLE SEPVLT(VS) IVDICIS HIC QVONDAM MVNERA SANCTA FERE(N)S EXISTE(N)S PATRIAE PARIB(VS) FAX ATQUE CORVSCA(N)S FORMULA UIRTUTIS UIR PROBITATIS AMANS CUIUS COELUM ANIMA FRU ITUR VIRTUTE NEPOTES CORPORE SARCOPHAGUS PECTORE POSTERITAS In the emblem (C) M(ICHAEL) G(RELL)

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 273

a)	Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church"), in the wall of the western part
b)	*Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church")*
c)	**Stephanus (Stephan) Kreuzer** The deceased defined as a council member in the inscription with the initials SK was identified as Stephan Kreuzer by Roland Melzer. The pair of scissors as an emblem of the profession shows that he was a taylor. Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 93-94.
d)	d. 1620
e)	92 x 176 x 20 cm
f)	Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 93-94, fig. on 95.
g)	Border inscription (A) ANNO 1620 DIE 18 IVN(II) AET ATIS SUAE 42 an(n)o FATO SVO OCCVBVIT CIRCVMSPECT(VS) D(OMINVS) STEPHANV[S] [– – –] [– – – – – –] VRBIS SENA[1] TOR CVIVS MOeSTISS(IMI) RELICTI HAS RELIQVIAS POSVERVNT On the central panel (B) MOLE SVB HAC RECVBO Stephanvs SVCCISVS ARATRO CEV FLOS LANGVESCIT PVR PVREVS MORIENS NON MIHI POST LOCVS E(ST) NON LVCVS IN URBE SE(N)ATVS AMPLIVS HAVD [S]APIENT SANCTA THEATRA VIRVM POST GENVS ATQVE DECVS POST QVOS DAT PALLAS honores DISCITE MORTALES PVLVIS ET VMBRA SVMVS In the emblem (C) S(TEPHANVS) K(REUZER)

[1] after Melzer 1980

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Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 274

a)	Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church (“Mountain Church”), in the wall of the western part
b)	*Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church (“Mountain Church”)*
c)	**Unknown with the initials S.W.** The subject cannot be identified based on the text only parts of which are legible. **Elizabeth, the wife of S.W**.
d)	c. 1610-20
e)	84 x 171 x 25 cm
f)	Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 95-96, fig. on 95.
g)	Border inscription (A) D[– – –] [– – – – – –] [– – –]98 [–]CONIN Item ELIZABE[T]H S(VAE) CONIVGI P(IE) P(OSVERVNT) MONUM(ENTUM) HERED(ES) MOES[TI] [– – –] On the central panel (B) – – – – – – [– – –]H [– – –]NIO [– – – – – –] [– – –]M[–] In the emblem (C) I[– – –] S[– – –] W[– – –]

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Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 275

a)	Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church (“Mountain Church”), in the wall of the western part
b)	*Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church (“Mountain Church”)*
c)	**Unknown male** Based on the inscription, the subject was a man of letters, probably the scribe of the town, who died prematurely, in 1587. **Catherina** She was the wife of the first subject, who died after him.
d)	d. 1587
e)	86 x 169 x 12 cm
f)	Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 96.
g)	Border inscription (A) [– – –]QVINI [– – –] [SCR]IBA VRBI [– – –]N[– – –]I FV[– – –]GET[– – –] On the central panel (B) CORPORIS ATQ(VE) A NIMI FLOREBAT DO TIBVS INDE MVSICVS ATQVE AGILIS VIXIT ET OCCVBVIT IMM ATVRE OBIIT: QVID TVM SVCCEDERE LECTOR / TV DEBES IN COELO EST PAT[RI] A GRATA PIIS. ANNO 1587 DIE 7 MARTII EMIGRAVIT ACCVMBAT CATH RIS CONIVNX POST FATA EADEMQVE TVMBA FERAT, VIV[OS] QVOS TVLIT ANTE TORVS

CEU eTD Collection

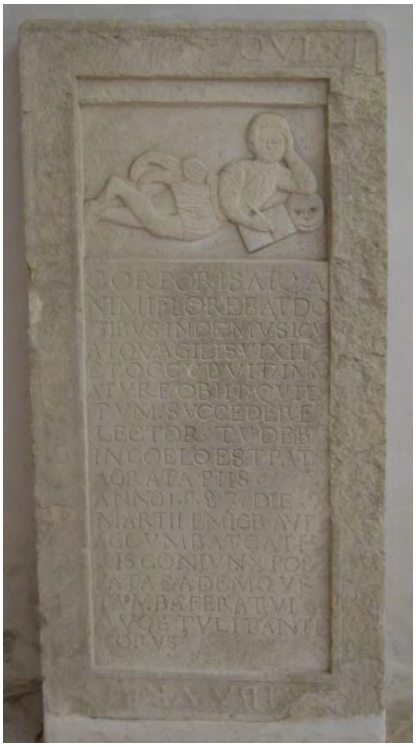

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 276

a)	Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church"), in the wall of the western part
b)	*Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church")*
c)	**Servatius Wiener** Seat judge in 1587 and 1589, royal judge in 1592 and 1593, mayor of Sighisoara in 1595 and 1596. **Stephanus (Stephan) Göbbel** Tinsmith, royal judge, his father was the mayor Andreas Göbbel. Son-in-law of Servatius Wiener. He died in 1629. **Barbara Viener** Daughter of Servatius Viener, wife of Stephan Göbbel. She died in 1640. Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 96-97.
d)	d. 1598
e)	87 x 186 x 17 cm
f)	Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 96-97.
g)	Border inscription (A) QVI [PATRI]AE PATER ET CONSVL SERVATIVS OLIM EXTITIT HIC WIENER DORMIT ET ASTRA TENET. OBIIT ANNO MDXCVIII DIE XV IVLII On the central panel (B) SYNCERA SI INTE RIRE VEL P[I]E[TAS MO] RI OCCID[1][IQVE] CANDOR P[OTEST] SY[NCE]RA PIETAS CANDOR HOC TV MVLO IACENT SERVATI TECVM CONDITA MORI SED ABSIT ILLA PO[SSE] DIXERIM.

[1] OCIDE is visible but it would not fit grammatically into the text

CEU eTD Collection

	SIC VIVIS DEO SIC ET TIBI Around the emblem (C) CONSERVAT SERVATA FIDES HOMINIQ(VE) DEOQ(VE) Secondary inscription on the two sides (D) Hic pariter STEPHANUS GÖBBEL, BARBARAQ(UE) consors VIENERIANA jacet; patriae pater inclitus Urbis.

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 277

a)	Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church"), in the wall of the western part
b)	*Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church")*
c)	**Stephanus (Stephan) Man** Based on the inscription, he was a member of the town council in Sighişoara.
d)	Late sixteenth century
e)	90 x 81 x 12 cm (fragment)
f)	Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 97-98.
g)	Border inscription (A) [– – –]O ET INTEG(ERRI)mo SEN(ATOR)I STEPH(AN)O MAN SENATOR[– – –] [– – – – – –] [– – –]S POSVERV[NT] On the central panel (B) [– – –]VI PROPRIIS [– – –]MODA – – – – – – In the shield (C) S(TEPHANUS) M(AN)

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 278

a)	Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church"), in the wall of the western part
b)	*Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church")*
c)	**Stephanus (Stephan) Mann** He was born in 1590, in a family that provided several town leaders of Sighişoara. He was goldsmith by profession. The inscription says that he was custodian of the church, seat judge for seven years, and mayor of the town for fourteen years, between 1633 and 1647. He died in 1647, aged 57. His wife, Gertrude, daughter of the burgher Laurentius Wagner, died in 1661. Their daughter named Gertrud was married to Peter Nussbaumer, who was also mayor of the town. Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 98-100.
d)	d. 1647
e)	94 x 191x 32 cm
f)	Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 98-100, fig. on 99. Popa, Corina, ed. *Denkmaltopographie Siebenbürgen. Stadt Schäßburg*, 101. Topografia monumentelor din Transilvania. Municipiul Sighişoara 4.1. Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag GmbH, Editura Rheinland, 2002. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 107-110. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	Border inscription, exterior (A) AMPLISS(IMI) AC CIRCUMSPEC(TI) VIRI, D(OMI)N(I) STEPHANI Mann, URBIS SEGESVAR AEDITUOS[1] A[–] [– – –] [IUDI]CI SEDIS AN(NOS) 7 CONSULIS, AN(NOS) 14 MERITISS(IMI) QVI OBIIT ANNO 1647 DIE 4 OCTOB(RIS) AETAT(IS) SUAE 57. Border inscription, interior (B) Terra est sordida, sit beata quamvis Auro, tum varysq(ue), picta gemmis Culmen cerne beatioris AULAE. Hic vere hic BONITAS rotat QUIESQUE. On the lower edge (C) Fecit Elias N[icolai] In the upper right corner, on a plaque (D) Spes Mea Chri stus

[1] An archaic spelling for AEDITUUS

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 279

a)	Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church"), in the wall of the western part
b)	*Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church")*
c)	**Mathias Göltner (Göldner)** Based on the emblem on the stone, he was a furrier by profession. He was steward in Sighişoara between 1580 and 1583. Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 100.
d)	d. 1587
e)	128 x 173 x 12 cm
f)	Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 100.
g)	On the lower inscription panel (A) Mole sub hac nivea tumulantur me(m)bra dece(n)ter Mathiae GÖLTNER que(m) sua fata tene(n)t Vivere in plures meruit virtutibus annos Invida sed PHOEBI lumina CLOTTO[1] negat: Vive diu felix magni tu CIVIS olÿmpi Hec eadem nobis SORS subeunda venit. Border inscription, lower and upper edge (B) AspICIs, ArCItenens Vt phoebI teCta sVbIt ter – – – – – – r[.] staMIna [p]arCa negat.[2] On the two sides of the blazon (C) 1587

CEU eTD Collection

[1] Sic, instead of CLOTHO

[2] The lines are designed as a chronogram in which the capital letters tell the year being read as Roman numerals. The still legible capital letters or digits make up the number 1520. To have 1587, still 67 years are missing, so the letters LVVVII. Even despite this information, however, it is not possible to reconstruct the missing text.

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 280

a)	Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church"), in the wall of the western part
b)	*Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church")*
c)	**Georgius (Georg) Heltner** He was born in 1596 in a family that belonged to the town elite of Sighişoara. He was a tailor by profession. His wife was Sara, the daughter of royal judge Stephanus Göbbel (**Cat. No. 276**). They had two sons and three daughters. Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 101-102.
d)	d. 1640
e)	90 x 187 x 28 cm
f)	Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 100-102, fig. on 99. Popa, Corina, ed. *Denkmaltopographie Siebenbürgen. Stadt Schäßburg*, 101. Topografia monumentelor din Transilvania. Municipiul Sighişoara 4.1. Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag GmbH, Editura Rheinland, 2002. Roth, Victor. *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, 100-101. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1906.
g)	Border inscription (A) HONESTUS VIR GEORGIUS HELTNER SCHESBURGENSIS, MULTIS DESIDERATUS, HOC TUMULO REPOSITUS, LAETISSIMAM[– – –] [– – –]UMANAE RESUR[R]ECTIONEM PRA ESTOLATUR. MORTUUS A(NN)O 1640 DIE 3 APRIL(IS) AETATIS SUAE 44 On the lower inscription panel (B) EPITAPHIVM Hic tibi mortales Georgi o Heltnere! relictas Exuvias madidis ponimus ecce genis Heu medio vitae cursu suspirat [.]demtu Quae tibi pars vitae Sara perita fuit. Manibus ista tuis damus ast ubi magn(us) olimpi Me vocat ecce sequar, jungar ut ipsa tibi On the upper inscription panel (C) Auff dein gros Martr Sterben Und Leydn Komn wir o Herr zu dir bescheydn

CEU eTD Collection

	On the arch (D) Seelig sindt die Barmhertzigen On the shield with the emblem (E) GEORGIUS HELTNER On the lower edge, under the epitaph verse (F) Sculp(sit) ELIAS NICOLAI

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 281

a)	Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church"), in the wall of the western part
b)	*Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church")*
c)	**Stephanus (Stephan) Stamp** Stephanus Stamp was born in 1602. He was a taylor by profession. He married Catharina, daughter of the royal judge Stephanus Göbbel (**Cat. No. 276**). They had two sons, Stephanus and Andreas. He died in 1640, aged 38. Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 103.
d)	d. 1640
e)	83 x 176 x 18 cm
f)	Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 102-103, fig. on 104.
g)	Border inscription (A) MAGNUM SUI DESIDERIU(M) POST SE RELINQVENS HONESTUS VIR STEPHANUS STAMP SCHESSBURGEN(SIS) IN SPEM LAETISSIMAE RESSURRECTIONIS, HOC TEGITUR TUMULO. MORTUUS A(NN)O 1640 DIE 27 AUG(USTI) AETATIS SUAE 38 On the lower inscription panel (B) Moestitiae Stephane hoc signum Catha rina notare Conor, in hoc tumulo dum tua membra loco Heu quondam! Tua, dum licuit, pars altera vitae? Post tristis, lachrymis ora rigabo meis, Tu vero in coelo vivis vivesq(ue) per aevum Vitae ubi spes melior subsecutura tuae Mortalis: corp, terra mortale dedisti Iungier inde brevi, de Deus alma precor! CATHA(RINA) GÖBBEL Conju(gi) defuncti posuit On the arch (C) SUPERIUS SANCTOS SOLABOR

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2013. © Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Romania, its districts and congregations

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 282

a)	Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church"), in the wall of the western part
b)	*Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church")*
c)	**Paulus (Paul) Roth** **Catharina Roth** Children of Iohannes (Johann) Roth, mayor of Sibiu and Dorothea Raw, daughter of mayor Blasius Raw (**Cat. No. 239**). Catharina died in 1610, as an infant based on the formulation of the text. Paul died in 1611. Paul Roth, mayor of Sighişoara was their close relative, probably their uncle (**Cat. No. 283**). Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 104.
d)	1617
e)	88 x 192 x 16 cm
f)	Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 103-104, fig. on 104.
g)	Border inscription (A) MONVM(EN)TV(M) HOC POSVIT CLARISS(IMVS) ET AMPLISS(IMVS) D(OMINVS) IOHANNES ROTH CONLUL[1] CIBIN(IENSIS) PIETATE ET PRV DENTIA [– – –]SSIMUS FILYS SVIS CHARISSIMIS ANNO DOMINI M D C XVII In the lowermost section of the central panel (B) MOLE SVB HAC PAVLVS SIMVL ET CATHARINA QVIESCVNT COGNOMEN QVORVM ROTH FVIT VSQUE PIVM AD LAVDEM DE MORTE TVAM FAC CHRISTE RESVRGANT VT VIDEANT SVMMI COELICA REGNA DEI

[1] Sic, instead of CONSUL

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 283

a)	Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church"), in the wall of the western part
b)	*Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church")*
c)	**Paulus (Paul) Roth** He originated from Buneşti (Bodendorf, Szászbuda), and he appears in the documents as town scribe in Sighişoara in 1602. In 1603 he was seat judge, in 1604 royal judge, and from 1608 until his death, mayor of Sighişoara, so for a longer period than the nine years stated on the gravestone. His daughter, Sara was the wife of Andreas Göbbel, the son of royal judge Stephanus Göbbel (**Cat. No. 276**). He was closely related to the mayor of Sibiu, Johann Roth, perhaps they were brothers, especially since the latter had his two children buried in Sighişoara (**Cat. No. 282**). Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 105-106.
d)	d. 1618
e)	90 x 180 x 27 cm
f)	Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 104-106, fig. on 104.
g)	Border inscription (A) AMPLISSIMO CONSULTISSIM OQUE VIRUM VIRO DOMINO PAULO RHOT BODENDOR(FENSI) CONS[UL] I REI PUB(LICI) SCHESB(URGIENSIS) OBEUNTI DIE 28 MAI AN(NO) 1618 AETAT(IS) SUAE 45 CONSULAT(US) 9 EXTR(…) HOC MON(UMENTUM) VXOR ET LIBERI P(OSUERUNT) In the lower part of the central panel (B) MOLE SVB HAC RECVBAT PA VLVS POST FATA [R]HOTENUS MVNIA COM[PL]EVIT DVM SVA RITE PIVS PRINCIPIBVS CHARVS FVERAT CHARVSQVE POPELLO CONSILIO SIMVL AC DEXTERITATE VIRIS CLARVS ERAT QVIA MAGNVS ERIT QVOQVE CLARIOR OLIM AEMVLA SI MAGNI SIT PIA POSTE(R)ITAS. In the emblem (C) P(AULUS) R(OTH)

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 284

a)	Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church (“Mountain Church”), in the wall of the western part
b)	*Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church (“Mountain Church”)*
c)	**Thomas Gross** Based on the inscription, he originated from Buneşti (Bodendorf, Szászbuda). He was a tinsmith by profession. He was a member of the town council of Sighişoara, steward in 1578-79, finally in 1581 and from 1584 to 1586, in 1587 and 1588 royal judge. He died on 25 February 1588 and not in 1587 as it is erroneously stated on the gravestone. His wife was called Anna accordign to the inscription who was the patron of the memorial. Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 108.
d)	d. 1588
e)	90 x 184 x 12 cm
f)	Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 107-108, fig. on 107.
g)	Border inscription (A) MOLE SUB HAC THOMAS RECVB[AT S]TANNARIVS OLI M ADVENA PRIV ATAE CONDI[...]IS HOMO On the central panel, above the coat of arms (B) Thomaß Gross Bodenderfer 1587 On the central panel, under the coat of arms (C) TEMPORE POST FACTVS VIRTVTE OPVLENT(US) OP(T)IMA HIC FASCES MAGNA NON SI(N)E LAVDE TVLIT ANNA Q(V)I CONNVBII CONSORS MATRONA PVDICA, IN CHRI(ST)O MORIENS HIC SVA MEMBRA LOCAT OBIIT 25 F(E)BRV(ARII)

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	On the can of the emblem, secodary incision (D) P(…) R(…) 1606

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 285

a)	Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church"), in the wall of the western part
b)	*Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church")*
c)	**Pancratius H.** Based on the inscription, he was a surgeon and physician who was born in Austria and lived in Transylvania, in Sighişoara. The coat of arms displays a bottle flanked by a spoon and a pestle, referring to his profession. He died in 1583.
d)	d. 1583
e)	74 x 142 x 18 cm
f)	Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 108-109, fig. on 107.
g)	Border inscription (A) PANCRATIVS IACET HIC CELEBERRIM(VS) ILLE CHIRURGVS ET MEDIC(VS) CVIVS GL(ORI)A FIR(M)A MA[N] ET: OBIIT A(NN)O 1583 On the central panel (B) P(ANCRATIVS) H(…) AVSTRIA ME GE(N)VIT SED TR A(N)SYLVA(N)IA FOVIT SCHESBVRGVM COLUI MORTU(US) HIC HABITO CETERA Q(VI)S NESCIT QVA(M) CLA R(VS) QVA(M)VE FIDE LIS ARTE MEA F[V] ERI(M) AVLAQVE PLEBSQVE SCIET

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 286

a)	Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church (“Mountain Church”), in the wall of the western part
b)	*Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church (“Mountain Church”)*
c)	**Catharina Bulkesch** She originated from an old family from the elite of Sighişoara that provided several town leaders. She was the wife of Andreas Goebel, the patron of the funeral monument, who was a taylor, seat judge in 1592, royal judge from 1597 to 1599, and mayor in 1602 and 1604 (the year of his death). Their son was the royal judge Stephan Goebel (**Cat. No. 276**). Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 109-110.
d)	d. 1599
e)	88 x 174 x 15 cm
f)	Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 109-110.
g)	Outer border inscription (A) CEP[– – –]D[– – –]NVLLI EST MORS CET[– – –]A[– – –]IA SEQVENTVM OV[– – –] ES TV MVLVM QVI SANTI [– – –]SE [– – –] SIBI Middle border inscription (B) ANDR[EAS GOE]BELIUS [V]IR CONSVLARI[S] PRVDE(N)S DILECTAE CONIVGI CATHAR INAE BVLKESCHIAE [– – –] [– – –] FILIOR(VM) SVPERSTITVM M[– – –] ANNO CHR(IST)I M D 99 Inner border inscription (C) MES[– – –]OI[– – –]O DEFV(N) CTAE POSVIT CUM VOTO VT POST FATA NVLLIBI POTIVS SVA OSSA CVBET AD RESVRRECTIONIS ET VITAE COELESTIS On the central panel (D) S[..]V[– – –]V[– – –]A P[– – –]VTEA S[– – –]CA QV[A] PIETATE VIRTVTE MO[– – –]ELECATIA SVA [– – –]ISSIMVM SVIS MARITO FILIISQVE VE AMICIS ET CIVIBVS RELIQ

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	VI DESIDERIVM VIC[..]

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Cat. No. 287

a)	Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church"), in the wall of the western part
b)	*Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church")*
c)	**Michael Hegyes** He was royal judge in Sighişoara in 1521, 1522 and 1529, mayor in 1526, 1531, 1532, 1541, 1543, 1545 and 1547. In 1543, he represented the Saxon towns, together with Hans Fuchs from Braşov and Peter Haller from Sibiu, in the Council of the Queen. **Andreas Hegyes** Son of Michael Hegyes. He was seat judge in 1561, royal judge in 1563, 1564 and from 1568 to 1571, mayor from 1572 to 1574, in 1577, 1578, from 1580 to 1581, from 1584 to 1586, and in 1588 and 1589. He probably died in 1589. The year 1576 on the memorial is not the death date of either subjects, so it was made after the death of Michael but in the lifetime of Andreas. Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 111-112.
d)	1576 (d. 1589)
e)	87 x 175 x 17 cm
f)	Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 110-112.
g)	Border inscription (A) SCIO QVOD REDEM TOR MEVS VIVIT, ET IN NOVISSIMO DIE DE TERRA RESVRRECTVRVS SVM ET CIRCVMDABOR PELLE MEA ET IN CARNE MEA VIDEBO DEUM, IOB 19 On the central panel (B) HAC PATRE CVM MICHAELE ANDREAS DORMIT IN VRNA ATQ(VE) DVOS HEGYES, SAXA PVSILLA TEGVNT. CONSILIIS PATRIAM REXERE SALVBRIBVS VRBEM CONSVL VTERQ(VE) VT ERAT SIC PATER VRBIS ERAT. VIRTVTE ERGO SVA FA MAM PEPERERE DECVSQ(VE) QVAE POTERVNT LONGI NON ABOLERE DIES

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	In and above the shield (C) 1576 M(ICHAEL) H(EGYES) A(NDREAS) H(EGYES)

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Cat. No. 288

a)	Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church (“Mountain Church”), in the wall of the western part
b)	*Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church (“Mountain Church”)*
c)	**Andreas Nenchen** Based on the emblem on the memorial, Andreas Nenchen was a weaver who died in 1639. His sone, Georg, and his wife, Elisabet also mentioned in the text were probably the patrons of the memorial.
d)	d. 1629
e)	82 x 180 x 27 cm
f)	Melzer, Roland. "Die Grabsteine in der Bergkirche von Schäßburg". *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Hauskalender, Jahrbuch* (1980): 112.
g)	Border inscription (A) [– – –] IN DOMINO OBD ORMIT VIR [– – –]TVS ANDEREAS NENCHEN SCHES[B]VRG(ENSIS) [...]IN DOMINO FOELICITER VIXIT A(NNO) D(OMINI) M 639 22 MARTII On the central panel (B) HIE LIGT EIN E[.]BAR FRÖM M[...] [M]ANN ANDEREAS NEN CHEN VAR S[.]EN NAHM WERLIES ELISABET SEIN VEIB UND GEOR G[...] INIC[..] F[ILI]VS GL[...]S In the emblem (C) A(NDREAS) N(ENCHEN) [1]639

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Cat. No. 289

a)	Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church"), in the wall of the western part
b)	*Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church")*
c)	**Martinus Theys** He originated from Moşna and studied first in Braşov, then in Wittenberg in 1554. He was town notary in Sighişoara between 1563 and 1569, then royal judge in 1580. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 162. Fontes Rerum Scholasticarum. edited by Bálint Keserű Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992. **Ursula** Wife of Martinus. **Sophia Schafer** Secondary subject, wife of Iohannes (Johann) Schencker. She died in 1640, aged 45.
d)	d. 1587 (secondary subject d. 1640)
e)	94 x 185 x 16 cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) MARTINVS IACE T HAC SVB THEYS TVMMVLATVS AR ENA VIR PIVS IN GENII DEXTERITAE GRAVIS On the central panel (B) ARCANAE CVSTOS FIDEI: SECRETAQ(VE) NOTANS ABDITA IVRIS AMANS AR BITER ORE POTE(N)S OBIIT: 25 Feb(ruarii) A(NNO) 1587 HVNC QVE PIVM SEQVITVR MARI TVM PIA TEMPORE CONIV(N)X VRSVLA STIRPE SVA NATA MACHAONIA

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	In the lower part of the central panel (C) Mole sub hac etiam recubat Sophia Schaferin, Uxor Iohan nis Schenckers, Mortua An(n)o 1640 die 23 Jan(uarii) Aetat(is) 45.

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 290

a)	Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church"), in the wall of the western part
b)	*Sighişoara – Segesvár – Schässburg, Lutheran church ("Mountain Church")*
c)	**Iohannes (Johann) Bret** Based on the inscription, he was a member of the town council in Sighişoara **Gerg Bret** Son of Johann Bret, who, according to the inscription, died a violent death in 1602, soon after his father.
d)	d. 1602
e)	84 x 176 x 23 cm
f)	–
g)	Border inscription (A) HODIE MIHI CRAS TIBI. O HER IESV DIR LEB ICH DIR STERB ICH HER LEHR VNS BE DENCKE(N) DAS MIR STERBEN MVSSEN On the central panel (B) IOHANNES BRET, EIN WEISER HER SAMPT SEINE(M) SON ALHIE IHR RVH KEMERLEIN HOT. CHRIST: LICH DER VATER REGIRT HAT DIE TEWRSTE AMP: TER VNSER STAT. STIR: BET DRINDA ER WAR FA: ST ALT NACH KVRZER ZEIT FOLGET IM BALD. DVRCH EIN GEZWVNG: NEN TODT SEIN SON. HARREN BEID DES GROS SEN TAG SCHON. D.17. FEB[1] HEIT ROT MORGEN TOT.

[1] The date was secondarily carved.

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	Above and on the two sides of the emblem (C) HER GERG BRET 1602

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Cat. No. 291

a)	Slimnic – Szelindek – Stolzenburg, Lutheran church, in the wall of the choir
b)	*Slimnic – Szelindek – Stolzenburg, Lutheran church*
c)	**Thomas Bordannus (Bordan)** From around 1581 he served as pastor in Hărman and in Şura Mare (Nagycsűr, Grosscheuern) and, from 1592, in Slimnic. He died in 1633, aged 77. His is also known for his literary activity; his most well-known work is called *"Virtus coronata*, oder Ursache und Lohn Expeditionis Schirmerianae". Szinnyei, József. *Magyar írók élete és munkái* [Biography and works of Hungarian authors) Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1891. Online edition: Hungarian Electronik Library (Magyar Elektronikus Könyvtár], http://mek.oszk.hu/03600/03630/html/ (accessed 17 October 2017) Trausch, Joseph. *Schriftsteller-Lexikon oder biographisch-literärische Denk-Blätter der Siebenbürger Deutschen*, 161-162. Kronstadt [Braşov]: Johann Gött&Sohn Heinrich, 1868.
d)	d. 1633
e)	93 x 181 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. "VIXI DUM VOLUI. An Unknown Work of the Sculptor Elias Nicolai - The Funerary Plate of Pastor Thomas Bordannus (+1633)". *Brukenthal. Acta Musei* 7, no. 2 (2012): 255-266.
g)	Border inscription (A) MEMORIA POSTHVMA VIRI DIGNI ET REVERENDI ERVDITIONE ET RER(VM) EXPERIENTIA PRAECLARI D(OMI)NI THOMAE BORDANNI CIBIN(IENSIS) [DEC] ANI [ET P]ASTORIS ECCL(ESI)AE STOLZVARI[ENSIS] VIGILANTIS S(IMI): VITA RELIGIOSE DENATI A(NN)O 1633 AETAT(IS): 77 MINISTERII VERO 52 On the lower half (B) Me sanguis Christi mundat ab omni In cuius Sancto nunc requiesco Sinu Vixi, dum Volui, Volui dum Christe Volebas. Nec mihi Vita breuis nec mihi longa fuit, Ad portum Veni. Mors peccatumq(ue) facesse. Cum Christo Vita laeticiaq(ue) fruor. Wer Christu(m) Jesum recht erke(nn)t Der hatt alles und ein seeligs End.

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CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 292

a)	Slimnic – Szelindek – Stolzenburg, Lutheran church, in the wall of the choir
b)	*Slimnic – Szelindek – Stolzenburg, Lutheran church*
c)	**Thomas Bomelius (Bomel)** He was born in Braşov. He studied in Wittenberg in 1543. In 1546, he was appointed director of the school in Brasov. He was notary in Sibiu from 1547 or 1548 to 1554, and member of the town council from 1555 to 1561. At the request of the Saxon Universitas, he assembled a set of laws in 1560 called "Statuta jurium municipalium Civitatis Cibiniensium, reliquarumque civitatum et universorum Saxonum Transsilvanicorum." His other major work, "Chronologia rerum Ungaricarum a primo Unnorum in Pannoniam adventu ad millesimum quingentesimum quinquagesimum septimum a nato Christo annum" was issued in Braşov in 1556, in which he presented the political and military events between the year 336 and 1553. In 1557, he was sent to Wittenberg to have the text of the *Consensus* reached between the Lutheran churches of Sibiu and Cluj reviewed by Melanchton. From 1561, he served as pastor in Slimnic until his death in 1592. He was dean from 1569. The date of death is erroneously indicated as 1582 on the memorial. Flóra, Ágnes. "'Laborem circumspecti domini notarii': Town Notaries in Early Modern Transylvania". In *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy I*, ed. Marco Mostert and Anna Adamska, 313-335. Turnhout: Brepols, 2015. Flóra, Ágnes. "The Matter of Honour. The Leading Urban Elite in Sixteenth Century Cluj and Sibiu," 74, 224, 229, 480. PhD Thesis. Central European Universty, Budapest, 2014. Keul, István. *Early Modern Religious Communities in East-Central Europe: Ethnic Diversity, Denominational Plurality, and Corporative Politics in the Principality of Transylvania (1526-1691)*, 96. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions. Leiden: Brill, 2009. Szabó, Miklós, and Sándor Tonk. *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban. 1521-1700.* [Transylvanians at universities in the Early Modern Period, 1521-1700], 274. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992. Szinnyei, József. *Magyar írók élete és munkái* [Biography and works of Hungarian authors) Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1891. Online edition: Hungarian Electronik Library (Magyar Elektronikus Könyvtár], http://mek.oszk.hu/03600/03630/html/ (accessed 17 October 2017) Trausch, Joseph. *Schriftsteller-Lexikon oder biographisch-literärische Denk-Blätter der Siebenbürger Deutschen*, 159-161. Kronstadt [Braşov]: Johann Gött&Sohn Heinrich, 1868.
d)	d. 1582
e)	80 x 166 x ? cm
f)	Albu, Ioan. "VIXI DUM VOLUI. An Unknown Work of the Sculptor Elias Nicolai - The Funerary Plate of Pastor Thomas Bordannus (+1633)". *Brukenthal. Acta Musei* 7, no. 2 (2012): 255.

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g)	Border inscription (A) PATER HAC [– – –]O P[–]AMO MESTI [– – –]PEDES [– – –][M]O[NVM]ENTVM HOC PI[E]TATIS H[..] [– – –]SO IANVA RII ANNO 1582 On the central panel (B) – – – – – – FERI[– – –] EXPEDIT [– – –] RIS IN[– – –] HVIVS [– – –] SIME [– – –] MVLTOS [– – –] R[.]S[– – –] CIDE IN [– – –] MI VIT[– – –] ELE[– – –]

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Cat. No. 293

a)	Someşeni – Szamosfalva, Catholic church, in the southern wall of the nave
b)	*Someşeni – Szamosfalva, Catholic church*
c)	**Ladislaus (László) Mikola** The Mikola family's lineage can be traced back to the mid-thirteenth century. László Mikola, son of Ferenc Mikola and Potentia Erdélyi of Somkerek, was the first member in the family to hold important state offices. In 1509, he studied at the University of Cracow. In the 1530s, he was *főispán* (head) of Kolozs County. He was vice voivode of Transylvania and vice-comes of the Székely from 1537. From around 1542, he ways vice-lieutenant in Transylvania with various titles, and member of the Princely Council In 1548, he was deputy of the chief judge of the state. His wife was Anna Kemény of Gyerőmonostor, who died before 1549, since in that year, they already mention the second wife of László Mikola, Fruzsina Bywtlhly. The funeral monument of Anna Kemény was set up in the same church. Someşeni was an important Mikola estate; they had a manor house there in the 1460-80s. The medieval church in Someşeni was renovated in the 1530s, sponsored by László Mikola, whose coat fo arms appears on the keystone of the Gothic choir. He died in 1554. His funeral monument was set up in 1557 by his son, Ferenc Mikola according to the inscription. Balogh, Jolán. *Az erdélyi renaissance (1460-1541)* [Transylvanian Renaissance, 1460-1541], 194-195. Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1943. Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század.* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 329. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Eszterházy, János. "A szamosfalvi egyház" [The church in Someşeni]. *Archaelogiai Közlemények* 7, New Series 5 (1868): 146-149. Horn, Ildikó. *Tündérország útvesztői* [The labyrinth of a Fairy Land], 76. Budapest: ELTE BTK, 2005. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 7, 486. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1860. Trócsányi, Zsolt. *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690* [The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690], 31. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980.
d)	d. 1557
e)	87 x 195 x ? cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Az erdélyi renaissance (1460-1541)* [Transylvanian Renaissance, 1460-1541], 194-195. Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1943. Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század.* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 221-222, fig. 280. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Eszterházy, János. "A szamosfalvi egyház" [The church in Someşeni]. *Archaelogiai Közlemények* 7, New Series 5 (1868): 146-149. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei" [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist

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	monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History], 123. PhD thesis. Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca, 2013.
g)	Border inscription (A) [F]RANCISC[VS] MAIOR NATV FILIVS PATRI CHARISSIMO POSVIT ANNO DOM[INI] 1557 On the upper panel (B) NON MVLTOS VIDEAS VIR TVTVM NOMINE CLAROS QVI PATRIVM STEMMA NO BILITATIS HABENT NEC FACILE EST GENERIS CONECTERE FACTA DECORI On the lower panel (C) CV(M) RAPIVNT MVLTOS PES SIMA FACTA DVCES AT LADISLAVS MIKOLA CVM IVRA MINISTRAT IVSTITIA POPVLOS DIRIGIT IPSE SVOS OFICIVM PRESTATQVE[1] VICEM WAIIVODE PIA CVRA GRAVATVS CO(N)SILIO PATRIAM SVBLE VAT IPSE SVAM

Photo: Attila Weisz, 2015

[1] Eszterházy, "A szamosfalvi egyház": PRESATISQVE; Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek*: PRESTAQVE

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Cat. No. 294

a)	Someşeni – Szamosfalva, Catholic church, in the southern wall of the nave
b)	*Someşeni – Szamosfalva, Catholic church*
c)	**Ladislaus (László) Mikola** Son of Franciscus (Ferenc) Mikola and Anna Melith, grandson of the vice-voivode László (**Cat. No. 293**). He died as a child in 1559. Horn, Ildikó. *Tündérország útvesztői* [The labyrinth of a Fairy Land], 76-79. Budapest: ELTE BTK, 2005.
d)	d. 1559
e)	53 x 142 x ? cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Az erdélyi renaissance (1460-1541)* [Transylvanian Renaissance, 1460-1541], 195. Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1943. Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század.* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 221-222, fig. 280. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Eszterházy, János. "A szamosfalvi egyház" [The church in Someşeni]. *Archaelogiai Közlemények* 7, New Series 5 (1868): 146-149. Mihály, Melinda. "Monumente renascentiste, baroce şi neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei" [Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassicist monuments in the collection of the National Museum of the Transylvanian History], 123. PhD thesis. Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca, 2013.
g)	Border inscription (A) FRANCISCVS MIKOLA LADISLAO PATRIS LADISLAI NEPOTI FILIO CHARISSIMO POSVIT On the central panel (B) 1559

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Attila Weisz, 2015

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 295

a)	Șumuleu Ciuc – Csíksomlyó – Schomlenberg, Franciscan church, in the southern wall under the western gallery
b)	*Șumuleu Ciuc – Csíksomlyó – Schomlenberg, Franciscan church, in the former Saint Michael Chapel on the northern side of the former, Gothic church*
c)	**Clemens (Kelemen) Mikes** He was born in an ancient Székely family, the Mikes of Zabola (Zăbala). His father was Zsigmond, master of the horse in the court of Prince Gábor Bethlen, his mother was Borbála Imecs. Kelemen first appeared in varios military campaigns of Prince György Rákóczi II between 1653 and 1657. In 1657, he was sent as a legate to Constantinople. In the crisis of princely power between 1657 and 1662, Mikes was a firm supporter of György Rákóczi, then, after his death, of János Kemény. Still, when Mihály Apafi was elected, Mikes could win the trust of the new prince. From 1669, he was an assessor of the Princely Court of Justice, then councilor and prothonotary from 1678, and head of the Court of Justice as well as of the diet from 1681. In 1683, he was mentioned as the *főispán* (comes) of Fehér (Alba) County as well as the General of the Székelys. Mikes was one of the main pillars of Catholicism in Transylvania. His wife was Zsuzsanna Kálnoky, daughter of István Kálnoky and Anna Béldi. They had two sons, Mihály and Pál. Kelemen Mikes wrote his last will in January 1685, and he died a year later. His funeral, however, took place only in January or February 1687. Lázár, Miklós. *Erdély főispánjai (1540-1711). Külön lenyomat a Századok 1887—1889-ki folyamaiból* [County heads in Transylvania, 1540-1711. Offprint from the Századok periodical], 23-25. Budapest: Az Atheneum R. Társ. Könyvnyomdája, 1889. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 7, 473-476. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1860. Trócsányi, Zsolt. *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690* [The central administration of Transylvania, 1540-1690], 31, 360. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980. Tüdős S., Kinga. "A csíksomlyói végtisztesség. A székelyek generálisa, I. Mikes Kelemen végrendelete és temetése (1685-1687)" [The last honorary sevice in Șumuleu Ciuc. The last will and funeral of Kelemen Mikes I, General of the Székelys [1685-1687]]. *Acta Siculica* (2008): 295-308. Tüdős S., Kinga. *Erdélyi testamentumok, vol.1. Hadviselő székelyek végrendeletei. Háromszék* [Transylvanian Testaments I. Last wills of the Székely in military service. The Háromszék region], 34-35, 279-288. Târgu Mureș: Mentor Kiadó, 2003.
d)	d. 1686
e)	107 x c. 190[1] x 11 cm
f)	Balogh, Jolán. "A későrenaissance és korabarokk művészet" [Late Renaissance and early Baroque art]. In *Magyar művelődéstörténet 3* [Hungarian cultural history], edited by Sándor Domanovszky, 558. Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1940.

[1] It is located too high to measure it precisely

CEU eTD Collection

	Doroftei, Doina Paula. *Inscripţii în limba latină din bisericile României, din perioada 1290-1850, cu privire specială asupra bisericilor maghiare din Transilvania* [Latin inscriptions in churches in Romania in the period between 1290-1850, with special focus on the Hungarian churches in Transylvania], 222-224. Bucharest: Editura Muzeului Naţional al Literaturii Române, 2013.
g)	On the central panel (A) HIC SITVS EST Principis Apaffy Patriae Siculisq(ue) Deoq(ue) Intim(us) observa(n)s Gen(e)r(a)lis Larg(us) ad aras Judicys Causae sum(m)o Comit(at)ui et Albae Praeses Director, Comitis praefect(us) honore Religio(n)e Fide Re, N(omi)ne, Stem(m)ate Amore Zelosus, Constans, CLEMENS MIKES officiosus. Sorte sed huma(n)a lapide(m) mortalis in istium Incidit, heu Titulos qva(m) brevis umbra tegit Ob(iit) 27 Ian(uarii) A(nno) D(omini) 1686 aet(atis) 63 On the scroll in the image (B) BONUM MIHI QUIA HVMILIASTI ME Dom(ine)[1]

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011

[1] Psalm 118:71

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 296

a)	Târgu Mureș – Marosvásárhely – Neumarkt, Calvinist cemetery
b)	*Târgu Mureș – Marosvásárhely – Neumarkt, Calvinist cemetery*
c)	**Erzsébet, wife of György Görög** The name of György Görög (meaning Greek), refers to his origin. Several Greek or Balkan merchants settled in the town, coming from Walachia or the Ottoman territories, and they also got citizenship from the 1620s. György Görög originated from such a family, but the text on the gravestone informs about his profession, which was *deák*, so he might have worked in the field of administration. His wife died in 1690, aged 67.
d)	d. 1690
e)	37 x 91 x 16 cm
f)	–
g)	On the central panel (A) IT NYCSIK AZ VRBAN GÖRÖG GYÖRGY DEÁK [– – –]S HÁZAS TARSA [E]RS[E]BET ASZ SZON [...]SEGES GYE[...] ANIA [...] KIT AZ EO CHRISTVSSANAK [...]A DI ÉLTÉNEK 67DIK ESZTENDEJE A(NNO) D(OMINI) 1690: DIE 3 APR W

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 297

a)	Târgu Mureș – Marosvásárhely – Neumarkt, Calvinist cemetery
b)	*Târgu Mureș – Marosvásárhely – Neumarkt, Calvinist cemetery*
c)	**István Székely of Kolozsvár** He died in 1650, aged 52. His widow was proposed by the chronicle writer tailor, Ferenc Nagy Szabó in 1651, but she rejected the offer. Kelemen, Lajos. "A marosvásárhelyi református temető legrégibb sírkövei" [The oldest gravestones in the Calvinist cemetery in Târgu Mureș]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 26, no. 2 (1909): 161.
d)	d. 1650
e)	73 x 118 x 17 cm
f)	Kelemen, Lajos. "A marosvásárhelyi református temető legrégibb sírkövei" [The oldest gravestones in the Calvinist cemetery in Târgu Mureș]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 26, no. 2 (1909): 161.
g)	On the central panel (A) IT FEKSZIK AZ ISTENBEN BODO GVLT VRAM AZ BECZṼLETES <<BAN STA>> COLSVARI SZEKELY ISTVAN KI VIL AGI ELETET, TISZTESSEGESEN, ELVEN TAL ELETENEK 52 ESZTENDEIEBEN BOLDOGVL KIMVLT IN ANNO 1650 ESZTENDOBEN, 19 NAPIAN BŌITELEŌ HAVANAK KINEK, ISTEN, ADGYON, BOLDOG H FELTAMADAST

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 298

a)	Târgu Mureș – Marosvásárhely – Neumarkt, Calvinist cemetery
b)	*Târgu Mureș – Marosvásárhely – Neumarkt, Calvinist cemetery*
c)	**István Egyedi Szőcz** His name means furrier (*szűcs*), and this was his profession too. He is mentioned in the account books of the furriers' guild in Târgu Mureș in 1633 and in 1638. He was sent by the guild to Sibiu in 1638 and to Mediaş in 1640 to act in the name of guild. He was elected as guild master in 1649, and he died in the same year, aged 52. Kelemen, Lajos. "A marosvásárhelyi református temető legrégibb sírkövei" [The oldest gravestones in the Calvinist cemetery in Târgu Mureș]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 26, no. 2 (1909): 161.
d)	d. 1649
e)	54 x 122 x 23 cm
f)	Kelemen, Lajos. "A marosvásárhelyi református temető legrégibb sírkövei" [The oldest gravestones in the Calvinist cemetery in Târgu Mureș]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 26, no. 2 (1909): 161.
g)	On the central panel (A) IT FEKSZIK AZ BŐCZŨLETES EGYEDI SZŐCZ ISTVAN, KI HOLT MEG ELETENEK. 52. ESZTENDEIEBEN 1649 ESZTENDŐBE, HVSVET [–]NAPIAN DELBEN

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 299

a)	Târgu Mureș – Marosvásárhely – Neumarkt, Calvinist cemetery
b)	*Târgu Mureș – Marosvásárhely – Neumarkt, Calvinist cemetery*
c)	**Márton Koncz** He was a nobleman living in the town of Târgu Mureș. In 1642, he signed a statement that he will pay the taxes in the town. In the same year, he married Anna Szabó, who was the patron of the memorial based on the inscription. Anna was the daughter of Ferenc Nagy Szabó the chronicler. Their children died in the plague in 1646. He died in an accident in 1648, aged 33: he was climbing up to the attic to feed pigeons, when he fell. His widow re-married the following year. Kelemen, Lajos. "A marosvásárhelyi református temető legrégibb sírkövei" [The oldest gravestones in the Calvinist cemetery in Târgu Mureș]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 26, no. 2 (1909): 160.
d)	d. 1648
e)	66 x 139 x 22 cm
f)	Kelemen, Lajos. "A marosvásárhelyi református temető legrégibb sírkövei" [The oldest gravestones in the Calvinist cemetery in Târgu Mureș]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 26, no. 2 (1909): 160.
g)	On the central panel (A) EZER HAT SZÁZ HOGI EL FVTA NEGYVEN NYOLCZ VTÁNNA IVTA KONCZ MARTONNAK ÉLTE FOT[T] LŐN IVNIVSBAN VR NAPIA. HARMINCZ HÁROM EZTENDEIE E' VILÁGRA MIKOR IEOVE NEMES VÉRBŐL EREDETE VOLT TIZTESSÉGES ÉLETE. EZ KŐVET EMLÉKEZETRE SZABO ANNA KÉSZITETTE NYVGODGYEK TSENDESENTES EZ ALATT FÉRIE TETEME AMAZ VTVLSO NAGY NAPON A FŐLDBŐL FELIS TÁMADGYON KRISTVS IOBIA FELŐL ÁLLYON MENNYORSZÁGBAN BODOGVLLYON

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 300

a)	Târgu Mureș – Marosvásárhely – Neumarkt, Calvinist cemetery
b)	*Târgu Mureș – Marosvásárhely – Neumarkt, Calvinist cemetery*
c)	**Bálint Polgár** The inscription says that he was son of Bálint Polgár. *Deák* means *literatus*, a literary person, and it refers to the profession of the deceased. It is not clear whether 1636 was the date of death or of the installation of the memorial. **Judit** The inscription says that he was daughter of Bálint Polgár. She is called *asszony*, which means she was married. It is not clear whether 1636 was the date of death or of the installation of the memorial.
d)	1636
e)	52 x 147 x 18 cm
f)	–
g)	On the central panel (A) 1636 ITT FEKZIK POLGAR BALINT [UR]AMNAK KET SZEP KED VES GIERMEKE BALINT DEAK ES IVDIT AZONI KIK NEK ADGION ISTEN AZ IOEVENDOE DṼCZṼSEGNEK ELVETELEBE BOLDOH FEL TAMADAST. I[1] F[2]

[1] The I after the text probably resulted from the renovation of the stone
[2] A letter incised into the stone, in the same style as the rest of the text.

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 301

a)	Târgu Mureș – Marosvásárhely – Neumarkt, Calvinist cemetery
b)	*Târgu Mureș – Marosvásárhely – Neumarkt, Calvinist cemetery*
c)	**Kata Kepe** The inscription says that she was the wife of Mihály Koncz and she died in 1637. Her husband was probably identical with Mihály Koncz who died in the military campaign of Prince Gábor Bethlen in 1618. **Three children of Kata Kepe and Mihály Koncz** The inscription says that Kata Kepe was buried in the grave with three other dead, who were probably her children. Kelemen, Lajos. "A marosvásárhelyi református temető legrégibb sírkövei" [The oldest gravestones in the Calvinist cemetery in Târgu Mureș]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 26, no. 2 (1909): 158-159.
d)	d. 1637
e)	33 x 127 x 14 cm
f)	Kelemen, Lajos. "A marosvásárhelyi református temető legrégibb sírkövei" [The oldest gravestones in the Calvinist cemetery in Târgu Mureș]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 26, no. 2 (1909): 158-159.
g)	On the central panel (A) IT NIVGSIK ISTEN BEN ELNIVGOT NEHAY KONCZ MIHALINE KEPE KATHA ASZONI HARMADMAGA VAL EOMAGA MVLT KI EZ VI LAGBOL 1637 ESTENDOBEN 26 DECEMB(RIS)

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 302

a)	Târgu Mureș – Marosvásárhely – Neumarkt, Calvinist cemetery
b)	*Târgu Mureș – Marosvásárhely – Neumarkt, Calvinist cemetery*
c)	**Caterina (Katalin) Virágh Szabó** Daughter of Stephanus (István) Virágh Szabó, who was master of the tailors' guild in Târgu Mureș. The inscription says that she was born in 1625 and died in 1634. Kelemen, Lajos. "A marosvásárhelyi református temető legrégibb sírkövei" [The oldest gravestones in the Calvinist cemetery in Târgu Mureș]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 26, no. 2 (1909): 156.
d)	d. 1634
e)	38 x 107 x 18 cm
f)	Kelemen, Lajos. "A marosvásárhelyi református temető legrégibb sírkövei" [The oldest gravestones in the Calvinist cemetery in Târgu Mureș]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 26, no. 2 (1909): 156.
g)	On the central panel (A) FILIA [CIRCUMS]PEC[TI] STEPH[ANI] WIRAGH[1] SZABO CONCIVIS MAROSVASARHEL(IENSIS) CATERINA NATA DIE OCTAVA OCTOBRIS [A]NNI 1625 E VIVIS [E]XCESSIT DIE 24 7BRIS ANNI 1634 QVA SVB HAC MOLE TVMVLATA IACET HIC

[1] Parts of the inscription are already missing. Provided after Kelemen, "*A marosvásárhelyi temető*."

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 303

a)	Târgu Mureș – Marosvásárhely – Neumarkt, Calvinist cemetery
b)	*Târgu Mureș – Marosvásárhely – Neumarkt, Calvinist cemetery*
c)	**Michael (Mihály) Sartor / Nagy Szabó** The inscription says that he was a benefactor of the school and the church. He was second master of the tailors' guild in 1602 and 1603, and master from 1604 until his death. He was the town judge when Târgu Mureș received he rank of royal town in 1616, as well as in 1620, 1623, and in 1626. He ordered significant construction works on the fortifications of the castle within the town from the stones of the former Pauline monastery. He died in 1627, aged 63. The inscription says that the memorial was ordered by his wife and son. According to the traditions, the ledger was originally set up in the Calvinist church in the castle and it was moved later to the cemetery. Kelemen, Lajos. "A marosvásárhelyi református temető legrégibb sírkövei" [The oldest gravestones in the Calvinist cemetery in Târgu Mureș]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 26, no. 2 (1909): 155-156.
d)	d. 1627
e)	95 x 149 x 32 cm (fragment, strongly re-carved)
f)	Kelemen, Lajos. "A marosvásárhelyi református temető legrégibb sírkövei" [The oldest gravestones in the Calvinist cemetery in Târgu Mureș]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 26, no. 2 (1909): 155-156.
g)	Border inscription (A) MONVMENTVM EGREGII AC AMPLISSIMI VIRI DOMINI MICHAELIS NAGY SABO IVDICI ET CÍVIS QVONDAM PRIMARII PER CERTOS ANNORVM CVRSVS LIBERA E CIVITATIS MAROSVASARHELIENSIS AB VXORE MAESTISSIMAE ET FILIO GRATITVDINIS ERGO POSITVM ANN(O) 1627 DIE 24 MAY AETATIS SVE 63 On the central panel (A) – – — – – EIVSDEM SAEVIT IN AETERNVM PATVLO MORS INVIDA MVNDO NOSTRAS V[– – –] ET SVDERE COLLA JVGO MEMBRA SEPVLTA IACENT MICHAELIS SARTORIS OLIM ECCLESIAE FAVTOR QVI FVIT ATQVE SCHOLAE HOC SIFORTE [– – –]IRE VIATOR DICITO VT EIVS CORPVS REQVIESCAT HVMO

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 304

a)	Târgu Mureș – Marosvásárhely – Neumarkt, Calvinist cemetery
b)	*Târgu Mureș – Marosvásárhely – Neumarkt, Calvinist cemetery*
c)	**Thomas (Tamás) Borsos** He was town judge in Târgu Mureș. He initiated the construction of the fortifications. It was also his achievement that the settlement received the rank of a free royal town. He also took part in state-level politics: he served as a legate of the principality in Constantinople, and he was a judge of the Court of Justice of the Prince. He wrote his memoires, among others, about his travels to the Porte. He died after 1633, probably in 1634. **Wife of Thomas (Tamás) Borsos** His third wife was Dorothea (Dorottya) Szabó. She died in 1637 according to the inscription. Their son, Stephanus (István) Szabó was the patron of the memorial. Kelemen, Lajos. "A marosvásárhelyi református temető legrégibb sírkövei" [The oldest gravestones in the Calvinist cemetery in Târgu Mureș]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 26, no. 2 (1909): 156-158. Pál-Antal, Sándor. *Marosvásárhely története. A kezdetektől 1848-ig* [The history of Târgu Mureș. From the beginnings to 1848], 110. Marosvásárhely: Mentor, 2009.
d)	d. 1630s, 1637
e)	_ x _ x _ cm (re-carved from the original gravestone in 1880)
f)	Kelemen, Lajos. "A marosvásárhelyi református temető legrégibb sírkövei" [The oldest gravestones in the Calvinist cemetery in Târgu Mureș]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 26, no. 2 (1909): 156-158. Orbán, Balázs. *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból* [Description of the Székely Land from a historical, archaeological, natural geographical, and ethnographic point of view], vol. 4, 59. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. Online edition by Arcanum Adatbázis Ltd., 2003. http://mek.oszk.hu/04800/04804/html/169.html (accessed 16 October 2017)
g)	On one of the side panels (A)[1]

[1] The monument was completely re-carved. The inscriptions are provided after Orbán, *Székelyföld*. The inscription today:
Im hoc tumulo requiescunt pace generosus
THOMAS BORSOS de Vásárhely, tabulae sedis judiciariae
Tansylvaniae quondam assessor, tribus in fulgida
porta Ottomanica vicitus Orator Continuus
et Civitatis M.-Vasarhely Iudex primarius
† 1631 – 18 mensis Április, aetatis suae Anno
68 – necnon uxor eius DOROTHEA Marosi †
1637 – 25 mensis Julii, aetatis vero suae 63.
On the edge: Ezen siremléket ősei örök emlékezetéül megújjíttatta M.-Vásárhelyi Borsos György 1880.-ik évben.

CEU eTD Collection

	Serenissimorum Illustrissimorum Dominorum Principum Transilvaniae Tabulae Sedis Judicia rie Assessoris, tribus vicibus in Fulgida Porta Ottomanica Oratoris continui, ac illiset etiam muniis et legationibus tam Domino rum Principum et Regni Transilvaniae, quam etiam Patriae suae Marosvásárhely fidelissimi Servitoris; dolores peregri nationi finem facientes [?] in domo paterno quiete ex hac vita emi gravit Anno Jesu Christi 1631[1] die XVIII. Mensis Aprilis. Aetatis vero suae Anno LXVIIII.[2] Nec non Generosae quondam Dominae Dorothae Marosi[3], praeno tati Generosi Olim Domini Thomae Borsos relictae viduae q[uae] posteris tris tissimum desidcratissimi sui conjugis ornavit [?] nimio dolore ac fletu cordis et anxietatibus Iabefactae, exantlatis viribus annorum saturata longitudine, sine ullo membrorum cruciatu et mortis horrore placide in Domino Obdormivit Anno Domini 1637 die XXV. mensis Iulii. Aetatis vero suae Anno LXVII. On a short side (B) Positum B. Egregio Stephano Borsos de Maros-Vasarhely filio tristissimo in parentum suorum Defunctorum carissimum debitum honorem et felicem memoriam Anno 1637.

Source: http://www.maszol.ro/index.php/tarsadalom/4618-marosvasarhely-latogatas-a-nemzet-nagyjainal?tmpl=component&print=1&layout=default&page=

[1] As Kelemen, "*A marosvásárhelyi református temető*" pointed out, the date of death could not be 1631, it was later in the 1630s.
[2] Kelemen, "*A marosvásárhelyi református temető*": LXVII
[3] Kelemen, "*A marosvásárhelyi református temető*": Sartoris

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 305

a)	Tileagd – Mezőtelegd, Calvinist church, in the northeastern wall of the choir
b)	*Tileagd – Mezőtelegd, Calvinist church*
c)	**A member of the Telegdi family (Miklós?)** The Telegdi family had its estates in Bihar and Csanád counties. Its members held important secular and church positions already in the fourteenth century, and in the late fifteenth century, two of them ascended to the rank of barones. In the sixteenth century their importance diminished, but they remained locally significant. Telegdi Miklós appears in the documents from 1508. He was son of István Telegdi, vice-voivode of Transylvania, treasurer of the Hungarian Kingdom and a diplomat sent to several European courts, and Margit Bebek. In 1530-31, Miklós became vice-voivode himself under his brother-in-law, Viovode István Báthori. Later he was the army leader of King John Szapolyai. He turned to the side of Ferdinand of Habsburg when John Sigismund was elected as king. The date of his death is uncertain, but it happened before 1548. The funeral monument was made about 15 years later. Blazovich, László and Lajos Géczi. *A Telegdiek pere 1568-1572* [The law suit of the Telegdi], 24-25. Szeged: Csongrád megyei Levéltár, 1995. Emődi, Tamás. "A Telegdi család és a reneszánsz művészet néhány emléke a 16. századi Bihar és Bereg vármegyékben" [The Telegdy family and some Renaissance monuments in Bereg and Bihar County in the sixteenth century]. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 47, no. 3-4 (1998): 178-181. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 11, 140-141. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1865.
d)	1560s
e)	82 x 192 x ? cm
f)	Emődi, Tamás. "A Telegdi család és a reneszánsz művészet néhány emléke a 16. századi Bihar és Bereg vármegyékben" [The Telegdy family and some Renaissance monuments in Bereg and Bihar County in the sixteenth century]. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 47, no. 3-4 (1998): 178-181, fig. 4. Emődi, Tamás. "Monumente funerare figurative renascentiste din Transilvania" [Renaissance figural funeral monuments in Transylvania]. In *Artă românească, artă europeană. Centenar Virgil Vătăşianu* [Romanian art - European art. The centenary of Virgil Vătăşianu], ed. M. Porumb and A. Chiriac, 139-141. Oradea: Editura Muzeului Ţării Crişurilor Oradea, 2002. Emődi, János, and Árpád Varga. "Telegdi sírkövek, emléktáblák" (Gravestones and memorial plaques of the Telegdi family). *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* (1997-1998 [1999]): 246.
g)	–

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Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 306

a)	Tileagd – Mezőtelegd, Calvinist church, in the northern wall of the choir
b)	*Tileagd – Mezőtelegd, Calvinist church*
c)	**Miklós Telegdi Junior** Son of Miklós Telegdi (**Cat. No. 305**). He did not hold any important state offices, he is known more for his religious activity from the 1560s. He supported the Helvetic Confession against the Antitrinitarian faith (preferred by the Prince). He was the patron of the sermon collection by Péter Méliusz Juhász published in Oradea, and also of the polemical work by György Ceglédi and Péter Károlyi. Theodore de Beza dedicated his *Epistolae theologicae* (1573) to Telegdi. His wife was Klára Lónyai, and the inscription says that she installed the funeral monument. Emődi, Tamás. "A Telegdi család és a reneszánsz művészet néhány emléke a 16. századi Bihar és Bereg vármegyékben" [The Telegdy family and some Renaissance monuments in Bereg and Bihar County in the sixteenth century]. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 47, no. 3-4 (1998): 181. Emődi, János, and Árpád Varga. "Telegdi sírkövek, emléktáblák" (Gravestones and memorial plaques of the Telegdi family). *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* (1997-1998 [1999]): 249.
d)	d. 1583
e)	76 x 131 x ? cm (fragmentary)
f)	Balogh, Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-cutter workshops in Cluj. Sixteenth century], 327, fig. 268. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985. Emődi, Tamás. "A Telegdi család és a reneszánsz művészet néhány emléke a 16. századi Bihar és Bereg vármegyékben" [The Telegdy family and some Renaissance monuments in Bereg and Bihar County in the sixteenth century]. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 47, no. 3-4 (1998): 181. Emődi, János, and Árpád Varga. "Telegdi sírkövek, emléktáblák" [Gravestones and memorial plaques of the Telegdi family]. *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* (1997-1998 [1999]): 246-249.
g)	On the central panel (A) INCLITA CON[NTVLERA]T CV[I GENS TE]LEGDIA NOMEN[1] HIC TEGOR HERO[VM G]LO[RI]A NICOLEVS REX TVLIT A NOBIS MATERNI SA(N)GVINIS ORTVM QVI SEDET IN SOL[IO] SARMATIS ORA TVO DOTIBVS IPSE MEIS INSIGNIA SANGVINIS AVXI STEMMATE NEC MAIOR QVAM PROBITATE FVI NVMINIS INPRIMIS CVLTOR FIDEIQ(VE) PATRONUS MVNIFICA FOVI TEMPLA:SCHOLASQ(VE) MANV CANDORIS NE[MO] VIXIT STVDIOSIOR ALTER

[1] The missing parts supplied after the reconstruction by Emődi-Varga, "*Telegdi sírkövek*."

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	NEMO FIDE MAIOR IVSTICIAQ(VE) FVIT ARCANI VERIQ(VE) TENAX ET FORTIS IN ARMIS ACER ET INGENIO CONSILIOQ(VE) FVI IAM PROPE LVSTRA DECE(M) TVLERA(M) CVM MOESTA SEPULTO HVNC POSVIT TVMVLV(M) LONIAI CLARA VIRO OBYT XI DIE SEPTEMBRIS AN(N)O D(OMINI) 1583

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 307

a)	Tileagd – Mezőtelegd, Calvinist church, in the eastern wall of the choir
b)	*Tileagd – Mezőtelegd, Calvinist church*
c)	**Stephanus (István) Ispán of Telegd** He was in the court of István Bethlen in 1621. He died in 1649, aged 49. His wife named Susanna (Zsuzsanna) was the patron of the memorial as stated in the inscription. Emődi, János, and Árpád Varga. "Telegdi sírkövek, emléktáblák" [Gravestones and memorial plaques of the Telegdi family]. *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* (1997-1998 [1999]): 251.
d)	d. 1649
e)	88 x 178 x ? cm
f)	Emődi, János, and Árpád Varga. "Telegdi sírkövek, emléktáblák" [Gravestones and memorial plaques of the Telegdi family]. *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* (1997-1998 [1999]): 251.
g)	Border inscription (A) GENEROSO D(OMINO) STEPHANO ISPAN DE TELEGD PLACIDE IN D(OMI)NO AN(NO) SAL(VTIS) REP(ENTE) 16 ET 49 DIE 1 IVLI CIRCITEER HO[RAM] V[II] DEFV[N]CTO CONIV X CHARISSIMA SVSANNA COLLATAVIT HOC MONVMENTV(M) POSVIT. Around the coat of arms (B) INSIGNIA GENEROS D(OMI)NO STEPHANO ISPAN DE TELEGD On the central panel (C) D(EO) T(ER) O(PTIOMO) M(AXIMO) S(ACRO) HEIC STEPHAN(VS) CLARA NATVS DE STIRPE QVIESCIT ISPAN CVI VITAE MORS ATRA FIL(VM) ASCIDIT LVSTRA NOVEM PER AGENS ANNOS ET QVATVOR AH MOX PRIMA DEDIT IVLI SEPTIMAQVE HORA NECI

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2010

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 308

a)	Tileagd – Mezőtelegd, Calvinist church, in the northern wall of the nave, under the gallery
b)	*Tileagd – Mezőtelegd, Calvinist church*
c)	**Helena (Ilona) Szemere, wife of Georgius (György) Ugrai** Ilona Szemere was the wife of György Ugrai, *alispán* (vice-head) of Bihar County. The inscription says that the memorial was installed by Ugrai, for his wife and their three children, Anna, Borbála, and István (two more children outlived them: Gergely and György). However, it must have been originally prepared still in the lifetime of Ilona, since the inscription was not finished with the date of death, and the husband only added a second inscription naming him as the patron and defining the date of death in 1630. **Anna Ugrai** **Borbála Ugrai** **István Ugrai** Emődi, János, and Árpád Varga. "Telegdi sírkövek, emléktáblák" [Gravestones and memorial plaques of the Telegdi family]. *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* (1997-1998 [1999]): 250.
d)	d. 1630
e)	79 x 159 x ? cm
f)	Bod, Péter. Hungarus tymbaules, seu grata ac benedicti Hungarorum quorundam principum, heroum, magnatum toga et sago, domi militiaeque insignium, virorum eruditione ac prudentia clarorum, feminarum honestatis fama, ac pietatis studio illustrium ex epitaphiis renovata memoria quam ex cineribus excitavit, 77. Nagyenyed [Aiud]: Kiss ny., 1764, 1766 Emődi, János, and Árpád Varga. "Telegdi sírkövek, emléktáblák" [Gravestones and memorial plaques of the Telegdi family]. A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve (1997-1998 [1999]): 250.
g)	Border inscription (A) Mem[or]iae et honori Gener(o)sae D(ominae) Helenae De Szemere consortis charissimae Anno D(omi)ni MDCXXX Diae XVIII Me(ns)is Martii placid(e) in Do(mi)no Defunct(ae) et Optimae spei Anna(e), Barbarae, Stephani Ugrai Liberorum Georgius Vgrai de Vgra maritus Moestissimus Publice Posuit Dedicavitque On the central panel (B) HOC HELENH[1] TVMVLO ZEMERAE IACET INCLYTA GENTIS GLORIA PARS MELIOR COELICA REGNA TENET. QVAM NON ICARIDOS VICIT CONSTA(N)TIA NYMPHAE

[1] Sic, with Greek letters

CEU eTD Collection

	ANDROMACHES VE[RV]S NEC SVPERAVIT AMOR ALTERA BIHORIO QV[A] NON PRAESTA(N)TIOR AGRO INVICTA VIXIT RELIGIONE FIDE SCILICET VT GEMMIS REGALIA STEMMATA FVLGENT DALMATICIS PARIO ET MARMORE TEMPLO NITE(N)T: NON ALITER CHARI FLAGRAVIT AMORE MARITI EXIMIO CVIVS LVX FVIT IN THALAMO. QVAM VIRTUS REGINA DECVS CONCORDIA FELIX FECIT ET INSIGNEM CASTA PVDICITIA QVAM PIETAS QVA(M) PRISCA FIDES CONSTA(N)TIA CANDOR VDIS AD TVMBAM SVNT COMITATA GENTIS. NVNC QVOQVE FAMA VIGET CELEBRA(N)T ENCO(M)IA MVSAE ET SEDET IN TVMVLI MARGINE TRINA CHARIS VIXIT ANNOS DIES

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2010

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 309

a)	Turea – Türe, Calvinist church, in the wall surrounding the churchyard
b)	*Turea – Türe, Calvinist cemetery*
c)	**Husband of Zsófia Salattya** The bible depicted in the emblem indicates that the subject was a priest. He was probably Calvinist, since this was the dominant religion in the area by 1646, the date of his death. **Anna, daughter of Zsófia Salattya** **Zsófia, daughter of Zsófia Salattya** **István, son of Zsófia Salattya** **Mihály, son of Zsófia Salattya** **Kata, daughter of Zsófia Salattya** **The mother-in-law of Zsófia Salattya** There is only one date indicated on the gravestone, so they probably all died in the same year, in 1646, and likely in the plague. **János Bereczki** Secondary subject. He was a professor of theology from 1825 in the Calvinist College of Kolozsvár, then priest in Izvoru Crișului (Kőrösfő, Krieschwe) between 1821 and 1833, and in Turea between 1834 and 1852. He died in 1852. Herepei, János. *A kalotaszegi templomok, cintermek és temetők régi sírkövei* [Old gravestones in the churches, churchyards and graveyards in the Kalotaszeg region], 72. Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Művelődés, 2001.
d)	d. 1646 (secondary subject d. 1852)
e)	43 x 96 x ? cm
f)	Herepei, János. *A kalotaszegi templomok, cintermek és temetők régi sírkövei* [Old gravestones in the churches, churchyards and graveyards in the Kalotaszeg region], 72. Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Művelődés, 2001.
g)	Upper half, under the wreath (A) AZ 16 46 ESZTE [– – –] Lower part of the lower panel (B) [– – – – – –] [– – – – – –] ETE [–] VGIMIN AZ O EDES ANNYAT ES MAGZATIT ANNAT 14 SOFIAT 12 IST

CEU eTD Collection

	VANT 10 MIHALT 5 KATAT SALATTYA SOFIATOL AZ EO OZVEGYETOL Upper part of the lower panel (C) IT NYUGSZIK T(ISZTELE) T(ES) BERECZKI JA NOS UR 1852

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 310

a)	Vingard – Vingárd – Weingartskirchen, Lutheran church, on the floor in the choir
b)	*Vingard – Vingárd – Weingartskirchen, Lutheran church*
c)	**Unknown (Sophia?)** Based on the remains of the inscription, the subject was a married woman, probably called Sophia (Zsófia), who also had children, and who died at the age of 39. Probably she was a member of the Keserű family.
d)	Sixteenth century
e)	109 x 208 x 24 cm
f)	Halaváts, Gyula. "Úti jegyzetek Kelnek, Vingárd, Szászorbó környékéről" ([Travelogue from the area of Câlnic, Vingard, and Gârbova]. *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 27 (1907): 209-211.
g)	Border inscription (A) [– – –]E[– – –] [– – –]H[– – –] [– – –] [– – –] On the central panel (B) [– – –]LARV(M) MONVMENTA VIRORVM [– – –]ET RITE FOVERE SINV [– – –]GENEROSA PRO[–] [– – –]NVNC REQVIESCIT HVMO [– – –] [SO]PHIAE BENE NOMEN AVORVM [– – –]MAXIMA(QVE) INGENIO [– – –]T CASTE NAM VIXIT IN ORBE [– – –]BIBLIA SANCTA DEI [– – –]NVM CONFERRE BENIGNA SOLEBAT [– – –]EST VENERATA VIROS [– – –] RETINEBAT IVRA MARITO [– – –] VINCVLA VERBA SVI [– – –]DT IN CNO(…) LIVIDA PROLES [– – –]MATER HONESTA SVO [– – –]VS FVIT ALTERA IVDITH [– – –]HABITATA DOMVS [– – –]ESSERIT ORBE[– – –] [– – –]PVLCHRA [– – –] [– – –]DVLC[– – –]

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	[– – –]SPIR[– – –] [– – –]AETATIS SVA XXXIX

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 311

a)	Vingard– Vingárd– Weingartskirchen, Lutheran church, in the sacristy, on the floor
b)	*Vingard– Vingárd– Weingartskirchen, Lutheran church, in front of the step to the altar*
c)	**Stephanus (István) Keserű** Katalin (**Cat. No. 312**) and Stephanus (István) Keserű were the children of Margit Bánffy and Mihály Keserű, who was given the castle of Vingárd by János Szapolyai in exchange for Deva, in 1532. He was the first husband of Zamfira, Moise (Moses) Viovode of Walachia (**Cat. No. 179**). There are data on four of their children: Anna, Pál, János, and Mihály. István Keserű shared his properties in his last will written in 1565, between Zamfira and János. Zamfira married for the second time in 1570, so István Keserű was not alive by that time. Gyula Halaváts read 1567 on the memorial, so this must have been the year of his death. Halaváts, Gyula. "Úti jegyzetek Kelnek, Vingárd, Szászorbó környékéről" [Travelogue from the area of Câlnic, Vingard, and Gârbova]. *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 27 (1907): 211. Gündisch, Gustav, Harald Krasser, and Theobald Streitfeld, "Dominium, Kirche und Burg von Weingartkirchen," in *Studien zur Siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Gustav Gündisch, et al., 185-186. Siebenbürgisches Archiv. Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde. Cologne: Böhlau, 1976. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 6, 228-229. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1860.
d)	Second half of the sixteenth century, d. 1567?
e)	96 x 192 x 22 cm
f)	Halaváts, Gyula. "Úti jegyzetek Kelnek, Vingárd, Szászorbó környékéről" [Travelogue from the area of Câlnic, Vingard, and Gârbova]. *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 27 (1907): 211. Gündisch, Gustav, Harald Krasser, and Theobald Streitfeld, "Dominium, Kirche und Burg von Weingartkirchen," in *Studien zur Siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Gustav Gündisch, et al., 185-186. Siebenbürgisches Archiv. Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde. Cologne: Böhlau, 1976.
g)	text (A) [1] S.K.1567

[1] I could not read any inscription, because it was dark in the sacristy and I did not have proper light. However, the lines are visible and probably it will be possible to transcribe them under proper conditions. The text provided here was read by Halaváts, "Úti jegyzetek."

CEU eTD Collection

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 312

a)	Vingard– Vingárd– Weingartskirchen, Lutheran church, in the sacristy, on the floor
b)	*Vingard– Vingárd– Weingartskirchen, Lutheran church, in front of the step to the altar*
c)	**Katharina (Katalin) Keserew (Keserű)** Katalin and Stephanus (István) Keserű (**Cat. No. 311**) were the children of Margit Bánffy and Mihály Keserű, who was given the castle of Vingárd by János Szapolyai in exchange for Deva, in 1532. Katalin married Miklós Orbay. In 1585, she was mentioned as widow, and she still appears in some sources related to her estates in 1586, so she died after this year. Bogdándi, Zsolt, and Emőke Gálfi, eds. *Az erdélyi káptalan jegyzőkönyvei*, 164, 167, 171. Erdélyi Történelmi Adatok, vol. 8. Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2006. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 6, 228-229. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1860.
d)	d. after 1586
e)	91 x 189 x 20 cm
f)	Halaváts, Gyula. “Úti jegyzetek Kelnek, Vingárd, Szászorbó környékéről” [Travelogue from the area of Câlnic, Vingard, and Gârbova]. *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 27 (1907): 211. Gündisch, Gustav, Harald Krasser, and Theobald Streitfeld, "Dominium, Kirche und Burg von Weingartkirchen," in *Studien zur Siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Gustav Gündisch, et al., 185-186. Siebenbürgisches Archiv. Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde. Cologne: Böhlau, 1976.
g)	text (A)[1] KATHARINA KESEREW

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[1] I could not read any inscription, because it was dark in the sacristy and I did not have proper light. This inscription was read by Halaváts, “Úti jegyzetek.”

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 313

a)	Vingard– Vingárd– Weingartskirchen, Lutheran church, in the southern wall of the nave
b)	*Vingard– Vingárd– Weingartskirchen, Lutheran church*
c)	**Barbara (Borbála) Daniel** The Daniel family was a Székely noble family that raised its status from the late sixteenth century. Borbála married Gábor Kendeffy. There were multiple marriages between the Daniel and the Kendeffy families. The Kendeffy of Malomviz family had possessions in Vingard in the second half of the seventeenth century, but they were not the exclusive estate owners. They were Calvinists, the church was used by the Lutheran community too, but this was traditionally the church where the estate owners acted as patrons. **Gergely Kendeffy** Son of Borbála Daniel. The inscription says that he died before his mother. **Éva Kendeffy** Daughter of Borbála Daniel. The inscription says that he died before his mother. **László Kendeffy** Grandson of Borbála Daniel. The inscription says that he died before his grandmother. Gündisch, Gustav, Harald Krasser, and Theobald Streitfeld, "Dominium, Kirche und Burg von Weingartkirchen," in *Studien zur Siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Gustav Gündisch, et al., 185-186. Siebenbürgisches Archiv. Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde. Cologne: Böhlau, 1976. Nagy, Iván. *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [Families in Hungary with their coats of arms and genealogical tables], vol. 6, 192-193. Pest: Beimel és Kozma, Ráth, 1860.
d)	d. 1697
e)	92 x 173 x ? cm
f)	Halaváts, Gyula. “Úti jegyzetek Kelnek, Vingárd, Szászorbó környékéről” [Travelogue from the area of Câlnic, Vingard, and Gârbova]. *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 27 (1907): 211. Gündisch, Gustav, Harald Krasser, and Theobald Streitfeld, "Dominium, Kirche und Burg von Weingartkirchen," in *Studien zur Siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Gustav Gündisch, et al., 185-186. Siebenbürgisches Archiv. Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde. Cologne: Böhlau, 1976.
g)	Border inscription (A) INSIGNIA SPECTABILIS AC GENEROSAE DOMINAE BARBARAE DANIEL, SPECTABILIS AC GENEROSI

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	QUONDAM GABRIELIS KENDEFFI DE MALOMVIZ RELICTAE VIDUAE, OB(IT) A(nn)o 1697. DIE 17. MARTY AET(ATIS) SUAE 65. On the central panel (B) D(EO) O(PTIMO) M(AXIMO) S(UPREMO) EL KÜLDVEN LAZARRAL MENYEI RÉSZEKET ABRÁM KEBELEBEN, ITT HADÁK TESTEKET, HOL VÁRIÁK ELJOeNI UJJ EGET ES FOeLDET A BIROVAL EDGYÜT AZ NAGY ITÉLETET, KENDEFI GABORNAK OeZVEGYE S ARVAIA TEKINTETES ASZONY DANIEL BORBARA EZERHATSZAZ FELET KILENCZVENHET SZAMBA KIOeROeK ELETET MULANDOT FELVÁLTA ELOeTTE BOCSATVAN FIÁT ES LEÁNYÁT KENDEFI GERGELLYEL AZ KENDEFI EVAT ES KENDEFI LASZLO KEDVES UNOKAJAT HOGY AZOKNAK TSONTYOK ÉRNÉK HIDEG TSONTYAT On the coffin (C) A[– – –]NI DANIEL BARBARA GERGELY LASZLO EVA

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2012

CEU eTD Collection

Cat. No. 314

a)	Zimbor – Magyarzsombor, Calvinist church, built into the southeastern pillar outside the choir
b)	*Zimbor – Magyarzsombor, Calvinist church*
c)	**Jakab Szilágyi** The inscription does not say anything else about him just that he died in 1585. There are some tools incised into the stone: a hammer, a rule, a spade, a spade(?),a chisel(?), a shovel(?), which might have referred to his profession.
d)	d. 1585
e)	77 x 37 x ? cm
f)	Istvánfi, Gyula. *Veszendő templomaink I. Erdélyi református templomok.* [Perishing churches. Reformed churches in Transylvania], 261. Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 2001.
g)	text (A) IT FEKSIK SZILAGI IACAB KIT AZ VRIS TEN CHODALATOS KEPPEN KIVOT AZ VILAGBOL 1585

Photo: Dóra Mérai, 2011

CEU eTD Collection