Doctoral Dissertation

**Eucharistic Imagery in the Late Gothic Wall Paintings of Transylvania
(c. 1440-1530)**

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Introduction

The interconnection between monumental art decorating different parts of a church and the liturgical and devotional practices taking place there is an intriguing question within the study of medieval church interiors. Focusing on the Late Gothic wall painting decoration of Transylvanian churches, this thesis looks at how and to what extent images adorning spaces related to the celebration of the Eucharistic liturgy – the chancel area, sites of side altars, and chapels – were connected to the ritual performed here and what messages related to the Eucharistic cult could they convey.

This work is at the intersection of two scholarly discourses – the study of medieval wall paintings in Transylvania and that of the visual culture of the Eucharist – and is intended as a contribution to both.

In recent decades, research on medieval wall paintings in this region has been stimulated by the ongoing discoveries of previously unknown mural ensembles as well as an expansion of the variety of approaches and questions applied, compared to previous research focused mostly on stylistic history. The growing amount of contributions notwithstanding, there is still ample room for research in this field, both on the level of case studies on individual monuments and of overviews investigating general trends and patterns. This research initially started as a synthesis on Late Gothic wall painting in the region, driven by an intention to provide a clearer view of this traditionally understudied material.[1] The choice to focus on Eucharistic imagery followed from a consideration of the corpus of surviving wall paintings, within which, besides monumental Last Judgements painted typically on the nave walls,[2] visual evocations of Christ's sacrifice – concentrated in the chancels and around altars – constitute a major thematic group defining the visual appearance of church interiors. The thesis thus aims to contribute to the study of Late Gothic wall paintings by examining the murals in connection with the liturgy that was the primary *raison d'être* of the church buildings they decorated. Beyond the study of an artistic genre, a further goal is to make a contribution to our knowledge about religion and culture in late medieval Transylvania, by examining wall paintings as sources on religiosity and

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[1] See "The current state of research", below.
[2] As in Chimindia (Kéménd), Bâra (Berekeresztúr, Kreutzdorf), Băgaciu (Szászbogács, Bogeschdorf), Cetatea de Baltă (Küküllővár, Kokelburg), Apold (Apold, Trappold), cf. Dana Jenei, *Goticul în Transilvania. Pictura* [The Gothic in Transylvania. Painting] (Bucharest: Oscar Print, 2016), 100–102.

devotion as well as on the influences and connections that shaped the art production of this region.

Secondly, I aim to contribute to a scholarly discourse focused on the visual environment of the medieval mass, which has likewise seen a resurgence in recent decades. In addition to incorporating new material into the study of Eucharistic imagery from a region peripheral to the history of medieval art, through a case study of Transylvanian murals from the Late Gothic period I also intend to contribute to a better understanding of how wall painting as a medium was used to convey meaning and shape viewer experience in a liturgical context.

Eucharistic imagery in the Late Gothic wall paintings of Transylvania: delimitation of the object of study

In terms of geographical scope, the research extends to the territory of medieval Transylvania, understood as a historical region, taking into account its contemporary extension.[3] Throughout the Middle Ages, Transylvania formed the easternmost part of the Hungarian Kingdom. By the late medieval period, it was made up of the seven noble counties under the rule of the voivode of Transylvania as well as the autonomous regions inhabited by the Transylvanian Saxons and the Székelys – two populations settled in the territories they later occupied during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, enjoying a set of rights and privileges in exchange for military and financial duties. The territories of the Saxons, concentrated in the southern part of Transylvania, and those of the Székelys, in the east, stand out for the high proportion of surviving medieval built heritage. Regarding ecclesiastical administration, parishes were organized into archdeaconries under the jurisdiction of the Transylvanian bishop with his see at Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár, Karlsburg), except for those in the Saxon seats organised into deaneries and enjoying for the most part ecclesiastical autonomy, being subordinate directly to the archbishop of Esztergom.[4]

The chronological scope is based on a narrow definition of the term "Late Gothic", referring to the range of stylistic orientations following the International Gothic up to the end

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[3] András Bereznay, *Erdély történetének atlasza* [Atlas of the history of Transylvania] (Budapest: Méry Ratio, 2011) 78–97, map no. 34.

[4] Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526* (London–New York: I. B. Tauris, 2001), 113–117. For an overview of the history of medieval Transylvania, including aspects of the administrative and ecclesiastical organization, as well as social and cultural history, see Béla Köpeczi, ed. *History of Transylvania* (Boulder: Social Science Monographs, 2002), vol. 1, 371–587. Online edition: https://mek.oszk.hu/03400/03407/html/1.html.

of the medieval period. Such a chronological framework (from around 1430–40 to around 1530) corresponds to the periodization generally employed in studies focusing on this region.[5]

With regard to the history of devotion, this period was marked by a flourishing of the Eucharistic cult, coupled with what art historian Colin Eisler expressively described as an "extraordinary, probably unparalleled intensification of Eucharistic concerns in Christian art of the century before the Reformation."[6] An intensification of the devotion to the Corpus Christi with its various manifestations – confraternities, processions, masses, dedications of altars and chapels –, can be observed in the period under study in Transylvania as well, together with a considerable demand for Eucharistic imagery in various media.[7] These religious and artistic phenomena were certainly not without precedents in earlier periods; monuments of the art of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries exemplifying earlier iconographic developments will be considered where relevant to the analysis.

Regarding the thematic scope of the study, to offer a clear-cut definition for the category of "Eucharistic imagery" would be an unfruitful attempt, considering that intended and perceived meanings of most representations would have been largely context-dependent. The thematic foci of the dissertation were outlined through a confrontation of existing research on potentially Eucharistic image types with the corpus of surviving wall paintings serving as the decoration of chancels, side-altars and chapels. Hence followed a focus on visual representations of Christ's sacrifice, which the mass was a ritual representation of. By the Late Gothic period, inventors of the iconographic programs could choose from a large variety of Christological image types, from representations which were part of Christian iconography almost since its beginnings, like the Crucifixion or the Passion cycle, through devotional image types widespread in the fourteenth century as the Man of Sorrows or the Veronica, to such even more recent developments as the so-called *Notgottes* or the Angel Pietà, bearing an increased affective potential. A further category added, based on their recurrence within the material under study, is that of images of saints bearing sacramental references.

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[5] For instance, in a volume by Géza Entz on late medieval architecture in Transylvania, the Late Gothic period covers the years 1430 to 1541, with a dividing line in 1470 marking its two phases. Géza Entz, *Erdély építészete a 14-16. században* [The architecture of Transylvania in the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1996).

[6] Colin Eisler, "The Golden Christ of Cortona and the Man of Sorrows in Italy," *Art Bulletin* 51, no. 2–3 (1969), 237.

[7] Maria Crăciun, "Eucharistic Devotion in the Iconography of Transylvanian Polyptych Altarpieces", in *Religious Ceremonials and Images: Power and social meaning (1400-1750)*, ed. Jose Pedro Paiva (Coimbra: Palimage Editores, 2002), 191–230; Kinga German, *Sakramentsnischen und Sakramentshäuser in Siebenbürgen* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2014).

These categories do not exhaust all iconographic themes with possible Eucharistic overtones. Most notably, images of Christ's Incarnation are also often interpreted in Eucharistic terms.[8] While they do occur in a spatial association with the altar in the examined material, the currently known examples are few in number, and in most cases bear no explicit Eucharistic references.[9]

The result of applying these geographic, chronologic, and thematic categories of selection were fourteen wall painting ensembles containing at least one example of Eucharistic imagery to be analysed (Fig. 1). The majority of the monuments (eight) is located in the Saxon regions in the southern part of Transylvania,[10] four in the Székely lands,[11] and two on the territory of the noble counties.[12] Most of them can be found in rural parish churches, with relatively fewer wall paintings surviving in the parishes of important urban centres,[13] and a single ensemble – the recently discovered chancel decoration of the former church of the Dominican nunnery in Sibiu – in a mendicant context.

The current state of research

Up until recently, general overviews on mural painting in medieval Hungary or present-day Romania dedicated relatively little space to the period after c. 1430–1440. Besides the fragmentary nature of the surviving corpus of wall paintings, a view of the Late Gothic as a period of decline for the genre contributed to this material being an understudied area of the art of medieval Hungary.[14] New discoveries expanding and nuancing the fragmentary picture of wall painting in this period, and methodological shifts from an art history centred on evolution

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[8] Barbara Lane, *The Altar and the Altarpiece: Sacramental Themes in Early Netherlandish Painting* (New York: Harper & Row, 1984), 41–74; Ursula Nilgen, "The Epiphany and the Eucharist: On the Interpretation of Eucharistic Motifs in Mediaeval Epiphany Scenes," *The Art Bulletin* 49, no. 4 (1967): 311–316; Beth Williamson, "Altarpieces, Liturgy, and Devotion," *Speculum* 79, no. 2 (2004): 351–352, 385–386.

[9] Examples: Brateiu (Baráthely, Pretai), Biertan (Berethalom, Birthälm).

[10] Biertan, Boian (Alsóbajom, Bonnesdorf), Hărman (Szászhermány, Honigberg), Mediaş (Medgyes, Mediasch), Râşnov (Barcarozsnyó, Rosenau), Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt), Sighişoara (Segesvár, Schäßburg).

[11] Cârţa (Csíkkarcfalva), Daia (Székelydálya), Ioneşti (Homoródjánosfalva), Maiad (Nyomát).

[12] Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg), Sântimbru (Marosszentimre, Emrichsdorf).

[13] Such as Sibiu, Sighişoara, and Cluj.

[14] Dénes Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország falképei* [Wall paintings in medieval Hungary], (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1954), 60–82; Idem, *Falképek a középkori Magyarországon* [Wall paintings in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Corvina, 1977), 24–30; Vasile Drăguţ, *Arta gotică în România* [Gothic art in Romania] (Bucharest: Meridiane, 1979), 236–258; Ernő Marosi, ed., *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül* [The art of Hungary around 1300–1470] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), vol. 1, 701, 705 (henceforth: *Magyarországi művészet*).

and decline[15] to more wide-reaching concerns with questions of production, function, and reception,[16] have recently offered a more favourable vantage point from which to assess and contextualise the wall painting production of the Late Gothic. Indicative of these tendencies is the latest synthesis on Transylvanian wall painting by Dana Jenei, which, instead of a single chronological overview, contains multiple narratives of the genre's development, each focusing on the questions of style, iconography, visual models, painters, and commissioners, with considerably more space devoted to the Late Gothic material, partially owing to an increased quantity of written sources in this period allowing the discussion of such questions.[17]

The state of research on the individual ensembles under study is varying, from recently revealed wall paintings yet unpublished,[18] through those included in surveys of mural paintings in the region,[19] to ensembles inspiring monographic studies, like the ones in Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt),[20] Biertan (Berethalom, Birthälm),[21] Sighişoara (Segesvár, Schäßburg),[22] Sântimbru (Marosszentimre, Emrichsdorf),[23] or Râșnov (Barcarozsnyó, Rosenau)[24]. Among analyses focusing on a single monument, the doctoral dissertation of Helga Fabritius on the wall paintings in Hărman (Szászhermány, Honigberg) stands out for its complex treatment of

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[15] Cf. for instance Drăguţ, *Arta gotică*, 258, assessing the Late Gothic style of the otherwise high quality wall paintings from Mediaş as a "regression" compared to contemporary works of art inspired by the Italian Renaissance.

[16] Cf. Luís Urbano Afonso and Vítor Serrão, *Out of the Stream: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Mural Painting* (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Pub, 2007), 2.

[17] Jenei, *Pictura*.

[18] Cârţa (Csíkkarcfalva).

[19] József Lángi and Ferenc Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek és festett faberendezések* [Transylvanian wall paintings and painted furniture] (Budapest: Állami Műemlékhelyreállítási és Restaurálási Központ, 2002, 2004 and 2006), vols. 1–3; Zsombor Jékely and Lóránd Kiss, *Középkori falképek Erdélyben: értékmentés a Teleki László Alapítvány támogatásával* [Medieval wall paintings in Transylvania: salvage with the support of the Teleki László foundation] (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2008).

[20] Ciprian Firea, "Pictura murală Crucificarea din biserica evanghelică din Sibiu" [The Crucifixion mural in the Lutheran church in Sibiu], in *Confluenţe. Repere europene în arta transilvăneană. Convergences. European Landmarks in Transylvanian Arts. Konfluenzen. Europäische Bezüge der Siebenbürgischen Kunst,* ed. Iulia Mesea and Daniela Dâmboiu (Sibiu: Muzeul Naţional Brukenthal, 2007), 29–32; Ágnes Bálint and Frank Ziegler, ""Wer hat das schöne Himmelszelt hoch über uns gesetzt?" A nagyszebeni evangélikus plébániatemplom Rosenauer-falképének átfestéseiről" [On the repaintings of the Rosenauer mural of the Lutheran parish church in Sibiu], in *Liber discipulorum. Tanulmányok Kovács András 65. születésnapjára* [Liber discipulorum. Studies for the 65th birthday of András Kovács], ed. Zsolt Kovács, Emese Sarkadi Nagy, and Attila Weisz (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület–Entz Géza Alapítvány, 2011), 39–65.

[21] Dana Jenei, "Biertan. Picturile capelei din "Turnul Catolicilor"" [Biertan. The paintings in the chapel of the "Tower of Catholics"], in *Arhitectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania 3*, ed. Daniela Marcu Istrate, Adrian Andrei Rusu, and Péter Levente Szőcs (Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 2004), 269–281.

[22] Dana Jenei, "Pictura murală a bisericii "din Deal" din Sighişoara" [The wall painting of the Church "on the Hill" in Sighişoara], *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 14–15 (2004–2005): 107–120; Corina Popa, "Pictura murală a 'Bisericii din Deal' Sf. Nicolae şi istoria oraşului Sighişoara" [The wall painting of the Saint Nicholas church and the history of the town of Sighişoara], *Ars Transsilvaniae* 8–9 (1998–1999): 175–186.

[23] Emese Nagy, "A marosszentimrei református templom falképeiről" [The wall paintings of the Calvinist church in Marosszentimre], *Erdélyi Múzeum* 60, nos. 3–4. (1998), 252–255.

[24] Dana Jenei, "The Passion, Death and Resurrection Murals Painted inside St. Matthias Church in Râșnov (1500)," *Studii şi cercetări de istoria artei. Artă plastică* 4 (2014): 9–27.

the subject.[25] Other important ensembles, which were recently discovered or conserved, have not yet received a monographic treatment they would deserve.[26] In addition to the length of time for which they have been available to art historical research, uncovered, and their state of preservation, geographical location seems a further factor determining the extent of research on individual monuments, with wall paintings from the Saxon regions attracting more scholarly attention than those in the Székely lands and the noble counties, partly due to their often higher quality and more intact survival.

Regarding the specific focus of this study, an overview by Tünde Wehli in the handbook on late medieval art in Hungary contains several relevant observations concerning Eucharistic imagery in the chancels and its connection to the celebration of the mass and specific feasts, with a focus on wall paintings from the fourteenth, and the beginning of the fifteenth century.[27] In her recent synthesis on Transylvanian wall paintings, Dana Jenei provides a brief overview of sacramental themes recurrent in the decoration of the chancels (such as the Crucifixion, the Man of Sorrows, and the Veronica)[28] and dedicates a further section to representations connected to Eucharistic devotion, independent of their location.[29] While focusing on different media, the analyses of Eucharistic imagery in Transylvanian winged altarpieces by Maria Crăciun,[30] and on sacrament houses and niches by Kinga German[31] also include wall paintings. In addition, the Eucharistic meaning of wall paintings and their connection to liturgical furnishing were discussed in case studies focusing on some of the Late Gothic mural ensembles, by Dana Jenei,[32] Ciprian Firea,[33] Corina Popa,[34] and Helga Fabritius.[35] On the whole, however, it can be noted that the interconnection of the Late Gothic wall painting decoration of Transylvanian churches and Eucharistic liturgy and devotion has not been systematically studied.

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[25] Helga Fabritius, *Die honigberger Kapelle. Kunst und Selbstdarstellung einer siebenbürgischen Gemeinde im 15. Jahrhundert* (Dössel: J. Stekovics, 2006).

[26] Such as the mural decoration of the chapel of the so-called Tower of Mary in Mediaş (Medgyes, Mediasch) or the recently revealed wall paintings in the chancel of the former church of the Dominican nunnery in Sibiu. For a recent analysis of the former ensemble, with a dating to the end of the fifteenth century, see: Dana Jenei, "Picturi murale din jurul anului 1500 la Mediaş" [Mural painting from around 1500 in Mediaş]. *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 22 (2012): 49–62. The wall paintings in Sibiu were included in the most recent synthesis by Dana Jenei, see idem, *Pictura,* 77, 136–137, 159.

[27] Wehli Tünde, "Tematikai és ikonográfiai jelenségek" [Thematic and Iconographic phenomena], in *Magyarországi művészet,* vol. 1, 183–188.

[28] Jenei, *Pictura*, 98.

[29] Ibid., 116–122.

[30] Crăciun, *Eucharistic Devotion.*

[31] German, *Sakramentsnischen.*

[32] Jenei, *Râşnov;* Idem, *Mediaş.*

[33] Firea, *Sibiu.*

[34] Popa, *Sighişoara.*

[35] Fabritius, *Honigberg.*

Structure and methodology

The dissertation comprises two parts. The Catalogue contains basic information on the individual wall painting ensembles including a description, along with a discussion of their architectural context and dating, a compilation of relevant written sources, and a brief overview of earlier research. The analytical part of the dissertation is conceived as a series of case studies grouped thematically into five chapters focusing on different types of representations, as the single Crucifixion, the Man of Sorrows, Veronica's veil, Passion cycles, and images of saints with sacramental allusions. Considering the fragmentary picture we now have of the corpus of mural paintings once produced in Transylvania, on the one hand, and the iconographic variety of the extant material on the other, a close analysis of surviving examples of Eucharistic imagery seems more fruitful than a synthetic approach focusing on general trends; still, a thematic grouping of the case studies enables the recognition of patterns.

The main question driving the analyses is to what extent and how wall paintings decorating liturgical spaces serving for mass celebration were connected to the liturgy and cult of the Eucharist. Investigating the Eucharistic layer of meaning of the various representations, the analyses look at how their iconographic features and the visual strategies adopted articulate and nuance this meaning. An examination of the images against compositional patterns current in the period and, where possible, against direct visual sources may lead to a better appreciation of the range of possible meanings and associations as well as of the choices of those involved in the patronage and production of these works. Subsequently, the wall paintings are analysed in the context of their placement within the church interior, in relation to other themes of the iconographic program and pieces of liturgical furnishing, such as altars and tabernacles. As far as they can be outlined based on available sources, the historical contexts of patronage and devotional practice are considered in an attempt to interpret choices in the selection and placement of images.

Chapter 1. Single images of the Crucifixion

While much theological discussion was focused, especially in the eleventh–thirteenth centuries, on the nature of the Eucharistic change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, there has been a general agreement throughout the Middle Ages regarding a substantial unity between the sacrifice at the altar and that of the cross. The Eucharistic ritual was not seen as a mere commemoration of, but as the very same as Christ's redemptive sacrifice on Golgotha, even if the daily sacrifice of the mass was offered in a different way and did not involve Christ's suffering and dying anew. Therefore, it was not a repetition, but a representation[36] of Christ's one-time death on the cross.[37] As Thomas Cajetan (1469–1534), a leading Catholic theologian at the time of the Reformation explains, defending Catholic teaching on the mass: *„The victim is one and the same, but there are two manners in which he is immolated. The first, the original, unique and proper manner of immolation, was by way of shedding of blood; that is, under natural appearances, when his blood was shed and his body broken on the cross. The second manner (…) is unbloody – re-presenting in an immolatory manner, under the appearance of bread and wine, Christ offered on the cross."[38]*

Corresponding to its central importance to Christian faith and its inherent connection to the essence of the mass, the Crucifixion was a decisive element of the visual program of church interiors, often in a context suggestive of the identity of the bloody sacrifice of Golgotha and its sacramental representation at the altar. Monumental crucifixes elevated over choir screens were a widespread dominating feature of church interiors from the twelfth century onwards;[39] in late medieval missals the Canon of the Mass was introduced by full-page miniatures of the

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[36] Concerning the exact meaning of the word *repraesentare* commonly used in this context, Francis Clark, S.J. points out that while in medieval latin the verb generally had a weaker sense approximating that of the current English term ('to represent, portray, recall something past or absent'), in the writings of certain theologians, such as Thomas Cajetan cited below, an original stronger meaning of the word can be discerned ('to bring before one, to make present anew'), in concordance with a theological view emphasizing "the patristic concept of the Eucharist as the supernatural enactment *in mysterio*, the re-presentation, of Christ's redemptive sacrifice on Calvary." Francis Clark, *Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation* (Westminster, Md – London: The Newman Press – Darton, Longman & Todd, 1960), 264–265.

[37] For an overview of theological views on the sacrificial character of the mass, and its relationship with the sacrifice of the Cross up to the Reformation, see Clark, *Eucharistic Sacrifice*, 73–95, 243–249 and 260–268.

[38] Thomas Cajetan*, De missae sacrificio et ritu adversus Lutheranos* (1531)*,* cap. 6., cited and translated by Francis Clark in idem, *Eucharistic Sacrifice,* 88.

[39] Jacqueline Elaine Jung, *The Gothic Screen: Space, Sculpture, and Community in the Cathedrals of France and Germany, ca. 1200 - 1400* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 46–54.

Crucifixion;[40] the cross was often embroidered on the back of the celebrant's chasubles,[41] and incised on host wafers.[42]

In the material under study, five examples of alone-standing Crucifixions[43] survive in a context suggesting that they were similarly part of the visual environment of the Eucharistic liturgy; their analysis will follow a chronological order.

1.1. Hărman (Szászhermány, Honigberg), chapel in the eastern tower of the church fortification

A three-figure Crucifixion flanked by two groups of allegorical figures is in the centre of the elaborate iconographic program decorating the chapel located to the east from the chancel of the Saint Nicholas church in Hărman (Fig. 1.1).[44] The room, built above a semi-basement most likely functioning as an ossuary to the cemetery around the parish church,[45] probably served for the celebration of masses for the dead.[46] Its wall painting decoration bearing the imprint of the International Gothic can be dated to the middle of the fifteenth century.[47]

The Crucifixion scene fills the entire eastern wall of the two-bay interior above a decorative lower register of vegetal scroll motifs.[48] The lifeless body of Christ hanging on the cross bears apparent marks of his torments: his head, crowned with a plaited crown of thorns, is dropped on his right shoulder (Fig. 1.2). His eyes are closed, his downward curving mouth is

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[40] Wehli, *Tematikai és ikonográfiai jelenségek*, 188.

[41] Barbara M. Eggert, "Performative Paramente. Zu Funktionen bildlicher Darstellungen auf liturgischen Gewändern im Kontext des Messerituals vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert," in *Mode und Bewegung. Beiträge zur Theorie und Geschichte der Kleidung.* Textile Studies, vol. 5, ed. Anna-Brigitte Schlittler and Katharina Tietze (Emsdetten/Berlin: Edition Imorde, 2013), 113, 115.

[42] Aden Kumler, "The Multiplication of the Species: Eucharistic Morphology in the Middle Ages," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 59–60 (2011): 186.

[43] Crucifixions appearing as part of Passion cycles are discussed in Chapter 4.

[44] The wall painting ensemble has received relatively much attention in the scholarly literature, the most comprehensive analysis is the doctoral dissertation of Helga Fabritius, published as a monograph: Fabritius, *Die Honigberger Kapelle.* See here also for an overview and evaluation of previous research on the wall paintings, ibid., 11–13. Another important contribution published in the same year (2006) is a study by Dana Jenei, providing an analysis of the iconographic program, with a dating to the end of the fifteenth century: idem, "Pictura murală a capelei din Hărman" [The mural painting of the chapel in Hărman], *Ars Transilvaniae* 12–13 (2002–2003): 81–102.

[45] See Fabritius, *Die Honigberger Kapelle*, 30–50. On the architecture of the chapel, see Cat. No. 6.

[46] On the function of charnel chapels, see Franz Hula, *Mittelalterliche Kultmale: die Totenleuchten Europas, Karner, Schalenstein und Friedhofsoculus* (Wien: Selbstverl., 1970), 39, 54; Reiner Sörries, *Die Karner in Kärnten: ein Beitrag zur Architektur und Bedeutung des mittelalterlichen Kirchhofes* (Kassel: Arbeitsgemeinschaft Friedhof und Denkmal, 1996), 71; Almut Breitenbach, *Der "Oberdeutsche vierzeilige Totentanz": Formen seiner Rezeption und Aneignung in Handschrift und Blockdruck* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 184. See also the discussion of the chapel in Mediaș in Chapter 2.4.

[47] For a detailed analysis of stylistic features and analogies, see Fabritius, *Die Honigberger Kapelle,* 120–144.

[48] The composition suffered significant damage through the opening of a window in the eighteenth century, affecting the lower part of the central Crucifixion, and the front figures of the two lateral groups.

slightly open after having breathed his last. His taut, sinewy arms, and protruding ribcage contrasting his narrow waist are suggestive of the suffering endured.

The abundant streams of blood flowing from his wounds are a distinctive feature of the composition. His forehead and cheeks are densely covered with drops of blood from the wounds caused by the thorns pricking his head. Strikingly large size black nails penetrate his palms; from here, copious streams of blood are running along his arms and pouring downwards to the ground and upon the mourning figures of the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist standing by the cross. The blood streaming from his side wound is flowing down on his chest and abdomen, continuing under the loincloth and soaking it red in a wide stripe.

A similar rendering of the scene is found in the central panel of the high altarpiece from the neighbouring village Prejmer (Prázsmár, Tartlau, Fig. 1.3). Painted around the same time as the mural,[49] the Crucifixion panel is comparable in its composition as well as style. [50] While the blood flowing from Christ's wounds follows a similar course as in the wall painting (including the blood dripping onto the figures of Mary and John, and the bloodstream under the loincloth) a bolder use of the red colour creates a more dramatic effect: the smooth, luminous body is evenly patterned with scourge marks, which become blurred spots soaking through the translucent loincloth; the blood-drops are heavier, their flow is solider and denser.

Despite the differing genre and technique, the two compositions seem to be set in a comparable functional context. In her analysis, Helga Fabritius suggests that in the wall painting, Christ's cross originally reached down until the bottom of the composition, in this way being in direct visual connection with the altar once standing here, and the mural took over the function of an altarpiece.[51] There is no information on the exact position of the altar of the chapel or on its decoration.[52] In the charnel chapels located within the fortification of the churches in Mediaș (Medgyes, Mediasch) and Biertan (Berethalom, Birthälm) rectangular lacunae in the painted decoration suggest that the altars stood directly besides the wall, which might also have been the case in Hărman. While in Mediaș an illusionistically painted triptych

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[49] On the altarpiece, see Ciprian Firea, *Polipticele medievale din Transilvania: Artă, liturghie, patronaj* [Medieval polyptychs from Transylvania: Art, liturgy, patronage], (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2016), 242–243; Emese Sarkadi Nagy, *Local Workshops – Foreign Connections. Late Medieval Altarpieces from Transylvania* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke Verlag, 2012), 25–26, 193–194.

[50] Helga Fabritius has drawn attention to the similarities between the two works: idem, *Die Honigberger Kapelle*, 135, 142. See also Sarkadi Nagy, *Altarpieces,* 26.

[51] Fabritius, *Die Honigberger Kapelle,* 103.

[52] A niche in the eastern wall – similar to the niches in the southern and northern walls of the eastern bay, but somewhat wider – might have been the original place of the altar. This niche however was walled up before the execution of the wall paintings, as part of the fortification works around the church, probably following Ottoman attacks in the region in the 1430's. See Fabritius, *Die Honigberger Kapelle,* 24–28.

served as the decoration of the altar (Fig. 2.28),[53] in Biertan a small-sized retable placed on the altar may have been completed with two wall painting "panels" painted in trompe l'oeil (Cat. Fig. 1).[54] In Hărman, even if the cross did not reach down to the base of the composition,[55] and even in case it was not conceived as a replacement of an altarpiece, but was combined with one, taken into consideration the relatively smaller size of altarpieces in this early period, the monumental image of the crucified Saviour must have been a defining element of the altar's visual environment.

While in Prejmer the image of the Crucifixion also functioned as a titulus indicating the dedication of the high altar to the Holy Cross,[56] we do not know if the mural in Hărman had a similar function, as there is no information on the dedication of the chapel or of its altar. In the context of the liturgy, however, both images visualised in a straightforward and suggestive way the essence of the mass sacrifice, identical with the sacrifice of Calvary.[57] Both compositions focus the viewer's gaze on the bare, abundantly bleeding body of Christ through setting it against an abstract – golden or greenish – background,[58] removing it from the context of the biblical narrative into the present of the mass celebration.[59] The strictly symmetrical arrangement of both compositions with the Crucifix in the centre also emphasizes the direct correspondence between the image and the liturgical act, resulting – at the highpoint of the mass – in an alignment, along a vertical axis, of the image of the crucified Christ, the celebrating priest acting in the stead of Christ[60] – the back of his chasuble often embroidered with a cross[61] – and the true body of Christ in the form of the host presented for viewing at the elevation.[62] A similar alignment was sometimes emphasized in visual representations of the mass (Fig. 1.4).

The arrangement of the bystanders to the Cross follows a hierarchical logic. The triangle of the haloes of Christ, Mary and John is repeated on a larger scale by the triangle of

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[53] See Chapter 2.4. The *Notgottes.*

[54] See Cat. no. 1.

[55] See the analysis below.

[56] Firea, *Polipticele medievale,* 242.

[57] Several authors have drawn attention to the explicit Eucharistic overtones of the altarpiece from Prejmer, see Firea, *Polipticele medievale,* 243; Crăciun, *Eucharistic Devotion,* 214; Sarkadi Nagy, *Altarpieces,* 25, footnote 143.

[58] Cf. Sarkadi Nagy, *Altarpieces,* 25.

[59] This effect is even more emphatic in the mural, while the Passion scenes on the side-wings of the altarpiece evoke the narrative context of Christ's sacrifice.

[60] Romano, John F., "Priests and the Eucharist in the Middle Ages," in *A Companion to Priesthood and Holy Orders in the Middle Ages*, eds. Greg Peters and C. Colt Anderson (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 209–211.

[61] As an expression of the sacrificial character of the mass, see Maurice B. McNamee, *Vested Angels: Eucharistic Allusions in Early Netherlandish Paintings* (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 213. Eggert, *Performative Paramente*, 115.

[62] The same image of the Crucifixion may have been incised on the host itself, as the evidence of a host press from 1498, housed in the Museum of History in Sibiu suggests. Reproduced in: German, *Sakramentsnischen,* 137, Fig. 184; see also Kumler, *Eucharistic Morphology*, 186.

the three-figure Crucifixion group in the central upper part of the composition, elevated over two allegorical groups of figures positioned in the lower corners of the lunette-shaped field, both triangles culminating in the figure of Christ.

The various figures offer different levels of identification for the viewer. Closest to Christ at the foot of the Cross, connected to Him also through their identical haloes (yellow with white outline) and elevated position above the other bystanders stand Mary and John. Their postures and gestures mirror each other's; they are both resting their slightly bowed head in their hands, their expression – with glances turned downwards, and eyelids partially covering the eyes – suggesting sorrowful contemplation. They are wearing garments of complementary, red and blue, colours; the red of John's outer cloak and of the lining of the Virgin Mary's dress repeats the colour of the blood of Christ, and acts as a further link.

In the bottom right corner of the composition, the Publican and the Pharisee of the biblical parable appear (Luke 18:9–14, Fig. 1.5). The Pharisee is clad in a lavish outfit, wearing a hat with a golden-colour band, and a tassel of pearls, his curly locks of hair arranged in a fashionable hairdo. Standing in the front, he is looking at the Cross with his head held high. In contrast, the appearance of the Publican positioned behind him, and lower on the picture plane, is more modest: wearing a simple red dress, he is bowing his uncovered head, and is crossing his hands before his chest in a gesture of humility and submission, his expression suggesting sorrow and remorse. Their contrasting attitudes of complacency and contrition is further suggested by their speech quoting the Gospel: *G[r]atias ago tibi qui[a] (…) ceteri ho[mi]nes raptores i[n]iusti adulteri.*[63] and *De[us] p[ro]pitius esto mihi pec/catori.*[64] The inscription scrolls framing the upper part of their figures refract and intersect with each other in a decorative way.

The setting of the biblical story – the temple where the Publican and the Pharisee enter to pray – is in most representations actualized as the interior of a Gothic style Christian church, with the two men praying before an altar, as in a closely contemporary coloured pen-and-ink drawing from a Bohemian manuscript of the Life of Christ (c. 1425–1435, Fig. 1.6), where the contrast between the two protagonists is similarly suggested through their postures, gestures, and clothing, as in the mural. The Publican's plea for mercy "Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori" was reiterated in a variety of liturgical and devotional texts, including chants sung

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[63] I thank thee, that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers. Luke (18,11). The inscriptions were transcribed by Helga Fabritius.
[64] God be merciful to me a sinner. Luke (18, 13).

during mass and the Divine Office,[65] a prayer uttered by the priest in preparation for administering the sacrament of penance,[66] and a prayer attributed to Saint Augustine beginning with the words of the Publican, and ending with an imploration addressed to the Holy Cross ("Crux Christi salva nos. Crux Christi protege nos. Crux Christi defende nos".)[67] In an early fifteenth-century didactic work entitled "Instructions for a Devout and Literate Layman", the Publican's humble introspection – this time placed in contrast with the fervent dedication of Mary Magdalene – was set as a model for devotion to the crucified Christ before the late medieval churchgoer: "with Mary Magdalen throw yourself at the feet of the most sweet Jesus, and wash them with your tears and anoint them and kiss them; and if not with your eyes and mouth, at least do this in your heart. Do not climb up to the cross, but in your heart say with the publican: 'Lord be merciful to me a sinner.'"[68] For the viewer standing before the image of the Crucifix in Hărman, the Publican's humble demeanour and plea for mercy might have served as a similar model to follow when approaching the mystery of Christ's sacrifice, the didactic message rendered all the more poignant by the antithesis of the positive and negative models of devotion.[69]

In the lower left corner of the field, the allegory of the three orders of medieval society was painted (Fig. 1.7). The first of the three figures is a tonsured priest, turning towards the Cross kneeling, with hands raised in prayer. He is wearing a sleeveless red mantle, a black dress below, and a black shoulder cape.[70] The compositional solution to depict him hovering one foot above the ground was most likely adopted to make up for his loss of height resulting from his kneeling posture compared to the knight standing behind him.[71] Appearing as a representative of the second estate, the knight is clad in full armour, and is holding a flag with a red cross on

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[65] As in an antiphon for the twelfth Sunday after Pentecost (http://cantusindex.org/id/002180, accessed March 2020). In a fragment of a fourteenth-century gradual of probably Transylvanian Saxon origin preserved in the library of the Franciscan convent from Șumuleu Ciuc (Csíksomlyó, Schomlenberg), the *Propitius esto* appears as the gradual for the mass on the fourth Sunday after Pentecost, see Zsuzsa Czagány, Erzsébet Muckenhaupt, and Ágnes Papp, "Liturgikus és kottás középkori kódextöredékek a csíksomlyói ferences kolostor egykori könyvtárának állományában," *A Csíki Székely Múzeum évkönyve* (2005): 191–192.
[66] Antonio Miralles, *Teologia liturgica dei sacramenti 4. Penitenza* (Roma: 2009), 39, 91.
[67] "Codexeink forrásai III." *Irodalomtörténeti közlemények* 6 no. 4 (1896): 500. Another prayer addressed to the suffering Christ, based on his Seven Last words on the Cross, also uses this formula, see Matthew Cheung Salisbury, ed., *Medieval Latin Liturgy in English Translation* (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 2017), 106–107. The phrase *Deus esto propitius mihi peccatori* also appears on the inscription scroll held by the figure of *Erasmus plebanus* represented as a donor in a mural in Martijanci (Mártonhely) dating from 1392, see *Magyarországi Művészet,* vol. 1, 483, vol. 2. fig. no. 721 (also noted by Jenei, *Hărman,* 87).
[68] Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen. Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000), 259.
[69] In her analysis, Helga Fabritius has also emphasized the didactic scope of this representation, as well as of the whole iconographic program, idem, *Die Honigberger Kapelle*, 104–105, 144–152.
[70] For a detailed description and analysis of his vestment, see ibid., 105, 154–155.
[71] Cf. ibid., 105.

a white background.[72] The third figure, visibly shorter than the previous two, is a peasant. He is bearded, wearing a red hat with a neck-flap, a mid-shin-length grey dress and sandals, and is surrounded by agricultural tools as attributes. Vertically placed, undulating inscription scrolls before each figure point to their respective roles – of prayer, providing protection and work – in medieval society, as well as the mutual interdependence of the three estates.[73] The knight and the peasant are holding the end of the scroll in their left hand, and are pointing to it with their right, while the priest's hands are engaged in carrying out his task of humble prayer.

Due to its rarity and social implications, the motif has attracted relatively much scholarly attention, the analyses mostly focusing on the suggestion of hierarchy between the three estates. Presuming a direct correspondence between the image and contemporary social realities within the Saxon community, and based on historical arguments, Christine Peters suggests that between the three figures "[placed] as intercessors to the Crucified Christ, notions of hierarchy, even mutual obligations pale into insignificance."[74] In contrast, based on a careful analysis of visual hints, Helga Fabritius more convincingly shows that even though compared to other representations of the theme – through a more dignified depiction of the peasant and the choice not to include the highest dignitaries of the two upper estates, the king and the pope – it can be regarded as a more "egalitarian" image, a hierarchical distinction is evident between the figure of the peasant and the representatives of the two higher orders on the one hand, and between the priest, positioned in the front, closer to the Cross, and the knight on the other.[75]

To further the argument on the priest's role and for a better understanding of the motif in the context of the whole composition, it is worth looking at two other surviving representations of the theme in the medium of mural painting. In the parish church of the town Wemding in Swabia, a mural featuring the three orders was painted on the southern chancel wall at the middle of the fifteenth century (Fig. 1.8).[76] Here the representatives of the estates are accompanied by angels holding inscriptions with shorter versions of the divine imperatives ("tu supplex ora", "tu protege", "tuque labora"), as well as by smaller figures of devils with

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[72] For a connection of the knight to the allegorical type *miles christianus* in the context of the fight against the Ottomans, see ibid., 111.

[73] Tu [supplex ora ideo] decime et primicie da(n)tur; tu p(ro)tege ideo ce(n)sus et t(ri)buta [da](n)tur; tu que illabora vt p(ro) te or(ati)o fu(n)dat(ur) et p(ro)tegaer(is) ab hostib[us]. Transcription by Fabritius, ibid., 170.

[74] Christine Peters, "The Virgin Mary and the Publican: Lutheranism and Social Order in Transylvania," in *The Impact of the European Reformation: Princes, Clergy and People*, ed. Bridget Heal and Ole Peter Grell (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), 154–159.

[75] Fabritius, *Die Honigberger Kapelle,* 105–110.

[76] Adam Horn, ed., *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Schwaben. III: Landkreis Donauwörth* (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1951), 543, fig. 527, 544; Wolfgang Kemp, "Du aber arbeite. Die Darstellungen der drei Stände im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert", *Tendenzen*, 15, no. 98 (1974): 54–55.

counter-orders instigating corresponding offenses: "sis infidelis", "sis raptor", "sis otiosus".[77] Compared to the mural in Hărman, but corresponding to the iconographic conventions of the time, this composition conveys a more pronounced hierarchy between the figures. The two higher orders – represented by the pope and the king, invested with the vestment and insignia of their rank and power – are placed in a church-like interior, while the peasantry, relegated to a spatially separated lower register of the image, ploughing the land, is depicted as clearly inferior to the other two.[78] In the upper part of the composition, a three-figure Crucifixion – comparable to the one seen in Hărman – appears above an altar-like structure, with the chalice and the host placed before the foot of the cross. Positioned between the altar and the figures of the pope and the king, on the right part of the image, is a smaller sized figure of a tonsured priest in white vestment, his praying posture mirroring that of the pope, whom he is facing. The donor figure has been identified as parish priest Johann von Emmershofen,[79] in which case a desired vicinity to his name saint, Saint John of the Crucifixion-group, may account for his position within the composition. In this way, the clerical order is represented by two of its members in the image, who, positioned closest to the altar and to Christ, are performing their duty of humble prayer and intercession for all of Christian society. The particular iconography of the image, combining the representation of the three orders with the vision-like appearance of a three-figure Crucifixion on the altar besides the Eucharistic species, might be understood as stressing an idea at the very core of late medieval Christian teaching, that is, it is only an ordained priest, who can make present the sacrifice of Golgotha in the mass, by turning the bread and wine into the true body and blood of Christ through the words of the consecration.[80]

The precedence of the priestly order is similarly suggested in a wall painting labelled with the inscription *Triplex status mundi* decorating the southern nave wall of the Saint George parish church in Ptuj (Slovenia, Fig. 1.9).[81] Here too angels disclose the divine orders written on a single winding inscription scroll to the estates, now represented as groups instead of individual figures. On the right, a priest accompanied by assistants and lay devouts is celebrating mass before an altar, blessing with his right hand the chalice and the host. In the apex of the lunette, Christ's half-figure appears in a cloud, his blessing hands extended over all

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[77] Horn, *Schwaben,* 544.

[78] As probably there was not enough space to accommodate both figures, here the angel appears in the place of the peasant holding the handle of the plough, see Kemp*, Drei Stände*, 54.

[79] Horn, *Schwaben,* 544.

[80] Romano, *Priests and the Eucharist*, 190.

[81] Tomislav Vignjević, "Darstellungen der drei Stände an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit. Zum Verhältnis von bildlicher Darstellung und gesellschaftlicher Realität," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 57 (2008): 46–47, fig. 11; see also idem, "Drei Darstellungen der „Drei Orden". Zu einem Fresko in Ptuj," in *Gotik in Slowenien*, ed. Janez Höfler (Ljubljana: Narodna galerija, 1995), 269–272.

three orders, but directing his look towards the liturgical action. The image might be read as a statement of the Church's place within the economy of salvation, where, although the blood of Christ was shed for the whole of mankind,[82] it is the privilege of the clergy to mediate grace through the sacraments.

The representation in Hărman might have well been meant to convey similar ideas about the role of the clergy and their privileged relationship with God. Here the priest, positioned closest to the Cross, is the only one of the three figures raising his glance at the Crucifix,[83] being connected to Christ's suffering even through the colour of his robe, repeating the colour of the Saviour's abundantly flowing blood.

Of the two analogies presented above, especially the resemblance in motifs to the mural in Wemding is striking. While the lower middle part of the wall painting is largely destroyed, it is possible that the original composition bore further resemblance to the Swabian example beyond the association of the image of the three estates with the Crucifixion. A fragmentary detail to be considered in an attempt to reconstruct the now lost parts, is a rectangular brown structure, the corners of which are visible besides the figures of the Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist in approximately waist-height (Figs. 1.2, 1.10). Helga Fabritius has suggested that these were fragments of a stool, on which the Virgin and Saint John were sitting, while the cross reached down until the base of the composition.[84] Although there are representations where the two mourning figures are sitting on the ground, instead of standing,[85] in none of these examples does a similar chest-like wooden seat appear, and a solution where the figures of Mary and John are elevated in the air (given the proportion of their figures), while the cross reaches down until the ground would be fairly unusual. Instead, a vision-like character as seen in Wemding might account for the elevated position of the cross as well as of the figures of Mary and John within the composition. The similarities may have gone further, and, following this train of thought, it cannot be excluded that the rectangular structure visible behind the two mourning figures might

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[82] The idea of the universality of Christ's redemptive sacrifice was also emphasized by Dana Jenei in her analysis of the three estates: Jenei, *Hărman,* 87. (Her suggestion that the figures of the Pharisee and the Publican might in this context represent the newly emerged social classes of late medieval society, is less convincing).

[83] Cf. Fabritius, *Die Honigberger Kapelle,* 106, 154.

[84] Ibid., 103.

[85] Fabritius brings the example of the Wildung altarpiece by Konrad von Soest, c. 1404–1414, ibid. This solution was adopted in three-figure Crucifixions in Italian art (e.g. Naddo Ceccarelli, "Crucifixion", tempera on panel, c. 1330–1360, Museum of Fine Arts Boston, accession no. 16.117 (https://www.mfa.org/collections/object/crucified-christ-with-the-virgin-and-saint-john-the-evangelist-31560); Lorenzo Monaco (?), "Crucifixion", tempera on panel, c. 1406, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession no. 1975.1.67 (https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/459008)), as well as in the art of the regions north of the Alps (e.g. "Crucifixion" c. 1500, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Crucified_Christ_between_Saint_John_and_Mary_mg_1689.jpg)).

have been an altar as in Wemding, or that a representation of the chalice and the host underscored the connection of the image to the liturgical action. Alternatively, the brown object might have been a parapet-like structure, possibly used as a similar compositional device as the one in the Crucifixion scene of the altarpiece in Prejmer.

While in Wemding a clerical donor figure appears in addition to the *Ständebild*, in Hărman allegory and donor representation seem to be combined in the figure of the priest, which – positioned on the right of the crucified Christ, kneeling, turning towards him with his prayer – corresponds to the conventions of contemporary donor portraits (Fig. 1.11).[86] Examining the identity of the donor, Helga Fabritius has reached the conclusion that accepting a dating c. 1440–1450, a likely candidate is a certain *Antonius,* mentioned in the sources as parish priest of Hărman and dean of Brașov between 1442 and 1449, and possibly identical with *Antonius de Montemellis*[87] registered at the University of Vienna in 1427.[88] This affiliation of the donor would account not only for the sophisticated iconographic program deploying a wealth of Latin inscriptions, but also for the academic attire worn by the priest,[89] as well as for the presence of a composition featuring Old Testament types and animal symbols of the Virgin Birth (Cat. Fig. 24), based on the typological work *Defensorium inviolatae virginitatis beatae Mariae,* written by the Dominican Franz von Retz, professor of theology in Vienna between 1388 and 1424.[90]

An emphasis on the Church and the clergy as mediators of redemption is also discernible in other representations of the iconographic program. While the decoration of the western bay is centred around the idea of Judgement at the end of times, complete with moralising compositions and Mariological scenes, in the eastern bay the Crucifixion is surrounded by a vast ecclesiological tableau, with rows of prophets and apostles on the northern and southern walls, and the four evangelists paired with the Church Fathers, as well as the Maiestas Domini and the Coronation of the Virgin in the caps of the vault (Fig. 1.12). Previous studies have already pointed to the numerous visual allusions to the Crucifixion within the iconographic program,[91] as well as to the interconnections between the themes of the Incarnation, sacrifice,

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[86] Fabritius, *Die Honigberger Kapelle,* 154.
[87] The Latin toponym for Hărman (in German: Honigberg).
[88] Fabritius, *Die Honigberger Kapelle*, 152–156.
[89] The sleeveless closed cope (*cappa clausa*), was often prescribed by universities for their students. At the University of Vienna, a red colour cope was stipulated for the Faculty of Arts, see Fabritius, *Die Honigberger Kapelle,* 155.
[90] Ibid, 78, 153; Wehli, *Előképek,* 219.
[91] The cross of the *arma Christi* on the western wall appearing as the "sign of the Son of man" (Matthew 24:30) at the second coming mirrors the cross of the Crucifixion, the crown of thorns becoming a laurel wreath; a procession of haloed saints on both sides of the transverse arch, and the twelve apostles coupled with twelve

the Church's teaching, and the Last Judgement,[92] woven into a coherent representation of salvation history. Besides its didactic purposes, the decoration program was particularly fitting for a liturgical space built above an ossuary, designed for the celebration of masses for the dead.

On the side walls of the eastern bay, the apostles holding versets from the Creed were associated – according to a typological scheme widespread in the period[93] – with prophets in the niches below, equipped with inscription scrolls with Old Testament prophecies prefiguring the respective articles of faith (Fig. 1.13, Cat. Fig. 20). Although the inscriptions with the Creed are largely destroyed, the division of the text among the apostle figures could be reconstructed with the help of the corresponding Old Testament phrases and analogies.[94] For instance, the phrase testifying to Christ's death on the cross, held by Andrew, the fourth in the row of apostles on the southern wall (*[passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et] s[e]pultus*) is paired with a text from the book of Zechariah (12,10): *Zacharias Aspicient ad me quem crucifixerunt.* It is interesting to note that while the text of the Old Testament contains no reference to the crucifixion, in the inscription the original '*confixerunt*' ([whom] 'they have pierced') was changed into '*crucifixerunt*', creating a more literal correspondence with the phrasing of the Creed, as well as with the given iconographic context.

Leading the row of apostles – corresponding to iconographic conventions – is Saint Peter, with a large-size key rested against his shoulders (Fig. 1.14). His figure is repeatedly represented below, but slightly to the left, in the lower register, in front of the group of prophets (Figs.1.13, 1.15). This time he is featured as the bishop of Rome, likewise haloed, but beardless and with straight grey hair, wearing a red chasuble adorned with a cross over an alb and dalmatic, as well as gloves and a mitre, and is holding a crozier in his left hand. In his right hand, he is holding two keys tied together with a filigree chain, the keys of the kingdom of heaven entrusted to him by Christ. This episode described in the Gospel of Matthew (Mt 16, 19) was interpreted as the institution of the Church and that of papal authority, the two

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prophets on the northern and southern walls of the eastern bay are all turned towards the Calvary scene, cf. Jenei, *Hărman*, 89; Fabritius, *Die Honigberger Kapelle* 144–147. In addition, Christine Peters emphasizes the Christological character of the typological composition demonstrating Mary's purity. Here the depiction of the pelican feeding its young with its blood, accompanied by the inscription *[P]ellican(us) sum significo [...] deum* can be interpreted as a reference to Christ's sacrifice, cf. Christine Peters, "Mural Paintings, Ethnicity and Religious Identity in Transylvania: The Context for Reformation," in *The Reformation in Eastern and Central Europe*, ed. Karin Maag (London: Routledge, 1997), 102–103.

[92] Fabritius, *Die Honigberger Kapelle*, 144–147; Jenei, *Hărman*, 83–101.

[93] Jenei, *Hărman*, 87–88; Fabritius, *Die Honigberger Kapelle,* 97–100. An example for this typological arrangement is found in the mural decoration of the chancel of the Saint James church in Levoča (Lőcse, Slovakia), see Vlasta Dvořáková, Josef Krása, and Karel Stejskal, *Středověká nástěnná malba na Slovensku* [Medieval Wall Paintings in Slovakia] (Praha–Bratislava: Odeon–Tatran, 1978), 115.

[94] Fabritius, *Die Honigberger Kapelle*, 97– 99, 171.

diagonally crossed keys being also part of the papal coat of arms.[95] Opposite Saint Peter, on the northern wall, an unidentified bishop is depicted. He is bearded, grey-haired, and is wearing a similar attire and bishoply insignia as Peter, except that he does not wear a dalmatic above his alb (Fig. 1.16). He is raising his right hand into a blessing. Unlike all saint figures in the iconographic program, he is represented without a halo, nor does he have a distinguishing attribute. In this way, Jenei's suggestion that a contemporary person might have been represented here is plausible, possibly the archbishop of Esztergom, to whom the Saxons of Burzenland – just like the Saxons of the Königsboden, exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Transylvania – were subject to.[96]

Concerning the sacrament of the altar, the opening creed of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) asserts: *Nobody can effect this sacrament except a priest who has been properly ordained according to the church's keys, which Jesus Christ himself gave to the apostles and their successors*.[97] The iconographic context of the Crucifixion seems to suggest a similar succession of authority originating from Christ, through Saint Peter invested with the Church's keys, the bishop (successor in spiritual power to the apostles,[98] having the authority to ordain priests), to the priest of the *Ständebild*. The chasuble worn by Peter and the bishop is in line with this sacramental-liturgical message, the cross embroidered on it as an expression of the sacrificial character of the mass,[99] being at the same time a further visual reference to the Crucifixion in the centre of the iconographic program. Clad in the same type of liturgical vestment, and probably standing before the image of the Crucifixion, the celebrant of the mass officiated the sacrament through a divine power bestowed upon him through the same channel of authority.

Noteworthy is the prominence of the figure of Saint Peter, who, besides his repeated depiction on the southern wall of the eastern bay, appears three more times in the iconographic program (in one more case in a clerical role).[100] In addition, Jenei and Fabritius have both

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[95] Wipertus Rudt de Collenberg, "Heraldry," in *The Papacy. An Encyclopedia*. vol. 2, ed. Philippe Levillain (New York–London: Routledge, 2002), 689.

[96] Jenei, *Hărman*, 89. The archbishop of Esztergom in this period was Dénes Szécsi (1440–1465). On him, see András Kubinyi, "Szécsi Dénes bíboros prímás" [Dénes Szécsi Cardinal-Primate], in *Entz Géza Nyolcvanadik születésnapjára. Tanulmányok* [For the 80th Birthday of Géza Entz. Studies], ed. Ilona Valter (Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1993), 99–108.

[97] Thomas M. Izbicki, *The Eucharist in Medieval Canon Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 36.

[98] Jill N. Claster, *The Medieval Experience, 300-1400* (New York–London: NYU Press, 1982), 26.

[99] McNamee, *Vested Angels*, 213; Eggert, *Performative Paramente*, 115.

[100] He is seated, along with Saint Paul, at the front of the college of apostles on the western wall at the Last Judgement; on the southern wall of the western bay, he is opening with his key the gate of Heaven to provide entry for the blessed. Dana Jenei identified a fifth representation of Saint Peter in the scene of the death of the Virgin, where he is again featured in a priestly role, holding a golden censer, see Jenei, *Hărman*, 95. (While the saint does

pointed to the suggestion of the *Maria-Ecclesia* metaphor in the representations of the Death of the Virgin and the Coronation of Mary.[101] A third figure, whose depiction recurs in the iconographic program, and might bear ecclesiastical connotation is Saint John the Evangelist. While according to the textual and iconographic tradition he is usually depicted as the fourth in the Apostle's Creed after Peter, Andrew and James, and paired with prophet Zechariah, here he is advanced to the second place right after Saint Peter. As Jeffrey Hamburger notes in his monograph on the saint, the beloved apostle enjoyed a "privileged association with the *corpus Christi*," being present at Christ's side at both Gospel events of defining importance to the Eucharistic cult, the Last Supper and the Crucifixion, and was often represented in a clerical role, as a deacon or a priest.[102] In a survey of saints with Eucharistic attributes, Maurice Vloberg suggests that the representation of Saint John with a chalice might have a Eucharistic connotation, especially in cases when the snake or dragon alluding to the episode of the saint drinking from a poisoned cup is omitted.[103] Although here due to the fragmentary state of survival it is not evident whether this is the case, in the given liturgical and iconographic context, the image of the saint in a white vestment, holding a large size golden chalice, emphasized through his advanced position right after Saint Peter, might evoke priestly associations, further articulating the ecclesiastical and sacramental message of the ensemble.

Instead of the many-figure Calvary prevalent in the period, evoking the Gospel narrative with various anecdotal details, the learned inventor of the iconographic program opted for a different composition for the decoration of the eastern wall, which – conveying topical messages about the right conduct in church before Christ, and about medieval Christian society, in particular the role of priesthood within it – seems uniquely designed for this particular context, attuned to the messages conveyed by the whole decoration program. The task of intercession allotted to the priestly order within medieval society, and the power to make present Christ's sacrifice in the liturgy become all the more critical in the light of the coming Judgement portrayed opposite the Crucifixion, and in the context of the masses for the dead celebrated in the chapel, wherein the priest, performing the sacrament, the most important channel of grace, becomes a mediator of salvation.

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not have an attribute here, his physiognomy corresponds to that of Peter; in addition, given his prominence, he is more likely than others to appear in a composition featuring only three apostles at the side of the Virgin Mary during her Last Prayer, along with Saint John and probably Saint Paul).

[101] Jenei, *Hărman,* 84; Fabritius, *Die Honigberger Kapelle*, 87.

[102] Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *St. John the Divine: The Deified Evangelist in Medieval Art and Theology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 71.

[103] Maurice Vloberg, *L'eucharistie dans l'art* (Grenoble, Paris: B. Arthaud, 1946)*,* 255–256.

1.2. Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt), parish church

While roughly contemporary with the Crucifixion in Hărman and reflecting characteristics of a similar stylistic phase,[104] the monumental Calvary painted in 1445[105] on the northern chancel wall of the parish church in Sibiu reveals a more complex and imposing artistic conception (Fig. 1.17). Given the scarce survival of wall paintings in the chancels of urban parish churches, the mural, with its extent of over 48 m^2, is a particularly valuable source of late medieval art and devotion, and, as one of the few works dated by an inscription, also an important reference point in the history of wall painting in the region.

At the same time, the various interventions effectuated on the mural, resulting in a significant alteration of its fifteenth-century state, pose a challenge to art historical interpretation. As a signature *Georg.[ius] Herman pictor cib. [iniensis] 1650 fe.[cit]* attests,[106] the composition was reworked at the middle of the seventeenth century, with the aim to adapt it to the new tastes and religious sensitivities of a community converted to Lutheranism in the meantime, involving the retouching of details such as the face of Christ, as well as changes in the iconography of the painting.[107] In the twentieth century, several restorations involving repainting followed.[108]

A study by Ágnes Bálint and Frank Ziegler, based on the critical evaluation of a 1959 documentation of the repainted details, has yielded the most persuasive reconstruction of the medieval composition to date while leaving some questions open.[109] Based on this reconstruction, the many-figure Calvary embedded in a frame of illusionistic architecture had probably been flanked by the standing figures of four saints set in painted niches: besides Saint

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[104] While later overpaintings leave little room for stylistic analysis, it has been generally agreed that the mural bears reminiscences of the International Gothic, similarly to the wall paintings in Hărman. See Fabritius, *Die Honigberger Kapelle,* 135; Sarkadi Nagy, *Altarpieces,* 26–27.

[105] The dating of the mural is based on an inscription on the upper edge of the niche in the lower register, accommodating the Man of Sorrows: *hoc opus fecit magister iohannes de Rozenaw Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo xlv.*

[106] The inscription was first published by Emil Sigerus in 1907: idem, "Rosenauers Kreuzigungsbild," *Die Karpathen, Halbmonatsschrift für Kultur und Leben* 1, no. 1 (1907): 24.

[107] Ágnes Bálint and Frank Ziegler, ",,Wer hat das schöne Himmelszelt hoch über uns gesetzt?" A nagyszebeni evangélikus plébániatemplom Rosenauer-falképének átfestéseiről" [On the repaintings of the Rosenauer mural of the Lutheran parish church in Sibiu], in *Liber discipulorum. Tanulmányok Kovács András 65. születésnapjára*, eds. Zsolt Kovács, Emese Sarkadi Nagy, and Attila Weisz (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, Entz Géza Alapítvány, 2011), 56.

[108] See ibid., 46; Gábor Gaylhoffer-Kovács, "Egy freskó – két másolat. A nagyszebeni Kálvária-falkép és másolatai," [One fresco – two copies. The Crucifixion mural from Sibiu and its copies], *Műemlékvédelem* 55, no. 4. (2011): 236.

[109] Bálint and Ziegler, *Rosenauer-falkép*, 39–54. The authors outline several possibilities for how the background of the Calvary scene might have originally looked like (dark blue, with or without the golden stars, or a landscape background). Another question left open is whether or not the grid of the niche accommodating the Man of Sorrows is a seventeenth-century addition. On this question, see below.

Stephen and Saint Ladislaus pictured in the lower niches, two additional saints – whose identity is unknown – probably stood below the Late Gothic baldachins above.[110] Above a parapet opened with traceries and adorned with coats of arms,[111] the tympanum crowning the painted architectural structure possibly consisted of continuing tracery work,[112] with the figure of the Madonna above surmounting the composition (Fig. 1.18). The two figures of Christ labelled as *Humilitas* and *Gloria* in the upper niches, the scenes of the Nativity, Ascension, and Baptism of Christ in the tympanum, and the Hebrew letters of the Tetragrammaton painted over the figure of the Virgin Mary are seventeenth-century additions.

The following analysis is based on the assumption that the consecutive repaintings of the composition did not lead to major alterations in its iconography other than the ones indicated above. As it will be argued below, the central composition and its illusionistic framework fit well into the artistic tendencies of the mid-fifteenth century. Some more minor changes that may have occurred will be discussed below.

The central scene is an example of the popular late medieval composition type known as the crowded Crucifixion (Germ. *volkreiche Kalvarienberg*).[113] The body of Christ, already dead, yet bleeding, nailed on a monumental cross spanning across almost the entire height of the scene, constitutes the central focus of the composition (Fig. 1.19). Christ's cross is emphasized through its forward placement compared to the crosses of the two thieves, as well as the strikingly large proportions of Christ's body compared to all other figures, elevated high over the crowd, outlined against the background of the sky. Following pictorial tradition, a further differentiation is made between the two thieves, whose death bears no sacramental significance, and who are fastened to the cross by ropes, and Christ, whose body is pierced through with nails, causing blood to flow from his wounds.[114]

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[110] In his analysis focusing on the figures of the holy kings Stephen and Ladislaus, Dragoş-Gheorghe Năstăsoiu suggests that in the upper niches further patron saints of the Kingdom might have been represented, such as Saint Emeric and Saint Elizabeth (based on two seventeenth-century analogies featuring a similar selection of saints Stephen, Ladislaus, Emeric and Elizabeth, besides Saints Adalbert and Martin), see Dragoş-Gheorghe Năstăsoiu, "Between Personal Devotion and Political Propaganda: Iconographic Aspects in the Representation of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in Church Mural Painting (14th Century – Early-16th Century)", Ph.D. dissertation (Budapest: Central European University, 2018), 144, 160–161.

[111] On the parapet: Hungarian coat of arms with the double cross, coat of arms of the Holy Roman Empire and Bohemia. In addition, the Arpadian coat of arms with the red and white stripes, and that of the Dutchy of Austria appear below the canopied niches on the frame.

[112] Bálint and Ziegler, *Rosenauer-falkép*, 47.

[113] Elisabeth Roth, *Der Volkreiche Kalvarienberg in Literatur und Bildkunst des Spätmittelalters* (Berlin: Schmidt, 1967); Robert Suckale, *Die Erneuerung der Malkunst vor Dürer*, vol. 1 (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2009), 13–102.

[114] As Mitchell Merback observes, while the Gospel accounts contain no indication as to whether Christ was fastened to the Cross by rope or nails, the latter method is implied in medieval texts and visual representations, the shedding of Christ's blood being important from a theological point of view: Mitchell B. Merback, *The Thief, the*

It has been suggested that besides the face of Christ, his wounds and blood have also been retouched in the seventeenth century in order to increase their expressive power, following a practice that can be traced in the reworking of other medieval works of art as well.[115] Without entering into a discussion of the details, it can generally be noted that the markers of Christ's suffering correspond at large to what was current in contemporary Calvary scenes, like the one in Hărman and Prejmer discussed above (Figs. 1.19, 1.20), including the crown of thorns, the protruding ribs, the streams of blood under the loincloth and the scourge marks evenly covering the body (with the possible exception of the free-falling effusion of blood, depicted as if suspended in the air, and the golden haloes of light highlighting the head of Christ as well as his wounds).

Restorer Liviu Ciungan, who has worked on the restoration of the mural in 1989–1990, later reported having discovered a figure of an angel under the overpainting, next to the cross, at the level of Christ's upper body.[116] Overpainted details in this area are visible in the watercolour copy by István Gróh (1906),[117] were observed in the documentation from 1959, and are still vaguely discernible today on both sides of Christ's figure (Figs. 1.21, 1.22).[118]

When angels appear in a similar position in Northern European art, their function is usually – although not exclusively[119] – to collect the blood of Christ into chalices (mostly three or four angels are represented, one for each wound). In crowded Crucifixions following a similar compositional scheme as the mural in Sibiu, the presence of such angels is rare. This may partially be due to the fact that the concomitant representation of Longinus' lance thrust into the side wound and an angel catching the resulting blood is almost impossible to elegantly resolve, as the example of the Wilten Crucifixion suggests (c. 1435, Fig. 1.23), where the spear, along with the sponge on a reed lifted before Christ's face, forms a compositional barrier preventing the angel to hold the chalice directly below the wound, what would have been the case in Sibiu too. Nevertheless, in some cases the motif of the angels is depicted in similar

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Cross and the Wheel: Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe (London: Reaktion, 1999), 77–78.

[115] Such as liturgical textiles, see Bálint and Ziegler, *Rosenauer-falkép*, 56.

[116] Ibid., 49.

[117] For a reproduction, see Gyöngyi Török, "Johannes Rosenau: The Crucifixion. + Copy after the Crucifixion by Johannes of Rosenau. István Gróh, 1905," in *Van Eyck to Dürer. Early Netherlandish Painting and Central Europe 1430–1530*, ed. Till-Holger Borchert (Bruges: Lannoo, 2010), 513–514.

[118] I would like to thank Frank-Thomas Ziegler for sharing with me his detail photos of the mural.

[119] In a panel in the Städel Museum in Frankfurt dated around 1440 (Inv. no. 1799, https://sammlung.staedelmuseum.de/de/werk/kalvarienberg) the two angels flanking Christ are turning towards him in an adoring position, kneeling and praying. In other instances, lamenting angels gathered around Christ's cross show Italian influence (e.g.: Hans Burgkmair: *Crucifixion*, 1504, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Augsburg, Staatsgalerie, Katharinenkirche, inv. no. 5338, https://www.sammlung.pinakothek.de/de/bookmark/artwork/8MLvqgDxz3).

compositions,[120] their chalice filling with Christ's blood acting as a visual link between the sacrifice of Golgotha and its liturgical representation, demonstrating at the same time the true content of the chalice of the mass.[121] A similar liturgical emphasis would have been fitting for a mural located in the chancel and would have been in line with the overall Eucharistic overtone of the composition, resulting from a cumulation of representations focused on the body of Christ along the central vertical axis. It is also conceivable that the figures of angels with chalices – just like the figure of the Virgin Mary and probably of two now unidentifiable saints – would not have fitted well the Lutheran reinterpretation of the composition, and would have been prone to overpainting; their presence within the composition, however, remains a hypothesis.

Corresponding to pictorial tradition, several successive episodes of the Gospel narratives are depicted simultaneously: Christ being offered to drink a sponge of vinegar on a reed before his death (Matthew 27,48), the piercing of his side with a spear after his death was ascertained according to the Gospel of John (19,34), and the Centurion's testimony, marking the moment of Christ's death in the synoptic accounts: Truly this was the Son of God (Matthew 27,54).[122]

The composition reflects an endeavour typical for the period to increase as much as possible the number of participants present at the Crucifixion. Based on their different responses to the event – expressed through a wide variety of gestures, facial expressions, postures, and physiognomies – they can be broadly divided into three groups.

Golden haloes distinguish the mourning figures of Mary and her holy companions (Fig. 1.24). The Virgin, who is about to collapse, her head turned away from the suffering of her Son yet echoing the position of Christ's head dropped to the right, is supported by three holy women. Mary Magdalene, following a well-established compositional solution, is kneeling at the foot of the cross, embracing it with her arms, raising her glance upwards at Christ, while Saint John the Evangelist, standing beside her, is burying his face in his hands, stooping forward, overwhelmed by pain. Their almost theatrical display of pain and grief is meant to stir compassion, offering models of identification for the viewer contemplating Christ's Passion.[123]

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[120] Examples: a wall painting in the San Sebastiano at Arborio (Piedmont, Italy), having a similar composition scheme as the Wilten Crucifixion (https://novartestoria.files.wordpress.com/2012/02/arborio___s__sebastiano___settembre_2006_014.jpg); the central panel of the altarpiece in the Felsenkirche in Idar-Oberstein (Mitchell B. Merback, "Recognitions: Theme and Metatheme in Hans Burgkmair the Elder's Santa Croce in Gerusalemme of 1504." *The Art Bulletin* 96, no. 3 (2014): Fig. 10).

[121] See also the Crucifixion scene in Cârța (Csíkkarcfalva) discussed later in this chapter.

[122] A fourth episode, that of the soldiers casting dice for the clothes of Christ, which has a similar role in the Gospel narratives to present Christ's death on the cross as the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecies, and often appears in the bottom right corner in analogous compositions, is missing.

[123] See Suckale, *Die Erneuerung der Malkunst,* vol. 1, 14, 20.

The number of female mourners surrounding Mary is extended into a populous group filling the entire front left row. Beside the cross are two women wearing fashionable contemporary headgears, one of them engaged in pious prayer, shedding tears. To the left are a group of mourners with uniform looks, wearing conical hats, which identifies them as Jewish. Although this latter motif is rarely encountered in visual representations, it corresponds to the Gospel narratives according to which, in addition to those specified by name, "many other women which came up with him unto Jerusalem (Mark 15, 41)" were present at Christ's Crucifixion.

Also emphatic are the figures of Longinus and the good Centurion, for whom the events of Golgotha bring about conversion and the recognition of truth. The Centurion appears as an elegantly dressed man on a white horse next to the cross; his left-hand gesture oriented towards Christ while turning to a fellow officer, is suggestive of his words, often spelled out on a banderole in similar compositions: *vere filius erat iste* (Figs. 1.25, 1.26, 1.27). The figure of Longinus, to the left of the cross, is more prominent than usual (Fig. 1.28). Rising above the crowd with his entire upper body and clad in a golden-colour armour, he is pointing with his left index finger to his eyes, a conventional gesture suggesting the regaining of his sight through the blood he had shed with his lance.

In contrast, the rest of the crowd, though heterogeneous in their appearance, are unified in their indifference or even sceptical, malevolent attitude to the mystery taking place before their eyes. The Gospel accounts describe in detail the provocations addressed to Christ to produce tangible proof of his being the Son of God. In a Crucifixion panel from Kempten (Swabia), dated to around two decades later than the mural, but following a similar composition scheme, the words of provocation and mockery are spelt out on banderoles (Fig. 1.27). In most cases, however, as in Sibiu, they are conveyed by the gestures and looks of the bystanders. In the front row, to the right of the cross, the chief priests can be seen, wearing mitres studded with pearls and precious stones, gesturing towards Christ, who "*mocking him, with the scribes and elders, said, He saved others; himself he cannot save. If he be the King of Israel, let him now come down from the cross, and we will believe him*" (Matthew 27,41–42). A man in a turban to the left of the cross supports his argumentation against Christ by counting the evidence on his fingers.[124] A Roman soldier – probably one of Christ's tormenters – is hurrying away from the scene with his head bowed. Although, given the degree of modification to the medieval state of the mural, a closer analysis of details of the vestments or facial features might not be

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[124] Cf. Merback, *Recognitions*, 297.

pertinent, in general a use of conventional marks prevalent in the period to characterize unbelievers and offenders of Christ can be noted, such as grotesque, caricature-like faces, features associated with Jewishness, such as a hooked nose, orientalising costumes and headgears.[125] Especially striking in his ugliness is a man facing the Centurion, whose mocking grimace and caricaturized features stand in stark contrast with those of the dignitary testifying to the truth (Fig. 1.25).

From within this colourful tumult, various visual cues direct the viewer's attention to the central focus of the composition, the crucified body of Christ. The theme of seeing (both in a physical and a spiritual sense of recognizing the truth) is introduced by Longinus pointing to his eyes (Fig. 1.28).[126] The diagonal of his lance carries the viewer's eyes to the side wound it opened; the intersecting vertical line of the reed with the vinegar-soaked sponge similarly directs the glance upwards, from the figure of Stephaton shown in rear view through the figure of a servant holding to the beam of the cross, his head shown in foreshortening lifted upwards to look at Christ, prompting the viewer to do the same. Similarly engaged in an intense viewing of the body of Christ is Mary Magdalene at the base of the cross, in contrast to Mary and John the Evangelist, both of whom choose to turn away their gaze. On the right side of the composition, gestures direct attention to the crucified Christ: that of the Good Centurion, almost identically repeated by another mounted dignitary to the right, as well as the disparaging wave of one of the chief priests' hands similarly directed towards Christ.

In the focus of all this looking and pointing is the body of Christ and, above all, the side wound, emphasized by the prominent figure of Longinus with the lance.[127] More than a moment of personal conversion and insight, the episode of the thrusting of the lance into Christ's side (John 19,34) was seen by medieval theologians as one of universal significance in the history of salvation: the blood and water issuing from the side wound were interpreted from the Church Fathers onwards as representing the sacraments of the Eucharist and Baptism and with them the birth of the Christian Church.[128]

Sharing in this act of viewing are the two saints and the kneeling donor figures in their niches within the architectural frame (Figs. 1.29, 1.30). In 1949 painter-restorers Nikolaus

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[125] On the problem of markers of otherness in Passion iconography, see for instance the recent study by Mitchell Merback cited above, with references to further bibliography: ibid., 297–299.

[126] On this motif, see Ernő Marosi, *Kép és hasonmás: Művészet és valóság a 14 - 15. századi Magyarországon* [Image and likeness: Art and reality in the 14th and 15th centuries in Hungary], Művészettörténeti füzetek, vol. 23 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1995), 132–134.

[127] Cf. the analysis of the Kaufmann Crucifixion by Caroline W. Bynum, "Violence Occluded: The Wound in Christ's Side in Late Medieval Devotion", 113–115.

[128] Sebastian A. Carnazzo, *Seeing Blood and Water: A Narrative-Critical Study of John 19:34* (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2012), 2.

Anton and Karl Nikolaus Voik were able to observe the coats of arms of both donors in the adjacent quatrefoil traceries of the illusionistic frame under the later overpainting and included a reconstruction of these in their 1959 documentation (Fig. 1.31).[129] Based on this, Ciprian Firea has convincingly argued that the donor figure on the heraldic right, clad in a lavish, fashionable clothing with a decorative golden belt studded with gemstones, and accompanied by the emblem of the painters' guild (three white shields on red) is probably the painter of the mural as well as its donor, and most likely identical with *magister Johannes de Rozenaw*, whose name appears in the inscription illusionistically "carved" on the upper edge of the painted niche accommodating the Man of Sorrows.[130] The second donor – apparently a person of lesser importance, positioned on the heraldic left, clad in more modest clothing – has not been identified.

Occupying the largest unbroken wall surface in the chancel, the monumental Crucifixion must have been a defining element of its iconographic program, visualizing in a spectacular way the essence of the mass sacrifice performed at the nearby high altar as a ritual representation of the sacrifice of Calvary,[131] the unity of the two sacrifices possibly suggested by the figures of angels collecting the blood of Christ into chalices. At the same time, the composition encased in a painted architectural frame populated with a set of secondary figures may trigger a variety of further associations and meanings.[132] Ciprian Firea has described the mural as a gigantic sacrament house, possibly connected with an actual stone tabernacle placed on the northern chancel wall, where both vertically juxtaposed images of the broken, bleeding body of Christ, reinforcing the Eucharistic message of the composition, evoke the host enclosed within the tabernacle.[133] As Kinga German has more recently shown, the host was most likely stored not in the chancel, but in one of the niches built into the walls of the sacristy.[134] In her argumentation, the trompe l'oeil gridded niche with the Man of Sorrows is an unequivocal

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[129] Bálint and Ziegler, *Rosenauer-falkép*, 50.

[130] Ciprian Firea, "Blazonul breslei pictorilor și urme ale folosirii sale în Transilvania (sec. XV-XVI)" [The coat of arms of the painters' guild and the evidence of its use in Transylvania (15th–16th centuries)], *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 21 (2011): 64–65.

[131] This connection was first described by Ciprian Firea, in idem, "Pictura murală Crucificarea din biserica evanghelică din Sibiu" [The Crucifixion Mural from the Lutheran Church in Sibiu], in *Confluențe. Repere europene în arta transilvăneană. Convergences. European Landmarks in Transylvanian Arts. Konfluenzen. Europäische Bezüge der Siebenbürgischen Kunst,* ed. Iulia Mesea and Daniela Dâmboiu (Sibiu: Muzeul Național Brukenthal, 2007), 32.

[132] On the political layer of meaning, which will not be discussed here, see Firea, *Crucificarea*, 32; Bálint and Ziegler, *Rosenauer-falkép*, 54; Năstăsoiu, *Sancti reges Hungariae,* 144–150.

[133] Firea, *Crucificarea,* 31–32.

[134] German, *Sakramentsnischen*, 116–118.

representation of a sacrament niche and its content, the Eucharist, and serves as its visual substitute in the chancel where it was customarily located (Fig. 1.32).

An interesting issue raised by Ágnes Bálint and Frank Ziegler is that the grid of the niche – generally assumed to be part of the original composition – might be a seventeenth-century addition, based on a lack of medieval analogies of a Man of Sorrows behind bars and the observation that the grid motif fits well the theological message of the Lutheran reinterpretation of the mural. Acknowledging at the same time that this would have involved a repainting at this time of the inscription on the upper edge of the niche, which accommodates in its current form the joints of the grid, the authors leave the question open.[135]

To the question of parallels, it can be added that there are no iconographic analogies from before or around the mid-seventeenth century either, the Baroque devotional image type of Christ in prison (Christus im Kerker) having developed slightly later.[136] At the same time, two examples can be mentioned to suggest the presence of comparable pictorial ideas in fifteenth-century mural painting. Antje-Fee Köllermann has already noted an affinity of the imagery with the wall painting decoration of the sacrament niche in the Franciscan church in Salzburg (1446), featuring the figure of the Man of Sorrows collecting his own blood into a chalice combined with elements of illusionistic architecture (Fig. 1.33).[137] Here a painted grid barring the sacrament niche appears as an illusionistic extension of the actual tabernacle door.

A scene of the Adoration of the Magi in Biertan dating from the end of the fifteenth century provides a later, but geographically closer formal parallel (Fig. 1.34).[138] Here a metal bar protruding from the painted frame similarly imitating carved stone serves as a supporting rod for the canopy above the figure of the Virgin Mary, on which a linen towel, too, is casually hung. This solution is a comparable, although a bolder and more ingenious way of a trompe l'oeil extension of the wall painting's flat surface into three-dimensional space; the treatment of perspective at the two ends where the bar perpendicularly bores into the stone edge is almost identical.

Even if it cannot be decisively argued, it thus seems conceivable that the grid was part of the original composition, making an allusion to a sacrament niche with the Eucharist more

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[135] Bálint and Ziegler, *Rosenauer-falkép*, 51.

[136] In the second half of the seventeenth century, see Hans Martin von Erffa, "Christus im Kerker," in *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 3 (1953), cols. 687–692. RDK Labor, http://www.rdklabor.de/w/?oldid=92625, last accessed March 2019. E.g.: Christ in Prison, altarpiece, Heiligkreuztal, Klosterkirche, 1727 (https://www.bildindex.de/document/obj20218860?part=0&medium=mi05709a04).

[137] Antje-Fee Köllermann, *Conrad Laib. Ein spätgotischer Maler aus Schwaben in Salzburg* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2007), 60–64, image no. 63.

[138] On this mural, see Jenei, *Biertan,* 269–281, and Cat. No. 14.

compelling, referring simultaneously to the usual arrangement of the tabernacle on the northern chancel wall and to its placement in the sacristy accessible through the door below the mural.[139] At the same time, it does not seem to be intended as an unequivocal representation of a sacrament niche in the same way as several trompe l'oeil compositions in late medieval mural painting represent actual church furnishing – most often wall niches for liturgical utensils (Fig. 1.35)[140] – and imitate the depicted object in formal features as well as size and placement. Unlike in the case of the dense grid or compact door of a real sacrament niche meant to shield and protect the Eucharist, here the emphasis is on the display of the body of Christ in its true essence, otherwise imperceptible under the species of the bread and wine.

In the same way, the composition as a whole, although inspired in its details from Late Gothic architecture, does not seem to be the pictorial equivalent of a single object,[141] but seems to carry in itself a potential of multiple meanings and associations. An association to a sacrament house is not far-fetched, especially in the light of the developments of this genre in the second half of the century, leading to ever more spectacular and larger-size designs. It might be argued that the mural fulfilled some of the secondary – devotional, representative, and decorative functions[142] – of these structures, and might have even been a reason later on – besides the established custom to store the host in the sacristy – not to opt for the installation of a monumental sacrament house, as it was done a few decades later in the parish churches of other important urban centers like Sighişoara (Segesvár, Schäßburg) or Braşov (Brassó, Kronstadt), and even in market towns or villages like Moşna (Muzsna, Meschen) or Boian (Alsóbajom, Bonnesdorf).[143]

Antje-Fee Köllermann[144] and Gyöngyi Török[145] emphasize the sepulchral character of the niche motif, interpreting the half-figure of Christ showing the wounds on his palms with outstretched arms as primarily representing the resurrected Saviour raising from his tomb. This reading of the image is prompted by the proximity of the Crucifixion. A similar juxtaposition is found on the Canon pages of a group of Bohemian and Austrian missals dating from the first decades of the fifteenth century, where below a full-page miniature of the Crucifixion, the

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[139] Cf. German, *Sakramentsnischen,* 117–118.

[140] Examples can be found in Trecento painting (for instance in the decoration of the Baroncelli chapel by Tadeo Gaddi in the Santa Croce in Florence), as well as in fifteenth-century painting north of the Alps (e.g. Kutná Hora, Saint Barbara church).

[141] As for example several wall paintings imitating monumental sacrament houses in the regions of Tyrol, Carinthia, Styria and Salzburg, see Timmermann, *Real Presence*, 215–219.

[142] Besides Christological imagery alluding to the Eucharist, heraldic representations and donor figures often appear on sacrament houses.

[143] German, *Sakramentsnischen,* 59–73.

[144] Köllermann, *Conrad Laib*, 63.

[145] Török, *Johannes Rosenau*, 513–514.

figure of the Man of Sorrows emerging from the sarcophagus appears in a roundel (Fig. 1.36).[146] Prefacing the Canon of the Mass, these compositions might possibly allude to the Eucharistic liturgy being celebrated in the memory of the Resurrection of Christ as well as his Passion and Ascension,[147] while a second representation of the wounded, broken body of Christ – this time demonstratively displaying his wounds – enhances the Eucharistic meaning. In Sibiu, a third image complements this juxtaposition, that of the Virgin Mary with the child Jesus in the apex of the composition (Fig. 1.18).[148] This central Christological axis obscured by the seventeenth-century overpainting thus evokes three defining moments of salvation history – the Incarnation, death, and resurrection of Christ – in chronological order.

The interplay of the architectural framework and figural imagery might conjure up yet another, complementary layer of meaning. The emphasis on the episode of piercing Christ's side with the lance (John 19,34) has already been noted. According to an exegetical interpretation based on Augustine and other early authors, and common in medieval theological writing, at this moment the Church was formed from the side of the dead Christ from the sacraments symbolized by the blood and water flowing from the wound, in the same way as Eve was formed from the side of the sleeping Adam.[149]

In a similar vein, the illusionistic edifice enclosing the scene might be seen as a representation of the Church, over which the crowned figure of the Virgin Mary appears, both as an embodiment of *Ecclesia* in general, and in her quality of the patroness of the actual church in Sibiu in particular. An association with painted ecclesiastical architecture was comparably used to suggest the familiar metaphor of Maria-Ecclesia in a panel by Jan van Eyck dating a few years earlier, depicting the Madonna – her head adorned, just as in Sibiu, with a gem-studded crown – in a Gothic church interior (Fig. 1.37).[150] In Sibiu, the apple the child Christ is holding – a detail otherwise hardly distinguishable for a beholder standing in the chancel – might suggest the idea of Jesus as second Adam and Mary as second Eve, a concept reflecting

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[146] Examples: Hasenburg Missal, 1409, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 1844, fol. 143v. (http://www.bildarchivaustria.at/Pages/ImageDetail.aspx?p_iBildID=14697282); Olomouc Missal, 1413, Brno, Town Archive (https://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/zgothic/miniatur/1401-450/7other/13_1401.html); Missal from the Collegium Ducale, c. 1420–1430, the J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig V 6, fol. 147v (http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/3144/master-of-the-kremnitz-stadtbuch-the-crucifixion-austrian-about-1420-1430/?dz=0.5000,0.6901,0.41).

[147] As expressed in the *Suscipe, Sancta Trinitas* prayer.

[148] Due to its fragmentary state, neither the exact composition type nor its spatial relationship to the architectural frame can be ascertained.

[149] Gerald Bonner, "The Figure of Eve in Augustine's Theology," *Studia Patristica* 33 (1997): 22–34.

[150] Her supernaturally large scale usually interpreted as emphasizing the allegorical meaning of the image, see Otto Pächt, *Van Eyck: and the Founders of Early Netherlandish Painting* (London: H. Miller, 1994), 205; Götz Pochat, *Bild-Zeit: Zeitgestalt und Erzählstruktur in der bildenden Kunst des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2004), 149.

similar typological thinking as the exegesis of John (19, 34). At the same time, the apple might be understood to foreshadow Christ's salvific sacrifice pictured below.

Such a visual reflection on the Church – simultaneously the body of Christ and a community of saints as well as believers living and dead – placed in the perspective of salvation history does not seem out of place in Sibiu, given the leading role of the parish church of the Virgin Mary in the ecclesiastical organization of the Transylvanian Saxons, especially after the dissolution of the Saint Ladislaus Provostry by King Sigismund in 1424, when the revenues and properties of the provostry, as well as its administrative and liturgical duties, were assigned to the town and the church.[151]

An argument can be made as well for the trompe l'oeil technique as a visual strategy in and on itself, used to convey meaning and shape viewer experience.[152] When used in mural painting, illusionistic architectural structures, creating an impression of depth, challenge the notion of a flat, coherent surface. Here, beyond the imitation carved stone, the wall seems to open to reveal the star-studded sky. The impression of an opening of the wall is enhanced by a formal resemblance of the architectural frame to the windows of the chancel, stretching the same height as the three windows on the eastern walls and the one opposite the mural on the southern wall (Fig. 1.38).

Studies on illusionism in Late Gothic painting – mostly focusing on Flemish art – have suggested that one possible intended effect is the blurring of the boundaries between the reality of the viewer and that of the image, facilitating a more active involvement and emotional identification with the depicted event and its participants from the part of the viewer. The promotion of such attitudes was very much in line with tendencies in contemporary religiosity, Passion devotion in particular.[153]

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[151] Franz Zimmermann and Carl Werner, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*. 7 vols. (Hermannstadt-Bucharest: Auschuss des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde – Editura Academiei Române, 1892–1991), vol. 4, no. 1956.

[152] The related phenomena of trompe l'oeil and grisaille in this period have been much studied, especially in the case of Netherlandish panel painting. See for instance the recent contributions by James H. Marrow and Stephan Kemperdick, with references to further literature: James H. Marrow, "Illusionism and Paradox in the Art of Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden," in *Von Kunst und Temperament: Festschrift für Eberhard König*, ed. Caroline Zöhl and Mara Hofmann (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 156–175; Stephan Kemperdick, "Helldunkel statt Farbe: sind niederländische Grisaillemalereien eine Schwierigkeit oder eine Leichtigkeit?," in *Chiaroscuro als ästhetisches Prinzip. Kunst und Theorie des Helldunkels 1300-1550*, ed. Claudia Lehmann et al. (Berlin–New York: de Gruyter, 2018), 49–71.

[153] Heike Schlie, *Bilder des Corpus Christi: Sakramentaler Realismus von Jan van Eyck bis Hieronymus Bosch* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2002), 258–262, with further bibliography.

Similar mechanisms seem to be at play in Sibiu. Elements of the painted architecture imitating the church's actual stone architecture[154] and motifs like the statue canopies projecting into the viewer's space – in contrast to the niches shown in perspective suggesting a fictive depth behind the wall – may function as means to connect the fictitious space of the mural with the space of the beholder. In case the repaintings approximate the original state in this respect, shading might have been used to a similar effect, suggesting a source of light coming from the east, largely corresponding to actual light conditions.

The architectural structure with its heraldic display reflecting contemporary political realities, the statuesque figures of the Holy Kings, and the donors, thus seem to represent a different level of reality than the central biblical scene,[155] one approximating that of the viewer, from which at the same time a direct glimpse of the sacred event can be gained. In this respect, the role of the donor figures is worth emphasizing, whose function in similar works has been extensively studied.[156] While their perpetuation in an eternal state of adoring the crucified Christ serves the purposes of memory and salvation, Corine Schleif has argued that donor figures placed on such threshold spaces also "provided bridges to the events of salvation history, the saints, or the Godhead for pious viewers outside of the works." [157] Indeed, the two figures set within their niches in the lower part of the frame, close to the viewer, engaged in devout prayer directed towards the Crucifix, but turned outwards from the image in a three-quarter profile, may have contributed to bringing the Passion event closer to fifteenth-century contemporaries. The figure of the Man of Sorrows may have fulfilled a similar role. Placed also within this liminal space, and – unlike the Christ of the Crucifixion – being alive and atemporal, he seems to address the beholders directly, inviting them to view his wounded, broken body, identical with the sacrament consumed in the mass.

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[154] For instance, the baldachins of the upper register display a comparable decoration as a carved stone baldachin attached to the second pier counted from the east on the northern side of the nave (noted by Firea, *Crucificarea,* 29).

[155] Cf. Năstăsoiu, *Sancti reges Hungariae*, 145.

[156] For the current study, I have found the following two articles particularly revealing: Laura D. Gelfand and Walter S. Gibson, "Surrogate Selves: The "Rolin Madonna" and the Late-Medieval Devotional Portrait," *Simiolus* 29, no. 3–4 (2002): 119–138; Corine Schleif, "Kneeling on the Threshold: Donors Negotiating Realms Betwixt and Between," in *Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture: Liminal Spaces,* ed. Elina Gertsman and Jill Stevenson, 195–216 (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2012). See here also for a critical historiographical overview of the problem of "donor figures" and related terminological issues, with further bibliography: ibid., 195–198.

[157] Schleif, *Kneeling on the Threshold,* 213.

1.3. Maiad (Nyomát), parish church

Although on a much smaller scale, and of a lesser sophistication than the Calvary scene in Sibiu, the theme was similarly conceived as a composite image in the today Unitarian church in Maiad, made up of a main panel depicting the biblical event, and a lower field with additional figures, both enclosed in, and separated by a common red frame. The mural painted on the eastern nave wall on the southern side of the triumphal arch can be dated to around 1480–1500 (Figs. 1.39, 1.40).[158] The numerous damages on the painted surface seem at least partly to result from deliberate destruction, considering that all the faces are systematically eradicated as well as the wounds of the crucifixion on Christ's hands and feet. Besides being a valuable source of late medieval Eucharistic devotion, the mural also seems to provide a telling example of post-Reformation attitudes to medieval religious imagery, which could, however, form the object of a different study.[159]

The T-shaped cross wedged into a pile of stones and topped by the titulus fills the entire height of the upper panel. Unlike in the previous examples, where Christ's body is curved into a graceful S-shape, here it hangs straight from the cross, being – apart from the head tilted to the right – fully symmetrical. Another distinctive feature is the lack of blood flowing from the wounds.[160]

Of the two groups symmetrically placed on either side of the cross, the one to the right of Christ is centred around the figure of the Virgin Mary. Clad in a long white mantle over a greyish striped dress, she is tilting her head to the right, and is clutching her hands together in grief. The two figures supporting her from either side are probably Saint John the Evangelist and one of the holy women. Of the fourth figure, standing behind them, only the upper part of the halo is visible. Their intersecting golden haloes create a visual link between the four holy

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[158] See Cat. No. 8.

[159] After the Reformation, the church was used alternately by the Calvinist and Unitarian communities up until 1634, when it was given to the Unitarians, who constituted at this time the majority of the village's population (Cf. Cat. no. 8, *Historial data*). On the topic of the Protestant reception of medieval wall paintings in Transylvania, see Jánó, *Színek és legendák,* 17–25; Frank-Thomas Ziegler, "Protestantischer „Bildersturm" am Beispiel Hermannstadts," in *Glaubensgeschichte: Siebenbürgische Beiträge zum 500. Reformationsjubiläum*, ed. Hans Klein and Hermann Pitters (Hermannstadt: Honterus, 2017), 195–202.

[160] Both features can be found in contemporary prints, for instance by Schongauer (Bartsch 22, c. 1470–1482, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/366986) and by Monogrammist A.G. (Bartsch 14, https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?assetId=12327800 01&objectId=1400544&partId=1), both compositions being comparable, although not directly related to the mural.

figures and Christ, and an apparent contrast with the group of soldiers on the iconographic left of the composition.

In the front of this latter group, the Good Centurion is standing, raising his right hand to point at Christ. He is wearing an oriental costume: a long brocade patterned yellow dress with a red collar, a turban on his head, and a sword on his belt. Although his face is largely destroyed, he appears to be turning back towards the group standing behind him. Here the figures of three soldiers, clad in full armour with helmets, are discernible, their raised spears silhouetted against the sky. The one in the front, to whom the centurion is probably addressing his words, is armed with a shield adorned with rosette motifs, and a sword in an ornate scabbard. The background is composed of a landscape of hills and trees below a grey sky.

In the middle of the lower field, two kneeling angels are holding a golden chalice by its base and its stem above the knob, over which a host wafer appears (Fig. 1.41). They are wearing albs of white and yellow colour, respectively. This central motif is flanked by two saints in half-figure. On the right Saint Paul is depicted, grey-haired and bald at the top of his head, holding a sword in his left hand and a book in his right. While of the saint on the left only his halo and a fragment of his attribute – the rectangular upper part of a metal object – is visible, he can be identified as Saint Peter, often paired with Saint Paul in images, holding in his hand his key, of which now only its bit survives.

The suggestion by Zsombor Jékely and Lóránd Kiss that the mural originally served as the decoration of an altar[161] is very plausible, taken into consideration that the eastern nave walls on both sides of the triumphal arch were a common place for side altars, which – especially in village churches – were in many cases decorated with wall paintings,[162] as well as the altarpiece-like structure with a main panel and a "predella" below, and their respective iconography.

From among the various episodes taking place at the Mount of Golgotha, here the testimony of the Good Centurion was singled out to be captured. The figure of the centurion forms a compositional counterpart to that of the Virgin Mary, being just as, or possibly even more emphatic: being placed closer to the viewer in the foreground, he appears somewhat larger; his spectacular, exotic clothing with its intricate decorative pattern attracts attention, just as his pointing gesture, a visual expression of his words of recognition: "*Truly, this was the Son*

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[161] Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek,* 272.
[162] Justin E. A. Kroesen, *Seitenaltäre in mittelalterlichen Kirchen. Standort - Raum - Liturgie* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2010), 95, 100. A comparable arrangement with two mural altarpieces on both sides of the triumphal arch can be found in Racu (Csíkrákos).

of God" (Matthew 27,54). This type of composition with a single cross and a crowd reduced in size, with the group of mourners on Christ's right, and the centurion and his companions on his left, was widespread, appearing in prints,[163] altarpiece panels,[164] as well as wall paintings and other media. Even compared to most such representations – for instance the Calvary scene of the closely contemporary altarpiece in Mediaș (Medgyes, Mediasch) – the figure of the centurion seems more emphatic than usual, owing to the narrow frame, and a reduction of the two flanking groups to a central figure and his or her companions, resulting in a triangular arrangement of the three protagonists reminiscent of three-figure Crucifixions.

The idea that Christ was the one-begotten Son of God, made flesh to suffer and die on the cross for the redemption of mankind was one of the central tenets of Christian faith. A second visual statement of equivalence is suggested through the juxtaposition of the crucified Christ with the chalice and host along the central vertical axis of the composition, asserting in a particularly explicit way the identity of the sacrifice at the altar and that of Calvary, of the consecrated bread and wine offered in the mass and the body of Christ offered on the cross.

The composition depicted in the lower panel is not easily paralleled. Much more common in the iconography of contemporary altarpiece predellas than the chalice and the host were representations of Veronica's veil, frequently held by two angels. Examples where this central motif is flanked by Peter and Paul lend themselves to comparison with the representation in Maiad, for instance the predella of the main altarpiece from the Saint Martin's church in Čerín (Cserény, Slovakia) from 1483 (Fig. 1.42).[165] Although, as it is argued in Chapter 3, images of the Holy Face could have, in a liturgical context, evident eucharistic connotations, in some cases being intended as visual equivalents of the Host, they were primarily representations of the cloth relic kept in the Saint Peter's in Rome, and this was also the base of their association with the two apostle princes.[166]

Even so, it can be argued that, rather than being an accidental feature, the inclusion of Saints Peter and Paul fits well into the overall iconography of the composition, shaping in a meaningful way its theological and liturgical message.

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[163] See footnote 160.
[164] The Crucifixion panel of an altarpiece from Sand in Taufers, South Tyrol, being a relatively close compositional analogy (Bilddatenbank REALonline, Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, Universität Salzburg, image no. 003748, https://realonline.imareal.sbg.ac.at).
[165] Also stylistically comparable to the wall painting: Gyöngyi Török, *Gótikus szárnyasoltárok a középkori Magyarországon. Állandó kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában* [Gothic Winged Altarpieces in Medieval Hungary. Permanent Exhibition in the Hungarian National Gallery] (Budapest: Kossuth Kiadó–Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2005), 13–14, 52–53, Figs. 26–27.
[166] On this composition type, see Chapter 3.2.

The representation of Saints Peter and Paul in association with the Crucifixion was a recurrent, if not overly frequent pattern in late medieval iconography across a wide geographical and chronological spectrum. The two saints sometimes appear as flanking a – usually three-figure – Crucifixion, as in a wall painting-retable over a side-altar in the Saint Nicholas church in Stralsund (c. 1330),[167] a late fourteenth-century mural painted above the sacrament niche in the Lower Saxon Wiefelstede,[168] or in the wall painting decoration of the tomb of Bishop Otto III of Hachberg in Konstanz (1445, Fig. 1.43). A similar arrangement can be found in several triptychs featuring the Calvary in the central panel and the figures of Saints Peter and Paul on the wings.[169] Likewise, an iconographic scheme featuring the half-figures of both apostle princes in the cross arms, turned towards the crucified Saviour, was recurrent in the decoration of chasuble cross-orphreys around 1500 (Fig. 1.44).[170]

Alternatively, the pair may appear side by side near the Cross in Calvary scenes featuring a larger number of saints, for instance, in a Crucifixion panel with strong Eucharistic overtones from Minden Cathedral (Fig. 1.45) – here the inclusion of Saint Peter and his prominent position at the foot of the Cross being also connected to his role as one of the patron saints of the church – or in a panel by the so-called Master of the Byzantine Madonna (c. 1515).[171] The wall paintings over the southern portal of the Saint John's church in Delnița (Csíkdelne), probably dating from the last decades of the fifteenth century, provide a geographically closer example of a similar association: here standing figures of saints in separate frames flank a central Crucifixion scene: Saints Peter and Paul on the left, and two – originally probably three – women saints on the right (Fig. 1.46).[172]

Many of the representations enumerated above decorate objects within the immediate environment of the mass, such as altarpieces, chasubles or sacrament niches. The figures of Saints Peter and Paul sometimes appear in a Eucharistic context independent of the Crucifixion

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[167] Justin Kroesen, "The Altar and Its Decorations in Medieval Churches: A Functionalist Approach," *Medievalia: Revista d'Estudis Medievals* 17 (2014): 165 (https://www.bildindex.de, image no. fm19579).

[168] Wiefelstede, church of Saint John the Baptist (https://www.bildindex.de, image no. C 425.487).

[169] Examples: Pendant in the form of a triptych, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, inv. no. MA 2044 (http://www.bayerisches-nationalmuseum.de/webgos/bnm_online.php?seite=5&fld_0=00024407); Crucifixion with the Virgin and Saints John the Evangelist, Peter, and Paul, altarpiece, Spain, c. 1520–1540, North Carolina Museum of Art, inv. no. 52.9.191 (https://ncartmuseum.org/art/detail/crucifixion_with_the_virgin_and_saints_john_the_evangelist_peter_and_paul).

[170] Three examples from the collection of the Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest: inv. nos. 7327, 7628.a-b, and 12971.a-b (http://gyujtemeny.imm.hu/gyujtemenyek); Salzburg, St. Peter, Schatzkammer (https://realonline.imareal.sbg.ac.at, image no. 001549); Ungedanken, Sankt Bonifatius (https://www.bildindex.de, image no. 138.957).

[171] Crucifixion panel from the Thomaskirche, c. 1515, Stadtgeschichtliches Museum Leipzig, inv. no. Kirchliche Kunst Nr. 5 (http://museum.zib.de/sgml_internet/sgml.php?seite=5&fld_0=gm001559).

[172] On this wall painting, see Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek,* 42–43.

(or of Veronica's veil), mostly in the decoration of sacrament niches.[173] On the door of the sacrament cupboard from the Cistercian nunnery in Wienhausen, an arrangement comparable to that of the "predella" in Maiad can be seen with the two apostle princes flanking a monstrance with the host held by two kneeling angels (Fig. 1.47); also similar is an implication of correspondence through vertical juxtaposition between the host wafer and Christ – this time represented as a new-born child within the Nativity scene, lying in a manger reminiscent of an altar.[174] In the *Seven sacraments* altarpiece by Rogier van der Weyden (c. 1440–1445), Peter and Paul appear as statues on the choir screen, flanking the altar before which a priest is celebrating mass; a third statue, to the right, is that of Saint John the Evangelist, featured here as a priestly figure, blessing with his right hand his chalice, which – shown without the usual snakes alluding to the episode of his poisoning – seems in this context an allusion to the chalice of the mass (Fig. 1.48).[175]

The association of Saints Peter and Paul – the two chief apostles, founders of the Church in Rome – with Eucharistic imagery seems to be driven by an intention to convey ideas about the interconnection of Church, Sacrament and salvation, in a way comparable to cases when Peter alone appears in similar contexts, as in Hărman (discussed earlier in this chapter), or in a Calvary scene in Vânători (Vadász), also worth mentioning in connection with Maiad because of its explicit Eucharistic imagery including angels holding chalices with hosts (Fig. 1.49).[176] While Peter, being the rock on which Christ had built his Church as well as the first pope, could alone embody the Church of Rome and the papacy, through the inclusion of Saint Paul, an extension of the ecclesiological symbolism as well as compositional symmetry could be achieved. Placed symmetrically to Saint Peter's key evoking the power of the Church to bind and loose on Earth, the sword Saint Paul is holding may have had various connotations. In addition to being an instrument of his martyrdom, it could distinguish the saint as a "soldier of Christ,"[177] evoking the idea of a militant Christianity, and, finally, might have been understood as the "sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God" (Eph. 6, 17), alluding – together with the

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[173] See also Chapter 3.2.

[174] Schlie, *Corpus Christi*, fig. 20; Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Robert Suckale, "Between This World and the Next: The Art of Religious Women in the Middle Ages," in *Crown and Veil. Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 98.

[175] Vloberg, *L'eucharistie,* 255–256.

[176] On this mural, see Tamás Emődi and József Lángi, "A vadászi templom és Keresztrefeszítés-képe" [The church in Vadász and its Crucifixion mural], in *Építészet a középkori Dél-Magyarországon. Tanulmányok* [Architecture in medieval Southern Hungary. Studies], ed. Tibor Kollár (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2010), 807–827.

[177] De Voragine, Jacobus, *The Golden Legend,* William Granger Ryan, trans. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012)*,* 353.

book held in his right – to his authorship, preaching, and missionary work, and more generally to the teachings of the Church.

Regarded as a whole, the Calvary composition is very much in line with ideas at the core of Christian teaching about the Church, the Eucharist and priesthood, as formulated, for instance, in the third paragraph of the introductory Creed of Lateran IV (1215), the most influential among the medieval general synods: *There is indeed one universal church of the faithful, outside of which nobody at all is saved, in which Jesus Christ is both priest and sacrifice. His body and blood are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar under the forms of bread and wine, the bread and wine having been changed in substance, by God's power, into his body and blood, so that in order to achieve this mystery of unity we receive from God what he received from us. Nobody can effect this sacrament except a priest who has been properly ordained according to the church's keys, which Jesus Christ himself gave to the apostles and their successors.*[178] Without making too much of the correspondence between text and image, one might conclude that through the association of the pair of Saints Peter and Paul with Eucharistic and Christological motifs as seen in Maiad, similar ideas could be expressed, in pictorial terms, about the priestly authority to make present Christ's sacrifice in the mass, conferred by Christ himself through the intermediation of the apostles, as well as the one Church holding the key to Salvation through the sacraments.

Based on the above considerations, the composition juxtaposing the body of Christ in two appearances – historical and sacramental – would seem as particularly didactic in nature, an aspect which might be connected to its placement in the nave, accessible to laic viewers. It seems unlikely, however, that the wall painting in itself could have been an adequate medium to teach such theological ideas as the ones presented above, to an audience without a prior knowledge of them.[179] More likely, the images of the suffering Christ, the Virgin in sorrow, the Holy Sacrament displayed for adoration by angels, and the figures of saints primarily elicited a devotional response from the part of the laity, without a necessary recognition of all the interconnections suggested above.

Not much evidence survives on the use of such side-altars in village churches as the one that probably stood before the wall painting. As Justin Kroesen suggests, they may have primarily been the foci of extra-liturgical devotion, while masses for the dead or masses

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[178] Izbicki, *The Eucharist,* 36.
[179] Cf. a debate on the didactic function of wall paintings, for instance: Athene Reiss, "Beyond 'Books for the Illiterate': Understanding English Medieval Wall Paintings," *The British Art Journal* 9, no. 1 (2008): 4–14.

connected to certain feast days may have been celebrated at them with some frequency.[180] Based on the iconography of the mural, the altar might have been dedicated to the Holy Cross, Saints Peter and Paul, or the Holy Sacrament.

In any case, the mural formed a particularly fitting background for the Eucharistic liturgy performed in front of it, at least as much as it expressed important tenets of Christian faith. More than simply representing the sacrificial character of the Eucharist, as images of the Crucifixion in general, ubiquitous on objects related to the mass, the visual associations of the composition seem to closely parallel the wording of the liturgy, above all that of the Canon of the mass.

The juxtaposition of the Eucharistic species with the body of the sacrificed Christ may have served as a visual echo of the various prayers addressed to God during the liturgy to accept and bless the offerings, through Christ, acting as mediator, so that they *may become for us the Body and Blood of your most beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ*;[181] of the words of consecration quoting Christ at the institution of the Eucharist, identifying the host with his body, and the content of the chalice with his blood; or of the following *Unde et memores* prayer where the celebrant – extending his arms to form a cross – recalls the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of Christ, and announces offering to God a sacrifice, which is pure, holy and stainless, *the holy bread of everlasting life, and the chalice of eternal salvation.*[182]

Similarly, the words of the *Supplices te rogamus* prayer, recited after the consecration, may have activated a very specific meaning of the angel figures clad in liturgical vestments, lifting the chalice and the host wafer. The celebrant here asks God to command his angel to carry the offerings to the altar in heaven, in the sight of His divine Majesty, so that those who receive the body and blood of Christ at the altar below, "*may be filled with every heavenly blessing and grace.*"[183] At a later moment of the liturgy, the priest terms the host as heavenly bread: *Panem caelestem accipiam.* Likewise, the Eucharist is described as the bread of angels in the *Lauda Sion* sequence sung at mass at the feast of Corpus Christi, and the *Sacris Solemniis* hymn associated with the same feast, both attributed to Thomas Aquinas.[184]

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[180] Kroesen, *The Altar and Its Decorations*, 173.

[181] *Quam oblationem tu, Deus, in omnibus, quaesumus, benedictam: ascriptam: ratam: rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris: ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini nostri, Iesu Christi.*

[182] *hostiam puram: hostiam sanctam: hostiam immaculatam: Panem sanctum vitae aeternae: et Calicem salutis perpetuae.*

[183] *Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens Deus: iube haec perferri per manus sancti Angeli tui in sublime altare tuum, in conspectus divinae maiestatis tuae. ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur.*

[184] Based on Psalm 77:24–25, see Jan Heiner Tück, *A Gift of Presence: The Theology and Poetry of the Eucharist in Thomas Aquinas* (Washington, D.C.: CUA Press, 2018), 201, 223.

The idea of angels establishing the connection between earthly and heavenly liturgy during the mass sacrifice was well established in medieval Eucharistic thinking, with figures of the *angelus missae,* clad in albs of various colours being ubiquitous in late medieval art.[185] Within the material under study, such angels in a context evocative of their liturgical role can be found in the wall paintings in Ormeniş (Szászörményes, Irmesch), Sântimbru (Marosszentimre, Emrichsdorf) and Sighişoara, in association with the Man of Sorrows and the *arma Christi*.[186]

Apostles Peter and Paul are also repeatedly invoked as a pair throughout the Eucharistic liturgy, in prayers expressing the wish to honour the memory of saints, in hope of their intercession in heaven. Their mention often immediately follows that of the Virgin Mary, either in combination with a smaller selection of saints (*Suscipe sancta Trinitas*, the *Libera nos* prayer following the *Pater noster*), or as firsts among a series of apostles and martyrs in the *Communicantes*.

The Crucifixion motif repeatedly appears, on a much smaller scale, in a wall painting fragment located on the northern nave wall, close to the triumphal arch (Fig. 1.50). The fragment, the lower edge of which approximately corresponds in height to the upper frame of the Calvary scene, seems to imitate the superstructure of a carved altarpiece, with a central part flanked by openwork tracery of vegetal scrolls, topped by leaf motifs and framed by crocket-decorated pinnacles. In the centre, the faint outlines of Christ on the Cross are decipherable – his wide-spread arms, his head tilted to the right, a fragment of his right leg (stretched out straight, as in the Calvary scene), and the wavy line of the end of his loin-cloth – before a cross with an unusually long vertical arm of pale green colour (Fig 1.51). A somewhat comparable arrangement is found in the altarpiece in Băgaciu (Szászbogács, Bogeschdorf) dating from 1518, although there the composition of the superstructure is more elaborate, with originally two additional figures flanking the Crucifix,[187] all three statues encased in richly carved, tower-shaped baldachins (Fig. 1.52). On the adjacent eastern nave wall, at a somewhat lower level, further wall painting fragments survive, which, while difficult to interpret, seem to contain a red border similar to the one framing the Calvary scene on the opposite side of the triumphal arch (Fig. 1.53).

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[185] The art historical term *angelus missae* was coined by Hubert Schrade, to refer to visual representations of angels participating in the Eucharistic sacrifice, as mentioned in the *Suscipe* prayer. While the presence of the motif is not connected to a specific composition type, Schrade focused his argument on the so-called Angel Pietà. For more on the theological background of the *angelus missae* and its iconography, see Chapter 2.2. The Angel Pietà and Chapter 2.3. The Eucharistic Man of Sorrows.

[186] See Chapters 1.6., 2.2., 2.3.

[187] Probably of the Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist, now lost, see Firea, *Polipticele medievale*, 134.

While an orientation towards the east was usually kept in the case of side altars as well,[188] it is conceivable that an altar stood along the northern nave wall, decorated by an imitated altarpiece, of which now only its superstructure is visible. Presuming, as suggested above, that another altar stood before the Calvary composition, against the eastern nave wall, this would imply an asymmetry in the placement of side altars, as in this case there would have been no place for a further altar on the northern side of the chancel arch placed symmetrically to the one on the southern side. Also noteworthy would be the variety in the way how reference is made to the medium the wall paintings are understood to substitute, from a simple allusion to the altarpiece structure in the form of a "predella" without an intention to actually resemble an altarpiece (lack of superstructure) or to appear anything else than a flat wall painting surface entirely filling the width of the eastern nave wall in one case, to a detailed imitation of carved elements of an altarpiece, with a shading creating a spatial effect in the other.

Another possibility is that the placement of side altars followed the pattern most common in village churches, with two altars at the eastern nave wall on both sides of the chancel arch,[189] the altar on the northern side possibly decorated with a wall painting placed as a pendant to the Calvary scene, framed with a similar border. The wall painting composition on the northern nave wall, the surviving upper part of which resembles an altarpiece superstructure, might have still formed the visual environment of this altar, even if its spatial relationship to it was not as it would have been usual in the case of a three-dimensional altarpiece.

1.4. Cârța (Csíkkarcfalva), parish church

During renovations of the Our Lady of the Assumption parish church in Cârța (Csíkkarcfalva) in 2011–2012, a many-figure Calvary scene was revealed on the northern chancel wall above the sacristy portal (c. 1460–1480, Fig. 1.54).[190] While its poor state of preservation renders the interpretation, especially that of the lower parts, difficult, the mural provides a valuable example for the interconnection of iconography and liturgical context.

The Crucifixion fills up the lunette-shaped field below the vault. The upper half of the scene is dominated by the figure of the crucified Christ, his cross rising above the crowd filling the lower half of the composition (Fig 1.55). A relatively long titulus scroll appears before the upper cross-shaft, with both ends curling upwards, its slightly bent form echoing the curve of

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[188] Kroesen, *Seitenaltäre,* 12.

[189] Ibid., 95.

[190] Cat. No. 3. No art historical study has been published on the wall painting yet.

Christ's outstretched arms. Two angels on his sides are holding golden chalices below his side wound and below his arms. They are wearing long dresses with golden lower hems and golden collars, one turquoise green, the other white, adorned with a purple brocade pattern.

The crosses of the two thieves flanking Christ are positioned lower, and their horizontal bars are shorter, fitting into the arc of the composition. Their figures are somewhat smaller than that of Christ, corresponding their position further back behind Christ's cross. Their contorted bodies are twirled around their crosses; their arms are hooked over the horizontal crossbars. A winged devil figure is snatching away the soul of the bad thief emerging from his mouth, pictured as a naked *homunculus* with widespread arms. An angel clad in a blue dress receives the soul of the penitent thief into a white cloth. The lower part of the composition is less well preserved. On both sides of the cross, standing figures with haloes can be discerned, four on the left and three on the right side.

The scene is enclosed in an illusionistic frame of imitated carved stone, the upper part of which seems as a reiteration of the profiled stone ribs of the vault, with a "keystone" in the middle (Figs. 1.55, 1.56). Such an attempt at integrating pictorial space with the actual space of the church interior, besides reflecting a penchant for an illusionistic play with architectural forms characteristic for the period,[191] might have again been intended, as in Sibiu, to bring the sacred event closer to the viewer.

An unevenness in the quality as well as several compositional inconsistencies can be observed. While some anatomical details – Christ's protruding ribcage and narrow waist, his muscular legs, with the right foot placed over the left one shown in perspective, or the contorted bodies of the two thieves – are drawn with vigorous lines, others are more clumsily rendered (e.g. the hands of Christ, or the contours of the left side of his chest and waist). Perhaps even more striking is the asymmetrical positioning of Christ's cross within the composition: the left arm of the cross is considerably longer than the right; the titulus scroll is symmetrically aligned not with the axis of the vertical cross-bar, but with that of Christ's body, shifted somewhat to the right. The spatial relationship between the two angels and the figures of the thieves is also problematic: although the angels are supposed to occupy the same plane as Christ, positioned more forward in space than the two thieves, the hand of the good thief and the vertical crossbeam of the bad thief overlap their figures, implying a position further back in space. Being squeezed in between the crosses of the thieves, they are holding their chalices below the elbow of Christ, instead of his hands wounded by nails. These discrepancies and the crowdedness of

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[191] Cf. Jenei, *Mediaș*, 56, and Sarkadi Nagy, *Altarpieces,* 87, for the spread of this phenomenon in Transylvanian wall painting.

the upper part of the composition may stem from taking over motifs from visual models, and adapting them to the narrow and irregular picture field.

As suggested earlier in this chapter, the motif of the angels receiving Christ's blood into a chalice can be seen as a conscious sacramental emphasis, making even more explicit the connection between the visual representation of Christ's sacrifice on the cross and its liturgical representation performed at the nearby altar. A similar connection between iconographic choices and liturgical context can be observed in the case of a fragmentary Crucifixion painted on the eastern chancel wall of the parish church in Sebeș (Szászsebes, Mühlbach, second half of the fourteenth century), where the relevance of the depicted event to the ritual act performed before it was likewise emphasized through chalice-bearing angels (Fig. 1.57).[192]

The presence of a relatively large number of haloed figures on both sides of the cross suggests a different iconographic arrangement of the lower half of the composition than seen in the many-figure Calvaries in Sibiu and Maiad, where biblical events occurring at Golgotha around the time of Christ's death are captured. It seems probable that instead of protagonists of Gospel episodes such as the Good Centurion or Longinus, typically represented without haloes, one or two figures of saints were depicted here in addition to the usual holy participants of the scene. The composition may have been comparable in this respect to the Calvary scene in Vânători (Vadász, third quarter of the fifteenth century), where besides the Virgin Mary, the Holy Women, and Saint John the Evangelist, Saint Peter appears at the foot of the cross (Fig. 1.49),[193] or to a hand-coloured woodcut from around 1440, where Saint John the Baptist is standing on the right margin of the scene (Fig. 1.58). In both cases, like in Cârța, figures of chalice-holding angels underline the Eucharistic significance of the event; the figures of Saint Peter bearing ecclesiological connotations and of Saint John the Baptist holding the sacrificial lamb seem meaningful additions to both compositions.

The current appearance of the chancel space is greatly altered compared to the medieval state through the demolition of the westernmost bay and of the triumphal arch at the end of the eighteenth century,[194] as well as through the loss of most of the decoration and liturgical furnishing. Still, a few traces of the imagery once forming the visual environment of the mass suggest that the Calvary composition may have fitted into a more extensive iconographic program with sacramental overtones. The Crucifixion motif recurs over the host compartment of the Late Gothic monstrance (with seventeenth century additions) preserved in the parochial

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[192] German, *Sakramentsnischen,* 232.
[193] On this mural, see Emődi and Lángi, *A vadászi templom*, 807–827.
[194] See Cat. No. 3.

collection.[195] According to a description of the church by Balázs Orbán from 1868, another image referring to Christ's sacrifice, the *Agnus Dei*, decorated one of the keystones at that time.[196] Further figural motifs probably adorned the sacrament niche located to the east from the Calvary scene on the northern wall of the apse, as the two now empty niches for statues with bases and canopies flanking the host compartment suggest (Fig. 1.59).[197] While none of the other corbels supporting the vaulting shafts have figural decoration, the one near the sacrament niche bears the sculpted head of a saint with a halo, beard, and braided hair, providing an additional visual emphasis to the place where the sacrament was stored.

1.5. Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt), former church of the Dominican nunnery

In the former church of the Dominican nunnery in Sibiu (later Franciscan church), the Crucifixion was painted on the southern chancel wall as part of a variety of Christological and hagiographical scenes set out in two tiers (Fig. 1.60). The wall painting ensemble revealed in 2016 can be dated to around 1515–1520, based on graphic models and stylistic features.[198]

Although the composition of the iconographic program may seem at a first glance to be rather haphazard, various thematic links between the individual representations can be discerned. In the upper register, two scenes of mass martyrdom – that of Achatius and the Ten Thousand Martyrs, and of Saint Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins[199] – flank a field with four bishop saints.[200] Of a further group of four saints painted directly below, in the lower

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[195] Géza Vámszer, *Életforma és anyagi műveltség: néprajzi dolgozatok, gyűjtések, adatok: 1930-1975* [Lifestyle and material culture: Ethnographic studies, collecting and data: 1930-1975], (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1977), 244–246. Enikő Hegedűs, "Millenniumi kiállítás Gyulafehérvár, 2009. július 9 – november 29" [Millennial Exhibition Alba Iulia, 9 July – 29 November 2009], *A Csíki Székely Múzeum évkönyve* no. 1. (2009): 307–317, 310, fig. 9.

[196] Balázs Orbán, *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból* [Description of the Székely Land from a historical, archaeological, natural historical, and ethnographic point of view]. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. Online edition: https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Tunderkert-tunderkert-1/a-szekelyfold-leirasa-14496/csik-szek-14D86/xvii-az-olt-felvolgye-1503C/.

[197] On the sacrament niche, see German, *Sakramentsnischen,* 179.

[198] The wall paintings were revealed during a renovation of the church in 2016, by a group of restorers led by Lóránd Kiss. On the history and architecture of the church see: Mihaela Sanda Salontai, *Mănăstiri dominicane din Transilvania* [Dominican Monasteries from Transylvania] (Cluj-Napoca: Nereamia Napocae, 2002), 224–227. No comprehensive art historical study has been published on the wall paintings yet, but they were included in the most recent synthesis on Transylvanian mural painting by Dana Jenei, see idem, *Pictura,* 77, 98, 100, 118, 136–137, 159. Jenei hypothetically attributes the ensemble to a certain *Henricus pictor* (active c. 1478–1508). The use of an 1509 print by Lucas Cranach, and stylistic connections to the altarpiece from Bruiu however point to a somewhat later dating. On the use of Cranach's woodcut for the figure of Saint Valentine, see Chapter 5.2. On the altarpiece from Bruiu dating from 1520, in which the same model was used for Saint Valentine, see Firea, *Polipticele medievale,* 156–158, and Sarkadi Nagy, *Altarpieces,* 154–155.

[199] Representations of the two martyrdom scenes were often juxtaposed as each other's pendants, see Chapter 5.2.

[200] The field originally may have contained five figures, see Cat. No. 13. See here also for their identification. On Saint Valentine, represented with a monstrance, an attribute unusual in his iconography, see Chapter 5.2.

register, none of the figures can be identified with certainty, due to the extent of losses.[201] In a separate panel to the right, probably originally containing the representations of three saints, the figures of Saint Lawrence and Apostle Andrew survive. An image of intercession overarching both wall painting registers on the right was largely destroyed by the later opening of a window.

The Crucifixion is painted as the first scene from the left in the lower register (Fig. 1.61). The Calvary scene showing the figures of Christ on the Cross, the Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist in a close-up against a landscape background is similarly conceived as representations of the theme in contemporary South-German art, in works by Lucas Cranach,[202] or Wolf Traut (Fig. 1.62). Mary is turned towards her Son with her hands folded in prayer, while John demonstratively gestures towards Christ with his right.

Behind the Virgin Mary, to the left, a saint is standing, clad in a dress of similar green and white colours as the Virgin (Fig. 1.63). The frontally represented figure is of a slightly larger proportion compared to the two figures standing below the cross. The head is destroyed; no attribute enabling an identification is visible. Based on a light brown patch of colour along her left shoulders – probably her wavy blond hair falling down – she can be identified as a female saint. Before her, a kneeling donor figure can be seen, turned towards the Calvary scene (Fig. 1.64).

It seems that Christ's death on the Cross was represented here again in a bloodless manner. Within the generally muted colour scheme of greens, white and browns, the deep red of Saint John's upper vestment stands out, providing a dramatic accent. The robe – the front part of which is reminiscent of the chasuble Saint Valentine is wearing in the row above (Fig. 5.14) – might evoke, through its colour and design, associations of blood and sacrifice.

The austere landscape and sombre colours create an atmosphere suggestive of the gravity of the event. Still, the attitudes of the Virgin and Saint John do not primarily seem to be the expressions of grief and sorrow over Christ's death. Like in a contemporary drawing for an altar cross from Nuremberg (Fig. 1.65), John's demonstrative gesture seems more an invitation to behold the crucified Saviour, while Mary, with her prayerful attitude, provides a model for devotion to Christ. At the same time, her prayer might be seen as a plea of intercession on behalf of the kneeling donor.

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[201] The figure on the right can be hypothetically identified as Saint Roch, see Cat. No. 13.

[202] Comparable examples include a woodcut composition (Hollstein 27, c. 1508–1516, https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?assetId=47286001 &objectId=1419221&partId=1), and several panel paintings (Cranach Digital Archive, http://www.lucascranach.org/, inv. nos. F_MUC_92-4-1 (c. 1515–1520) and DE_KSG_GM704 (c. 1516–1517)).

A thematic link of the Calvary scene with two other compositions is discernible. Directly above, in the upper register, the Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand was painted, with the soldiers of Achatius being thrown from Mount Ararat into a thicket of thorns because of their conversion to Christianity (Fig. 5.12). As it is argued in Chapter 5, the vertical juxtaposition of the two scenes can be seen as an instance of hagiographical typology, where the martyrdom – with the bodies of the saints naked but their loincloths, and pierced by thorns, paralleling the body of Christ pierced by nails, and the rarely depicted episode of the crucifixion in the upper right corner – becomes an act of *imitatio Christi*, and, ultimately, a post-figuration of Christ's sacrifice.

The rightmost composition of the ensemble, emphasized through its almost double height, is perhaps even more evidently linked to the Calvary scene (Fig. 1.66). Here in the upper part Christ, probably depicted as the Man of Sorrows, wearing the crown of thorns, is turning towards God the Father, who appears as a half-figure in a cloud, holding an orb in his left hand, and blessing with his right, accompanied by the dove of the Holy Spirit (Fig. 1.67, Cat. Fig. 52). On the sides, four angels are holding the *arma Christi* (sponge on a reed, lance, column and probably the scourge), lending weight to Christ's appeal of intercession. Below, to the right, two haloed women are standing, their hands put together in prayer. The figure of the Virgin Mary or the beneficiaries of the intercession, who often appear in images of this type, cannot be discerned in the extant parts.[203]

The iconography of the upper part of the composition is comparable to a Lower Rhenish panel from 1506, housed in the Kunsthalle in Karlsruhe (Fig. 1.68). Here Christ, similarly wearing the crown of thorns, is displaying the wounds on his hands and side to God the Father, now seated on a throne, invested with the full insignia of heavenly rulership. The words assigned to Christ on an inscription scroll: *"O Vater las dir die wund myn / eyn opper vor alle sunder syn"* ("O Father, let my wounds be to you a sacrifice for all sinners")[204] may well be seen as summing up Christ's plea in the mural in Sibiu as well.

The loss of much of the composition's surface and the illegibility of the inscription band stretching over the image prevent its full interpretation. At any rate, the Calvary scene evoking Christ's sacrifice and the composition depicting an appeal for grace on account of it seem to fit

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[203] Fragments of white and grey draperies in the bottom left part of the composition suggest that further figures were depicted here, standing on the ground, possibly people whose salvation the intercession was meant to secure.
[204] Transcription and translation after: Barbara Newman, *God and the Goddesses: Vision, Poetry, and Belief in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 393.

into the same line of thought, with the figure of Christ depicted in his wounded, suffering state, crowned with thorns, acting as a connecting link.

Opposite the Crucifixion, on the northern wall, there is a fragment depicting the crowning part of a painted microarchitecture, with an elongated central spire flanked by four pinnacles, all adorned with crockets and finials (Figs. 1.69, 1.70). The structure painted in golden-yellow before a monochrome grey background conjures associations of a goldsmith's work; it is possible that it was part of the painted decoration of a sacrament niche, often placed in this part of the chancel.

In case the high altar was similarly placed in the late medieval period as at the time of the second consecration, after the church was given to the Franciscans in 1716,[205] the Crucifixion belonged to the immediate visual environment of the altar and of Eucharistic celebration. The proximity of the altar would also mean that the donor figure was optimally positioned with regards to his prospects of salvation, in addition to being able to rely on a chain of intercessors ranging from his patron saint through the Virgin Mary to the most potent mediator, Christ, in the intercessory image.

1.6. *Excursus*. The wall painting fragments around the sacrament house in Sighișoara (Segesvár, Schäßburg)

Based on a fragment showing the mourning figure of Saint John the Evangelist, surviving to the right from the sacrament house, Dana Jenei suggested that a Crucifixion decorated the northern chancel wall of the Saint Nicholas parish church in Sighișoara as well (Fig. 1.71).[206] Saint John the Evangelist is featured here, according to iconographic conventions, as a haloed, beardless young man with long, light brown hair, and wearing a purple brown mantle with a green shirt below. His downward gaze, with the eyelids half-covering the eyes, and downturned mouth are expressive of his grief. He is placed on the right edge of a composition framed by a border painted in perspective. While very little of the scene apart from this figure can be seen, from the surviving fragments it seems likely that this was a composition of the shape of a lying rectangle, with its central vertical axis largely coinciding with that of the sacrament house. The fragment of a white drapery in the bottom left corner (Fig. 1.72) might

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[205] Fortunát Boros, *Az erdélyi ferencrendiek* [The Franciscans in Transylvania] (Cluj–Kolozsvár: Szent Bonaventura, 1927), 108.

[206] Jenei, *Sighișoara*, 109; Idem, "Thèmes iconographiques et images dévotionelles dans la peinture murale médiévale tardive de Transylvanie (deuxième parti du XVe siècle – premier quart du XVIe siècle)," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts*, 51 (2014): 30.

have belonged to a mourning figure standing symmetrically to Saint John, most probably the Virgin Mary. This wider composition is flanked – in an arrangement reminiscent of a triptych – by two separately framed, narrower fields with the standing figures of saints Ursula and Barbara (Figs. 1.71, 1.72).[207] In the upper register, to the left of the sacrament house there is a fragment depicting an angel holding the scourge and standing before the Cross, around which other items of the arma – the rooster, ladder, crown of thorns, lance, and sponge on a reed – are arranged (Fig. 1.73).

The wall paintings probably executed around 1483–1484, as most of the mural decoration of the church,[208] are earlier than the sacrament house dated to c. 1490–1500.[209] Kinga German has suggested that they were painted as the decoration of a sacrament niche located in the same place as the sacrament house that later replaced it, in the level of the lower wall painting register.[210] Although it seems very likely that the central motif of the composition in question – toward which the mourning Saint John and probably the Virgin Mary as well as the two virgin martyrs on the sides were turned, and which was possibly connected to the sacrament niche – represented Christ's suffering and sacrifice, it does not necessarily follow that it was a Crucifixion.

Since Saint John's figure fills the entire height of the field, his halo overlapping the upper frame painted in perspective, it is unlikely that a full-size Crucifix would have fitted in here, considering that the figure of the crucified Christ usually rises above the mourners standing on the ground, with the horizontal beam of the cross extending over the heads of the Virgin and John the Evangelist. In case the image of Christ on the cross was painted here, it was of a smaller proportion than usual.

Mary and John were sometimes represented flanking a shield with the Passion instruments,[211] however, a depiction of the *arma Christi* would have rendered the composition of the upper register redundant. Another, more plausible, possibility is that the central figure of the composition was a Man of Sorrows. Images of the Vir Dolorum between Mary and John

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[207] On both saints, see Chapter 5.5.

[208] On the dating of the wall paintings, see Cat. No. 14, "Dating".

[209] On the sacrament house, see German, *Sakramentsnischen,* 247–251.

[210] German, *Sakramentsnischen,* 249–250, 281. During field work in 2012 the author has found carved stone fragments in the sacristy, which she suggests might have originally formed part of the sacrament niche.

[211] For example, in a print by the Master of the Housebook from around 1475–1480 (Lehrs 51, http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.34110), or in a French illumination (Bibliothèque nationale de France. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 4613, fol. 1, reproduced in Rudolf Berliner, "Arma Christi", *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 3, vol. 6 (1955), fig. 30, with a dating c. 1510.) The image of Christ on the Cross in the latter example also serves as an illustration of the argument that in case a Crucifix had been fitted into a rectangular field of the height of the figures of the Virgin and John the Evangelist, this would have been of a smaller proportion.

can be found in the decoration of sacrament niches,[212] and were generally common in the last decades of the fifteenth century, being spread by prints.[213] The predella of the altarpiece in Cincu (Nagysink, Groß-Schenk), painted around the same time as the wall painting in Sighișoara provides a geographically close parallel (Fig. 1.74).[214] Here all three figures are depicted as half-figures. Presuming that in Sighișoara a Man of Sorrows was painted over a sacrament niche incorporated within the same picture field, it seems probable that it was also a half-figure one.

While the fragment in the upper register does not allow for a reconstruction,[215] the two vertically juxtaposed compositions – even though separated by a frame – were probably closely interrelated. Based on these fragments, it seems that a fairly complex wall painting program was conceived to decorate, and give a visual emphasis to, the sacrament niche within the chancel space, centred on the interrelated themes of the evocation of Christ's sufferings and Eucharistic devotion. A figure of the Man of Sorrows possibly painted over the sacrament niche could have fittingly embodied the body of Christ housed in it, at the same time stimulating compassion, an attitude further prompted by the sorrow of the Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist, and by a display of the Passion instruments above, bringing to mind the individual torments as well as the Passion as a whole. Further strengthening the Eucharistic message is the figure of Saint Barbara, who, through her second attribute besides the tower, the chalice, stresses the importance of the Holy Sacrament, and especially that of the last communion. The administration of the last rites, which the saint guaranteed for her devotees by protecting them from sudden death, presumably involved taking to the dying the host reserved in the sacrament niche adjacent to which the image of Saint Barbara was depicted.[216] The figure of the angel clad in a liturgical vestment – a red cope over an alb, with golden hem, held together by a golden buckle – may have acquired further connotations when viewed in the context of the Eucharistic liturgy performed at the nearby high altar, alluding to its connection with the celestial liturgy celebrated at the heavenly altar and the angels' role in establishing this connection.[217]

The fact that the rest of the lower wall painting register along the chancel walls is filled by a repeating decorative motif of painted curtains below an imitated moulding supported by

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[212] In his survey of sacrament houses and niches, Achim Timmermann reproduces several examples from German and Austrian territories: Rothenburg ob der Tauber, Hospital Church (Fig. 279), Eriskirch, Bodensee (Fig. 240); Deutsch-Griffen and Thörl in Carinthia (Figs. 234–236).

[213] For instance, by Israhel van Meckenem (Lehrs 175, 176) and Schongauer (Bartsch 69).

[214] Firea, *Polipticele medievale,* 164–165, 434, fig. 4.

[215] See German, *Sakramentsnischen*, 281, for a suggestion that the angel figure was originally holding Veronica's veil.

[216] See also Chapter 5.5.

[217] For a discussion of the angels' liturgical role and the art historical term *angelus missae,* see Chapter 2.2.

corbels (Fig. 1.75) further emphasizes the presumable environment of the sacrament niche. Characteristic for the whole chancel decoration is a tendency prevalent in the period of the mural belying its quality of a flat painted surface. The painted moulding was probably intended as an illusionistic extension of the actual stone moulding running below the windows; below, the corbels recede into a fictive depth, resulting in an illusionistic expansion of the church interior in the lower register; the figures of saints are standing in fictive wall niches foreshortened in perspective; above, the angel's wings exceed the frame of the scene, implying that he was standing not within the composition's plane, but before it, inhabiting the same space as the spectator. Even though the overall illusionistic effect is less convincing than in the case of grisaille compositions as seen in Sibiu or Mediaș, these solutions might have contributed to a heightened sense of immediacy and emotional impact of the wall paintings.

The ensemble of the sacrament niche and the surrounding wall paintings was not long-lived. Presumably within the next one or two decades, the sacrament niche was replaced with a sacrament house,[218] a more spectacular solution probably considered a worthier container of the Eucharist, at the same time better serving the needs for representation of the wealthy town elite.[219] This intervention resulted in a partial destruction of the wall paintings, which, although their Eucharistic context did not change, were relegated now to a secondary role.

1.7. Conclusion

The fact that three out of the five alone-standing Crucifixions analysed in this chapter were discovered by accident in the last fifteen years during church renovations suggests that images of Christ's death on the cross may have been a much more common element of chancel decorations than the number of currently known examples indicates.

The surviving compositions present a striking variety and seem to be uniquely designed and adapted to their specific contexts, taking into consideration the architectural environment, the liturgical furnishing (altars and sacrament niches), the available surface (probably determining the choice between different composition types featuring a varying number of side-figures), as well as other elements of the iconographic program.[220] The presence of various

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[218] German, *Sakramentsnischen,* 247–251, 281.

[219] Kinga German connects the commissioning of the sacrament house to Michael Polner, mayor of the town, who had played an important role in the Late Gothic reconstruction of the church, see German, *Sakramentsnischen*, 248–249.

[220] As the examples from Hărman and the former church of the Dominican nunnery in Sibiu show, where there is a possibility to study the iconographic context of the Crucifixion scenes.

secondary figures populating the Crucifixion scenes – saints, donors, characters taken from biblical parables or contemporary political thought – testify in particular to the iconographic flexibility of the theme.

The Eucharistic connotation of the Crucifixion could be emphasized and articulated through explicit sacramental allusions, such as angels collecting the blood of Christ into chalices (Cârța, possibly Sibiu), displaying the Sacrament for adoration (Maiad), or through a combination with other Eucharistic themes, such as the Man of Sorrows (Sibiu). Even without such explicit references, the connection between visual representations of Christ's sacrifice and its liturgical representation at the altar must have been evident and was probably the major reason behind the common choice to place these representations within the immediate environment of mass celebration. Through an association with ecclesiastical or eschatological motifs, ideas about the role of the Church in mediating grace through the sacraments as well as the significance of Christ's death on the cross for the history of salvation could be conveyed.

Visual strategies apparently aimed at removing the Crucifixion from the biblical past into the present of the liturgy can be observed in most examples. Illusionistic devices often quoting the architectural environment of the mural, the inclusion of contemporary figures (whether living, dead or allegorical), heraldic motifs reflecting current political realities, or a vision-like depiction of the event might all contribute to bringing the Calvary closer to the reality of the viewer, an endeavour distinguishing single representations of the Crucifixion from Calvary scenes depicted as part of Passion cycles (discussed in Chapter 4).

Chapter 2. The Man of Sorrows

The representation of the Man of Sorrows (lat. *imago pietatis*) was one of the most versatile image types of late medieval religious art, with its many iconographic variants adapted to emphasize different meanings in various functional contexts across a relatively wide span of time and iconographic area.[221] Among the several meanings of the image, the Eucharistic one has been clearly established from early on in the study of the theme, and was elaborated by authors such as Romuald Bauerreiss,[222] Gert von der Osten,[223] Colin Eisler,[224] Tadeusz Dobrzeniecki,[225] Hans Belting,[226] and others. The figure of the suffering Christ displaying his wounds, emphasizing his corporeality and sacrifice, was well-suited to make the abstract notion of the Eucharist palpable and to visualise its identity with the body and blood of Christ. Hence the Man of Sorrows has by several authors been deemed as the most important Eucharistic image,[227] which often appeared in the decoration of objects directly related to the Eucharistic species: tabernacles,[228] altarpiece predellas,[229] liturgical vessels, and was ultimately incised on the host wafer itself. [230]

In the material under study, five representations of the Man of Sorrows survive in the decoration of chancels or in the vicinity of side altars; an example of the related image type of

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[221] Mitchell B. Merback, "The Man of Sorrows in Northern Europe: Ritual Metaphor and Therapeutic Exchange," in *New Perspectives on the Man of Sorrows*, ed. Catherine R. Puglisi (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2013), 77–78; Achim Timmermann, "A View of the Eucharist on the Eve of the Protestant Reformation," in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Reformation*, ed. Lee Palmer Wandel (Boston: Brill, 2013)*,* 377–379. The image of the Man of Sorrows has inspired a vast array of iconographic studies over the past century. For a detailed thematic overview of research on the Man of Sorrows, see Andrea Zimmermann, "Jesus Christus als "Schmerzensmann" in hoch- und spätmittelalterlichen Darstellungen der bildenden Kunst: eine Analyse ihres Sinngehalts," Ph.D. dissertation (Halle-Wittenberg: Martin-Luther-Universität, 1997), 9–31, https://sundoc.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/diss-online/97/98H110/prom.pdf, last accessed January 2019. For a selection of more recent studies on the Man of Sorrows, see Timmermann, *Real Presence,* 283, note 36.
[222] Romuald Bauerreiss, *Pie Jesu: Das Schmerzensmann-Bild und sein Einfluss auf die mittelalterliche Frömmigkeit* (München: Widmann, 1931), 5–13.
[223] Gert von der Osten, *Der Schmerzensmann: Typengeschichte eines deutschen Andachtsbildwerkes von 1300 bis 1600* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1935), 32–33.
[224] Colin Eisler, "The Golden Christ of Cortona and the Man of Sorrows in Italy," *Art Bulletin* 51, no. 2–3 (1969), 234–246.
[225] Tadeusz Dobrzeniecki, "Imago Pietatis. Its Meaning and Function," *Bulletin du Musée Nationale de Varsovie* 12 no. 1–2 (1971)*,* 5–27.
[226] Hans Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter: Form und Funktion früher Bildtafeln der Passion* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1981), 105–141.
[227] Eisler, *The Golden Christ,* 237; Dóra Sallay, "The Eucharistic Man of Sorrows in Late Medieval Art," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 6 (2000): 47; Timmermann, *Real Presence*, 259.
[228] Ibid., 259–265; German, *Sakramentsnischen,* 134.
[229] Von der Osten, *Schmerzensmann,* 32–33; Firea, *Polipticele medievale*, 68.
[230] Kumler, *Eucharistic Morphology*, 186.

the *Notgottes* will be additionally included into the discussion. The following chapter investigates their Eucharistic layer of meaning, looking at how their varying iconographic features, way of representation, and placement in relation to other themes or to pieces of liturgical furnishing could articulate and nuance this meaning in the context of the liturgy performed at the altar and the devotion to the Holy Sacrament.

2.1. Representations of the Man of Sorrows with the *arma Christi*

Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg), Saint Michael's church

On the western wall of the so-called "Schleynig chapel" in the south-western tower base of the Saint Michael's church in Cluj, to the right from the window, there is a badly preserved composition featuring the figure of the suffering Christ before the Cross, stripped of his clothes, bleeding from his wounds (Fig. 2.1). Various identifications for this fragmentary composition have been proposed. Flóris Rómer, who revealed the scene along with the Passion cycle on the northern wall in 1868, describes it as an *Ecce Homo*;[231] in later literature it is usually referred to as a Man of Sorrows.[232] Based on an examination of the watercolour copy from 1904 by István Gróh (Fig. 2.2), Mihály Jánó proposes an identification as the Descent from the cross, perceived as a direct continuation of the neighbouring Passion cycle ending with the Crucifixion, with the ladder leaned against the cross and the figure of the grey-haired Joseph of Arimathea appearing above the horizontal crossbar to the right.[233] On a close look at the fragment and the copy, the active, open-eyed Christ standing straight and pointing to his side-wound is in contrast with the inert, lifeless body known from scenes of the Deposition. The surrounding objects and faces, instead of being elements of a narrative scene, are abbreviated references to different episodes of the Passion narrative: the grey-haired, bearded and haloed head of Saint Peter evoking his betrayal of Christ, the ladder used for the deposition, as well as the numerous other *arma* around the figure of Christ – the column, scourge, bucket of vinegar and a spitting face – alluding to the various tortures.[234]

The closest analogies of this composition date from the middle decades of the fifteenth century. Besides a representation of the Man of Sorrows with the *arma Christi* in the high

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[231] Flóris Rómer, *Régi falképek Magyarországon* (Budapest: Hoffmann és Molnár, 1874)*,* 117. Edit Grandpierre takes over this designation in her monograph on the parish church, while providing an accurate description of the instruments of the Passion surrounding the figure of Christ: Edit Grandpierre, *A kolozsvári Szent Mihály templom* ([Kolozsvár]: Minerva, 1936), 31.

[232] Lángi and Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek*, vol. 3, 77; Radocsay, *Falképek*, 142; *Magyarországi művészet,* vol. 1, 705; Jenei, *Pictura*, 118.

[233] Jánó, *Színek és legendák*, 66.

[234] Due to the poor state of preservation, not all instruments can be identified.

altarpiece from Matejovce (Mateóc, Slovakia) painted after 1453 (Fig. 2.3),[235] a panel from the Silesian Brzeg from 1443 (Fig. 2.4)[236] also bears resemblance in the general compositional scheme and the position of several of the *arma*: the ladder and the column framing the composition, Peter's denial in the upper right corner, the face of a spitting figure to the left from Christ at shoulder height, or the hitting hand to the right in waist height.

What is striking in this composition – even in comparison with the analogies – is the emphasis on the blood of Christ. Besides the blood flowing from the side wound and the left hand[237] pierced by a nail, and the blood drops dripping on his forehead, a pattern of three-pointed scourge marks covers his whole body, forming a uniform texture (Fig. 2.5).[238] Compared to the countless wounds inflicted during the Flagellation, the more important wounds of the Crucifixion are emphasized by the gesture of the left hand – simultaneously pointing toward the side-wound and exposing the mark of the nail on the back of the hand – and by the streams of blood flowing radially from them in all directions. On the right side of Christ, at hip level, two parallel red lines, presumably of blood, can be observed. Although due to the fragmentary state of this part of the composition the meaning of this detail is uncertain, it is possible that these were part of a stream of blood flowing from the side wound into a chalice positioned on the right side of Christ, like in numerous other representations of the theme, including the already mentioned panel from Matejovce.[239]

The layout of the lower half of the composition is difficult to reconstruct due to the large amount of losses of the painted surface. While in many representations of the Man of Sorrows with the instruments of the Passion Christ is rising from a tomb, it is unclear whether a similar

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[235] *Magyarországi Művészet*, vol. 1, 715–718, vol. 2, fig. 1772; Dušan Buran, ed., *Gotika. Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia* (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 2003), 702–703.

[236] Jakub Kostowski, "Die sogenannte 'Devotio Moderna' in Schlesien: Die Zeugnisse der spätgotischen Malerei," in *Die "Neue Frömmigkeit" in Europa im Spätmittelalter*, ed. Marek Derwich and Martial Staub (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht: 2004), 153–154, 156, image no. 3. The compositional affinity between the panels from Brzeg and Matejovce has already been pointed out in previous research. While the altarpiece from Matejovce generally provides a closer analogy to the wall painting, some details show closer similarity with the panel from Brzeg, for example the placement of Peter's denial above the horizontal crossbar to the right.

[237] The part of the composition where his right hand had been, has not been preserved.

[238] A similar pattern of scourge marks can be observed in an altar frontal probably made in Nuremberg around 1465, depicting the Man of Sorrows among four saints: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, Accession Number 1991.156, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/466187, last accessed March 2018.

[239] Here the position of the bloodstream in relation to Christ's body is similar as well. A chalice catching the blood originating from the side wound also appears in the panel from Brzeg (here the blood issues from all five wounds, and a host appears above the chalice), in a wall painting in the parish church of Mariapfarr (Austria) from around 1425 (https://camera.hypotheses.org/12, last accessed March 2018), and in a panel from the South Bohemian Hluboká nad Vltavou from around 1440–1450 (https://realonline.imareal.sbg.ac.at, image no. 012955). In these examples the chalice is not placed directly below the side wound, but on the ground, on the edge of the tomb, or in the hand of a kneeling angel, enabling the blood to flow in a dramatic wide stream.

arrangement was followed here.[240] In addition, at the time of recovering the wall painting, Flóris Rómer has observed a kneeling donor figure, wearing a mitre, pallium, and staff, to the right from the figure of Christ, whom he has identified as Gregorius Schleynig.[241] This figure is not visible today,[242] nor can it be discerned in the watercolour copy from 1904 or in the photo taken before the restoration in 1942,[243] although it is mentioned in the 1936 description of Edit Grandpierre[244] and is taken over in later works of synthesis, probably based on Rómer's work.[245] The inclusion of a donor figure in this type of representation is not uncommon,[246] although this would typically, if not exclusively, be on the right of Christ instead of the left. Bishop figures – usually their heads or busts – also appear sometimes as part of the *arma*, as Caiaphas or Annas, being high priests, could be depicted wearing a bishop's mitre.[247] Still, if the observation of a kneeling figure was accurate, it was most likely a donor portrait. While a dating of the wall painting ensemble to the middle of the fifteenth century would allow Rómer's identification of the donor as parish priest Gregorius Schleynig, who held his office from 1450, and whose family's coat of arms appears on the keystone of the chapel vault,[248] the bishop's attire described by Rómer makes this identification questionable.

Images of the *arma Christi* have often been described as mnemonic devices, facilitating the evocation of the individual tortures, as well as of the Passion of Christ as a whole, and

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[240] A small grey surface of paint surviving below Christ's upper body may have belonged to the representation of the tomb.

[241] Rómer, *Régi falképek,* 117.

[242] Almost nothing remains of the lower right part of the composition. To the right from Christ at hip height there is a motif identifiable as a hand extended towards Christ, but it is improbable that it could have belonged to a kneeling figure of proportionate size (who would not have fitted below the *arma* – the column and the bucket – above); if a donor figure had been painted in this part of the composition, it was probably of smaller proportion. Instead, it is most probably a disembodied hand referring to Christ being slapped by one of his torturers, as it is common in images of the *arma Christi*.

[243] Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Center, Photo Archive, no. 014.779P.

[244] Edit Grandpierre calls into question Rómer's identification of the kneeling figure as a donor, but does not provide further details, cf. Grandpierre, *Szent Mihály templom,* 31.

[245] Radocsay, *Falképek*, 142; *Magyarországi művészet,* vol. 1, 705.

[246] Especially in manuscript illuminations, for example in the Franciscan missal of King Matthias, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rossiana Cod. Lat. 1164, see Tünde Wehli, "Mátyás király ferences missaléja" [The Franciscan missal of King Matthias], in *A ferences lelkiség hatása az Újkori Közép-Európa történetére és kultúrájára* [The Influence of Franciscan spirituality on the history and culture of Central Europe in the Modern Era], ed. Sándor Őze and Norbert Medgyesy-Schmikli (Piliscsaba–Budapest: PPKE BTK–METEM, 2005), 865–874.

[247] Kathryn M. Rudy, *Rubrics, Images and Indulgences in Late Medieval Netherlandish Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 120, 122.

[248] Based on this coat of arms, Gregorius Schleynig has traditionally been considered the builder of the chapel and has also been associated with its painted decoration. Arguing for a dating of the architectural features and the wall paintings to the first third, or the first half of the fifteenth century, Szilárd Papp has questioned this identification, suggesting that the building of the chapel might be connected to the patronage of an earlier member of the same family, see Szilárd Papp, "Építészettörténeti elődokumentáció a kolozsvári Szent Mihály-plébániatemplomról" [Preliminary study on the architectural history of the Saint Michael's parish church in Cluj] (Budapest, unpublished manuscript, 2013), 29–31. I thank the author for sharing his manuscript with me.

serving as cues for meditation on Christ's sufferings.[249] In this case, the placement of the image in the direct vicinity of the Passion cycle on the northern wall of the chapel creates a particular framework for interpretation, where a set of correspondences can be observed between the figure of the Man of Sorrows with the instruments denoting different Passion episodes in an abbreviated form, and the narrative depiction of the events themselves (Fig. 2.6). In this way, the Crucifixion scene captures the origin of the side wound of the Man of Sorrows in the moment when Longinus pierces the chest of Christ with his lance; the scourge marks covering Christ's body have their origin in the Flagellation scene preceding the Crucifixion. Many of the arma[250] surrounding Christ can also be observed in their original narrative context: the column and the scourge of the Flagellation scene, the bucket of vinegar[251] held by two soldiers flanking the cross, and the cross of the Crucifixion itself.

The emphasis on the blood of Christ creates a further link between the Man of Sorrows composition and the Passion cycle. In the otherwise relatively concise cycle[252] every opportunity is used to capture and emphasise Christ's sheddings of blood,[253] from his sweating drops of blood in the garden of Gethsemane through his crowning with the crown of thorns and Flagellation, to the Crucifixion, where in addition to the scourge-marks covering his body and the blood-drops on his forehead, the blood flowing abundantly from his five fresh wounds is emphasized (Fig. 2.7).

Given this juxtaposition with the Passion cycle, the Man of Sorrows with the *arma Christi* here appears less as a mnemonic aid for remembering the Passion events than as their summary and conclusion. Compared to the narrative cycle set in a well-defined historical time, the atemporal image of the Suffering Christ, open-eyed, turned towards the viewer, demonstratively displaying his wounds, seems to address its audience in a more direct way. Surrounded by the instruments of his tortures, people who spit on him, hit him, and betray him, covered in bleeding wounds, the figure of the Man of Sorrows could be a suitable focus of

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[249] Robert Suckale, "Arma Christi: Überlegungen zur Zeichenhaftigkeit mittelalterlicher Andachtsbilder," *Städel-Jahrbuch* 6 (1977):183–191; Dušan Buran, *Studien zur Wandmalerei um 1400 in der Slowakei: die Pfarrkirche St. Jakob in Leutschau und die Pfarrkirche St. Franziskus Seraphicus in Poniky* (Weimar: Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 2002)*,* 37; Mitzi Kirkland-Ives, "The Suffering Christ and Visual Mnemonics in Netherlandish Devotions," in *Death, Torture, and the Broken Body in European Art, 1300-1650,* ed. John R. Decker and Mitzi Kirkland-Ives (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014), 37–38.

[250] Some of the arma have no equivalent in the surviving scenes of the Passion cycle, such as the spitting face, Peter's denial, or the ladder of the Deposition.

[251] Better visible in the watercolour copy.

[252] In its present form, the cycle comprises seven scenes.

[253] Depending on the way of counting, medieval authors kept count of five to seven instances when Christ had shed his blood for the salvation of mankind. The first occurred at his Circumcision, foreshadowing the bloodsheds of the Passion (all of which are represented here). See Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative, the Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting* (Doornspijk, The Netherlands: Davaco, 1984), 83–84.

Passion devotion, eliciting responses of empathy and affection.[254] At the same time, Christ's sacrificed, yet living body and his spilling blood, possibly caught up in a chalice, might well have been understood as a visual parallel of the bread and wine, changed into the true body and blood of Christ at the words of the consecration, the host being probably later reserved in the tabernacle on the northern wall of the chapel below the Passion cycle.

The exact function of the chapel is not known. The sole reference to its dedication is made by Flóris Rómer, who, reporting on the discovery of the wall paintings in 1868, assumes that the room then functioning as an archive might earlier had been a Corpus Christi chapel.[255] While there is no trace in medieval or even later sources of such a chapel in the parish church, there had been an altar dedicated to the Corpus Christi, first mentioned in 1422 together with the confraternity affiliated with the altar.[256] The altar and the Corpus Christi confraternity appear in later sources as well.[257] Taken into consideration the Christological program of the chapel and the tituli of the other altars mentioned in written sources – all dedicated to various saints[258] –, it is conceivable that the Corpus Christi altar was located in the chapel named today after its presumed founder, although in the absence of further evidence this hypothesis cannot be proved. In this case, the Passion cycle above the tabernacle, culminating in Christ's sacrifice on the cross, and the image of Christ as the Man of Sorrows exposing his wounds and surrounded by the instruments of his Passion, formed a suitable visual environment for the

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[254] Cf. Caroline Walker Bynum, "Violent Imagery in Late Medieval Piety," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 30 (2002), 18; David S. Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe. Visual Culture in Early Modernity* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 48–49.

[255] [Flóris Rómer], "Visszapillantás a magyar történeti társulatnak Kolozsvárott tartott első vidéki nagygyűlésére" [The first regional assembly of the Hungarian Historical Association held in Kolozsvár in retrospect], *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 1, no. 2 (1868–1869): 32.

[256] In a charter from 1422, Georgius, bishop of Transylvania, confirms an agreement between parish priest Johannes and the burghers of the town made in 1414 regarding the masses to be celebrated in the parish church, including masses at the Corpus Christi altar: *Missa in Ara Corporis Cristi ferys quartis, cum fratribus Confraternitatis dicti Altaris cum vocum modulamine, Alys diebus singulis sub silencio erit officianda.* Jakab Elek, ed. *Oklevéltár Kolozsvár története első kötetéhez* [Cartulary to the first volume of the history of Kolozsvár] (Buda: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1870), no. 89.

[257] Donations of wax for the Corpus Christi altar appear in two last wills from the 1450's (from 1454 (Jakó Zsigmond, ed. *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei (1289– 1556)* [The convent records from Kolozsmonostor (1289–1556)], (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), vol. 1, no. 1153) and 1459 (Jakab, *Oklevéltár*, vol 1, no. 120)). In 1531 Magdalena, widow of Georgius Lapicida and minorite sister donates one florin to the Corpus Christi confraternity for the celebration of the Corpus Christi mass in the parish church: *Item celebri confraternitati societatis Atre Corporis Christi in prefata parochiali Ecclesia constructe qre/[pro?] Missa corporis Christi celebranda lego florenum vnum* (Jakab, *Oklevéltár,* vol. 1, no. 237). Compared to other Transylvanian towns like Sibiu or Brașov, sources on the Corpus Christi confraternity in Cluj are very scarce. See also Carmen Florea, "Il potenziale degli incroci culturali nella Transilvania del tardo medio evo," in *Dal cuore dell'Europa. Omaggio al professor Cesare Alzati per il compimento dei 70 anni*, ed. Ioan-Aurel Pop (Cluj: Accademia Romena Centro di Studi Transilvani – Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2015), 201.

[258] See Cat. No. 4, *Historical data*. It is possible, however, that not all altars standing in the church by the time of the execution of the murals appear in the sources.

Corpus Christi masses, celebrated weekly with the participation of the members of the confraternity.[259]

Hărman (Szászhermány, Honigberg), parish church

Another, possibly contemporary or somewhat earlier representation of the Man of Sorrows with the *arma* was painted on the western side of the easternmost rectangular pier of the arcade separating the northern aisle from the nave in Hărman (Fig. 2.8). Today only a rectangular surface of the composition is revealed, in which the bust of Christ is visible before the cross (Fig. 2.9). Based on the wooden stick in his right arm with a knot in the middle, the wall painting probably belonged to a representation type where the Man of Sorrows is depicted holding in both arms the scourge with a wooden handle and the birch made of branches, arranged symmetrically, as in a Moravian panel from the middle of the fifteenth century, showing Christ standing before the cross, like in Hărman (Fig. 2.10), or in several later examples of altarpiece predellas from Transylvania (Figs. 1.74, 2.11).[260]

The emphasis on these two *arma* is probably meant to focus the thoughts of the devotee on a specific episode of the Passion, the Flagellation.[261] The sorrowful, pained expression of Christ with downward turned eyes, his head slightly bowed, and blood dripping on his forehead made the composition an ideal focus for empathetic meditation on Christ's sufferings.

In the same time, an additional function of the mural can be presumed. The western side of piers between the aisles was a popular place for side altars in the late middle ages, which were often decorated with wall paintings.[262] In a study of the Imago pietatis as a devotional theme in late medieval Danish murals, Søren Kaspersen presents several instances where the Man of Sorrows appears in a similar placement as in Hărman, intended as the decoration of side altars,[263] like in an iconographically related composition from Roskilde cathedral, portraying

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[259] See footnote 256 above.

[260] In the altarpiece in Mălâncrav (Malmkrog, Almakerék) and in a predella in Cincu (Nagysink, Groß-Schenk), in both cases flanked by the figures of the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist. On the altarpiece in Mălâncrav, dated recently to between 1460–1469, see Firea, *Polipticele medievale,* 220–224; Sarkadi Nagy, *Altarpieces,* 172–175, and Boglárka Tóth, "Az almakeréki szárnyasoltár dendrokronológiai kormeghatározása" [Dendrochronological age determination of the winged altarpiece in Almakerék], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 66, no. 2 (2017): 351–356. On the predella in Cincu, see Firea, *Polipticele medievale,* 164–165 (dating to c. 1480–1490), and Sarkadi Nagy, *Altarpieces,* 152 (with a dating to around 1450).

[261] Correspondingly, in many examples the body of Christ is fully covered with the bleeding wounds of the Flagellation (e.g. the Moravian panel mentioned above).

[262] Kroesen, *Seitenaltäre,* 16, 44–47.

[263] Søren Kaspersen, "*Wall-Paintings and Devotion: The Impact of late Medieval Piety on Danish Murals,"* in *Images of Cult and Devotion: Function and Reception of Christian Images of Medieval and Post-Medieval Europe*, ed. Søren Kaspersen and Ulla Haastrup (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2004), 188–190.

the Suffering Christ with the scourge and the birch, the cross, and other *arma,* painted on the western side of a pier, below other Eucharistic themes[264] (late fourteenth century, Fig. 2.12).[265]

Presuming a similar arrangement in Hărman, a comparable plurality in the function and meaning of the image can be surmised, as already noted in the case of the Man of Sorrows in Cluj.[266] Located at not much above eye-level, in a part of the church accessible to the laity, the image of the suffering Saviour may have been a suitable focus of Passion devotion; at the same time, as a representation of the *Corpus Christi* contained in the sacrament of the altar, it may have served as a fitting visual backdrop for mass celebration, just like analogous compositions in altar predellas.

2.2. The Angel Pietà

Sântimbru (Marosszentimre, Emrichsdorf), parish church

Another example of the Man of Sorrows with the instruments of the Passion, this time flanked by two angels, was painted on the north-eastern wall of the apse in the Saint Emeric's church in Sântimbru around half a century later (Fig. 2.13).[267] The composition today is in a bad state of preservation, its lower part is not revealed. The upper body of Christ seems to follow an engraving by Israhel van Meckenem of a similar topic (Figs. 2.14, 2.15).[268] His head is slightly leant to the right; his half-open, downwards turned eyes express pain and sorrow.[269] He is placing his left hand below his side wound, encompassing the open wound between his thumb and index finger. While in the engraving his hand gesture also serves to emphasize the flow of blood drops issuing from the wound, in the mural this stream of blood cannot be clearly taken out, nor the wound on the back of his left hand, which he is likewise displaying for view in the engraving. He is stretching his right arm in front of him, apparently showing the wound on his fragmentarily preserved right palm turned towards the viewer, as in the engraving.

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[264] The narrow surface of the pier was conducive to a vertical juxtaposition of themes. In Hărman probably a different scene was painted above the Man of Sorrows, of which today a fragment of a white object – probably a textile or an inscription scroll – is visible against the same dark blue background.

[265] Kaspersen, *Wall-Paintings and Devotion,* Fig. 3, Plate 7.

[266] Cf. also analyses of Man of Sorrows compositions by Ulla Haastrup (*Zu Altar- und Andachtsbildern in den Wandmalereien des mittelalterlichen Dänemark,* in *Images of Cult and Devotion,* 167), Søren Kaspersen (*Wall-Paintings and Devotion*), and David S. Areford (*The Viewer and the Painted Image,* 45–50).

[267] On this composition datable to around 1500, see Emese Nagy, "A marosszentimrei református templom falképeiről" [The wall paintings of the Calvinist church in Marosszentimre], *Erdélyi Múzeum* 60, nos. 3–4. (1998), 252–255; Lángi and Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek,* vol. 3, 104–106.

[268] Lehrs 172. In spite of the similarity of the theme, the rest of the composition seems to bear no connection to the print.

[269] In the engraving the heavy eyelids partly covering the eyes emphasize this effect, in the mural this detail is not discernible.

Besides his hand, the fragment of a rounded object can be vaguely discerned, possibly the cup of a chalice.

The two angels are supporting him from both sides,[270] while holding in their other hands in front of Christ a shroud articulated with yellow folds (Fig. 2.16). Unlike in the engraving, where Christ is sitting on the lid and the edge of his tomb, here he is standing upright. Two horizontal lines running from the right angel's left hand to the right margin of the composition suggest a parapet-like structure separating Christ standing before it from the angels positioned behind. Whether this is the rear wall of the tomb in which Christ is standing is not completely clear, as the lower part of the composition is not properly revealed.[271] The angels are wearing white mantles and a dress below patterned with similar yellow folds as the textile they are holding. Their wings adorned with decorative feathers are closing over their heads, forming an ornamental halo-like frame.

A decorative taste prevails also in the rendering of the Passion instruments in the upper part of the composition (Fig. 2.17).[272] The cross in the centre is emphasized with several ornamental elements: undulating parallel lines suggesting the wood grain, a cross-formed knot holding together the two shafts, and the unusually long *titulus crucis*, held by the bifurcated end of the cross, rolled around both ends of the horizontal crossbar. A larger than average number of arma can be observed evenly distributed on both sides of the cross: the column, the sponge soaked in vinegar on a reed, and the thirty pieces of silver in three columns to the right; on the left, the scourge is hung on the crossbar, captured in a dynamic swing suggesting an ongoing action. Its five tails end in golden knots studded with nails resembling golden stars, creating again a decorative effect. Besides the scourge, the ladder can be seen leant against the cross, the chain (?) running along the vertical crossbar, and the pincers used to remove the three nails, which appear in a disproportionately large size before the cross, arranged in a zigzag form.

While research on the *arma Christi* often emphasizes the randomness in the arrangement of the individual instruments without regard to chronology, proportion, or even compositional logic,[273] in an article focusing on meaningful patterns of disposition in images of the *arma Christi*, Marius Rimmele draws attention to how visual juxtapositions, symmetries,

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[270] The fingers of the angel on the left holding Christ's upper arm can be discerned.

[271] Here the outlines of a rectangular, obliquely placed object represented in perspective can be seen, which Emese Sarkadi Nagy identified as the lapsed lid of the sarcophagus. This is conceivable, although when the lid was represented in similar compositions, it was usually placed perpendicularly to the tomb like in the van Meckenem print; this kind of arrangement seems unique.

[272] The arrangement of the *arma* resembles the composition of an engraving by Master E.S. (Lehrs 188, https://skd-online-collection.skd.museum/Details/Index/960093) in the position of the column, the ladder, and the reed with the sponge in relation to the cross, while other details differ.

[273] Suckale, *Arma Christi,* 186–187; Bynum, *Violent Imagery,* 18.

or contrasts may guide the viewer's perception and interpretation.[274] This seems to be the case also here, where we can observe functional interconnections between some of the objects – such as the pincer positioned besides the nails, or the ladder leaned against the cross – which not only help to evoke their actual use in the Passion story, but may also confer them an additional layer of meaning. The image of the ladder, symbolizing the ascension of the soul to Heaven in medieval thought, in the context of Passion devotion was often used as a metaphor for Christ's cross or Christ himself, emphasizing the redemptive effect of His sacrifice.[275] As an early fourteenth-century mystical Passion treatise explains, *The ladder set against the cross thus signified that the cross prepared for us the ascent to Heaven.*[276] In a similar vein, Rudolf Berliner suggests that the pincer used to remove the nails at the Deposition might evoke the idea of liberation from sins through Christ's sufferings, based on an analogy present in contemporary devotional works between the act of drawing out the nails to detach Christ's body from the cross, and that of releasing mankind from their sins.[277] A further, this time casual, connection might be established between the nails placed in a central position directly above Christ, and the wounds of Christ which he is displaying on both hands, the considerable size of the nails suggestive of the pain caused by them. Besides these juxtapositions, the symmetrical pairing of the instruments on both sides of the cross seems to be a further organizing principle. The column and the scourge on both sides of the composition allude to the Flagellation of Christ; the pendant of the sponge on a reed is the ladder, both objects evoking events directly preceding and following Christ's death on the cross. The chains and the thirty pieces of silver on both sides of the vertical crossbar are related not based on their place in the Passion story, but through their similar visual rendering as strings of intersecting golden circles.

The most distinctive feature of the image compared to the examples discussed above is the presence of the angels holding Christ. Based on this, the composition can be termed an Angel Pietà (Germ. Engelpietà)*,* an iconographic category coined in German scholarship to describe representations where one or more angels are holding the Man of Sorrows or the dead

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[274] Marius Rimmele, "Geordnete Unordnung. Zur Bedeutungsstiftung in Zusammenstellungen der Arma Christi," in *Das Bild im Plural*, ed. David Ganz and Felix Thürlemann (Berlin: Reimer, 2010), 219–242.

[275] Anna Eörsi, "Haec scala significat ascensum virtutum. Remarks on the Iconography of Christ Mounting the Cross on a Ladder," *Arte Cristiana* 85 (1997): 151–155, citing numerous literary and visual sources to outline the different meanings of the motif of the ladder in medieval thought in general, and regarding Christ's Passion in particular. In her analysis of the composition in Sântimbru, Emese Sarkadi Nagy also draws attention to the symbolic meaning of the ladder (Nagy, *Marosszentimre,* 252).

[276] "*Scala igitur cruci apposita signabat, quia crux nobis ascensum in celum evidencius preparabat.*" Kolda of Koldice: *De strenuo milite,* 1312, quoted by Eörsi, *Christ Mounting the Cross,* 155, footnote 33.

[277] Berliner, *Arma Christi,* 51, footnote 217, cites a passage of a fifteenth century English poem built upon this analogy: *The tonges that drow the nayles out,/ Of fet, of handes, al about,/   And louset his bodi from the tre, /of alle my sinnus they lese me.*

body of Christ.[278] This composition type was popular in the fifteenth century, both with or without a representation of the Passion instruments in the background. Although the more symmetrical variant with two angels flanking Christ has been traditionally described as the 'Italian type' (as opposed to images featuring only one angel holding the body of Christ),[279] the three-figure Angel Pietà was not rare in the regions north of the Alps, the closest analogies of the composition in Sântimbru originating from Austrian and German territories.[280]

Analysing an iconographically related composition by Giovanni Pisano featuring two angels displaying the Man of Sorrows by holding the veil of his entombment (c. 1300, Fig. 2.18),[281] Hubert Schrade fits it into a group of images visualizing theological ideas about the angels' participation in the Eucharistic sacrifice during mass.[282] As Gregory the Great relates it in his Dialogues (IV, 58), in the hour of sacrifice the heavens open at the words of the priest, and choirs of angels are present in the mystery of Christ, joining heaven and earth, the visible and invisible.[283] This idea is also expressed in the *Supplices te rogamus* prayer of the Canon of the Mass, uttered by the priest after the consecration, asking God to command his angel to carry the offering to the heavenly altar, in the sight of His divine Majesty.[284] According to Schrade, it is precisely this liturgical text that this type of imagery refers to, whether the representation features angels carrying the lamb of God, a chalice with the host, or holding the figure of Christ

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[278] In some cases the angels are holding a drapery behind Christ, against which they are presenting him. See Gert von der Osten, "Engelpietà", in *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 5 (1960), cols. 601–621. RDK Labor, http://www.rdklabor.de/w/?oldid=93200, last accessed April 2020). See also Staale Sinding-Larsen, *Christ in the Council Hall: Studies in the Religious Iconography of the Venetian Republic*, Acta Ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia. vol. 5 (Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1974), 99–100.

[279] von der Osten, "Engelpietà."

[280] The motif of the two angels spreading a veil before Christ as the Man of Sorrows is similarly rendered in a pen-and-ink drawing from Salzburg, c. 1400 (München, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, inv. no. 28 388). Besides the van Meckenem print referred to above, a panel in the Diözesanmuseum in Cologne (c. 1500, https://www.bildindex.de, image no. mi01467e07) can be mentioned as a further compositional analogy. A panel depicting the same theme, dated to around 1515–1520, is housed in the Brukenthal Museum in Sibiu (inv. no. 1896, Firea, *Polipticele medievale,* 274–275).

[281] "Angel Pietà", fragment of a pulpit probably from the cathedral of Pisa, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ident. no. 32, http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=868114, last accessed April 2020.

[282] Hubert Schrade, "Beiträge zur Erklärung des Schmerzensmannbildes, in *Deutschkundliches. Friedrich Panzer zum 60. Geburtstage überreicht von Heidelberger Fachgenossen*, ed. Hans Teske (Heidelberg: Carl Winters, 1930), 176–179.

[283] Ibid. On the theological context of the angels' participation in the mass, see also Johannes Tripps, "The Priest Assisted by Automatons. Medieval Altars and Altarpieces with Mechanical Figures," in *Die Macht der Dinge. Symbolische Kommunikation und kulturelles Handeln*, ed. Andreas Hartmann, Peter Höher, and Christiane Cantauw (Münster: Waxmann, 2011), 340–341.

[284] *Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens Deus: iube haec perferri per manus sancti Angeli tui in sublime altare tuum, in conspectus divinae maiestatis tuae.*

himself.[285] The angels thus can be interpreted as the *angelus missae*[286] establishing the connection between earthly and heavenly liturgy, carrying the Eucharistic sacrifice – in this case represented as the Man of Sorrows – to the heavenly altar. The equivalence between Christ of the Angel Pietà and the Holy Sacrament is suggestively visualised in a fifteenth-century miniature from the register of a Venetian Corpus Christi confraternity,[287] where Christ showing his wounds is standing in a chalice held by two kneeling angels, suggesting an interchangeability between the image of the Man of Sorrows and that of the host typically appearing above the chalice in similar compositions (Fig. 2.19).

While later research has generally accepted this interpretation of the Angel Pietà,[288] some authors have called into question that it would be a literal representation of the *Supplices te rogamus* prayer, albeit agreeing that the Man of Sorrows in this composition type can be seen as an image of the Eucharist. In a comparative analysis of two examples of the *Angel Pietà,*[289] Hans Belting argues that depending on their formulation and emphases, these images might allude instead to the Elevation of the Host, or to the offering of the Eucharist and its receiving by the believers in the communion.[290] Gertrud Schiller expresses similar reservations against the interpretation proposed by Schrade, arguing that even if this image type evokes the role of the angels in the liturgy, it does not seem to represent the act of lifting up the sacrifice to heaven by the *angelus missae*.[291]

In the case of the composition in Sântimbru, a sacramental reading of the image is underscored by its location on the north-eastern wall of the apse, not far from the tabernacle on

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[285] Schrade, *Beiträge*, 176–179.

[286] Schrade observes the apparent discrepancy between the frequent presence of two angels in pictorial representations and the singular of the word *angelus* in the liturgical text, but resolves it by pointing to the origin of the composition type in the image of the lamb of God flanked by two angels, and to a strive for symmetry, see Schrade, *Beiträge*, 178.

[287] Register of the Scuola del Corpo di Cristo, Venice, fifteenth century, London, British Library, Add. ms. 17047, f. 1v. See Gertrud Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst* ([Gütersloh]: Gütersloher Verlagshaus G. Mohn, 1980–1991), vol. 2, 232, Fig. 760, and Caroline Walker Bynum, "Seeing and Seeing beyond: The Mass of St. Gregory in the Fifteenth Century," in *The Mind's Eye. Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 210, 212, fig. 2. On this image type, with further bibliography, see also Sallay, *Eucharistic Man of Sorrows,* 55, footnote 41.

[288] Sinding-Larsen, *Christ in the Council Hall*, 99–100; Schlie, *Corpus Christi*, 187. While agreeing with this interpretation, von der Osten points to a further possible meaning of the angels suggesting God's participation in the Passion of Christ, similarly to the angels appearing in the episode of the Prayer on the Mount of Olives and at the empty tomb, cf. von der Osten, "Engelpietà."

[289] The above-mentioned relief by Giovanni Pisano and an early fifteenth-century carved altarpiece featuring an angel holding the helpless, dead body of Christ. See Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum,* 105–124.

[290] Ibid.

[291] Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, vol. 2, 231–232.

the northern wall,[292] or the high altar once standing in the chancel.[293] Without the need to suppose a direct correlation between the image and a single act or text of the liturgy, or even an exclusively liturgical meaning, the image representing the display of the body of Christ by the angels may have resonated with various moments of the mass: the elevation of the host following the words of the consecration, which identify the bread of the Last Supper with the body of Christ; the words of the priest describing the host as heavenly bread before his communion,[294] or the *Supplices* prayer asking for the assistance of God's angel in establishing a connection between the heavenly and earthly liturgy, evoking the heavenly blessing and grace that ensues from receiving the body and blood of Christ at the altar below.[295]

Such an understanding of the image as proposed above would suppose a familiarity not only with the visual tradition of representing the Holy Sacrament as the Man of Sorrows, but also a certain theological and liturgical knowledge.[296] In this respect, the question of patronage seems relevant. The village of Sântimbru, located less than ten kilometres away from the seat of the Transylvanian bishopric, was donated to the chapter of Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár) at the middle of the fifteenth century, together with the patronage right of the parish church.[297] The chapter was still in possession of the property at the beginning of the sixteenth century, despite recurrent conflicts between the chapter and the inhabitants of the market town over the neighbouring lands.[298] Presuming that the inventor of the iconographic program was a learned theologian from the environment of the cathedral chapter, the above considerations might have played a role in the inclusion of this rare composition in the chancel decoration.

An image of *Christ in distress*[299] on the northern nave wall, adjacent to the triumphal arch is the only surviving part of the contemporary wall painting decoration besides the Angel

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[292] The tabernacle is a simple rectangular niche, its decoration does not survive.
[293] The altar mensa was later reused in the floor of the chancel, see Ileana Burnichioiu and Eva Mârza, ed., *Biserica medievală din Sântimbru* [The medieval church of Sântimbru] (Alba Iulia: Aeternitas, 2004), 40. There is no data about an altarpiece from the church, which might have affected the visibility of the wall painting from most views.
[294] *Panem caelestem accipiam*
[295] *ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur.*
[296] Cf. Sinding Larsen, *Christ in the Council Hall*, 146.
[297] See Cat. No. 11, Historical data.
[298] See Attila Weisz, "Marosszentimréről és középkori templomáról" [On Marosszentimre and its medieval church], *Erdélyi Múzeum* 60, nos. 3–4 (1998): 239, for a summary of historical data on the village and the church. On the conflicts over the possession of lands, see Emőke Gálfi, "Gyulafehérvár a középkor végén" [Alba Iulia at the end of the Middle Ages], *Erdélyi Múzeum* 77, no. 1 (2015): 27–41, http://eda.eme.ro/bitstream/handle/10598/29507/EME_EM_20151_003_GalfiEmoke_GyulafehervarKozepkorVegen.pdf?sequence=1, last accessed April 2020.
[299] This image type is also referred to in English-speaking scholarship as *Christ on the Cold Stone* or *Pensive Christ*. For a general overview, see Gert von der Osten, "Christus im Elend (Christus in der Rast) und Herrgottsruhbild," in *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 3 (1953), cols. 644–658. RDK Labor, http://www.rdklabor.de/w/?oldid=92624, last accessed April 2020. For a recent contribution, see Merback, *The Man of Sorrows*, 97–109.

Pietà, and is a further evidence of the care and sophistication in the selection and placement of images in the church interior (Fig. 2.20). Despite the thematic affinity of the two compositions, the differences in their means of expression and strategies of addressing the viewer are instructive, and justify a brief excursus.

The composition shows the pensive Christ seated on a diagonally placed, elongated red object shown in perspective – possibly his cross[300] – prior to his Crucifixion, resting his head crowned with thorns in his right hand (Fig. 2.21). Behind him, to the left, two soldiers are casting a dice and fighting for his clothes, one of them raising a sizable club above his head. In the background, the cityscape of Jerusalem appears, made up of gable-roofed houses and towers with red roofs. While the head of Christ – especially the fashioning of the beard and the hair drawn with parallel lines – seems related to a late fifteenth-century woodcut of a similar theme (Figs. 2.22, 2.23), the rest of the composition does not show a connection.

The segmental arched niche below the mural, just like a similar niche opposite on the southern wall, had probably housed an altar.[301] In this way, even if not directly placed above the altar mensa, the composition was presumably part of the broader visual environment of a side altar.

In contrast to the atemporal image of the Angel Pietà, rendered in a frontal, symmetrical, and decorative manner, with ceremonial and heavenly associations, this composition has a more earthly tone, appealing more directly to the viewer. Portrayed against a contemporary townscape, Christ appears as deeply human in his affliction, exhaustion, and solitude. His tranquil figure is contrasted with the lively group of fighting soldiers, their greed and brutality bolstering feelings of identification and compassion with the suffering Christ. This rhetoric of antithesis paired with the diagonal arrangement of the composition add to an underlying tension foreshadowing the dramatic conclusion. Viewing Christ in a moment of silent contemplation before his redemptive sacrifice, the beholder is invited to take on a similar attitude, reflecting on the Passion, as well as on his own sinfulness.

With its introspective and penitential tone and strong emotional appeal, showing Christ prior to his sacrificial death, yet untouched by wounds, the image seems less sacramental in character than the Angel Pietà. As Charles M.A. Caspers, a scholar of medieval Eucharistic piety suggests, late medieval Passion images, and specifically representations of the *Christ in*

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[300] In most cases, Christ is sitting either on a stone or his cross, cf. ibid., 97. Here the red colour and the elongated regular shape of the object he is sitting on suggest that it may have been his cross, even though the degree of foreshortening implied seems unusual.
[301] Weisz, *Marosszentimréről*, 250.

distress, may have had a more indirect connection to the Eucharist, in that they could have been used in preparation for the Communion (sacramental or spiritual), to achieve the required state of self-examination, purification, and spiritual hunger through a contemplation of Christ's sufferings.[302] At the same time, a more directly sacramental understanding of the image cannot be excluded; the figure of the pensive Christ might have been associated with the *Corpus Christi,* either in connection with the masses celebrated at the altar that probably stood in the niche below the mural, or in the course of extra-liturgical devotion.[303]

The two images of the suffering Saviour provide a compelling example of a conscious differentiation of the imagery in the chancel and that in the nave, attuned to their intended audiences (clerical vs. lay), while also testifying to the variety of rare composition types available to actualize such elaborate concepts of decoration.

2.3. The Eucharistic Man of Sorrows

Ormeniş (Szászörményes, Irmesch), parish church

During recent investigations in the chancel of the now Lutheran church in Ormeniş, a detail of a Man of Sorrows representation especially relevant for the current discussion was revealed on the northern wall (Fig. 2.24).[304] As the decoration of the chancel is not yet completely revealed, only preliminary observations can be made about the fragments visible today, which probably date from the middle decades of the fifteenth century.

On the largest surface revealed above the sacrament niche, a detail of the figure of Christ is visible before a brocade-patterned, turquoise textile. He is wearing a mantle revealing his bare chest. An angel is apparently kneeling before him, collecting the streams of blood issuing from his wounds into a golden chalice (Figs. 2.25, 2.26).[305] While the Gospel accounts contain no indication as to which part of Christ's chest was pierced by the lance, in visual

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[302] Charles M. A. Caspers, "Het laatmiddeleeuwse passiebeeld. Een interpretatie vanuit de theologie- en vroomheidsgeschiedenis" [The late medieval Passion image. An interpretation from the point of view of theology and the history of piety], *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek* 45 (1994): 168, 175.

[303] An association between a representation of Christ in distress and the Holy Sacrament has been suggested in the case of a wooden statue in Braunschweig Cathedral (c. 1460), where a cavity in the chest of the figure probably served for the storing of the host, see Hans Dünninger, "Zur Frage der Hostiensepulcren und Reliqienrekondierungen in Bildwerken: ein Korreferat," *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 9 (1986): 76; Merback, *Man of Sorrows*, 98, fig. 14.

[304] By restorer Lóránd Kiss, in 2016.

[305] It seems that besides the side wound and the wounds on the hands, two further streams of blood originated from the wounds on the feet, similarly flowing into the receptacle held by the angel. In this case, the composition can be counted among representations of the so-called *Fünfwundenheiland* type, emphasizing the Five Holy Wounds of Christ through five separate streams of blood, as in a panel in the Christian Museum in Esztergom (c. 1480, inv. no. 55.58, http://www.keresztenymuzeum.hu/collections.php?mode=work&wid=323&page=0&vt, last accessed April 2020); cf. Sallay, *The Eucharistic Man of Sorrows*, 53.

representations the side wound – and consequently the chalice catching the emerging blood – is almost always placed on his right side.[306] The mural shows a mirror image of this conventional arrangement.

The composition can be fit into a group of images where the suffering Christ is depicted with the explicit Eucharistic symbols of the chalice and/or the host, or, more rarely, the stalks of wheat and grapevine. In her study of the theme, Dóra Sallay uses the term "Eucharistic Man of Sorrows" to refer to this image type,[307] pointing out that compared to the outstanding popularity of the Man of Sorrows in general, this version of the theme was relatively rare.[308] There are altogether two, earlier, examples known in Transylvanian wall painting. In a fragmentary composition showing the Man of Sorrows with the *arma Christi* in Râșnov (Barcarozsnyó, Rosenau) from the second half of the fourteenth century, the chalice hovering before Christ at knee-height is distinguished from among the other Passion instruments through its emphasized position (Fig. 2.27).[309] In Mălâncrav (Almakerék, Malmkrog), the chalice appears together with the host on the right of the Man of Sorrows displaying his wounds, painted above the tabernacle on the northern chancel wall (c. 1400, Fig. 4.37).[310] The presence of a chalice has been hypothesized earlier in this chapter in the case of the Man of Sorrows with the *arma Christi* in Cluj, based on the surviving fragments and compositional analogies. Likewise, a golden chalice appears in the foreground of an Angel Pietà in a panel from around 1515–1520 housed in the Brukenthal Museum,[311] where Christ demonstratively holds up the host wafer in his right hand. As even this brief enumeration of Transylvanian examples suggests, representations that have in common the depiction of the chalice or host besides the figure of the Man of Sorrows show a remarkable variety in their composition, and thus the inclusion of these attributes may be better conceived of as a visual strategy to enhance the

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[306] Ibid.*,* 52.

[307] Ibid., 45. The term has been used to refer to the Man of Sorrows with eucharistic attributes in earlier literature as well. In other cases, it has been applied with a broader meaning: cf. Köllermann, *Conrad Laib*, 61.

[308] Sallay, *Eucharistic Man of Sorrows,* 48.

[309] On this composition painted on the northern exterior wall of the chancel of the Saint Matthias parish church (today Lutheran church), see Jenei, *Râșnov*, 9–11, fig. 1, and Gergely Kovács, "Megjegyzések a füzéri római katolikus templom középkori Arma Christi falképéhez, valamint további töredékeihez" [Notes on the medieval Arma Christi mural and other fragments in the Roman Catholic church in Füzér], *Ars Hungarica* 43, no. 3 (2017): 279–280.

[310] Anca Gogâltan and Dóra Sallay, "The Church of Mălâncrav/Almakerék and the Holy Blood Chapel of Nicholas Apa," in *Középkori egyházi építészet Erdélyben* [Medieval ecclesiastical architecture in Transylvania], ed. Adrian Andrei Rusu and Péter Levente Szőcs (Szatmár: Szatmári Múzeum, 2002), 195–198.

[311] Brukenthal Museum in Sibiu, inv. no. 1896, see Firea, *Polipticele medievale*, 274–275; Sarkadi Nagy, *Altarpieces,* 211.

sacramental meaning of an image already bearing Eucharistic associations,[312] rather than the distinguishing feature of a particular image type.

In contrast to most representations depicting an angel holding the chalice below the wounds of the Man of Sorrows,[313] in Ormeniș Christ is not showing his side wound, but is reaching towards the chalice with both hands, while exposing the wounds on the back of his hand and his palm, as if actively directing the streams of blood into the receptacle. This compositional solution seems to emphasize Christ's double role as priest and sacrifice.[314]

The blood flowing into the chalice of the mass from the wounds of Christ may have been seen as a visual parallel to the words of the celebrant uttered at the consecration, evoking the institution of the Eucharist by Christ: *for this is the chalice of my blood, of the new and eternal testament, the mystery of faith, which shall be shed for you and for many unto the remission of sins.* The placement of this image above the tabernacle niche containing the Eucharist thus seems a conscious choice. Based on an examination of over eighty examples of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows, Dóra Sallay points out that these images, suggestively demonstrating the origin of the Holy Sacrament as well as its identity with the body and blood of Christ, were mostly represented in a similar context, in the vicinity of the tabernacle or the altar and suggests that one of their main functions may have been to remind of the teachings of the transubstantiation and the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist.[315] The figure of the angel in a deacon's vestment further enhances the liturgical significance of the image.[316] The representation of the Man of Sorrows displaying the wounds of his Passion, from which his blood is pouring into an angel-held chalice, could thus encapsulate in one composition the double significance of the mass celebration as sacramental representation of Christ's sacrifice on the cross and participation in the celestial liturgy.[317]

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[312] Cf. Sallay, *Eucharistic Man of Sorrows,* 45, footnote 1.

[313] Examples: Giovanni Bellini, c. 1465, The National Gallery, London, inv. no. NG 1233 (https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/giovanni-bellini-the-blood-of-the-redeemer, last accessed April 2020); Seckau, Luciakapelle, Austria, c. 1501 (https://www.bildindex.de/document/obj20823340/?medium=oe00148d08, last accessed April 2020).

[314] The priestly role of Christ and the voluntary nature of his sacrifice are even more emphatic in the image type where the Man of Sorrows himself is holding the chalice below his side wound, see Sallay Dóra, "A budai Szent Zsigmond prépostság Fájdalmas Krisztus-szobrának ikonográfiája" [The iconography of the Man of Sorrows statue of the Saint Sigismund provostry of Buda], *Budapest Régiségei* 33 (1999): 123–125.

[315] Sallay, *Eucharistic Man of Sorrows,* 61, 66.

[316] Cf. McNamee, *Vested Angels*, passim. The role medieval theology had assigned to angels as connecting links between the earthly and the heavenly altar during the Eucharistic celebration and the term *angelus missae* used for visual representations of these theological ideas have been discussed earlier in this chapter in connection with the Angel Pietà, see Chapter 2.2. above.

[317] Cf. Sinding-Larsen, *Christ in the Council Hall,* 99.

2.4. The *Notgottes*

Mediaș (Medgyes, Mediasch), chapel of the so-called Marienturm

The barrel-vaulted chapel on the ground floor of the tower located to the south-east of the Saint Margaret's church in Mediaș was decorated around 1450–1460[318] with a coherent figural program embedded in a framework of *grisaille* architectural elements. On the eastern wall, the representation of an open triptych can be seen in a framework of imitated traceries (Fig. 2.28). In the central panel, the figure of God the Father can be seen, holding the inert body of Christ in front of him by his chest (Fig. 2.29). Christ, his head framed by a halo of golden rays and his hands crossed in front of his lap, is leaning helplessly forward with his upper body, a movement paralleled by the slight forward bent of the Father. Their figures are contrasted against a dark red, brocade-patterned drapery "hanged" on the carved frame of the panel.

Representations showing God the Father holding his sacrificed Son in his arms are known as "Notgottes" or "Pitié-de-Nostre-Seigneur" in German and French scholarship.[319] There is no established English term, with the designations "Pietà of the Father", "Trinity Pietà", "Suffering Trinity," or "Trinity of the Broken Body", among others,[320] being varyingly used.[321]

As the latter three terms imply, the figures of Father and Son are in most cases accompanied by the dove of the Holy Spirit, resulting in an image of the Holy Trinity. While in Mediaș the figure of the dove is not discernible, given the abraded state of the mural before the 2005 restoration[322] and the large lacuna in the painted surface to the left of the head of Christ, it cannot be excluded that originally it did appear here.[323] Alternatively, the composition may have belonged to one of the rare examples of this image type showing the pair of God the

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[318] For a discussion of the dating, and for previous research on the wall paintings, see Cat. no. 10.

[319] On this representation type, see: Georg Troescher, "Die 'Pitié-de-Nostre-Seigneur' oder 'Notgottes,'" *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 9 (1936): 148–168; Tadeusz Dobrzeniecki, "A Gdansk Panel of the Pitié-de-Nostre-Seigneur: Notes on the Iconography," *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie* 10 (1969): 29–54. For a discussion of examples from the territory of medieval Hungary, in the context of European developments, see Béla Zsolt Szakács, "A Fájdalmas Szentháromság (Notgottes) ábrázolásai a középkori Magyarországon" [Representations of the Suffering Trinity (Notgottes) in medieval Hungary], *Ars Hungarica* 30, no. 1 (2002), 5–24.

[320] Dobrzeniecki uses the term Pietas Christi, a shortened version of the Latin phrase *Pietas domini nostri Jesu Christi*, from which he originates the French *Pitié-de-Nostre-Seigneur* appearing in late medieval sources, see *idem*, *A Gdansk Panel*, 31. François Bœspflug proposes the designation "Compassion of the Father", allowing that it may not be the "only, or even the principal thought behind the iconographic type", see *idem*, "The Compassion of God the Father in Western Art," *CrossCurrents* 42, no. 4 (1992–1993): 499–500.

[321] Cf. Barbara Newman, "Intimate Pieties: Holy Trinity and Holy Family in the Late Middle Ages," *Religion and Literature* 31 (1999): 84. On the problem of terminology, see also Szakács, *A Fájdalmas Szentháromság*, 6–8.

[322] Lóránd Kiss and Péter Pál, *"Marienturm"*, Monumenta Transsylvaniae, www.monumenta.ro, last accessed March 2012. For photos documenting the state before the conservation, see also Dana Jenei, "Tema credo în pictura murală medievală din Transilvania" [The Creed in the medieval mural painting in Transylvania], *Ars Transsilvaniae* 10–11 (2000–2001): figs. 2–4, and Fabritius, *Honigberger Kapelle*, figs. 21–23.

[323] In most cases, the dove appears between the heads of Christ and God the Father, or above them, cf. Troescher, *Notgottes*, 150.

Father and Christ without the dove, like a miniature in a 1402 French Book of Hours (Fig. 2.30)[324] or a panel by the Master of the Lyversberg Passion in the Saint Martin's church in Linz am Rhein (c. 1461, Fig. 2.31).[325] Given this iconographic uncertainty, and the lack of an engrained English term, I have chosen to use the German term *Notgottes*.

Dating the wall painting ensemble to the end of the fifteenth century, Dana Jenei traces back the composition to an engraving of the same theme by Master E.S. (Lehrs 186),[326] by means of which, she argues, the composition of a panel by Robert Campin housed in the Städel Museum in Frankfurt[327] was spread in other parts of Europe in the last part of the fifteenth century.[328] Considering the earlier dating of the ensemble suggested by the year 1465 carved into the painted surface under the left wing of the triptych,[329] this would be an unusually early instance of the reception of Master E.S. in Transylvanian painting[330] (the engraving being dated to c. 1450–1460).[331] However, while broadly similar, the two compositions do not show a correspondence in details that would imply such a connection.

The full-figure representation of the theme with the standing figure of God the Father holding in front of him the collapsing body of Christ was already present in Central European art around 1430, as two almost identical panels from the church of the Virgin Mary in Gdańsk

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[324] Book of Hours, Nantes and Paris, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.515, fol. 130v (http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/9/141481). The composition seems to combine motifs from two panels attributed to Jean Malouel, the Louvre tondo representing the *Notgottes* (c. 1400, Musée du Louvre, M.I. 692, https://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/large-round-pieta), and a Pietà with the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Baptist, housed in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Troyes (1390–1400, inv. no. 855.3, https://www.wikidata.org/wiki/Q50933952#/media/File:Christ_de_pitié_Jean_Malouel_03251.jpg).

[325] Hans Martin Schmidt, *Der Meister des Marienlebens und sein Kreis: Studien zur spätgotischen Malerei in Köln*. Beiträge zu den Bau- und Kunstdenkmälern im Rheinland, no. 22 (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1978), 196–197, figs. 41, 42. Noting the absence of the dove as an iconographic peculiarity, the author argues that in this case the composition cannot be regarded as a Trinitarian image. He brings as a further parallel a panel from the former high altarpiece of the Heilig-Kreuz-Münster in Rottweil, housed in the Staatliche Kunsthalle in Karlsruhe (c. 1440, inv. no. 1135, https://www.kunsthalle-karlsruhe.de/kunstwerke/Meister-des-Rottweiler-Hochaltars/Gnadenstuhl-Gottvater-mit-dem-Leichnam-Christi/0DB930724A0F8296391963B7A7047F58/). In this case however, like in Mediaș, considering the fragmentary survival of the work, it cannot be concluded with certainty whether or not there had originally been a dove.

[326] For an example of this print, see Albertina Museum, Online Collection, inv. no. DG1926/775, https://sammlungenonline.albertina.at.

[327] Robert Campin (workshop), ca. 1428–1430, Städel Museum, Frankfurt, inv. no. 939B, https://sammlung.staedelmuseum.de.

[328] Jenei, *Mediaș,* 55, 57.

[329] First observed by Helga Fabritius, in idem, *Die Honigberger Kapelle*, 44.

[330] Cf. Ciprian Firea, "Polipticul euharistic de la Dupuș și receptarea modelelor Maestrului ES în pictura goticului târziu din Transilvania (cca. 1475-85)," [The Eucharistic altarpiece from Dupuș and the reception of models by Master E.S. in the Late Gothic painting of Transylvania (c. 1475-1485)], in *Interferențe intelectuale. Studia in honorem Aurel Chiriac Sexagenarii* [Intelectual interferences. Studies in honour of Aurel Chiriac], ed. Barbu Ștefănescu and Ioan Goman (Oradea: Editura Muzeului Țării Crișurilor, 2012), 458–459.

[331] Max Lehrs, *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstichs im XV. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Gesellschaft für Vervielfältigende Kunst, 1910), vol. 2, 261.

suggest (Fig. 2.32).[332] These two compositions, which have been traced back to the artistic milieu of the Burgundian court from the first decades of the fifteenth century,[333] provide in certain details[334] a closer analogy of the mural than either the engraving or Campin's panel in the Städel Museum.

The posture of Christ in the wall painting is somewhat atypical. In most representations of the *Notgottes*, his arms are either helplessly hanging down on both sides, or he is indicating the side wound with one hand. In Mediaș, the position of his arms crossed in front of his lap probably served to display the wounds on the back of his hands – now hardly recognizable – like in the above-mentioned miniature (Fig. 2.30), or like in various contemporary representations of the Man of Sorrows standing in his tomb or of the Entombment. In addition, while in most full-figure compositions Christ's legs collapse, the weight of his body being supported by the Father's hands, here he seems to stand on his own feet, with straight legs. The panel by the Master of the Lyversberg Passion, mentioned as an analogy by Jenei as well,[335] is comparable in this respect, although here the body of Christ is bent at the hip, his legs reaching the ground at an angle (Fig. 2.31).[336]

On the right wing of the triptych, Saint John the Baptist is depicted (Fig. 2.33). He is barefoot, wearing a knee-length brown fur coat fastened with a white belt and a red mantle. In his left hand, he is holding a white disk on which a fragmentary representation of a lamb with a flag can be discerned, and is pointing to it with his right hand.

Of the pendant figure on the left wing, only fragments of a long dress reaching the ground in folds are visible in the lower part of the panel (Fig. 2.34). The suggestion that the Virgin Mary had been depicted here is very plausible.[337] Helga Fabritius describes her as a kneeling figure. Based on the surviving fragments it seems that, similarly to Saint John, she was turned towards the *Notgottes* group in a three-quarter profile, and was clad in a mantle, originally probably of turquoise colour, which opened in the middle to reveal a white dress underneath, articulated with smaller, more angular folds. While the rounded right-angle fold

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[332] Adam S. Labuda, "Die Pitié-de-Nostre-Seigneur der St.-Georgsbruderschaft in der Danziger Marienkirche. Untersuchungen zu den Quellen des Bildtypus und der Herkunft des Malers," in *Künstlerische Wechselwirkungen in Mitteleuropa*, ed. Jiří Fajt and Markus Hörsch (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2006), 161–182.
[333] Ibid.
[334] Such as the lack of the crown of thorns, the emphasis on Christ's collarbone, the position of the hands of God the Father holding Christ, or the drapery behind the group adorned with a brocade-pattern. The zigzag-form outlines of the hem on the left side of God the Father's mantle also seem to follow a similar outline. In the current state of the mural, the loincloth of Christ cannot be discerned; it is possible that he was originally depicted wearing a tight-fitting, translucent cloth as seen in the Gdańsk panels.
[335] Jenei, *Mediaș*, 55.
[336] Another similarity is the association of Saint John the Baptist with the *Notgottes* theme.
[337] Drăguț, *Arta gotică,* 257; Jenei, *Mediaș*, 55; Fabritius, *Die Honigberger Kapelle*, 42.

with which the right part of her mantle reaches the ground might bring to mind the form of a bended knee, the rest of the fragments of her dress do not imply such a posture. On the other hand, in contemporary representations of female saints, the folds of the dress often do not follow the leg so closely as to be suggestive of their kneeling or standing posture.[338] At the same time, a kneeling representation of the Virgin would have created an unusual compositional asymmetry between her and the upright figure of Saint John the Baptist. It seems thus more plausible that she was depicted as standing.

The figures of the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Baptist similarly flank the *Notgottes* in the central panel of the former high altarpiece of the Spitalkirche in Weilheim, Bavaria (c. 1470–1480, Fig. 2.35).[339] Unlike in Mediaș, here the two saints are compositionally integrated with the central Pietà group, directly addressing Christ as intercessors – with the Virgin Mary folding her hands in a pleading gesture and Saint John pointing to the wound on Christ's palm while gazing intently on the Saviour and placing his right hand on his chest – in a more intimate and compassion-stirring version of the Deesis known from contemporary Last Judgements.

The figure and compositional role of Saint John the Baptist – and possibly of the Virgin Mary – in the Mediaș "altarpiece" are better paralleled in two representations of the related theme of the *Throne of Mercy*. A South Tyrolean panel from around 1450 (Fig. 2.36) and a portable altarpiece from the end of the fifteenth century attributed to a Spanish painter identified with the notname Master of Palanquinos (Fig. 2.37) both show God the Father holding in front of him the Crucifix, flanked by the Madonna and Saint John the Baptist. In the latter case, the distribution of the figures on the three panels of a triptych resembles even more closely the composition of the mural altarpiece. In both cases, Saint John seems to glance out of the image to the viewer; his pointing gesture evoking his words by which he had foretold Christ's death on the cross – "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world" (John 1, 29) – can be taken to refer simultaneously to the Christological attribute held in his hands and to underline the significance of the central image of the sacrificed Christ to the beholder.[340] In Mediaș, Saint John the Baptist does not address the viewer directly, his eyes half-covered by heavy eyelids (like of all surviving figures of the ensemble) seem more to gaze inward; still, a

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[338] Cf. for example a similar right-angled fold on the dress of a standing figure of the Virgin in a Visitation scene in an altarpiece wing housed in the Christian Museum in Esztergom (c. 1430, inv. no. 56.494, https://www.keresztenymuzeum.hu/gallery/orig/293_8.jpg).

[339] Joachim Heberlein, *"Was ihr dem geringsten meiner Brüder getan habt, das habt ihr mir getan ...": das Weilheimer Heilig-Geist-Spital als Beispiel privater und kommunaler Sozialfürsorge in Mittelalter und Neuzeit (um 1328 bis 1943),* (München: Herbert Utz, 2010), 149.

[340] Saint John the Baptist sometimes appears in this role in Calvary scenes as well, for instance in an epitaph panel from the end of the fifteenth century in the Städel Museum, inv. no. HM42 https://sammlung.staedelmuseum.de/de/werk/kreuzigung-mit-johannes-dem-taeufer-und-dem-hl-hieronymus.

similar interconnection can be perceived between his prophecy of Christ's redeeming death and the representation of its fulfilment in the central panel.

In both analogies cited, it is Mary holding the child Jesus in her hand who appears as a pendant to Saint John the Baptist with the *Agnus Dei*. The pairing of the Madonna with images of the Mercy Seat and the *Notgottes* also recurs in diptychs – like the one once formed by the two panels by Robert Campin housed in the Hermitage museum[341] – as well as in other compositional arrangements.[342] This combined imagery presents a visual summary of Christ's mission on earth from the Incarnation to his death seen as a fulfilment of God's plan of Salvation.[343] It is possible that in Mediaș, too, the Christological significance of the composition was amplified through the depiction of the Virgin Mary with the child Christ; the current state of the mural, however, does not allow to decide this question.

On the northern and southern walls, figures of sitting apostles appear in niches, holding scrolls with passages from the Apostle's Creed (Figs. 2.38, 2.39). The vault is decorated with five medallions arranged in a cross-shaped form set in a framework of painted traceries, with the depiction of the *Agnus Dei* in the middle, surrounded by the four evangelist symbols (Fig. 2.40). On the western wall, an ogee arch adorned with crockets and a finial on the top was painted in grisaille above the entrance portal before a row of round-arched blind traceries (Fig. 2.41).

A rectangular lacuna in the painted surface below the triptych suggests that the altar was once placed directly against the eastern wall (Fig. 2.42). Within the material under study, the composition in Mediaș is the closest imitation of an actual winged altarpiece, painted at a time when this form of altar decoration was not yet widespread in the region.[344] Even so, there is no attempt to suggest a spatial relationship to the altar, as would be expected in the case of a three-dimensional retable: presuming that the placement and size of the medieval altar coincided with the lacuna visible today, the mural altarpiece did not appear to be attached to the altar mensa, but was positioned somewhat above it, nor was it vertically aligned (the altar seems to have

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[341] Inv. nos. ГЭ-442 and ГЭ-443, https://www.hermitagemuseum.org. See Troescher, *Notgottes*, 150, 159–160, for further examples.

[342] Quinten Massys: "Rem-Altar", c. 1518, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen - Alte Pinakothek München, inv. no. 33 (https://www.sammlung.pinakothek.de/en/artist/quinten-massys/rem-altar-heilige-dreifaltigkeit-34-gnadenstuhl-34).

[343] Cf. Szakács, *A Fájdalmas Szentháromság*, 10.

[344] Altogether two Transylvanian winged altarpieces dating from before or around 1450–1460 survive integrally (the retables in Prejmer and Mălâncrav). The fourteenth-century reliefs of the altarpiece from Boian (Alsóbajom, Bonnesdorf) probably also formed part of an early retable, the structure of which is no longer possible to reconstruct, see Sarkadi Nagy, *Altarpieces,* 22–23.

been placed slightly to the left compared to the central axis of the eastern wall, while the altarpiece is more-or-less centrally positioned).

The patrocinium of the chapel and of its altar is unknown. While a dedication to the Virgin Mary is sometimes implied,[345] there is no source to trace back the current designation of the building as "Marienturm" to the middle ages. One can also assume that the figure of the Virgin Mary would have been assigned a more emphatic role in the meticulously planned iconographic program,[346] had it been intended to decorate a cult space dedicated in her honour.[347] Assuming that the iconography of the mural altarpiece – like that of most retables – was chosen to indicate the titulus of the altar, a dedication to the Corpus Christi[348] or the Holy Trinity seems more plausible.

No more is known about the concrete liturgical use of the room either. As Helga Fabritius has convincingly argued, the chapel built over a cellar-like basement functioned most likely as a charnel chapel above an ossuary, similarly to the chapel in Hărman (discussed in Chapter 1) and a number of other chapels in the region.[349] It is generally agreed that, besides possible other purposes, such chapels were dedicated to the celebration of masses for the dead.[350]

Even though the iconography of the mural altarpiece cannot be studied in its original form, its connections to the Eucharistic cult and the liturgical action performed before it are evident. The relationship between the representation of the *Corpus Christi* held by God the Father and the liturgy centred on the sacramental Body of Christ is comparable to the situation in Hărman, where an image of the Crucifixion painted on the eastern wall of the chapel served as a visual backdrop for the mass celebration. For a more specific understanding of this relationship, the potential meanings and associations of the *Notgottes* composition type, as well as the context of the whole decoration program, are worth considering.

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[345] Jenei, *Mediaş*, 54.

[346] For an analysis of the iconographic program, see below.

[347] Similar caveats were raised by Ciprian Firea, in idem, "„Per bireti nostri capiti impositionem investimus...". Arhipresbiteri, însemne heraldice şi artă în Renaşterea timpurie din Transilvania" [Archpriests, coat of arms, and art in the Early Renaissance in Transylvania], *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 23 (2013): 101.

[348] Cf. ibid.

[349] Fabritius, *Die Honigberger Kapelle,* 30–50.

[350] Franz Hula, *Mittelalterliche Kultmale: die Totenleuchten Europas, Karner, Schalenstein und Friedhofsoculus* (Wien: Selbstverl., 1970), 39, 54; Reiner Sörries, *Die Karner in Kärnten: ein Beitrag zur Architektur und Bedeutung des mittelalterlichen Kirchhofes* (Kassel: Arbeitsgemeinschaft Friedhof und Denkmal, 1996), 71; Almut Breitenbach, *Der "Oberdeutsche vierzeilige Totentanz": Formen seiner Rezeption und Aneignung in Handschrift und Blockdruck* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 184.

The only author to go beyond a descriptive treatment of the chapel's iconographic program has been Dana Jenei, touching upon the subject in several of her studies.[351] Distinguishing between different layers of meaning, she points to the Eucharistic and funeral associations of the ensemble, emphasizing in particular the multivalence of the *Agnus Dei* motif on the vault in this respect, while pointing out the occurrence of the zoo-anthropomorphic evangelist symbols in late medieval allegorical representations of the Eucharist, such as the mystic mill or the mystic winepress.[352] In her view, nevertheless, it is the eschatological component of the iconographic program that predominates. She describes the imagery of the fictive retable as a Deisis, expanded into a Last Judgement scene through the two rows of apostles.[353] At the same time, she notes an additional interconnection between the *Notgottes* and the representations of the side walls, in that the image of the Trinity was a "symbol of the profession of the Creed," the versets of which the apostles are holding.[354]

In my view, the representations of the chapel walls cannot be equivalated with a Last Judgement, even though the depicted persons largely correspond to the heavenly participants of this eschatological event, and the imagery of the chapel decoration can be partially traced back to the Book of Revelation,[355] primarily as there is no Judge executing the Judgement. Also, as noted above, of the two saints flanking the *Notgottes* group, at least Saint John the Baptist is not engaged in an act of intercession for mankind, as he is in Last Judgement scenes. This is not to deny that an association to this final episode of salvation history was plausible, especially for a viewer familiar with the pictorial conventions of its representation, or with particular examples, such as the Last Judgement painted a few decades earlier on the inner side of one of the arches between the northern aisle and the nave in the parish church, including representations of the interceding Saint John the Baptist and the Virgin Mary facing the image of Christ as Judge (Fig. 4.24).

In the following, however, I would like to suggest an alternative interpretation of the iconographic program, based on the assumption that the selection of the *Notgottes* composition type was a conscious choice, and mapping out its potential meanings in the context of the whole decoration program.

Exploring biblical passages and exegetical texts that may have provided the theological basis of the *Notgottes,* Tadeusz Dobrzeniecki argues that these images had a twofold expressive

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[351] Jenei, *Credo*, 14–15; Idem, *Mediaş*, 54–57; Idem, *Pictura*, 80, 98.
[352] Idem, *Credo*, 15; Idem, *Mediaş*, 54, 56.
[353] Idem, *Pictura*, 80; Idem, *Mediaş*, 55; Idem, *Credo*, 15.
[354] Ibid., 15; Idem, *Mediaş,* 55.
[355] Ibid., 54–56.

potential: on the one hand, they could express ideas relating to God the Father, who *so loved the world, as to give his only begotten Son* (John 3:16), and now, his plan of salvation fulfilled through Christ's sacrifice, is displaying him as a sign of reconciliation with mankind; on the other, to Christ, who through his sacrifice has "entered into the heavenly sanctuary, the house of God, and there He performs the liturgy of the new dispensation" both as priest and permanent victim.[356]

Expounding further on this latter aspect, but making no distinction between representations of the Throne of Mercy and the *Notgottes*, Heike Schlie suggests that in many cases these images can be seen as representations of the celestial liturgy of the mass, in particular the moment after God the Father has received the sacrifice previously carried by the angels up to the heavenly altar. As she argues, within the text of the Canon of the Mass, it is especially the *Suscipe, sancta trinitas* prayer addressed to the Holy Trinity to accept the offering that bears relevance to this imagery.[357]

Representations where figures of vested angels accompany the *Notgottes* group – such as Hans Multscher's alabaster statue analysed by Schlie – lend themselves particularly well to such an interpretation. Liturgical associations are even more explicit in a panel by Rogier van der Weyden, which is thought to have decorated the altar of the Holy Trinity chapel in the Saint Peter's church in Leuven: here two angels wearing white albs adorned with golden stoles assist in holding up the body of Christ, wrapping him in a white linen cloth (c. 1430, Fig. 2.43).

The interpretations by Dobrzeniecki and Schlie, however, are not restricted to compositions with such apparent liturgical references. Although – just as in the case of the Angel Pietà – it would not do justice to the multivalence of the *Notgottes* to interpret it as a representation of a particular moment of the liturgy, or even to reduce it to an exclusively liturgical meaning, the various ways in which the image of God the Father displaying his sacrificed Son to the beholder could resonate with the words of the celebrant are worth noting.

In the context of the various prayers addressed to God the Father and the Holy Trinity throughout the mass to accept and bless the offering, the *Notgottes* may have evoked ideas about the simultaneity of celebration at the earthly and the heavenly altar, between which the body and blood of Christ became a channel of heavenly blessing and grace.[358] In addition to providing a visual emphasis to the two central figures, the deep red coloured cloth of honour may have underscored the ceremonial and sacrificial connotations of the composition.

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[356] Dobrzeniecki, *A Gdansk Panel*, 31–54.
[357] Schlie, *Corpus Christi,* 187–188.
[358] As expressed in the *Supplices te rogamus prayer*.

Besides the persons of the Holy Trinity, the mass is offered in the honour of the memory of the saints as well, who were thought to enjoy a proximity to God in heaven, and who are invoked in numerous prayers throughout the liturgy. Among these, the *Suscipe* prayer, mentioned in connection with the *Notgottes* by Schlie, almost reads as a program for the iconography of the mural altarpiece and of the side walls: *Accept, most Holy Trinity, this offering which we are making to you in remembrance of the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of Jesus Christ, our Lord; and in honor of the Blessed Mary, ever-virgin, Blessed John the Baptist, the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and of all the saints; that it may add to their honor and aid our salvation; and may they deign to intercede in heaven for us who honor their memory here on earth.* The Virgin Mary is invoked together with the twelve apostles and a series of martyrs in the *Communicantes* prayer asking for protection by God on account of their merits and prayers. While it may be unfounded to imply that these texts served as the source of the chapel decoration,[359] it can be argued that they reflected similar ideas about mechanisms of intercession and salvation through the mass, as the ones that probably stood behind the conception of the iconographic program.

The gallery of apostles headed by Saint Peter[360] can also be seen as an ecclesiological motif, stressing the role of the Church in Salvation through its teaching (the basic tenets of which the apostles display in the form of the Creed) and the Holy Sacrament.[361] Through its tripartite structure, with each section dedicated to God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit, the text of the Apostle's Creed fitted well the Trinitarian image in the centre of the iconographic program also in its content. The first two sections recounting the main events of salvation history may have been seen as an explanation and affirmation of the *Notgottes*, which encapsulated the essence of Christian soteriology in a condensed form (possibly combined with the figure of the Madonna representing the Incarnation). Belief in the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and everlasting life declared in the third section of the Creed would have gained particular relevance affirmed by apostolic authority and the power of the written word on the walls of a chapel situated above an ossuary, built to house the earthly remains of believers until their resurrection at the end of times.

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[359] A notable difference in the selection of apostles in the *Communicantes* and in representations of the Creed is that in the latter case Saint Paul is usually not included among the apostles. Although the fragmentary state of the decoration of the northern and southern walls does not allow the identification of all the apostles, the surviving figures correspond to textual and iconographic conventions of representing the Apostle's Creed, cf. Jenei, *Mediaș*, 53, 55.

[360] Saint Peter, who is usually represented on the first place in the Apostle's Creed, can be recognized here as the first figure from the right on the northern wall, based on his tonsured head with grey hair and beard.

[361] Cf. the analysis of the wall paintings in Hărman in Chapter 1.1.

The representations on the vault fit well the liturgical, sacrificial, and ecclesiological associations of the decoration program. In the central medallion, the motif of the *Agnus Dei* held by Saint John the Baptist on the eastern wall is reiterated in an enlarged form (Fig. 2.44). Of the accompanying inscription, which probably contained the words of the saint identifying Christ as the Lamb of God and foretelling his redeeming death, recited in the *Agnus Dei* prayer of the Canon of the Mass,[362] now only a few letters are decipherable: *[to]llis p[ecc]a.* The figure of the *Agnus Dei*, with its head encircled by a halo and equipped with a banner on which a cross motif is still recognizable, symbolized Christ's sacrificial death as well as his triumph over death and sin.

Jenei has already pointed to the funeral as well as sacramental connotations of the motif.[363] An evocation of Christ as the Lamb of God was indeed well suited for a space dedicated to the commemoration and prayer for the dead, whose hopes in eternal life were founded on his atoning sacrifice taking away the sin of the world and on his own victory over death. The *Agnus Dei* was also one of the most widespread Eucharistic symbols, appearing stamped on host wafers and Eucharistic badges,[364] often in compositions resembling the mural not only in their round form, but also in the posture of the lamb with its head turned back and one of the forelegs raised. The motif frequently appears on keystones as well (often in a spatial connection with the altar), an architectural element which the roundel placed at the intersection of the two transversal "ribs" of the vault might have been meant to evoke, despite its larger proportions.[365]

The combination of the Lamb of God with the four Evangelist symbols was also a common iconographic pattern, appearing on the covers of Gospel books, but also on liturgical textiles,[366] altar frontals,[367] crosses of various functions, as well as in wall paintings, often on the chancel vault.[368] This association has its source in the Book of Revelations, where the four

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[362] This connection was pointed out by Jenei, in idem, *Mediaș*, 56.

[363] Ibid.

[364] Kathryn M. Rudy, "Sewing the Body of Christ: Eucharist Wafer Souvenirs Stitched into Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts, Primarily in the Netherlands," *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 8, no. 1 (2016), http://www.jhna.org/index.php/vol-8-1-2016/327-rudy.

[365] A comparable imitated keystone with the representation of the *Agnus Dei* can be found in the decoration of the chancel vault of the St. Matthaei church in Großenwieden (Lower Saxony), www.bildindex.de, image no. fm1504656.

[366] For example, a *substratorium* from 1473 in the collection of the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich, inv. no. T 196, http://www.rdklabor.de/wiki/Evangelistensymbole#/media/File:01-0613-2.jpg.

[367] Examples include a fourteenth-century antependium in the collection of the Textilmuseum St. Gallen, (inv. no. 24090, http://sammlung.textilmuseum.ch) and an early fifteenth-century one in the Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum in Braunschweig (https://www.bildindex.de/document/obj20504831/mi05033f02/?part=0).

[368] E.g.: St. Ruprecht's church, Villach, Carinthia, fifteenth century (https://www.bildindex.de/document/obj20823758/?medium=oe00161b08).

living creatures, along with the twenty-four elders, are gathered around the heavenly throne, to render glory and honour to God and the Lamb. Besides its eschatological connotation emphasized by Jenei, the text of the Revelations is also rich in liturgical associations, recounting in detail the heavenly ceremony taking place around the throne and the "golden altar, which is before the throne of God" (Rev 8,3). This liturgical dimension of the Book of Revelation accounts for the recurrence of Apocalyptic imagery in a Eucharistic context.[369] Research on early medieval Roman apse mosaics containing elaborate representations of the heavenly liturgy based on the text of the Revelations has linked these to the Preface prayer preceding the Canon of the Mass, in which praise and thanks is given to the Lord, and earthly worshipers join heavenly hosts and angels in a threefold Sanctus (sung by the seraphs in Isaiah 6:3 and by the four living creatures in Revelations 4:8).[370]

Besides passages describing celestial worship, elements of the chapel's decoration seem to resonate with the description of the heavenly Jerusalem as well. As the last chapter of the Revelations relates, "the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them, the twelve names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb" (Rev 21,12). According to exegetical tradition from the Church Fathers onwards, the twelve apostles together with the leaders of the twelve tribes of Israel made up the twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse.[371]

In this context, in addition to conferring a spectacular appearance to an architecturally modest, barrel vaulted room, the imitated architectural framework may have also been seen as a carrier of meaning, enhancing references to the Heavenly Jerusalem.[372] Even for a less educated viewer, the decoration of the vault with the grid of traceries encompassing the vision of the *Agnus Dei* and the tetramorph, and opening unto a star-studded, blue sky (now largely faded, Figs. 2.45, 2.46) would have prompted associations to the Heavenly Kingdom, thus reinforcing a sense of unity between earthly and heavenly celebration.

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[369] Meg Gay, "Monumental Apocalypse Cycles of the Fourteenth Century," Ph.D. dissertation (York: University of York, 1999), 196–204.

[370] Ursula Nilgen, "Die Bilder über dem Altar: Triumph- und Apsisbogenprogramme in Rom und Mittelitalien und ihr Bezug zur Liturgie," in *Kunst und Liturgie im Mittelalter*, ed. Nicolas Bock (München: Hirmer, 2000), 76–81; Erik Thunø, *The Apse Mosaic in Early Medieval Rome* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 119–121.

[371] Gillian Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels in the West: Decoration, Function and Patronage* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 160.

[372] Jenei, *Mediaș*, 57.

2.5. Conclusion

The examples studied in this chapter point to a tendency of a spatial association of images of the Man of Sorrows and the related image type of the *Notgottes* with the Eucharist through their inclusion in the decoration of altars (in Mediaș and possibly in Hărman) and sacrament niches (Ormeniș) or their placement in the close vicinity of the altar and the sacrament niche (Sântimbru and Cluj).

Another recurring pattern is the association of the Man of Sorrows with other representations of Christ's sufferings and sacrifice, such as the Calvary (in Sibiu, discussed in Chapter 1), the Passion cycle (Cluj), or the *Agnus Dei* (Mediaș), these juxtapositions facilitating various semantic interconnections and amplifying the sacrificial connotation of the wall paintings.

Regarding the iconography of Man of Sorrows compositions, a variety comparable to that seen in Crucifixion scenes can be observed, with different props and secondary figures shaping meaning. While depictions of the instruments of the Passion – themselves largely variable in the selection and disposition of the individual *arma* – might have primarily been meant to emphasize the torments Christ has endured, the chalice catching the blood of Christ (depicted in Ormeniș, and possibly in Cluj and Sântimbru) underscored the Eucharistic associations of the Man of Sorrows. As ahistorical images, representations of the Man of Sorrows and the *Notgottes* were well suited to convey ideas about the connection of the earthly and the celestial liturgy, primarily through figures of angels; in Mediaș, the sophisticated figural program set in an illusionistic framework might have been seen as a vision of the heavenly participants in the mass.

Chapter 3. Representations of Veronica's veil

The western cult of the Holy Face was centred around a cloth relic kept in the Saint Peter's in Rome, bearing, according to tradition, an imprint of Christ's face, made of his sweat and blood on the way to Calvary. From the beginning of the 13th century onwards, devotion to the *sudarium* gained increasing popularity through indulgenced prayers addressed to the Holy Face, guaranteeing an ever-growing amount of remission of sins.[373] Pictorial representations of Veronica's veil have become widespread from the fourteenth century onwards.[374] Simple and economical in its formulation, yet loaded with deep significance as an authentic portrait of Christ, by the Late Gothic period the Holy Face was an image frequently appearing in the decoration of church interiors on keystones, tabernacles, altarpieces, and in wall paintings.[375]

Similarly to the Man of Sorrows, the Holy Face – at once a proof of Christ's Incarnation, an imprint of his sacrificial Body, and a foretaste of the beatific vision at the end of times – was a multivalent image, with various meanings coming to the fore in different contexts.[376] Its manifold connections to Eucharistic devotion have been explored by Gerhard Wolf in his monograph on the Holy Face.[377] The author argues that the establishment and spread of the cult of the Veronica in the thirteenth and the early fourteenth century was not only a temporally parallel phenomenon to important theological and liturgical developments in the Eucharistic

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[373] For a selection of studies on the history and cult of the *sudarium,* as well as its representations, with further bibliography, see: Hans Belting, *Likeness and presence: a history of the image before the era of art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 215–224; Herbert L. Kessler and Gerhard Wolf, eds., *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation: Papers from a Colloquium at the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome and the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1996* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1998); Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany*, (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 317–382. Gerhard Wolf, *Schleier Und Spiegel: Traditionen des Christusbildes und die Bildkonzepte der Renaissance* (München: Wilhelm Fing Verlag, 2002). For a sample of recent research on the Veronica, see Amanda Murphy et. al., eds., *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017).

[374] For a summary of the emergence and diffusion of the image type, see Gerhard Wolf, "From Mandylion to Veronica. Picturing the 'Disembodied' Face and Disseminating the True Image of Christ in the Latin West" in *The Holy Face,* 170–174.

[375] Timmermann, *Real Presence,* 270, Koerner, *Self-Portraiture*, 86, 89.

[376] Cf. Sand, Alexa, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation in Late Medieval Art* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 81, Gabriele Finaldi, *The Image of Christ*, 80. Tristan Weddigen, "Weaving the Face of Christ: On the Textile Origins of the Christian Image", in *Senses of Sight: Towards a Multisensorial Approach of the Image. Essays in Honor of Victor I. Stoichita*, ed. Henri de Riedmatten et al. (Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 2015), 102. Schlie, *Corpus Christi,* 315.

[377] Wolf, *Schleier und Spiegel,* 65–86. The connections between the two cults have previously been noted, although not expounded in detail, by Hans Belting in his study of the Roman vera icon: "At a time when the miracle of the Eucharist – the sacramental transformation of the consecrated bread into the body of Christ – was being asserted as dogma, the church was also seeking to gain a direct view of the historical body, the reality of which was the precondition of the sacramental reality." Belting, *Likeness and presence*, 224.

cult,[378] but elements of its forms of veneration also contained various sacramental references. Such was an association of the procession with the Veronica instituted by Pope Innocent III. with the feast of the Marriage at Cana, considered a prefiguration of the Eucharist, or, more generally, the growing emphasis on viewing and display in both cults.[379] From a theological point of view, *vera icon* and *verum corpus* stand in an inverse, yet mutually complementary relationship, in that the latter is identical with Christ's body in its essence, while differing from it in its outer appearance, while the former, being a true portrait of Christ, bears a correspondence in form, but not in its substance.[380]

Studying the art and devotion of late medieval female convents, Jeffrey Hamburger observes a relationship of a perceived equivalence between True Body and True Portrait: „*disembodied representations of the Holy Face came to stand by synecdoche for the whole of Christ's body, especially Christ's body as present in the Eucharist.*"[381] The author supports his argument with a selection of iconographic evidence in various media, where the Veronica was equated with, or seen as a substitute for, the Host in liturgical and paraliturgical devotion to the Holy Sacrament.[382] In a similar vein, other authors have drawn attention to a frequent association of the Holy Face with other Eucharistic themes[383] and a similar use as to that of the Man of Sorrows in the decoration of objects constituting the visual environment of the Eucharistic liturgy, such as sacrament houses and niches, altarpiece predellas, and host wafers.[384]

This correspondence between *verum corpus* and *vera imago* was in some cases underscored by the visual formulation of the Veronica. In a full-page miniature in the late thirteenth century Psalter-Hours of Yolande of Soissons, the *vera icon* faces a prayer addressed to the Holy Face, which, according to the vernacular rubric, must be said „*at the sacrament*" for the sixty days of indulgence to be acquired (Fig. 3.1). This liturgical reference is paralleled by the rendering of the face of Christ inscribed within the golden halo, whose disk-shaped form, marked with a cross, enclosed in a church-like architectural structure, may be seen as a visual

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[378] Such as the proclamation of the dogma of Transubstantiation (1215) as well as the institution of the Corpus Christi feast (1264) and its establishment as a universal feast in western Christianity (1317), Wolf, *Schleier und Spiegel,* 65.

[379] Ibid., 66–68, 77–86.

[380] "A visible but insubstantial (at least in the copies) promise of a second coming was given, whereas the Eucharistic body remains invisible but real (*vera icona* versus *verum corpus*)," Gerhard Wolf, "The Origins of Painting," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 36 (1999): 63. See also idem, *Schleier und Spiegel,* 66.

[381] Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary,* 333.

[382] Ibid., 317, 330–344.

[383] Schlie, *Corpus Christi,* 314–319. Wehli, *Tematikai és ikonográfiai jelenségek,* 187.

[384] Timmermann, *Real presence,* 270; Schlie, *Corpus Christi,* 317.

evocation of the Host referred to in the instructions to the prayer across the opening.[385] In other cases, the white veil framing the Holy Face is folded like a corporal – the liturgical textile coming into contact with the body of Christ during the celebration of the mass – for example on the rear predella of the high altarpiece of the Saint Jacob's church in Rothenburg ob der Tauber (Fig. 3.2).[386]

Building upon these considerations, in this chapter I examine to what extent and how the Veronica was used as a Eucharistic theme in Transylvanian mural painting, considering at the same time the different meanings of this image type coming to the fore in various contexts.

From the period under study three representations of Veronica's veil survive in a Eucharistic context, all in a fragmentary state of preservation, with – except for the case of Biertan – a limited possibility to explore their iconographic context. For this reason, departing from the chronological framework of the thesis, I have decided two include two earlier representations of the theme into the analysis, which, illustrating similar aspects and patterns, well complement the discussion of the Late Gothic examples.

3.1. The Holy Face as a sacramental theme in wall paintings from around 1400

The Veronica – similarly to most image types discussed in this thesis – was already present in Transylvanian wall painting as a representation with a potential to convey Eucharistic meaning well before the Late Gothic period. Of the six surviving depictions of the theme dating from the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century three appear in a spatial context underscoring their Eucharistic connotation. Besides the Veronicas in Vlaha and Feliceni analysed below, a fragmentary depiction of the theme in Alma (Küküllőalmás, Almen), placed on the northern chancel wall, in the vicinity of the sacrament niche,[387] exemplifies such a spatial connection between Holy Face and Holy Sacrament.[388]

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[385] Sand, *Vision,* 54–55; David Boffa, "Disfluency and Deep Processing as Paths to Devotion: Reading and Praying with the Veronica in the Psalter and Hours "of Yolande of Soissons" (M. 729)," *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 4 no. 2 (2013): 190–214, http://digital.kenyon.edu/perejournal/vol4/iss2/5, last accessed January 2020.

[386] Other examples: Robert Campin, *St. Veronica with the Sudarium,* c. 1428–1430, Frankfurt, Städel Museum, inv. no. 939A (https://sammlung.staedelmuseum.de/en/work/saint-veronica); *Saints Peter and Paul with Veronica's veil,* sixteenth century, oil on wood, private collection, http://www.artnet.com/artists/martin-schaffner/die-heiligen-petrus-und-paulus-mit-dem-gSbMEaXC2UPKzz96biIkxA2.

[387] Dating probably from the end of the fourteenth century, Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek,* 162–169.

[388] Further representations of the Veronica from this period can be found in Mihăileni (Csíkszentmihály), Crăciunel (Homoródkarácsonyfalva, Krötschendorf), and Mugeni (Bögöz, Begesen), see Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek*, 162–169 and footnote 405 below.

On the eastern wall of the flat ended chancel in the Saint Ladislaus church in Vlaha (Magyarfenes), the Holy Face occupies a central place between a Crucifixion scene and an image of the Man of Sorrows raising from his tomb (c. 1400, Fig. 3.3).[389] This aggregation of themes centred on the body of Christ amplifies their Eucharistic meaning, making up a particularly fitting visual backdrop for the liturgical re-enactment of Christ's sacrifice performed before them.

The central placement of the Holy Face within the decoration program is typical for representations of the theme. Due to its position approximately along the central axis of the chancel, it was probably more or less aligned with the medieval high altar. The Eucharistic associations of the Veronica may have thus particularly come to the fore during the consecration prayer, when the host wafer was placed onto the corporal spread on the altar mensa, an arrangement visually paralleled by the Holy Face outlined against the white linen textile in the rectangular picture field (Fig. 3.4). A comparable setting in parallel of True Portrait and True Body in the context of mass celebration can be observed in an epitaph panel depicting the Mass of Saint Gregory (1447), where the face of Christ floating before the cloth affixed to the altar on the front has its visual equivalent in the Host placed on the corporal, just as the Man of Sorrows displaying his wounds and his tomb visualise the essence of sacrament and altar for the pious pope and bishop engaged in his adoration (Fig. 3.5).[390]

In Feliceni (Felsőboldogfalva), the *sudarium* was painted on the eastern nave wall of the parish church, north of the chancel arch, around 1420, in the version when it is held by Saint Veronica (Fig. 3.6).[391] As it was often the case with representations of Veronica's veil, the disembodied head of Christ – here fully inscribed within the circle of the cruciform halo edged with pearls[392] – does not seem to be an image imprinted on the cloth, but, instead, appears to hover before the textile as a separate entity, independent of its folds creating a spatial effect (Fig. 3.7).

The image of Veronica's veil on the northern side of the triumphal arch was painted as a pendant to the Adoration of the Magi scene on the southern side (Fig. 3.8). The juxtaposition

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[389] On the style and dating of this wall painting ensemble, see: Zsombor Jékely, "A Kolozs megyei Bádok falképei és az erdélyi falfestészet" [The wall paintings from Bádok in Kolozs county and the mural painting in Transylvania], in *Colligite Fragmenta! Örökségvédelem Erdélyben* [Colligite Fragmenta! Heritage Protection in Transylvania], ed. Tímea N. Kis (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar Művészettörténet Intézeti Képviselet, 2009), 198–199, 202–207; Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek*, 170–171. On their Eucharistic connotation, see: German, *Sakramentsnischen,* 136.
[390] Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary,* 340.
[391] On the wall painting ensemble in Feliceni, see Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek,* 80–95.
[392] While this type of the image usually features a neckless, disembodied head of Christ, here the lower arm of the cruciform halo – possibly through a misunderstanding of the model used – appears as a neck.

of the two images – both centred on the figure of Christ, and capturing an act of display – does not seem incidental. The Virgin Mary holding the child Jesus in her lap, and presenting him to the kneeling king Gaspar[393] for adoration, parallels Veronica's display of the Holy Face. The identity of the objects of veneration in both scenes is made evident by the identical Christograms on the cruciform haloes of the child Jesus and the Holy Face. In the latter case, through the frontality of the composition, the viewer is assigned a similar role as to that of the adoring magus in the pendant scene, whose humble and eager veneration of Christ is set as an example for the churchgoer.

Given their placement on both sides of the chancel arch, the two scenes might have been perceived to parallel a third act of presentation of the body of Christ, the Elevation of the Host after its consecration. For an audience situated in the nave, both scenes provided a painted frame for this liturgical act representing the highpoint of the mass,[394] intensifying the visual experience of the Elevation, and rendering the mystery of the bread and wine transformed into Christ's Body and Blood more graspable.[395] While the Eucharist was available to the laity for viewing only for a short time during the mass, the wall paintings perpetuating the display of the body of Christ may have served as a focus for devotion to the Corpus Christi throughout, as well as outside of the liturgy.

Of both Christological images, the Holy Face – enclosed within the circle of the halo floating independently before the veil – might have evoked the host wafer also in its form, in a similar way as it has been pointed out for the representation in the Psalter-Hours of Yolande of Soissons (Fig 3.1). The miniature painted around 1280–1290 in Amiens is the first known example of the composition type depicting the Holy Face without neck and shoulders in the West, and has been suggested to have been inspired by a Mandylion-type icon housed in the cathedral of Laon.[396] The resemblance of details between the mural and the miniature, such as the shape of Christ's downward-turned mouth, the outline of the nose, or the lock of hair on the middle of the forehead, goes beyond a correspondence of the composition type and suggests

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[393] It is interesting to note that the composition on the eastern nave wall features only one of the three magi, identified by the inscription on his halo as *s. rex gaspar.* As the medieval layer of plaster has not survived on the southern wall, it is unsure whether the composition continued here with a representation of the second and third magus, see Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek,* 81.

[394] Rubin, *Corpus Christi,* 55–63.

[395] Several authors have noted the association of Veronica's veil with the liturgical moment of the Elevation: Wolf, *From Mandylion to Veronica*, 168; Sand, *Vision*, 81; Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 334–336. On the Eucharistic connotations of the Adoration of the Magi theme, see Ursula Nilgen, "The Epiphany and the Eucharist: On the Interpretation of Eucharistic Motifs in Mediaeval Epiphany Scenes," *The Art Bulletin* 49, no. 4 (1967): 311–316.

[396] Imre Kovács, "Az eycki Szent Arc ábrázolások ikonográfiai eredete" [The iconographic origin of the Eyckian representations of the Holy Face], *Ars Hungarica* 25, nos 1–2 (1997): 105–106.

either a common prototype other than the Laon icon, which does not share these features to the same extent, or an indirect influence of the miniature on the wall painting.

3.2. Daia (Székelydálya), parish church

A similar emphasis on the display of the Veronica as an object of veneration can be observed in a fragmentary representation of the theme in the parish church of Daia, a village situated less than ten kilometres from Feliceni (Fig. 3.9, beginning of the sixteenth century).[397] Here the composition was painted above the sacrament niche on the north-eastern wall of the apse. Saint Veronica, standing before a stone wall, is presenting a veil of strikingly large proportions, which is covering all her body except for her head and her arms, raised to hold up the corners of the textile falling in undulating folds on the sides. The disembodied head of Christ appears in the middle of the cloth, almost aligned with the central axis of the sacrament niche (Fig. 3.10). Just like Veronica's face, it is largely destroyed. Based on the surviving details, it was a conventional representation of the Holy Face: shown in a frontal view, with a wavy brown hair framing the face, and probably a bifurcated beard. No trace of the crown of thorns is visible; a decorated halo encircles the head of Christ. Thus, instead of the bleeding, suffering Christ crowned with thorns widespread by this time, the mural most probably captured the calm, serene, transfigured face of Christ in his glory, without apparent signs of the Passion.[398] Below, on both sides of the sacrament niche, the upper bodies of two haloed saints survive, who are turning towards the host compartment, their hands folded in prayer. The figure on the left can be identified as Saint Peter, based on the fragmentary object resting against his shoulder, the surviving upper part of which resembles the shaft and bit of a key (Fig. 3.11); the other saint is thus most probably Saint Paul.[399]

The presence of the two apostle princes emphasizes the association of the image with the relic housed in the Saint Peter's in Rome. The composition featuring the *sudarium* flanked by Saint Peter and Saint Paul (with or without the figure of Saint Veronica herself) was spread by pilgrims' badges from the fourteenth century onwards and by prints later on.[400] In

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[397] On this composition, see: German, *Sakramentsnischen,* 256–257; Jenei, *Thèmes iconographiques,* 22, and Szabó, *Magyarvista,* 6.

[398] On the two coexisting visual traditions of representing the Holy Face, see Finaldi, *The Image of Christ*, 80, 88; Koerner, *Self-Portraiture,* 89.

[399] The two figures have been similarly identified by Dana Jenei (Idem, Thèmes *iconographiques,* 22) and Tekla Szabó (Idem, *Magyarvista,* 6).

[400] Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c.700–c.1500* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 162–163; Tekla Szabó, "The 14th Century Representations of Navicella and the Story of the Murals from Jelna (Bistrița-Năsăud County)," *Caiete ARA,* 9 (2018): 151. Compositions where Apostles Peter and Paul are holding the *sudarium*

Transylvania, several examples of this type are known as casts of Roman pilgrims' badges and coins reused in the decoration of bells.[401] On the bell from Dumbrăvioara (Sáromberke, Scharnberg), cast in the second half of the fifteenth century, two different imprints with comparable compositions survive, including the figure of Saint Veronica, and the two apostle princes on both sides of the *sudarium*, their attributes similarly laid against their shoulders as in Daia (Fig. 3.12).[402]

The mural is a good example of the intertwining of relic cult and Eucharistic devotion,[403] where a widespread composition connected to the cult of relics was adapted to the context of the decoration of a sacrament niche. This association is not far-fetched. Based on a survey of late medieval sacrament houses and niches from a vast geographical area extending from the Low Countries to the Kingdom of Hungary, Achim Timmermann notes that "the sudarium was by far the single most popular image appropriated to the context of Eucharistic architecture", with hundreds of tabernacles decorated with the Holy Face still surviving.[404] Although this trend is not present in Transylvania,[405] this is rather due to the fact that in this region figurative motives are generally rare in the sculpted decoration of sacrament houses and niches, while the wall painting decoration is in relatively few cases known.[406]

Usually placed directly above the host compartment, as in Daia, the true image of Christ could serve as a suggestive visual evocation of the True Body contained in the tabernacle. From the territory of Medieval Hungary, the decoration of the sacrament niche in the parish church in Poprad (Poprád, Slovakia) can be cited as an example. Here the Holy Face – connected to the stone niche through a solid neck, and seemingly independent of the cloth behind held by

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appear in prints around the middle of the fifteenth century. Early examples are engravings by the Master of St Erasmus (c. 1450) and by Master E.S. (1467, B. 86).

[401] Elek Benkő, *Erdély középkori harangjai és bronz keresztelőmedencéi* [Medieval bells and bronze baptismal fonts in Transylvania] (Budapest–Kolozsvár: Teleki László Alapítvány –Polis, 2002), 188–189.

[402] One of them is a pilgrim's coin, which, based on analogies, can be dated to the first half of the fifteenth century. No analogy for the second badge has been found, which bears a slightly closer resemblance to the wall painting, representing the two apostles with a single attribute (the sword and the key), without the book, and showing a triangular arrangement with the larger proportioned figure of Saint Veronica rising above Saints Peter and Paul. Ibid., 189, 490–493, nos. 214–215.

[403] On this issue, see G. J. C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction* (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

[404] Timmermann, *Real presence,* 270.

[405] In the parish church of Mugeni a representation of Veronica's veil was painted over a rectangular niche in the northern nave wall, close to the triumphal arch. While it has been proposed that the niche functioned as a tabernacle to a side altar, its placement in the nave speaks against such a function. On the niche revealed during the restoration at the beginning of the 2010's, see Lóránd Kiss, "A bögözi református templom falképei" [The wall paintings of the Calvinist church in Bögöz], *Isis. Erdélyi Magyar Restaurátor Füzetek* (2013): 21, and Nyárádi Zsolt, "Bögöz középkori temploma és temetője" [The medieval church and cemetery in Bögöz] in ibid., 10 (both articles accessible online: http://epa.oszk.hu/00400/00402/00012/pdf/EPA00402_ISIS_2013.pdf, last accessed February 2020); and German, *Sakramentsnischen,* 175–176.

[406] Ibid., 133.

two angels – parallels the Host stored in the niche below in its form as well, being fully encircled by the large-size disk of the golden halo.[407]

Saints Peter and Paul may also appear in the decoration of sacrament niches independently of the *sudarium*, for example on several tabernacles from the island of Gotland (Fig. 3.13).[408] Here the two apostle princes have been interpreted as guardians of the Sacrament, representing the Church as founders of its institution and teaching.[409]

More uncommon is the combination of the motifs of the *sudarium* and the apostle princes in the context of the tabernacle as seen in Daia, inspired by the visual culture of the cult of the Roman Veronica, while meaningfully integrating the sacrament niche as a compositional element.[410] Veronica's gesture of holding up the *sudarium* may at once bring to mind the exhibition of the Roman relic before the pilgrims (Fig. 3.14)[411] and, in the context of its location in the chancel, the Elevation of the Host during the mass. Within the triangle of the figures of Saints Veronica, Peter and Paul, the Holy Face and the sacrament stored in the niche constitute a double focus of the composition; the devotion of the adoring figures may have served as an example for the viewer in the veneration of the Eucharist as well as the relic of the Holy Face. This scheme of saintly figures set as models in the devotion to the *Corpus Christi* is repeated in the adjacent scene of Saint Ursula's martyrdom, where the Crucifix appearing before the ship's mast as a vision is flanked by the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist, turned towards Christ in a prayerful stance (Fig. 5.26).[412]

3.3. Sighișoara (Segesvár, Schäßburg), parish church

In the Saint Nicholas' church in Sighișoara, Veronica's veil appears in the apex of the triumphal arch, facing the nave (1483, Fig. 3.15). The face of Christ is depicted here in a similar

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[407] Milan Togner and Vladimír Plekanec, *Medieval Wall Paintings in Spiš* (Bratislava: Arte Libris, 2012), 270–283.

[408] Justin Kroesen and Peter Tångeberg, *Die mittelalterliche Sakramentsnische auf Gotland (Schweden). Kunst und Liturgie*, (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2014), 82–83, 88–90, Figs. 4.45, 4.47, 4.59, 4.61–63. For further examples, and a more detailed discussion of the association of Saints Peter and Paul with Eucharistic imagery, see Chapter 1.3.

[409] Kroesen and Tångeberg, *Die mittelalterliche Sakramentsnische*, 82–83, 88–89.

[410] A similar composition with the figure of Veronica holding her veil above the host compartment flanked by the two apostle princes can be found on a sacrament niche from Offenhausen Abbey, Swabia (c. 1510). The standing posture of Peter and Paul here resembles the compositions of the prints and pilgrims' badges. Timmermann, *Real Presence,* 270–271, fig. 310.

[411] Cf. ibid., 270.

[412] On this composition, see Chapter 5.4.

frontal position, open-eyed, wearing the crown of thorns, with no halo discernible. Two angels are stretching the veil by its four corners.

A similar placement of the Veronica in the apex of the chancel arch was common.[413] Besides being a highly adequate theme to decorate this central, prominent place of the church interior, it could easily be adapted to the narrow, slant surface of the chancel arch, as it was done here with the figures of the flying angels.

Significantly smaller in proportion than the angels are the figures of the two kneeling donors flanking the Veronica, positioned – owing to the curve of the arch – fittingly lower, accompanied by their coats of arms.[414] Below the donor on the heraldic right, the emblem of the painters' guild can be discerned, with a lily and a hand with a paintbrush, this latter motif being repeated as the crest on the helmet (Fig. 3.16).[415] Based on this, the kneeling donor figure holding an open book in his hands was hypothetically identified as a certain *Valentinus pictor,* a member of the urban elite of Sighișoara, documented to have held, among others, the position of councillor in 1486 and that of the mayor of the town in 1490.[416]

The kneeling, praying figure opposite, whose coat of arms includes a bear emerging from a tower (the animal with its front paws held high being repeated again as the crest), had originally been identified as the painter's wife (Fig. 3.17).[417] As Ciprian Firea has subsequently argued, it would be unlikely for a female member of the community to be commemorated at so prominent a place, on par with such eminent members of the urban elite, as mayor Michael Polner, who is probably the donor figure represented in the company of Mary Magdalene on the northern chancel wall.[418] The figure wearing a purple mantle with a golden-colour hem also

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[413] From the territory of Medieval Hungary, a similar arrangement can be found in Poniky (Pónik, Slovakia, 1415), where two kneeling angels are holding the Holy Face by the disk of the halo, see Dušan Buran, *Studien zur Wandmalerei um 1400 in der Slowakei: die Pfarrkirche St. Jakob in Leutschau und die Pfarrkirche St. Franziskus Seraphicus in Poniky* (Weimar: Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 2002), 152.

[414] On the donor representations see Christoph Machat, *Die Bergkirche zu Schäßburg und die mittelalterliche Baukunst in Siebenbürgen* (München: Verlag des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerks, 1977), 95; Popa, *Sighișoara,* 176, 179–180; Jenei, *Sighișoara,* 111, and Firea, *Blazonul breslei pictorilor*, 62–64.

[415] For a detailed description and reconstruction of this coat of arms, see Firea, *Blazonul breslei pictorilor,* 63, Fig. 12.

[416] Jenei, *Sighișoara,* 111; Firea, *Blazonul breslei pictorilor,* 63; For a compilation of written sources about *Valentinus Pictor*, see Firea, *Polipticele medievale*, 357–358. Besides him, a second painter, a certain *Mathias Pictor* is known from the sources in Sighișoara, likewise holding positions in the town's administration. As Ciprian Firea has pointed out, his administrative career seems to have started to rise a few years later than that of Valentine, and he was less likely to hold an important position by 1483 justifying his portrayal at such a prominent place of the church. See Firea, *Blazonul breslei pictorilor,* 63. For sources on *Mathias pictor*, see idem, *Polipticele medievale*, 339–340.

[417] Machat, *Die Bergkirche*, 95; Popa, *Sighișoara*, 176.

[418] On this composition, see Chapter 5.5.

appears to have a tonsure. He can thus be more plausibly identified as *Clemens Colmas*, holding the office of parish priest around the time the mural was painted.[419]

The inscription scroll running along the triumphal arch, its curled ends providing a decorative frame for the composition, proved so far undecipherable save for the fragmentary date *(14)83* below the coat of arm of the donor on the heraldic left (Fig. 3.19). It might have included one of the popular indulgenced prayers addressed to the Holy Face, while the shorter inscriptions in front of both donor figures may have contained their personal pleas for salvation, as in an altarpiece predella from the South Tyrolean Sterzing (*It*. Vipiteno) by Friedrich Pacher, dating a few years earlier and displaying a similar iconography. The panel depicts two members of the local patrician family Jöchl, kneeling, and turning with their prayers to the *sudarium* held here by Saint Veronica (Fig. 3.20).[420]

Through its placement at the nave side of the triumphal arch, the Veronica's veil may have been again seen as a visual echo of the Elevation of the Host, even if, despite its monumental size, due to the height of the arch and the size of the church interior, the visual experience would have been less immediate for the laic viewer situated in the nave than in a smaller village church like that in Feliceni. For someone with a more thorough understanding of the Eucharistic liturgy, such as parish priest *Clemens Colmas*, who probably played a role in determining the iconography of the composition in which his portrait probably appeared, the representation of the angels clad in a white deacon's vestment, lifting the veil with the face of Christ shown as the suffering Saviour crowned with thorns, might have been understood as a reference to the angel of God carrying the Eucharistic sacrifice to the heavenly altar after its consecration.

A second representation of the theme offering a closer view of the Holy Face was painted five years later on the eastern wall of the tower base, above the entrance to the nave, embedded between two Passion scenes on each side, and featured, according to a long-established tradition in the iconography of the *sudarium*, as an actual physical image hanged on a trompe l'oeil nail (Fig. 3.21).[421] A believer progressing through the church from the west towards the east could thus encounter two depictions of the Veronica, aligned along the central axis of the building: the first one set in the context of the Passion story, as a material evidence

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[419] Firea, *Blazonul breslei pictorilor,* 63–64.

[420] Avraham Ronen, *The Peter and Paul Altarpiece and Friedrich Pacher* (Jerusalem: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1974), 16–17.

[421] On the wall paintings of the tower base, see Jenei, *Sighișoara*, 117–118; Emese Sarkadi Nagy, "Összefüggések néhány segesvári falkép kapcsán" [Considerations regarding the wall paintings from Sighișoara, the Church on the Hill], in *Középkori egyházi építészet Erdélyben V* [Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture in Transylvania V], ed. Péter Levente Szőcs (Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 2012), 339–345.

of these past events presently available to the viewer, the second one appearing as a heavenly vision on the highest point of the chancel arch connoting at once the sacramental body of Christ and anticipating the beatific vision of God at the end of times. This eschatological layer of meaning may have been underscored by the juxtaposition with the Last Judgement filling the upper part of the eastern wall in the northern aisle and a monumental figure of Saint Michael weighing the souls painted on the vault (Cat. Fig. 54, Fig. 5.31).[422]

3.4. Biertan (Berethalom, Birthälm), chapel of the so-called Catholics' Tower

A similar intertwining of the eschatological and the sacramental can be observed in the case of a Veronica in the chapel of the so-called Catholics' tower in Biertan, which, being part of a coherent iconographic program, provides a better opportunity to examine this aspect than the wall paintings in Sighișoara, commissioned by various members of the town's ecclesiastic and administrative elite as well as different guilds.[423]

The composition fitted to a comparably narrow surface as in Sighișoara, above the segmental arched window on the eastern wall, is also similar in its layout, with two angels clad in a deacon's vestment[424] holding the textile (Fig. 3.22). Represented here without the crown of thorns, the face of Christ is framed by his dark brown hair parted in the middle and a bifurcated beard; the facial features do not survive (Fig. 3.23).

Behind the veil, the small-sized figure of Saint Veronica appears, the parallel folds of her robe reaching the ground creating a decorative accent below the veil. Compared to other representations of the theme as seen for instance in Daia, Veronica appears here as a subsidiary figure, her role being not so much of holding and presenting the veil (a task tended to by the angels), as to testify to the origin and the authenticity of the portrait.[425]

In addition to the sacramental resonances of the Veronica in light of the considerations previously presented in this chapter, viewed in the context of the whole iconographic program, the multivalence of the image comes to the fore. In accordance with the chapel's function as a cemetery chapel (possibly charnel chapel), where masses for the dead were celebrated,[426] the decoration program is centred around the ideas of Judgement, intercession and salvation. On

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[422] On this representation, see Chapter 5.5.
[423] Cf. Cat. No. 14.
[424] The vestment of the angel on the left is green; the colour of the dress of the angel on the right cannot be determined due to the fragmentary state of this part of the composition.
[425] Cf. Finaldi, *The Image of Christ,* 80.
[426] For a consideration of the function of the chapel, see Fabritius, *Die Honigberger Kapelle,* 37.

the southern wall, two scenes of the Incarnation – the Annunciation and the Adoration of the Magi – are depicted (Cat. Fig. 1), to which the imprint of Christ's face on the *sudarium* furnished a tangible proof.

Counting among the *arma Christi,* and capturing the features of the suffering Christ out of his sweat and blood, the *sudarium* seems thematically linked to the Intercessory image on the northern wall as well. Here, to the left of the entrance portal the Man of Sorrows can be seen, propriating God, who is sending the arrows of his wrath on mankind (Cat. Fig. 4). While believers find shelter under the mantle of the Virgin Mary depicted on the right of the scene, an angel is holding up one of the arrows with a shield bearing representations of the Passion instruments (Cat. Fig. 5).[427]

Finally, in the context of the Last Judgment on the opposite, western wall, the eschatological meaning of the Veronica is highlighted (Fig. 3.24). It has been repeatedly shown how the *sudarium* was seen as an anticipation of the beatific vision of God after the Resurrection.[428] Paraphrasing a passage of the Letter from Paul to the Corinthians,[429] the text of the Short office of the Holy Face, attributed to pope Innocent the III, pleads that those who adore on Earth the image left behind as a memento on Veronica's cloth as if in a "mirror and parable" may one day see the Lord "face to face as judge, on the good side."[430]

The "face to face" juxtaposition at Biertan of the Holy Face and the figure of Christ appearing as Judge at the end of times seems to convey similar ideas. In the wall paintings forming the backdrop for the celebration of the masses for the dead, a visual program of salvation seems to be outlined. The fact that the Son of God assumed human flesh to suffer and die for the salvation of mankind, his intercession, as well as that of the Virgin Mary and the saints,[431] offers reasons for hope to be granted the privilege of the direct vision of God on the side of the blessed (who, in the mural, enter Paradise to the right of the Judge, being received by an angel), the image of the Veronica already providing a foretaste of this experience.

Turning to written sources that might shed light on the circumstances of the creation of the wall paintings, it is a likely possibility that just like the composition in Daia, the Veronica in Biertan was adapted from the visual culture of pilgrimage. As noted above, compared to the

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[427] For an analysis of this composition, see Jenei, *Biertan*, 275–277.

[428] See Imre Kovács, "Ábrázolható-e az ábrázolhatatlan?: A boldogító Istenlátás (Visio Beatifica) egy középkori ábrázolásához" [Can the unrepresentable be represented? On a medieval representation of the beatific vision], *Pannonhalmi Szemle* 18 no. 4 (2010): 64–69.

[429] "For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known." (1 Cor 13:12).

[430] Belting, *Likeness and presence*, 543.

[431] The figure of Saint Michael weighing the souls is repeated on the eastern wall, to the left of the window, paired with Saint George on the right.

compositionally related image in Sighișoara, a difference can be observed in the face type, which in Biertan resembles the type associated with the relic in Rome. In this context, two sources documenting a 1493 stay in Rome of Martinus Schezer, parish priest of Biertan, are worth noting. On the 21st of March, he enrols in the register of the Holy Spirit Confraternity in Rome.[432] Five days later, he obtains the confirmation of the indulgence grant issued by Boniface IX in 1402 to the church of the Virgin Mary in Biertan from papal auditor Petrus Menzi de Vicenza.[433] The impetus behind the renewal of the indulgence grant may have been the wish to secure financial means for the Late Gothic reconstruction of the parish church, probably initiated, or at least planned, by him, and carried on later by his successors Johannes and Lucas.[434] Whether or not pilgrimage was the main motivation of his journey, once in Rome, he was not likely to miss the major pilgrims' attractions of the city, the *sudarium* at Saint Peter's among them, possibly taking home a replica as a pilgrims' souvenir.[435] It is thus possible that the choice to depict the Veronica in Biertan was inspired by this Roman journey, with the theme then integrated into the complex iconographic program of the chapel.

Concerning the functioning of the chapel, it has been repeatedly suggested that it had its own chaplain assigned to it, based on a source from 1502.[436] In this document recording and certifying a last will benefiting the parish church, issued at the request of parish priest Martinus Schezer, a certain *Michael capellanus* appears among the witnesses.[437] His association with the chapel based on this source does not seem well-founded: not only is there no reference to the chapel in the document, but the term *capellanus* does not even imply a function as a rector of a chapel, being used in contemporary charter evidence to designate an auxiliary cleric subordinate to the parish priest, whom he employed to carry out different tasks of pastoral care.[438]

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[432] *Monumenta Vaticana,* I. 5, 21; Pietro Egidi, ed. *Necrologi e libri affini della provincia Romana*. vol. 2. Fonti per la storia d'Italia pubblicate dall'Istituto storico italiano (Rome: L'istituto, 1914), 355; Cat. No. 1., "Historical data".

[433] *Urkundenbuch,* vol. 8. no. 5352; Cat. No. 1, "Historical data".

[434] Cf. Kinga German, "Die spätgotische Pfarrkirche zu Birthälm in Siebenbürgen: Überlegungen zur Bauchronologie," in *Die Länder der böhmischen Krone und ihre Nachbarn zur Zeit der Jagiellonenkönige (1471 - 1526): Kunst, Kultur, Geschichte,* ed. Evelin Wetter, (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2006), 225–234.

[435] Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 221.

[436] Friedrich Müller, "Die evangelische Kirche in Birthälm," *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 2 (1857): 208; Fabritius, *Die Honigberger Kapelle,* 37.

[437] *Zentralarchiv der Evangelischen Kirche A.B. in Rumänien. Urkunden (1355-1693),* no. 610-A-10. Online accessible: monasterium.net (https://www.monasterium.net/mom/RO-ZAEKR/Urkunden/610-A-10/charter, last accessed: February 2020). For a transcription, see Müller, "Die evangelische Kirche in Birthälm," *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 2 (1857): 216–217.

[438] I thank historian Géza Hegyi for his help in the interpretation of this source.

3.5. Conclusion

The examples analysed above point to a conscious use of Veronica's veil as a Eucharistic theme in Transylvanian wall painting. Its use in the decoration of the sacrament niche, the eastern chancel wall serving as a visual backdrop to the liturgy performed at the high altar, or the chancel arch serving as its visual frame, suggests an understanding of the Holy Face as a reference to the body of Christ present in the sacrament, in line with tendencies already demonstrated by earlier research on the theme. More specifically, compositional variants focusing on the act of display (either by Saint Veronica or by angels) might have been perceived in such liturgical contexts as visual echoes of the Elevation of the Host. Associations with other sacramental themes (the Man of Sorrows, the Crucifixion, or the Adoration of the Magi) could further amplify and nuance the Eucharistic meaning of the *sudarium*.

The Eucharistic was by all means only but one of various potential layers of meaning of this versatile image. The proximity of the Last Judgment could evoke its eschatological meaning as an anticipation of the beatific vision at the end of times. In some cases, a direct influence of the cult of the relic in Rome can be suspected: while the representation of the Veronica in Biertan might have been commissioned to commemorate a pilgrimage to Rome, in Daia a composition inspired by pilgrimage imagery was endowed with new meanings when used in the decoration of a sacrament niche. A recurring pattern fitting into both the context of Eucharistic devotion and relic cult is the thematising of the act of veneration, the *sudarium* being presented as an object of devotion, with figures of identification providing the viewer with models for adoring the Holy Face.

Chapter 4. Sacramental allusions in Passion cycles

Similarly to single representations evoking Christ's sacrifice discussed in the previous chapters, Passion cycles too could form part of the altar's visual environment. In contrast to images such as the single Crucifixion or the Man of Sorrows, ubiquitous on various types of liturgical objects, church furnishing and decoration, a cyclical representation of the Passion required a larger coherent surface, primarily available in altarpieces and works of monumental art within the church interior.

The question to what extent and how narrative representations of Christ's suffering and death could be used to convey a message related to the Eucharistic cult and liturgy has not been a dominant one within the study of late medieval Passion cycles.[439]

Analysing representations of individual episodes of the Passion in Early Netherlandish altarpieces, Barbara Lane argued that these could serve to explain the essence of the Eucharistic sacrifice to the believer, observing that while any Passion scene could fill such purpose, the "later events of the story, from the Crucifixion to the Entombment (…), relate more clearly to the sacrificial rite than subjects such as the Entry into Jerusalem or the Flagellation."[440] In turn, in an overview of Eucharistic representations in late medieval art with a focus on Italian painting, Kristen Van Ausdall notes an isolation of the Last Supper and the Crucifixion from the Passion narrative to serve as a backdrop for mass celebration.[441]

In analyses of groups of Passions cycles in altarpieces or wall paintings in various regions, it has been repeatedly suggested that the commemoration of the events preceding Christ's death and Resurrection during the Holy Week might have influenced the selection of episodes within cycles.[442] The relevance of visual narratives of the Passion to Eucharistic liturgy and devotion were explored in more detail in a few case studies. In his examination of

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[439] Some studies on visual narratives of the Passion in the late Middle Ages include: James H. Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative* (Kortrijk: Van Ghemmert, 1979); Anne Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Véronique Plesch, *Painter and Priest: Giovanni Canavesio's Visual Rhetoric and the Passion Cycle at La Brigue* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006).

[440] Barbara G. Lane, *The Altar and the Altarpiece: Sacramental Themes in Early Netherlandish Painting* (Harper & Row, 1984), 79. On the Eucharistic relevance of the Descent from the Cross, Lamentation and Entombment in Early Netherlandish painting, see also Schlie, *Corpus Christi*, 169–186.

[441] Kristen Van Ausdall, "Art and Eucharist in the Late Middle Age," in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*, ed. Ian Christopher Levy, Gary Macy and Kristen Van Ausdall, (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2012), 575.

[442] Véronique Plesch, *Le Christ peint: le cycle de la passion dans les chapelles peintes des états de Savoie au XVe siècle* (Chambéry: Société savoisienne d'histoire et d'archéologie, 2004), 16; Maria Crăciun, "Reforming Church Space: Altarpieces and Their Functions in Early Modern Transylvania," *Church History and Religious Culture* 87 (2007): 12–14.

the imagery of the Oberwesel altarpiece, Donald L. Ehresmann has emphasized the connection of the seven Passion scenes to the theology of the mass as well as to the Hours of the Passion.[443] In what might well be the most elaborate study dedicated to this interconnection, Pamela A. V. Stewart has analysed the Passion cycle decorating the chapel of the Corpus Christi Confraternity in the San Giorgio al Palazzo in Milan (1516) in light of the liturgical and devotional practices taking place there.[444]

This chapter explores the Eucharistic relevance of Passion cycles decorating chancels or chapels within the material under study in this thesis. In spite of the popularity of the theme in the Late Gothic period, in only two cases does the state of survival of the cycles permit their examination as a coherent visual narrative: the ensemble decorating the northern chancel wall in Râșnov (Barcarozsnyó, Rosenau) has been analysed in detail by Dana Jenei in a study also touching upon the Eucharistic connections;[445] the Passion cycle in the southern tower base of the Saint Michael's church in Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg) forms the subject of the first part of this chapter as a separate case-study. In the second part of the chapter, after a brief overview of all Passion cycles relevant to the discussion – either still extant, or known from watercolour copies –, an analysis of general patterns in their placement, narrative emphases, and iconographic context will follow, with the aim to explore to what extent their design was consciously adapted to the function of the liturgical space they decorate.

4.1. A case study: The Passion cycle in the southern tower base of the Saint Michael's church in Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg)

In the south-western tower base of the Saint Michael's church in Cluj, a Passion cycle fills up the northern wall of the chapel, above a niche carved into the wall. The cycle is set out in three tiers, the lower two containing three smaller-size scenes each, with a many-figure Calvary painted in the uppermost, lunette-shaped field (Fig. 4.1). The fragmentary wall paintings were restored during a renovation in 1942, the intervention involving completion of lost surfaces and enhancing of faded details in the upper two registers of the cycle.[446] Figural

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[443] Donald L. Ehresmann, "Medieval Theology of the Mass and the Iconography of the Oberwesel Altarpiece," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 60, no. 2 (1997): 200–226.

[444] Pamela A.V. Stewart, "Ritual viewing in the Chapel of Corpus Christi: Bernardino Luini's Passion Cycle at San Giorgio al Palazzo, Milan," in *The Sacralization of Space and Behavior in the Early Modern World: Studies and Sources*, ed. Jennifer Mara DeSilva (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015), 101–139.

[445] Jenei, *Râșnov.*

[446] Lóránd Kiss, "Biserica Romano-Catolică Sfântul Mihail Cluj. Cercetare de Parament" [The Roman Catholic Church of Saint Michael in Cluj. Wall investigation]. Târgu Mureș, unpublished manuscript, 2013.

details which are a result of this repainting – such as some of the faces,[447] or folds of textiles[448] – can be identified through a comparison with the photos documenting the state before the restoration[449] (Fig 4.2) and the watercolour copies by István Gróh from 1904.[450]

Of the three scenes of the lower register, only fragments survive. The only attempt at their interpretation was made by Edit Grandpierre in her 1932 monograph on the parish church,[451] her identifications having been taken over in subsequent literature.[452] Their poor state of preservation notwithstanding, making sense of these fragments is essential for a better understanding of the cycle as a whole; a more detailed look at them with the scope of reconsidering their iconographies seems thus justified.

On the first scene from the left, the head of Christ with a cruciform halo can be seen slightly to the left of the central axis, turned to the right in a three-quarter profile (Fig. 4.3). The grey-haired, tonsured and bearded saint standing on the left edge of the composition can be identified as Saint Peter.[453] Between Peter and Christ two haloed figures – women wearing head-dresses or young men with long hair – are visible. In the upper right part of the scene, the head of a figure of a much smaller proportion can be discerned before the foliage of trees (Fig. 4.4). An architectural structure seems to have framed the composition on the right, of which its red roof and stone building blocks in the lower right corner survive.

Grandpierre describes the scene as a Last Supper.[454] Saint Peter's standing posture and the tree foliage, however, speak against this identification. More plausibly, the composition depicted Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, an episode which often served as the starting scene of Passion cycles,[455] with the figure of Zacchaeus in the tree and the gate of Jerusalem on the right edge, towards which Christ is heading. A Bohemian miniature dating from around 1430 broadly corresponds to the composition, which might be inferred based on the surviving fragments, while also providing an analogy for details such as Saint Peter's placement on the left margin,

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[447] E.g. the face of one of the soldiers in the scene of Christ before Caiaphas, or the area around the eyes of Christ on the Crowning with thorns.

[448] E.g. much of the folds of Saint John the Evangelist's mantle, playing with the decorative contrast between the blue dress and its red lining, considered typical for the International Gothic.

[449] Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Center, Photo Archive, nos. 014.779P, 014.782P, 014.785P, 026.401P, 026.408P, 026.409P. Another group of photos seem to have been taken immediately after the restoration: nos. 026.405P, 026.406P, 026.407P, 026.799P, 026.800P.

[450] Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Center, Plan Collection, inv. nos. FM 289–295.

[451] Grandpierre, *Szent Mihály templom*, 32.

[452] Radocsay, *Falképek*, 142; Lángi and Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek*, vol. 3, 77.

[453] His head appears with a similar hairdo, although somewhat different facial features among the *arma Christi* surrounding the Man of Sorrows on the western wall.

[454] Grandpierre, *Szent Mihály templom*, 32.

[455] Plesch, *Le Christ peint*, 16.

as well as Zacchaeus' miniature proportions, a compositional solution otherwise widespread in representations of the theme (Fig. 4.5).[456]

Of the remaining two scenes of the lower tier, the one on the right can be more easily identified. Here the figure of Christ with the cruciform halo is discernible in the right part of the scene (Fig. 4.6). He is turning to the right, probably kneeling, wearing a similar purple-brown robe, as in the following trial scene, and raising his arms before him presumably in prayer. His face is covered with drops of blood. In the upper left corner, soldiers wearing helmets can be seen, emerging from behind a wooden fence. The identification of the scene proposed by Edit Grandpierre as *Christ on the Mount of Olives* thus seems accurate. The words of Christ's prayer were probably spelled out on the two-line inscription before him (Fig. 4.7).[457] Around him, the contours of the three sleeping apostles can be discerned, one in the bottom right corner of the composition, and two behind Christ. Next to the first of the approaching soldiers, the head of a man without a helmet can be seen, most probably that of Judas showing the way.

Very little of the middle scene of the lower register survives (Fig. 4.8). In the upper half of the composition, fragments of the heads or haloes of approximately six figures can be discerned at different levels: in the upper right part, the heads of two bearded men turned towards each other, at least one of them haloed (Fig. 4.9); slightly below, and to the right, a halo; below, and to the left, the head of a beardless man turned to the left, raising his clenched hand up to his chin; in the upper middle part of the composition, the segment of a disk with vaguely decipherable stripes of red and green, which distinguish the halo of Christ in the other scenes; somewhat below, to the left, the contour of a further halo can be surmised. In the lower middle part, a fragmentary motif can be seen – probably belonging to a figure clad in a purple dress – before a grey background (Fig. 4.10). In the lower left corner, only hardly intelligible patches of colours survive.[458]

Edit Grandpierre identified this scene as the Kiss of Judas, probably interpreting the two adjacent faces on the right as that of Christ and his traitor (Fig. 4.9).[459] In this case, the grey-haired man on the left, with his head positioned somewhat lower, would be Judas. Unlike in

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[456] Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, cod. 485; fol. 45r. A less close, but comparable depiction of the Entry into Jerusalem opens the Passion cycle in the chancel of the parish church in Curciu (Küküllőkőrös, Kirtsch), see Raluca Georgiana Cobuz, "The Mural Paintings of the Fortified Church in Curciu," *Brukenthal. Acta Musei* 13 (2018): 209–25, Fig. 4.

[457] In most visual representations, Christ's plea is cited from the Gospel of Matthew: *Pater mi, si possibile est, transeat a me calix iste* (Mt 26, 39).

[458] A set of parallel curved grey lines here might possibly be the folds of a drapery.

[459] Grandpierre, *Szent Mihály templom*, 32.

most representations, however, featuring Judas as fully turned towards Christ – his head often shown in profile –, raising his lips to Christ's cheek, here he does not seem to be engaged in kissing the man next to him. Supposing this latter figure is Christ, also noteworthy is the difference in the design of his halo compared to the two flanking scenes, here it being narrower and apparently without the usual cross. Another striking feature would be the number of haloed figures on the scene,[460] compared to a usual maximum of two (that of Christ and Saint Peter) in depictions of the Arrest.

The place of the episode within the narrative cycle provides a further argument to reconsider this identification. Although, as several examples in this chapter suggest, the chronology of the Gospel accounts was not always adhered to in monumental Passion cycles, here an inversion of the episodes of the Agony in the Garden and the Arrest of Christ would lack any justification, while it would significantly disrupt the narrative coherence of the cycle.

Much better fitting the chronological sequence would be a representation of the Last Supper. In this case, the fragmentary halo in the top middle part, with a faint suggestion of a cross in red and green marks Christ's position within the composition, corresponding his usual central placement in Last Supper scenes, while the fragments of heads and haloes belong to the apostles sitting around the table. The grey surface in the lower middle part might be the table cloth, before which the figures of two further apostles can be surmised, with a darker shade of grey used to distinguish the side view of the table from the table top (Fig. 4.10).

Although the fragmentary state of the scene does not allow for a definite conclusion, it most plausibly depicted the episode of the Last Supper. Accepting the identifications proposed above, the first three scenes would count as a typical introduction of a Passion cycle, to be found for instance in the wall paintings in Curciu (Küküllőkőrös, Kirtsch), dating probably a few decades earlier, where the opening episodes of the Entry into Jerusalem, Last Supper and Agony in the Garden were painted in the lunettes of the upper register.[461] In turn, an identification of the second scene as anything other than the Last Supper would imply the omission of this pivotal moment from the visual narrative, a choice that would be unusual for wall painted Passion cycles.[462]

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[460] Of the four surviving heads of figures at least two (possibly all four) are haloed, with the fragments of two more haloes being discernible.

[461] On the wall paintings from Curciu see Jenei, *Pictura,* 61; Cobuz, *Curciu*, 209–225.

[462] Although it was common later for winged altarpieces, where the outer wings were often decorated with a selection of eight Passion episodes not including the Last Supper (which in some cases was represented in the predella), see Crăciun, *Reforming Church Space*,1–28.

The first scene of the middle register has been alternatively identified as the Trial of Christ before Pilate,[463] or before Caiaphas (Fig. 4.11).[464] Here Christ is being led before one of his judges, his hands tied together with a rope; one of the soldiers hits him with a club, while another is pulling his hair. His judge – a grey-haired man with a bifurcated beard – is seated on a chest-like throne. He is wearing a red conical hat and a red mantle over a probably knee-length blue dress tightened with a belt at hip-level. He is holding a staff in his left hand while pointing to Christ with his right. Although his dress would be more fitting for a secular dignitary, based on his hat he can more readily be identified as a Jewish priest rather than a Roman prefect. The staff alluding to their judicial role can be found in representations of Annas and Caiaphas as well as those of Pilate. A scene identified as the Trial of Christ before Caiaphas in a Passion diptych from Churburg in Schluderns, South Tyrol (c. 1410–1420) can be brought as an example, where besides the judicial staff, the high priest's clothing is to some extent comparable (Fig. 4.12). As the episode of Christ before Annas is rarely included in such concise cycles,[465] the scene more probably depicts the Trial before Caiaphas.

The next scene represents the episode of Crowning with thorns, with two tormentors pressing a crown plaited of green branches onto Christ's head with the help of two intersecting sticks (Fig. 4.13). Consistent with the text of the Gospels, Christ is dressed up differently for this torture, although not in the crimson cloak (Mt 27, 28) appearing in many visual representations, but in a white dress with a red brocade pattern. The chest-like seat with a pedestal, which Christ is seated on resembles Caiaphas' throne, save for the lack of a backseat; the reed he is holding in his left hand might be seen as a visual echo of Caiaphas' staff. Featured as insignia of rank and power in the previous scene, the throne and sceptre, similarly to the crown, here become props of a cruel mockery.

The last scene of the middle register is the Flagellation, with Christ, now naked but his loincloth, tied to a column placed in the centre of the composition (Fig. 4.14). Surrounding him are three soldiers, raising their scourges and whips high, ready to strike down on his body already covered with bleeding scourge marks. To the left, a grey-haired, bearded man is standing, wearing a conical hat, and a red mantle over a light-coloured long dress. He is pointing towards Christ with his left hand, while holding an inscription in his right, on which the letters

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[463] Rómer, *Régi falképek*, 115; Radocsay, *Falképek*, 142; Prokopp, *Trecento Influence,* 160; Lángi and Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek,* 77.
[464] Grandpierre, *Szent Mihály templom*, 32; Drăguț, *Arta gotică*, 236.
[465] Plesch, *Le Christ peint*, 33.

anna[s?] can be tentatively read, possibly identifying him as high priest Annas.[466] According to the Gospels' account, it was Pilate who was responsible for the scourging of Christ.[467] The figure of the Roman governor sometimes appears in visual representations of this episode, alone or with an entourage, which might include the two high priests, despite a lack of biblical references to their presence at the Scourging.[468] The depiction of Annas alone in connection with the Flagellation seems unparalleled; it might be accounted for by an endeavour characteristic for the period to shift the burden of responsibility for Christ's suffering and death from Pilate to the Jews,[469] similarly to the choice to represent Christ's trial before one of the high priests, instead of before Pilate. Based on this, an identification of the first scene of the middle tier as Christ before Annas cannot in fact be entirely excluded on account of the rarity of the episode; still, the differences in their vestment might have been meant to distinguish between the two high priests.[470]

The cycle concludes with a many-figure Calvary scene in the upper register (Fig. 4.15). Christ's cross rises above the crowd in the centre of the composition, tightly fitted into the arch of the lunette. The selection and placement of the secondary figures correspond to compositional patterns widespread in the period, with the Virgin Mary supported by two holy women in the foreground on the left, and the figure of Longinus pointing to his eyes behind, flanked by two soldiers, who assist him in targeting Christ's side with the lance. To the right of the cross, Saint John the Evangelist appears in the foreground as a pendant to the figure of the Virgin Mary, wringing his hands. Right behind him, the Good Centurion is standing, accompanied by five soldiers clad in full armour, holding standards, lances and halberds; the one on the far right is shielding himself with a *pavese* adorned with the coat of arm of the Holy Roman Empire.[471]

The presence of two soldiers holding buckets of vinegar and sponges on reeds is an idiosyncratic feature of the composition. Also striking is the clumsy juxtaposition of the figures of John the Evangelist and the Good Centurion. In most other cases, either John is standing on the opposite side of the Cross, or the centurion is seated on a horse, thus precluding such a squeezing together of these two important figures in the front right row. An early example of a

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[466] Rómer too has read the inscription as *annas* at the time of the recovery of the wall painting ensemble, see Rómer, *Régi falképek*, 116.

[467] The episode of the Flagellation is mentioned by Mark (15,15), Matthew (27, 26) and John (19,1).

[468] As in a miniature from a Flemish Book of Hours and Psalter (c. 1460–1470) in the British Library, Harley Ms. 3000, f. 64v, https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=21299.

[469] Rainer Metzner, *Kaiphas. Der Hohepriester jenes Jahres: Geschichte und Deutung* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 301. See Plesch, *Painter and Priest*, 236 for another instance of this tendency, also in a Flagellation scene.

[470] Edit Grandpierre identifies both figures as Caiaphas, cf. idem, *Szent Mihály templom*, 30.

[471] A black eagle on a golden background.

composition where Saint John and the Centurion appear side-by-side is the Calvary panel on the back of the Verdun altarpiece (c. 1330–1331, Fig. 4.16). An influence of this work on the mural, however distant and indirect, seems plausible. The centurion, with his mantle slipped up his right shoulder as he is raising his arm high to point at Christ with his index finger, his left hand rested on his sword, while turning his face back towards the soldiers standing behind him, seems a later descendant of the same figure in the Lower Austrian panel painting (Figs. 4.17, 4.18).[472] The design of the right half of the cross titulus (the left part is the result of the twentieth-century repainting) with the majuscules RI may also be related, especially considering that in most contemporary Crucifixion scenes the acronym *inri* is written in Gothic minuscules (just like the inscriptions in the previous scenes of the Passion cycle in Cluj), the majuscule script having largely gone out of use by the mid-fifteenth century (Figs. 4.19).[473]

Remaining in the region of Lower Austria, a Calvary scene in the southern aisle of the parish church in Gobelsburg provides a closer analogy for the composition as a whole (c. 1420–1430, Fig. 4.20).[474] Beyond a similarity in the format, Christ's almost frontal, straight posture, his cruciform halo, the shape and position of the head, the decorative lines of his chest and ribs (Figs. 4.21, 4.22), the figure of the centurion, and the two smaller-size figures flanking the cross[475] are also comparable.[476]

The mural has also been compared to the monumental Calvary from the parish church in Sibiu.[477] Examined against the extensive variety of many-figure Crucifixions from the first and middle decades of the fifteenth century, however, the two compositions, even their corresponding details such as Longinus pointing to his eyes, do not seem particularly close.[478]

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[472] His feet implying an unnaturally contorted posture, differing from the graceful step of the Centurion in the Verdun altarpiece, is to a large extent the result of the 1942 repainting. As it can be observed in the watercolour copy and the photo taken before the restoration, most painted surfaces had been lost in this area of the composition; it is unclear how this detail had originally looked like.

[473] Zoltán Várady, "The Periods of Medieval Inscriptions in Hungary," *Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis. Series Historica* 14 (2017): 26–27.

[474] Elga Lanc, *Die mittelalterlichen Wandmalereien in Wien und Niederösterreich*. Corpus der mittelalterlichen Wandmalereien Österreichs, vol. 1. (Wien: VÖAW, 1983), 90–92, figures no. 150–151.

[475] Even though here only one of them is holding a vinegar-sponge.

[476] Another Crucifixion mural of a comparable format and composition, although bearing less resemblance in the details, was painted around 1400–1410 on the chancel wall of the now destroyed chapel of St. Maurice in Nuremberg. The painting is cited by Zsombor Jékely in connection with the central panel of the Calvary-altarpiece from Hronský Beňadik (Garamszentbenedek). Zsombor Jékely, "Painting at the Court of Emperor Sigismund: The Nuremberg Connections of the Painter Thomas de Coloswar," *Acta Historiae Artium* 58, no. 1 (2017): 57–83, 67. Fig. 17.

[477] *Magyarországi művészet*, vol. 1, 705 (pointing out a general semblance in the iconographic type); Török, *Johannes Rosenau,* 514 (emphasizing a resemblance in the iconography and the Italian influences on both murals); Jánó, *Színek és legendák*, 67 (suggesting a closer connection between the two compositions). The Calvary scene in Sibiu is discussed in detail in Chapter 1.2.

[478] A more distinctive common feature of both murals is perhaps the use of heraldic motifs, although their compositional use and function differ.

A further analogy suggested by Mihály Jánó, the Calvary from the altarpiece of Hronský Beňadik (Garamszentbenedek, 1427),[479] bears a closer resemblance, especially the left side of the composition. While the similarities again do not seem to go beyond the use of compositional patterns widespread by this time, they suggest a connectedness of the painter working in Cluj to a similar network of visual influences as were available to Master *Thomas de Coloswar* working for a courtly commissioner two or three decades before.[480]

Although it cannot be ruled out that the cycle once continued on the other walls with subsequent events of the Passion, it seems plausible that it was conceived as a seven-episode narrative concluding in Christ's death on the cross. The northern wall, unbroken by windows, provided an ideal surface for the cycle, while from the remaining fragments it seems that the narrower surfaces on both sides of the windows on the western and southern walls were decorated with single compositions, such as the Man of Sorrows with the *arma Christi* (Fig. 2.1)[481] and the Last Judgement (Fig. 4.23).[482] In her book on fifteenth-century wall painted Passion cycles in the Dutchy of Savoy, Véronique Plesch points to a recurring pattern of shorter cycles concluding with the episode of the Crucifixion. In these cases, she notes, all preceding scenes are more of a preamble to the depiction of the salvific sacrifice, the significance of which was often emphasized through an increased size.[483]

A similar effect was probably intended in Cluj, where the events leading up to Christ's death on the cross follow in chronological order from left to right and upwards to culminate in a large-size, many-figure Calvary scene. The only departure from the chronology of the Gospel accounts is the inversion of the episodes of the Crowning with Thorns and the Flagellation. This change in the usual sequence[484] does not disrupt the narrative coherence; on the contrary, it seems to contribute to a visual continuity independent from the textual base: following the first five scenes showing Christ dressed in his clothes, the last two episodes are focused on his naked body covered by wounds. The rising slope on the right of the Flagellation scene may have been intended as a further connecting link to the Crucifixion taking place on the top of the Mount of Golgotha, anticipating the tiresome ascent to the hill, the evocation of which is left to the viewer's imagination.

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[479] Jánó, *Színek és legendák*, 70.
[480] Recently on the altarpiece from Hronský Beňadik, suggesting a close connection to the painting around 1420 in Nuremberg, see Jékely, *Painting at the Court*, 57–83.
[481] On this composition, see Chapter 2.1.
[482] A third surviving fragment, to the left of the window on the southern wall, seems to have belonged to a fairly narrow composition, possibly depicting a standing figure.
[483] Plesch, *Le Christ peint*, 17.
[484] While most cycles follow the biblical chronology, a similar inversion is not unique, the Flagellation follows the Crowning with thorns for instance in the Passion cycle in Mălâncrav (Almakerék, Malmkrog).

In addition to providing an incentive and focus of compassionate meditation on Christ's sufferings, the Passion cycle also formed a suitable visual context for the mass celebration and devotion to the Holy Sacrament. While the presence of six consecration crosses preserved on the northern and eastern walls[485] confirms that the room functioned as an independent liturgical space, today only guesses can be made as to for what purposes and how it was used. The niche below the Passion cycle probably served as a tabernacle. The eastern wall being opened with an arch, it is possible that the altar too was oriented towards the northern wall, and the Passion cycle served as the decoration of the altar as well as of the sacrament niche.

In case the subject matter of the chapel's mural decoration was selected to suit the dedication of its altar, from among the side-altars known to have been standing in the church from written sources, this could have most fittingly been the *Corpus Christi* altar first mentioned in 1422, the other altars having been dedicated to different saints.[486] In this case, the chapel would have been the site of masses celebrated with the participation of the Corpus Christi confraternity, *cum vocum modulamine* on every Wednesday and *sub silencio* on the other days.[487]

Regardless of the exact purpose and layout of the chapel, the selection and disposition of the Passion scenes seem adjusted to their Eucharistic context. Besides the choice to conclude the cycle with a large-size depiction of Christ's sacrifice,[488] a further episode with explicit Eucharistic overtones, the Last Supper, was probably painted directly above the tabernacle. If the above-proposed interpretation of the surviving fragments of this scene is correct, we can note an alignment along the central vertical axis of the broken body of Christ crucified on the cross, the figure of Christ instituting the Sacrament at the Last Supper and the Eucharistic Body reserved in the tabernacle. The cycle opening with the Entry into Jerusalem, commemorated on Palm Sunday at the beginning of the Holy Week, would have resonated particularly well with the viewer's devotional experience during this time of the liturgical year.[489]

As already noted in Chapter 2, in connection with the Man of Sorrows on the western wall, a particular emphasis is given in the wall paintings to the blood of Christ. Depending on

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[485] On the consecration crosses, see Ileana Burnichioiu, "Cruci de consacrare medievale din Transilvania şi din vestul României" [Medieval consecration crosses in Transylvania and the Western part of Romania], *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica* 18, no. 1 (2014): 72.

[486] See Cat. No. 4., *Historical data*. It is possible, however, that not all altars standing in the church by the time of the execution of the murals appear in the sources.

[487] For the documentary mentions of the Corpus Christi altar, see Chapter 2.1.

[488] On the Eucharistic connotation of the Crucifixion, see Chapter 1.

[489] Cf. Plesch, *Painter and Priest,* 154, suggesting that the common choice to start Passion cycles with the episode of the Entry into Jerusalem already placed them within a liturgical framework.

the way of counting, medieval authors kept count of five to seven instances when Christ had shed his blood for the salvation of mankind.[490] Except for the Circumcision, foreshadowing the later bloodsheds of the Passion, all occasions are emphatically represented in the cycle. In the episode of the Agony in the Garden, Christ's forehead is covered with sweat, "as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground" (Lk 22, 44, Fig. 4.7). In the Crowning with thorns too, blood drops flow on Christ's face and neck, shed by the thorns.[491] The extent of blood shed dramatically increases in the following Flagellation scene, Christ's entire body being covered with bleeding, three-pointed scourge marks. Even compared to other contemporary representations, the final Crucifixion is an especially bloody rendering of the theme. The body of Christ now displays in a cumulative way the marks of all bloodsheds suffered during the Passion: in addition to the blood dripping on his forehead below the crown of thorns, and the marks of the previously endured Scourging, blood is flowing abundantly from his five fresh wounds (Figs. 2.7, 4.21). The large-size nails and the lance, with its head thrust almost halfway into Christ's side, cause blood to spurt from these wounds radially in all directions, and flow in gigantic drops along the upper arms and down to the ground.[492]

Apart from the Passion cycle, only traces of the original decoration program survive. The connection between the Passion scenes and the Man of Sorrows with the *arma Christi* on the adjacent wall (Fig. 2.1) has been discussed in Chapter 2. Such an association of a Passion cycle with the atemporal image of the Suffering Saviour, comprising in itself the totality of the Passion in an abbreviated form, seems typical for the period. An analogous association can be observed in the Passion diptych from Churburg, South Tyrol mentioned above (c. 1410–1420), where the Man of Sorrows with the *arma Christi* on the outer side of one of the wings similarly serves as a summary of the twelve Passion scenes painted in the inner sides.[493]

To the right of the window on the southern wall a Last Judgement composition survives, with the figure of Christ enthroned in a mandorla, flanked by the Virgin Mary and probably

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[490] At the Circumcision, on the Mount of Olives, during the Flagellation and Crowning with thorns (the latter not counted by Jacobus de Voragine), through the nailing to the Cross (the nailing of the hands and feet sometimes counted separately) and the piercing of Christ's side with the lance, see Ringbom, *Icon to* narrative, 83–84; John C. Hirsh, *The Boundaries of Faith: The Development and Transmission of Medieval Spirituality*. Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, vol. 67 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 99.

[491] Although the face of Christ, especially the area of the eyes, was significantly retouched in this scene, the drops of blood appear similarly in the watercolour copy and the photo taken before the restoration.

[492] A comparison with the watercolour copy and the photo taken before the 1942 restoration suggests that the rendering of the blood largely corresponds to the original conception, with the pattern of scourge marks being completed or emphasized at certain parts of the body (such as the legs or the upper part of the chest), where it was not, or only faintly visible before the restoration, and with rendering the drops of blood outlined against the translucent loincloth more dramatic.

[493] Zimmermann, *Schmerzensmann*, 217–218. Paul Naredi-Rainer and Lukas Madersbacher, *Kunst in Tirol*, vol. 1 (Innsbruck–Wien: Tyrolia, 2007), 335.

Saint John the Baptist (Fig. 4.23). In contrast to monumental depictions of the theme common in late medieval mural painting, the composition seems to be reduced here to the central Deesis motif.[494] The Last Judgement appears in a similarly abbreviated form, on a wall surface of even narrower proportions on the inner side of one of the arches separating the northern aisle and the nave in the Saint Margaret's church in Mediaș (Fig. 4.24).[495] Featured in a comparable, fully symmetrical posture, Christ is raising here both of his hands to exhibit the wounds on his palms, which are emphatically depicted, still bleeding, similarly to the wounds on his side and feet. While the wounds of Christ are now hardly visible in Cluj, a similar emphasis was probably laid on them as in Mediaș, corresponding to the late medieval iconography of the theme.

This concise way of representation was otherwise more characteristic for book illumination in the period; a relatively close analogy can be found in a manuscript prepared for the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Nuremberg (c. 1410–1420, Fig. 4.25), similarly featuring Christ clad in a red robe with green lining, the two red swords, and the two trumpet-blowing angels. (In the mural, both angel figures are confined to the upper left corner due to the irregular shape of the composition, the start of the vault taking up most space in the upper right corner.)

Instead of an exhortative representation of the Judgement with a suggestive depiction of its positive and negative outcomes, the composition is focused on the figure of the Judge and the two intercessors, likely deemed as most important for the purposes of the commissioners. The murals provide yet another instance[496] of the interconnection of themes related to the Passion and the Eucharist with Eschatological imagery. The *ostentatio vulnerum* at the Last Judgement – just as in the representation of the Man of Sorrows on the western wall – might have been understood as an accusation as well as a reason for hope, considering that Christ endured the tortures and death (pictured on the opposite wall) with the purpose of the salvation of mankind. A concern for the salvation of the soul was probably one of the major motivations for the founding of the chapel and the masses celebrated at its altar, in which Christ's body and

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[494] The lower part of the scene does not survive; it may have included the figures of the resurrected emerging from their tombs, as some representations of this abbreviated type.

[495] On this composition, see Vasile Drăguț, "Picturile murale de la Mediaș: o importantă recuperare pentru istoria artei transilvănene" [The Mural Paintings from Mediaș: An Important Recovery for the History of Transylvanian Art], *Revista muzeelor și monumentelor - Seria Monumente istorice și de artă* 14 (1976): 21. The Last Judgement is divided here between the eastern and western sides of the arch, with a depiction of Christ in Majesty and Saint Michael weighing the souls, flanked by Saints Peter and Paul on the eastern side, and the interceding Saint John the Baptist and the Virgin Mary on the opposite side, above a further fragmentary representation probably also belonging to the Last Judgement.

[496] A similar association was noted in connection with a Crucifixion scene in the former church of the Dominican Nunnery in Sibiu (Chapter 1.5) and the representations of Veronica's veil in Sighișoara and Biertan (Chapter 3).

blood was offered to God the Father *for the benefit of all those present and all Christians living and dead, to avail them to salvation in eternal life.*[497]

4.2. Passion cycles in a liturgical context: general patterns

In addition to the ensemble in the Saint Michael's church in Cluj, three more Passion cycles survive from the Late Gothic period, and three further cycles can be at least partly reconstructed based on fragments or watercolour copies. Of these six examples, the Passion scenes on the eastern wall of the tower base in the Saint Nicholas church in Sighișoara placed over the arch serving as the entrance to the nave are unlikely to have been connected to an altar and are therefore not included in the analysis.[498]

In order to examine common patterns, all Passion cycles surviving in a Eucharistic context, and evidence on lost ones, will be briefly surveyed, with more space allotted to ensembles, which are not included in the catalogue due to their fragmentary state, or because they are no more extant.

In Râșnov, a Passion cycle of ten scenes decorates the northern chancel wall, dated by the year 1500 painted on the episode of the Entombment (Fig. 4.26).[499] In both wall sections, a larger composition fills the lunette of the sexpartite vault, followed below by four rectangular scenes in two registers, each half the width of the larger scene. The narrative starts with the Last Supper in the lunette of the western section, followed by four episodes in the lower registers, today in a fragmentary state:[500] the Agony in the Garden, one of Christ's Judgements,[501] the Flagellation and the Crowning with Thorns. In the eastern section, a many-figure Crucifixion fills the lunette-shaped upper register, with the episodes of the Carrying of the Cross, Descent from the Cross, Entombment and Resurrection painted below.

Two similarly positioned Passion scenes are preserved in the parish church of Ionești (Homoródjánosfalva). In the second and third lunettes (counted from the west) on the northern chancel wall, the episodes of the Agony in the Garden and of Christ before Pilate were painted

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[497] As expressed in the words of the *Suscipe* prayer: *Suscipe, sancte Pater, omnipotens, aeterne Deus, hanc immaculatam hostiam: quam ego, indignus famulus tuus offero tibi, Deo meo vivo et vero: pro innumerabilibus peccatis et offensis: et negligentiis meis: et pro omnibus circumstantibus: sed et pro omnibus Christianis vivis atque defunctis: ut mihi et illis proficiat ad salutem in vitam aeternam. Amen.*

[498] Based on the surviving parts, it also seems there was no attempt to narrate the entire Passion story; the two pairs of imitated panels detail instead the episodes of torture and humiliation from the Flagellation to the representation of Christ being stripped of his cloth, with the presumable aim to evoke compassion in the believer entering the church. On these wall paintings, see Jenei, *Sighișoara*, 117–118 and Sarkadi Nagy, *Összefüggések*, 339–345.

[499] For a detailed analysis of the cycle, see Jenei, *Râșnov*.

[500] See Cat. No. 10 for a description.

[501] This scene was previously described as an *Ecce Homo*. For a reconsideration of this identification, see Cat. No. 11, "Description".

in 1522, based on the date recorded on the second scene (Fig. 4.27). The same date appears on one of the corbels as well, suggesting that the wall painting decoration was carried out at the same time as the Late Gothic reconstruction of the chancel.[502] It seems likely that the two scenes originally formed part of a more extensive cycle, possibly beginning with the Entry into Jerusalem or the Last Supper usually preceding the Agony in the Garden in the first lunette, and continuing with the episodes of Christ's torments following his Judgement and his death on the Cross. Both in Râșnov and in Ionești the Passion cycle in the chancel is the only known part of the medieval wall painting decoration of the church interior.

A wall painting fragment on the northern chancel wall of the parish church in Meșendorf (Mese, Meschendorf) suggests that scenes from the Passion might have been depicted here as well. Between the sacristy portal and the sacrament niche, a portion of a row of painted curtains adorned with stencilled patterns can be seen, hanged on an imitated stone moulding (Fig. 4.28).[503] Although apparently of better quality and more convincing in its trompe l'oeil effect, the motif is comparable to the register of imitated curtains in the chancel of the parish church in Sighișoara and probably dates from the last decades of the fifteenth century.

Above the illusionistic stone moulding, only a small fragment survives of what had probably been a wide narrative scene (Fig. 4.29). To the left, the fragment of a wicker fence can be discerned in the foreground of the composition. To the right, against the background of a black terrain inhabited by green vegetation, the feet of a figure wearing yellow leather shoes and stepping in the direction of the fence can be seen, and a grey object with an irregular outline, possibly the lower part of a long dress (Fig. 4.30).

A similar use and positioning of a wicker fence can most commonly be found in representations of Christ on the Mount of Olives, where the garden of Gethsemane often appears as an enclosed area. The fragments to the right of the fence, suggesting an outdoor scene with several figures and some kind of movement, are well compatible with a tentative identification as the Arrest of Christ, the episode usually following the Prayer on the Mount of Olives. In support of this hypothesis, the Passion cycle decorating the northern chancel wall in Mălâncrav (Almakerék, Malmkrog) dating from the beginning of the fifteenth century is worth citing, where the two consecutive episodes are similarly combined into a single composition, with only the fence in the foreground and the steep rock on which Christ is kneeling acting as

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[502] On these wall paintings, see Lángi and Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek,* vol. 2, 43; Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek*, 120–128.

[503] The only art historical publication of this fragment is in a survey of medieval consecration crosses in Transylvanian churches by Ileana Burnichioiu, see idem, *Cruci de consacrare*, 59, 82, with a dating to the second half of the fifteenth century.

a visual division (Fig. 4.31).

In addition to the extant cycles and fragments, two more wall painting ensembles containing scenes from the Passion are known today from copies and archival photos.

The wall paintings decorating the chancel of the parish church in Suseni (Marosfelfalu), now largely destroyed, were revealed in 1908 and documented through a set of watercolour copies and photographs.[504] On the northern chancel wall, a many-figure Crucifixion was painted (Fig. 4.32), followed by the Descent from the Cross and the Ascension in the conch of the apse (Figs. 4.33, 4.34).[505] Above both last scenes, in the middle of the apse vault, the figure of Christ as Judge enthroned in a mandorla appeared. On his right, a trumpet blowing angel and the figure of the interceding Virgin Mary can be seen in the watercolour copy; as a pendant to the Virgin Mary, Saint John the Baptist might have been painted on Christ's left, this part of the composition was however destroyed by the time of the completion of the copy.

In addition to the scenes of the Passion and the Last Judgement, the iconographic program of the chancel contained representations evoking the Incarnation (possibly the Annunciation on the eastern side of the chancel arch,[506] the Adoration of the Magi, and a virgin with a unicorn on the southern wall[507]), representations of saints,[508] and the apostles with versets from the Creed in the lower register. Although the watercolour copies offer a limited scope for stylistic analysis, it seems probable that the ensemble dates from the last decades of the fifteenth century.[509]

Watercolour copies made by József Huszka in 1883 in the subsequently demolished parish church in Mărtiniș (Homoródszentmárton, Sankt Marten) suggest that here too an

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[504] The watercolour copies by Lajos Jámbor are preserved in the Plan Collection of the Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Center, inv. nos. FM 351–354 and FM 471–475. They were published in Mihály Jánó, "A marosfelfalui alku" [The negotiation in Marosfelfalu], *Műemlékvédelem,* 57, no. 2 (2013): Figs. 6–15 and Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek*, 199–213.

[505] On this wall painting ensemble, see: Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek,* 190–213; Jánó, *A marosfelfalui alku*, 71–105; Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Még egyszer a marosfelfalui falképekről" [Once more on the wall paintings in Marosfelfalu]; I thank the author of this study for sharing his unpublished manuscript with me.

[506] See Szakács, *Marosfelfalu*, 2, for a hypothetical identification. The scene was apparently in a fragmentary state by the time of the preparation of the watercolour copy.

[507] Ibid.; Jánó, *A marosfelfalui alku*, 97–99.

[508] Saint Catherine and Barbara on the chancel side of the triumphal arch; Saint Lawrence, and probably Saint Stephen on the southern wall, see Jánó, *A marosfelfalui alku*, 99; Szakács, *Marosfelfalu*, 3–4.

[509] Zsombor Jékely and Lóránd Kiss tentatively date the wall paintings to the first half of the fifteenth century, see Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek*, 191. Mihály Jánó, while offering a more general dating to the fifteenth century, suggests that the ensemble might be closely contemporary with the Calvary altarpiece of Hronský Beňadik (Garamszentbenedek, 1427), see Jánó, *A marosfelfalui alku*, 97, 100. Based on an examination of folds, Béla Zsolt Szakács proposes a dating to the last third of the fifteenth century, see Szakács, *Marosfelfalu*, 4. Motifs such as the elaborate cityscape in the background of the Crucifixion, or the illusionistic frames of the compositions reminiscent in their design of those in Biertan and Sighișoara seem to confirm this later dating.

extensive program including Passion scenes once decorated the chancel (Figs. 4.35, 4.36).[510] Lines of demarcation on the copies suggest two different layers of wall painting, also distinguished by Géza Nagy in a report published shortly after the recovery of the murals.[511] The earlier layer probably included a monumental figure of Saint Christopher in the second lunette counted from the west on the northern wall and the figure of Saint Michael weighing the souls and another figure beside him on the southern wall.[512] The Procession of the Blessed into Paradise half covering the two latter figures and a representation of Hell on the southern wall, as well as the Crucifixion in the third lunette on the northern wall and the Entombment on the north-eastern wall of the apse, probably belonged to the more recent layer. In the second lunette of the northern wall, to the right of the figure of Saint Christopher, a fragment belonging to the same layer as the Crucifixion, comparable also in its colour scheme, is indicated in the watercolour copy.[513] It is possible that an episode of the Passion preceding the Crucifixion was depicted here, later detached probably due to the more fragile technique of execution characteristic for the Late Gothic period.

Again, the copies do not allow a firm dating based on stylistic traits. The compositions of the more recent layer are adapted to the lunettes of the vault, and are probably contemporary with the Late Gothic reconstruction of the chancel, datable to around 1490–1510.[514] The approximate dating suggested by Zsombor Jékely and Lóránd Kiss around the beginning of the sixteenth century seems plausible.[515]

Based even on such a fragmentary body of evidence, it can be observed that Passion cycles were a recurring element of chancel decorations. Moreover, the fact that with the exception of the Passion scenes in Sighișoara, all surviving cycles were in a spatial relationship

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[510] On the revealing and copying of the wall paintings in Mărtiniș by József Huszka, see Jánó, *Színek és legendák*, 83, 91–95. For a brief discussion of the Late Gothic phase of the decoration as an analogy for the wall paintings in Ionești, see Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek*, 120. A colour reproduction of the watercolour copies can be found in both studies.

[511] [Géza Nagy], "A homoród-szentmártoni falfestmények" [The wall paintings in Mărtiniș], *Nemere*, 13. no. 72 (1883): 287.

[512] Géza Nagy describes this fragment as earlier, coeval with the Saint Ladislaus cycle in the nave, cf. ibid.

[513] Géza Nagy also notes the presence of two layers here, suggesting that the later one is contemporary with the vault, see ibid.

[514] The roof structures above the analogous vaults in Dârjiu (Székelyderzs) were dated to, or shortly after, 1495 (chancel) and 1500 (nave) based on dendrochronological analysis, see István Botár, András Grynaeus, and Boglárka Tóth, "Dendrokronológiai vizsgálatok és építéstörténeti megfigyelések a székelyderzsi unitárius templom épületegyüttesében" [Dendrochronological analyses and observations on the architectural history of the building complex of the Unitarian church in Székelyderzs], *Transsylvania Nostra* 7 no. 2 (2013): 2–26. I thank Balázs Szőke for this observation. On both vaults, see Balázs Szőke, "A Wechselberger-Harperger motívum Délkelet-Erdély késő gótikus építészetében" [The Wechselberger-Harperger motif in the Late Gothic architecture of south-eastern Transylvania], in *Tanulmányok a székelység középkori és fejedelemség kori történelméből* [Studies on the history of the Szeklers from the Middle Ages to the Age of the Principality], ed. András Sófalvi and Zsolt Visi, 201–218 (Énlaka–Székelyudvarhely: Pro Énlaka Alapítvány–Haáz Rezső Múzeum), 2012.

[515] Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek*, 120.

with an altar – either through their placement in the chancel or in a chapel in the case of Cluj – suggests a predominantly sacramental understanding of the theme.

Although in the cases of Ioneşti and Meşendorf, where only two early episodes preceding the Crucifixion are known, the arrangement and extent of the cycle cannot be reconstructed, in general a concentration of the Passion cycles on the northern chancel wall can be noted. Uninterrupted by windows, the northern wall offered an ideal surface for a coherent visual narrative. Also, as Dana Jenei and Raluca Georgiana Cobuz have already pointed out in connection with Transylvanian examples, Passion cycles constituted a suitable visual environment for the sacrament niches located mostly on the northern chancel wall.[516]

These patterns do not present a rupture from previous tendencies. Passion cycles – or Christological cycles with an emphasis on Christ's Passion – were a characteristic component of chancel decorations already in the Sigismund period, with many examples known from various regions of the territory of medieval Hungary.[517] In Transylvania, two Passion cycles from the first half of the fifteenth century exemplify this trend. They are comparable to the later examples in several respects, including their placement on the northern chancel wall. In Mălâncrav (Almakerék, Malmkrog) the Passion is narrated in fifteen episodes from the Last Supper to the Ascension, as part of an elaborate program of chancel decoration dating from the beginning of the fifteenth century, including scenes of the life of the Virgin and Christ's Infancy, representations of the Evangelists and a large variety of saints.[518] Of comparable length is the cycle revealed in 2013–2014 in the chancel of the parish church in Curciu, depicting events of the Passion from the Entry into Jerusalem to the Resurrection and the Harrowing of Hell (the two latter scenes represented in an inverse chronological order), followed by three more fragmentary compositions possibly narrating episodes occurring after the Resurrection.[519]

In two other respects, however, an examination of the surviving Transylvanian material points to changing tendencies in the Late Gothic period. Firstly, narrative cycles of the life of

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[516] Jenei, *Râşnov,* 11, 26; Idem, *Pictura*, 98; Cobuz, *Curciu*, 216.

[517] Cf. Zsombor Jékely, "Painted Chancels in Parish Churches – Aristocratic Patronage in Hungary during the Reign of King Sigismund (1387–1437)", in *Hungary in Context. Studies on Art and Architecture*, ed. Anna Tüskés, Áron Tóth, and Miklós Székely (Budapest: CentrArt, 2013), 52; Examples include the wall painting decoration of the chancels in Gecefalva (Kocel'ovce), Ochtiná (Martonháza), Kyjatice (Kiéte), Turňa nad Bodvou (Torna), Ludrová (Ludrófalva) and Poniky (Pónik) in Upper Hungary, in Вишково (Visk) today in Ukraine, and in the Franciscan church of Keszthely.

[518] For a detailed analysis of this Passion cycle, see Anca Gogâltan, "Passion iconography and narrative strategies in the medieval frescoes decorating the church in Mălâncrav (Almakerék, Malmkrog) in Transylvania," in *New Europe College GE-NEC Program 2003–2004/2004–2005/2006–2007*, ed. Irina Vainovski-Mihai (Bucharest: New Europe College, 2010), 103–152. For a recent study of the whole ensemble, see Dana Jenei, "Les peintures murales de l'église de Mălâncrav. Notes avant la restauration," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts* 52 (2015): 47–76.

[519] See Cobuz, *Curciu*, 209–225.

saints (such as Saint Ladislaus or Saint Catherine) or the life of the Virgin Mary and the Infancy of Christ, popular up to the International Gothic, seem to have lost their appeal from the middle decades of the fifteenth century onwards,[520] with Christ's Passion being the only narrative represented as a cycle in the Late Gothic. When hagiographical events are depicted, these are now usually restricted to one important episode of the vita (often the martyrdom),[521] or a maximum of two.[522] Of the life of the Virgin Mary and Christ, besides the Passion, a focus on the episodes relating to the Incarnation (the Annunciation and the Adoration of the Magi) can be observed, represented again in one or a maximum of two scenes,[523] with no examples of a full-fledged cycle known.

Secondly, while in the fourteenth century and the first decades of the fifteenth century Passion scenes were painted in the nave at least as often as in the chancel,[524] the concentration of Passion cycles in the chancel in the Late Gothic period also presents a change.[525]

These patterns would suggest a growing significance of the Passion in the Late Gothic period on the one hand, and an increasing association with the sacrifice performed at the altar on the other. Such general observations based on our current picture of the Transylvanian material affected by the randomness of survival are certainly prone to be refined by future discoveries of wall paintings. It is also worth noting that the pattern to decorate nave walls with extensive Passion narratives aimed at a lay audience and without an evident spatial connection to an altar remained prevalent in other regions throughout the Late Gothic.[526] From the territory of Medieval Hungary, the Passion cycles in Nagyar (north-eastern Hungary) and Strážky (Nagyőr, today Slovakia), both datable to around 1500, can be mentioned.[527]

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[520] Jenei, *Thèmes iconographiques*, 12; Wehli, *Tematikai és ikonográfiai jelenségek*, 193–195.
[521] E.g. the Martyrdom of Saint Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins (Daia, Sibiu, former church of the Dominican Nunnery); the Maryrdom of the Ten Thousand (Sibiu, former church of the Dominican Nunnery; Boia); the Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus in Sighișoara.
[522] E.g. the two-episode representation of the legend of Saint George in Sighișoara (in a single frame).
[523] E.g. Biertan (Annunciation and the Adoration of the Magi); Suseni (Annunciation (?), Adoration of the Magi); Bădești (Annunciation), Brateiu (Adoration of the Magi).
[524] Transylvanian examples of Passion cycles in the nave include the ones in Ghelința (Gelence), Chilieni (Kilyén) and Mălâncrav from the fourteenth century and those in Vlaha (Magyarfenes), Viștea (Magyarvista, now under whitewash), and Mediaș (Medgyes, Mediasch) dating from around 1400 or the first decades of the fifteenth century.
[525] While there are Late Gothic examples of single images evoking Christ's sufferings on the nave walls, in none of the surviving cases is there an indication that these were part of a Passion cycle. Examples include a representation of the Sunday Christ on the northern nave wall in Bădești, a Pietà combined with the representation of Saint Sophia and her three daughters in the northern aisle in Mediaș, and an image of Christ on the Cold Stone in Sântimbru. In Ocna Sibiului (Vizakna), the rare episode of Christ taking leave of his mother was painted on the northern wall of the nave; we do not know if it was a single scene or part of a larger cycle; in case it was part of a larger narrative, this may have been focused on the life of the Virgin as well, to whom the church was dedicated.
[526] Jürgen Michler, *Gotische Wandmalerei am Bodensee* (Friedrichshafen: Robert Gessler, 1992), 128; Justin E. A Kroesen and Regnerus Steensma, *The Interior of the Medieval Village Church* (Louvain: Peeters, 2012), 34.
[527] Zsombor Jékely, "Nagyar, református templom" [Nagyar, Calvinist church], in *Középkori egyházi építészet*

As noted above, Passion cycles typically decorating the northern chancel wall were often in a spatial connection with the sacrament niche. In some cases – as in Meșendorf and Ionești – the exact nature of this relationship cannot be examined, as, though the sacrament niches are preserved on the northern wall, the section of the wall painting decoration immediately around or above the niche does not survive or is not revealed. In turn, in Râșnov, while the Passion cycle covering the northern wall more extensively survives, no sacrament niche is visible today in the chancel. Dana Jenei has suggested that the epitaph of parish priest Lukas Colb (died in 1753) installed on the level of the lower wall painting register, below the start of the vault rib dividing the northern wall into two sections, marks the place of the medieval tabernacle (Fig. 4.26).[528] This position, however, well above the upper cornice of the sacristy portal, would be unusually high for a sacrament niche.

In cases where a more fortunate state of preservation enables a study of the relationship between the Passion cycles and the sacrament niches, various solutions can be observed. Worth noting from among the earlier examples is the case of Mălâncrav, where the narrative flow of the cycle is interrupted between the episodes of the Resurrection and the Noli me tangere with the separately framed figure of the Man of Sorrows with a chalice, painted above the sculpted baldachin of the sacrament niche (Fig. 4.37).[529] As previously detailed, the entire Passion cycle served as a decoration of the sacrament niche (and possibly of the altar) in the southern tower base of the Saint Michael's church in Cluj, with two scenes with strong Eucharistic associations, the Last Supper, and the large-size Crucifixion concluding the cycle, placed along the central vertical axis above the niche.

A particular case of the integration of a sacrament niche decoration into a Passion cycle is documented in the watercolour copies of the wall paintings in Suseni. Here, in the left part of the Descent from the cross once decorating the northern side of the apse vault, a painted architectural structure crowned by a spire and two pinnacles adorned with crockets and finials can be seen (Fig. 4.33). As Dana Jenei and Béla Zsolt Szakács have pointed out, this structure – already to a great extent destroyed at the time of the preparation of the watercolour copy, with only its upper part visible – most likely formed part of the illusionistic decoration of the sacrament niche located below it.[530] The decoration of sacrament niches with similar, or even

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Szatmárban. Középkori templomok útja Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg és Szatmár megyékben [Medieval ecclesiastical architecture in Szatmár. The Route of Medieval Churches in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg and Szatmár counties], ed. Tibor Kollár (Nyíregyháza: Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Önkormányzat, 2011), 380–382.

[528] Jenei, *Râșnov*, 11, 26.

[529] Gogâltan, *Passion iconography*, 110.

[530] Jenei, *Râșnov*, 27; Szakács, *Marosfelfalu*, 2.

more elaborate, structures of imitated microarchitecture often evoking contemporary sacrament houses was common in the Late Gothic period.[531] In Transylvania, an imitated architectural ornament of a more modest design is known to have decorated until recently the sacrament niche in the parish church of Jelna (Kiszsolna, Senndorf).[532] In Ghelința (Gelence) a Renaissance style architectural frame encloses the sacrament niche, complementing its sculpted decoration.[533]

In addition to visually highlighting the sacrament niche, the illusionistic architectural structure seems to have been compositionally and semantically linked to the Deposition scene as well. To the right of the now empty cross symmetrically dividing the composition, the open sarcophagus can be seen, with the tomb slab propped against its wall at an angle, anticipating the Entombment, and possibly the Resurrection,[534] as a narrative link to the subsequent episode of the Ascension. The imitated architecture of the tabernacle forms a compositional pendant to the tomb, analogous in its materiality and colour (red stone) as well as functionality as a repository of the body of Christ.

The episode of the Deposition centred on the broken body of Christ being lowered from the cross, wrapped in a white linen cloth, and handled with utmost care, affection and devotion, had a strong potential to express a Eucharistic meaning.[535] Such a sacramental interpretation of the episode was reflected in medieval theological and devotional works as well. In his Vita Christi, Ludolph of Saxony has likened the faithful receiving the body of Christ in the Communion to those who took him down from the Cross, remarking that it was a greater thing to receive him from the altar proper (ara altaris) than from the altar of the cross (ara crucis), "for those who did the latter received him in their arms and hands, while the former receive him in their mouths and hearts."[536] According to some interpretations of the mass equating ritual acts with specific episodes of the Passion, the Deposition and Entombment of Christ were re-enacted at the Elevation at the end of the canon, with the celebrant representing Nicodemus, the deacon Joseph of Arimathea and the altar symbolizing the tomb of Christ.[537]

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[531] See Timmermann, *Real Presence*, 212–219.
[532] German, *Sakramentsnischen*, 150, 254–255, fig. 196; Szilárd Papp, "A gyarapodás és enyészet útján: Kiszsolna középkori plébániatemploma" [Through growth and decay. The medieval parish church of Kiszsolna], 2016, 5, fig. 7. (Available online at: http://muemlekvedo.hu/, last accessed March 2020).
[533] German, *Sakramentsnischen*, 190–191, with further literature.
[534] Cf. Szakács, *Marosfelfalu*, 2.
[535] See also Lane, *The Altar and the Altarpiece*, 90–91.
[536] Hans Belting, *The Image and Its Public: Form and Function of Early Passion Paintings* (New Rochelle, *NY:* Aristide d Caratzas, 1990), 70.
[537] Thomas M. Izbicki, *The Eucharist in Medieval Canon Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 111–112; O. B. Hardison, Jr., *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages: Essays in the Origin and*

Such sacramental connotations were probably reinforced in this case by the association with the tabernacle. In turn, in the context of the Deposition, and through its setting in parallel with the tomb about to accommodate the Body of Christ, the illusionistic sacrament house into which the consecrated host was placed after every mass might have been associated with the Holy Sepulchre. While research on liturgical equipment used for the re-enactment of Christ's Deposition and Entombment in the Good Friday liturgy has emphasized a functional distinction in most cases between the tabernacle and the place of burial within the depositio rite,[538] an association between the tabernacle and the tomb of Christ was prevalent on a symbolical level.[539] Most commonly, the decoration of tabernacles with representations of the Man of Sorrows emerging from his tomb suggested this connection.[540]

Besides their association with the sacrament niche, the placement of Passion cycles on the northern chancel wall also implied their position opposite the sedilia on the southern wall, offering a view of the Passion narrative for the officiating clergy during parts of the liturgy when they were customarily seated here.[541] From among the churches under discussion, a sedilia in the form of a wall niche in the southern wall survives in Curciu and in Râșnov, and was noted in a 1868 description of the church in Mărtiniș by Balázs Orbán.[542] A similar position of the seat for the celebrant and his assistants along the southern chancel wall can generally be presumed.

In addition to their placement within the liturgical space, the selection and disposition of the episodes, as well as the narrative emphases within Passion cycles seem to stress in some cases their relevance to the Eucharistic ritual.

A particular case of a conscious planning of the cycle's layout can be observed in Râșnov. As already noted by Dana Jenei,[543] here both episodes filling the wider lunette-shaped fields of the uppermost register have a particular sacramental resonance, the Last Supper

Early History of Modern Drama (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965), 70. Online edition: https://muse.jhu.edu/book/68457.

[538] Timermann, *Real Presence*, 274–278; Rózsa Juhos, "The sepulchre of Christ in arts and liturgy of the late middle ages," *Journal of Historical Archaeology & Anthropological Sciences* 3 no. 3 (2018): 349–357. doi: 10.15406/jhaas.2018.03.00103.

[539] Dobrzeniecki, *Imago Pietatis*, 18–20; Schlie, *Corpus Christi*, 173.

[540] Dobrzeniecki, *Imago Pietatis*, 18–20.

[541] Raluca Georgiana Cobuz noted this connection in the case of the Passion cycle in Curciu, see Cobuz, *Curciu,* 217. On the placement, use, and formal variety of medieval sedilia, see James Alexander Cameron, "Sedilia in Medieval England," Ph.D. dissertation (London: The Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2015); Kroesen and Steensma, *Village Church*, 149–173.

[542] Balázs Orbán, *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból* [Description of the Székely Land from a historical, archaeological, natural historical, and ethnographic point of view] (Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868), https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Tunderkert-tunderkert-1/a-szekelyfold-leirasa-14496/, accessed March 2020.

[543] Jenei, *Râșnov*, 11.

representing the moment of the institution of the Eucharist, the Crucifixion the sacrifice of the cross re-enacted in the sacrifice of the altar (Fig. 4.26).[544] In order to achieve this constellation, a departure was made from the chronological order by placing the Crucifixion before the episode of the Carrying of the Cross. The decision to start the cycle with the Last Supper – instead of the more common opening scene of the Entry into Jerusalem – also seems to be part of a deliberate design aimed at underscoring the significance of these two key events. The Calvary scene is highlighted through its larger size in Mălâncrav as well, encompassing two wall painting registers, and, as noted before, in Cluj, where it occupies the lunette-shaped field concluding the cycle.

The choice of scenes can be especially significant when the Passion cycle is less extensive. Such was the case in Suseni, where altogether three episodes – the Crucifixion, the Deposition with an implication of the Entombment and the Resurrection, and the Ascension – seem to have comprised the cycle. Within this concise narrative, an emphasis on events commemorated on Good Friday can be observed. In the same time, the whole sequence of events could have been seen as relevant to every mass sacrifice celebrated calling to mind the *blessed Passion* of Christ *and also his resurrection from the dead and his glorious ascension into heaven*, as expressed in the words of the *Unde et memores prayer*.[545]

The scenes of the apse vault below the image of the Judging Christ seem connected by the notion of a vertical movement – downwards in the case of the Deposition and upwards in the Ascension – and the idea of a communication between the heavenly and earthly sphere (Fig. 4.34). Noteworthy in this respect is the prominent motif of the ladder on the Deposition scene, stretching in a slightly curved arc across almost the entire height of the composition from the ground level towards the figure of the Judging Saviour represented in the field above. A general symbol of connection between heaven and earth, and of the ascent of the soul to God, the motif of the ladder was employed in the context of Passion devotion in texts as well as images to suggest the redemptive effect of Christ's sacrifice preparing the road to Heaven.[546] Such associations might have been especially plausible in the context of the following scene of the Ascension and the image of Christ in Majesty above. The imagery of the apse vault thus evoked in a suggestive and unique way the idea of a connection between the earthly and the celestial

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[544] A similar emphasis through larger size of the episodes of the Last Supper and the Crucifixion can be found in the above-mentioned Passion cycle in Strážky (Nagyőr).

[545] *Unde et memories, Domine, nos, tui servi: sed et plebs tua sancta eiusdem Christi, Filii tui: Dei et Domini nostri. Tam beatae passionis: nec non et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed et in caelos gloriosae ascensionis offerimus praeclarae maiestati tuae.*

[546] Eörsi, *Christ Mounting the Cross*, 151–155. See also Chapter 2.2.

sphere, which mass celebration was a major channel of. Together with the one or two episodes of the Incarnation, the Passion cycle and the Last Judgement could also have served as a suitable illustration to the text of the Apostle's Creed probably held by the figures of apostles in the lower register,[547] specifically to the second section dedicated to Christ, recounting his conception and birth, suffering, death, burial, resurrection, ascension and second coming with the scope *to judge the living and the dead*, in a sequence comparable to the selection of events represented on the chancel walls and vault.

Individual scenes within cycles follow in most cases iconographic and compositional patterns which were fairly widespread in the period. In only a few cases do we encounter solutions that are rare or unique. Besides the above analysed Deposition scene in Suseni, and the iconographic rarity of the Flagellation with the figure of highpriest Annas in Cluj, the scene of the Entombment in Mărtiniș deserves to be mentioned (Fig. 4.38). From what is recorded in the watercolour copy, it seems that, unlike in most compositions capturing the act of laying in the tomb, here the body of Christ already rests in a fully horizontal position, laid on a white linen. Striking is also the relatively large number of participants present: besides the woman at Christ's feet holding the corners of the textile, and possibly one more figure at his head,[548] seven more haloed figures are standing by the tomb, who, instead of assisting in the burial or displaying gestures of grief, are engaged in the adoration of Christ, with their hands folded in prayer.

While representations of the Entombment were generally well suited to convey a Eucharistic message, through the specific rendering of the theme with an emphasized focus on the display and adoration of the body of Christ, and through its placement in the near proximity of the altar, sacramental associations may have been particularly strong in this case. A connection between the central motifs of the image – tomb, shroud, the sacrificed Body of Christ – and the material equipment of the mass – altar, corporal, Host – would have been easily made; the group of devout worshippers epitomized ideal attitude towards the mystery of the Corpus Christi in general.

Although possibilities to examine the place of Passion cycles within the decoration programs are limited, in cases where the iconographic context is at least partly known, a pattern of an association of the Passion with the Last Judgement can be observed. An abbreviated form of the Last Judgement focused on the figure of Christ as Judge is painted on the wall opposite

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[547] Szakács, *Marosfelfalu*, 3.

[548] It is not clear based on the copy whether the face appearing above the head of Christ belongs to the ornamental border or to a figure standing here.

the Passion cycle in Cluj, and above the two Passion scenes of the apse vault in Suseni. The depictions of the Procession of the Blessed into Paradise and of Hell filling two lunettes on the southern chancel wall opposite the Passion scenes in Mărtiniș suggest a larger-scale representation of the Judgement combined with the Passion narrative. Through this association recurrent in the period,[549] the Passion is placed in the context of salvation history, implying the significance of Christ's sacrifice as the act that made salvation possible. As noted above, in Suseni, scenes of the Incarnation of Christ completed the recounting of soteriological events.

Particularly interesting is the case of Mărtiniș, where, according to the testimony of the copies, a new decoration program including Passion scenes and a depiction of the positive and negative outcomes of the Last Judgement was conceived around 1500 to replace an earlier one, of which the representations of Saint Christopher and Saint Michael weighing the souls can be identified, and which was possibly coeval with the fourteenth-century wall painting decoration of the nave.[550]

The documented parts of the earlier iconographic program also reveal a concern for salvation, with Saint Michael being a key actor of the Last Judgement and the daily vision of Saint Christopher acting as a guarantee against an unprepared death. Still, the new decoration must have been considered better fitting to contemporary devotional needs as well as to the available wall surfaces determined by the new vault. There is no trace in the watercolour copies of a similar attempt to replace the fourteenth century representations of the legends of Saint Ladislaus and Saint Margaret in the nave, even though these too were partially destroyed with the building of the Late Gothic vault.

4.3. Conclusion

Although the fragmentary nature of the evidence does not permit a comprehensive analysis, it can be noted that Passion cycles were a recurring component of chancel decorations in Transylvanian Late Gothic wall painting. While narratives of Christ's suffering and sacrifice inherently suited well the main liturgical function of the chancel, i.e. mass celebration, the design of the cycles was in several cases specially adapted to underscore Eucharistic meaning: through a connection to the sacrament niche, an emphasis of scenes with a particular sacramental significance, or specific compositional and iconographic solutions.

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[549] Examples include the Passion cycle in Strážky and Dürer's Small Passion, both having the Last Judgement as their final episode.
[550] Nagy, *A homoród-szentmártoni falfestmények*, 287.

Elements of the Passion story offered numerous points of connection to ritual and material aspects of the liturgy: events of the liturgical calendar, specific moments of the mass, liturgical furnishing such as the altar or the tabernacle, and, most importantly, the Corpus Christi in the centre of the ritual representation of the Passion. As a whole, Passion cycles decorating chancel walls may have underscored the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharistic liturgy, and, paired with the Last Judgement, could evoke the idea of salvation, a prospect, which was the ultimate purpose of mass celebration.

Chapter 5. Eucharistic references in the representations of saints[551]

Sacramental references in the representations of saints constitute an underexplored segment of the iconography of the Eucharist. The most comprehensive overview on the subject is a chapter in Maurice Vloberg's monograph on Eucharistic themes from 1946, listing and presenting sixteen saints from the pre-Tridentine period associated with the Eucharist in their iconography, mostly based on their special devotion to the Holy Sacrament.[552] In an introductory study to the catalogue of the exhibition accompanying the 1960 Eucharistic congress in Munich, Franz Dambeck examines the spread and typology of Eucharistic attributes. He argues that although the equipment of a saint with a chalice and a host, a monstrance, or a ciborium is never meant as a generic attribute suggesting priestly profession, but is always based on a specific episode of the *vita,* the actual reason behind this iconographic choice is the promotion of the eucharistic cult through the example of the saints.[553] Analysing the decoration programs of sacrament houses, Achim Timmermann introduces the concept of typology to account for the presence of saints on tabernacles, arguing that symmetrically to Old Testament prefigurations of Christ, the saints, whose life was modelled on that of Christ, can be conceived as His postfigurations. In his view, cases where the actions, miracles, or intercessory powers of a saint are associated with the Eucharist can also be interpreted as typological analogies.[554] In a study similarly concerned with analogies between hagiographical narratives and the life of Christ, but focused on the episodes of torture and death, Daria Dittmeyer maintains that in some cases Eucharistic symbolism was used when drawing a parallel between the martyrdom of a saint and Christ's death on the cross, both in hagiographical texts and in images. For the latter, the author gives examples of fifteenth-century representations of the martyrdom of Saint John the Baptist and that of Achatius and the Ten Thousand Martyrs.[555]

As these studies of Eucharistic motifs in the iconography of the saints suggest, while some saints – like Saint Barbara or Saint Claire of Assisi – recur in most surveys, there is no

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[551] An earlier version of this chapter was published as an article: "Eucharistic References in the Representations of Saints: A Case Study of Late Gothic Wall Paintings in Transylvania," *Acta Historiae Artium* (2017): 85–113.
[552] Vloberg, *L'eucharistie*, 255–269.
[553] Franz Dambeck, "Eucharistische Heiligenattribute," in *Eucharistia: deutsche eucharistische Kunst. Offizielle Ausstellung zum Eucharistischen Weltkongress,* ed. Gislind M. Ritz (München: Schnell und Steiner, 1960), 25–28.
[554] Timmermann, *Real Presence*, 303–307.
[555] Daria Dittmeyer, *Gewalt und Heil: Bildliche Inszenierungen von Passion und Martyrium im späten Mittelalter* (Köln: Böhlau, 2014), 142–145.

easily definable category of "Eucharistic saints." Neither was there a single pattern for how a saint came to be associated with the Holy Sacrament, as the reasons could range from the saint's own fervent Eucharistic devotion through miraculous actions or posthumous intercessory powers related to the Sacrament to details of their suffering and death evoking Christ's body on the cross, identical with the consecrated bread and wine of the Eucharist.

Through a selection of images of saints in a spatial connection to an altar, in this chapter I seek to answer the question to what extent and how can hagiographical representations primarily associated with the cult of saints convey a message related to the Eucharistic cult.

5.1. Boian (Alsóbajom, Bonnesdorf), parish church

On the northern chancel wall of the parish church in Boian two fragmentary scenes datable to around 1500 survive. In the lower tier, a hexagonal architectural structure fills about three quarters of the composition, under which the figures of Saint Sophia and her three daughters appear (Fig. 5.1). To the right of the building, against the background of a green hill, a monastic saint is standing (Fig. 5.2). His face is destroyed, the lower part of his fragmentary figure is not revealed. A halo encircles his tonsured head, he is grey-haired and bearded. He is wearing a dark brown monastic gown, and a white habit underneath fastened with a black belt. He is holding an open book in his right hand and a staff in his left, while pointing to the book with his index finger. Although the ending of his staff is partly destroyed, the remaining outlines suggest that it was T-shaped. From the upper right corner of the scene, a black bird comes flying in the sky, bringing nourishment to the saint in its beak.

The saint has been identified as either Saint Anthony the Great[556] or Saint Paul the Hermit.[557] Although, according to his legend, Saint Paul the Hermit wore *a garment of palm-leaves stitched together*,[558] and the monastic attire the saint is wearing, and his attributes are typical for Saint Anthony's iconography,[559] Saint Paul was sometimes represented similarly to Saint Anthony, in a monastic habit, holding a T-staff or a book.[560] The motif of the raven

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[556] Lángi and Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek*, vol. 2, 8–9.

[557] German, *Sakramentsnischen*, 174; Jenei, *Thèmes iconographiques*, 31–32.

[558] Jerome, "The Life of Paulus the First Hermit", in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Second series*, Fremantle, W. H., trans. (T&T Clark: Edinburgh, 1892), vol. 6, 699. Saint Paul is represented in a robe woven of palm leaves for instance in the altarpiece of Saint Anthony from Spišská Sobota (Szepesszombat, Slovakia), c. 1503–1505, or in the Isenheim altarpiece by Matthias Grünewald (1512–1516).

[559] LCI, vol 5, 207–210.

[560] While in some representations of the meeting of the two saints his robe made of palm leaves differentiates Saint Paul from Saint Anthony, the two saints are often wearing the same monastic habit and cannot be differentiated from each other by their appearance (for instance in the wall painting cycle in Dravce (Szepesdaróc, Slovakia). In a wall painting decorating the triumphal arch in Martijanci (Mártonhely, Slovenia), Saint Paul the Hermit is

bringing bread is taken from an episode of the life of Saint Paul the Hermit. With the occasion of Saint Anthony's visit, as a bird brings them a loaf of bread for a meal, Paul explains to his amazed guest that God has been feeding him in this way for sixty years.[561] The raven with bread in its beak appears either in narrative scenes depicting the meeting of the two saints, an episode often included in Saint Anthony cycles, or as an attribute of Saint Paul the Hermit, but is not among the known attributes of Saint Anthony.

In this way, an identification of the saint as Saint Paul the Hermit seems more convincing. As opposed to Saint Anthony the Great, who appears in a number of Transylvanian altarpieces and wall paintings,[562] single representations of Saint Paul the Hermit are rarer.[563] In the same time, Saint Paul the Hermit had a significant cult in late medieval Hungary, centred around his relics acquired in 1381 from Venice and kept in the monastery of Budaszentlőrinc – the centre of the Pauline order – which had become a pilgrimage place of national importance.[564] The order named after the saint was also one of the most popular monastic communities, with around seventy-five monasteries in the Hungarian Kingdom by the end of the fifteenth century. One of these, the monastery of Pókafalva (Păuca, Törnen) founded in 1416 by Ladislaus, Provost of Sibiu, was situated not far from Boian; however, it was destroyed during Ottoman attacks in the middle of the fifteenth century.[565]

The detail of the raven bringing bread to feed the saint deserves attention for several reasons (Fig. 5.3). According to his legend, Saint Paul received half a loaf of bread each day

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wearing a grey monastic vestment and is holding an open book in his hands, similarly to the representation in Boian.

[561] *The Life of Paulus,* 699; Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend,* William Granger Ryan, trans. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012)*,* 85.

[562] In the altarpiece in Băgaciu (Szászbogács, Bogeschdorf) and that from Cisnădie (Nagydisznód, Heltau), as well as in the wall paintings in Dârjiu (Székelyderzs) and Alțâna (Alcina, Alzen). See Firea, *Polipticele medievale,* 133–135, 172–175; Emese Sarkadi Nagy, "Despre un retablu aproape pierdut" [On a nearly lost retable], in *Studii de istoria artei. Volum omagial dedicat profesorului Nicolae Sabău* [Art historical studies. Hommage volume dedicated to professor Nicolae Sabău], ed. Vlad Țoca, Bogdan Iacob, Zsolt Kovács, and Attila Weisz (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2013), 68, and Anna Kónya, "Ikonográfiai összefüggések az alcinai templom falképein" [Iconographic interconnections in the wall paintings of the parish church in Alcina], in *Kóstolni a szép-tudományba – Tanulmányok a Fiatal Művészettörténészek IV. Konferenciájának előadásaiból* [Proceedings of the 4th conference of young art historians], ed. Miklós Székely (Budapest: Centrart Egyesület, 2014), 54.

[563] The episode of the saint being fed by a raven was depicted on one of the wings of the altarpiece of Saint John the Baptist from Cisnădie (now in private collection), see Sarkadi Nagy, *Despre un retablu,* 68. A hermit saint in the altarpiece from Bruiu (Brulya, Braller) described previously as Saint Paul the Hermit has been reidentified as Saint Onuphrius by Emese Sarkadi Nagy (idem, *Altarpieces,* 155). At the same time, the saint is represented in an altarpiece panel of the meeting of Saint Paul and Saint Anthony from Movile (Százhalom, Hundertbücheln), c. 1520, see Firea, *Polipticele medievale,* 239–241.

[564] Éva Knapp, "Remete Szent Pál csodái" [The miracles of Saint Paul the Hermit], in *"Mert ezt Isten hagyta...": Tanulmányok a népi vallásosság köréből* ["For God let this happen": Studies on popular religion], ed. Gábor Tüskés (Budapest: Magvető, 1986), 118–122, 155.

[565] Adrian Andrei Rusu, ed., *Dicționarul mănăstirilor din Transilvania, Banat, Crișana și Maramureș* [Dictionary of the monasteries in Transylvania, Banat, Crișana, and Maramureș] (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară, 2000), 203–204.

during the sixty years of his retreat in the desert, the portion being doubled at the occasion of Saint Anthony's visit.[566] In representations of the meeting of the two saints the bird carries either an undivided round bread or a loaf formed of two halves, following the text of the Golden Legend.[567] This motif is in most cases depicted similarly – if somewhat inconsequently – in the alone standing representations of Saint Paul the Hermit. On a fifteenth-century keystone possibly originating from the Pauline monastery of Budaszentlőrinc, consistently with the text of the legend, the saint receives a half bread.[568] In the representation in Boian however, the disk-shaped object in the bird's beak resembles not so much a loaf of bread, as a host wafer.

The model for this episode of Saint Paul's legend was the Old Testament story of prophet Elijah, which Jerome used as a source of inspiration for his *Vita Pauli*.[569] The passage of the prophet being fed with bread by ravens in the desert (1 Kings 17,6) has generally been interpreted as a prefiguration of the Eucharist.[570]

The meal consumed by Saint Paul and Anthony also resembles a communion in some respects, in fact, the last communion of Saint Paul before his death. Before eating it, the two saints break the bread sent from heaven, then drink from a spring, *offering to God the sacrifice of praise (lat.: sacrificium laudis),* a phrase familiar from the Eucharistic prayer of the Canon of the Mass. Shortly thereafter, Saint Paul attains in his death the union with Christ that he has always longed for.[571]

Accordingly, depending on its iconography and the context of its placement, the representation of the meeting of Saint Paul and Saint Anthony can be seen as a reference to the Eucharist. On several eight to tenth-century Irish and Anglo-Saxon high crosses the Eucharistic meaning of the episode was emphasised by an inscription referring to the liturgical moment of the *fractio panis,* the inclusion of a chalice into the composition besides the heavenly bread, or

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[566] *The Life of Paulus,* 699; *The Golden Legend,* 85.

[567] Ibid*.,* 85.

[568] Géza Buzinkay, ed., *Historisches Museum der Stadt Budapest* (Budapest: Corvina, 1995), 55, 146, fig. 57. On the dating and possible sites of origin of the keystone, see also Pál Lővei, "Néhány címeres emlék a 14–15. századból" [Heraldic monuments from the 14–15th centuries], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 40 (1991): 53–55.

[569] William Lyster, *The Cave Church of Paul the Hermit at the Monastery of St. Paul, Egypt* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 37.

[570] Elizabeth Saxon, "Carolingian, Ottonian and Romanesque Art and the Eucharist", in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*, ed. Ian Christopher Levy, Gary Macy, and Kristen Van Ausdall (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2012), 294.

[571] *The Life of Paulus,* 699. On the interpretation of this episode, see: Éamonn Ó Carragáin*,* "The Meeting of St. Paul and St. Anthony: Visual and Literary Uses of a Eucharistic Motif", in *Keimelia: Studies in Archaeology and History in Honour of Tom Delaney*, ed. Gearóid Mac Niocaill and Patrick Wallace (Galway: Galway University Press, 1988), 37–45, and Tünde Wehli, "Remete Szent Antal útja Pálhoz" [The Journey of Saint Anthony the Great to Paul] in *Decus solitudinis: pálos évszázadok* [Pauline centuries], ed. Gábor Sarbak and Sándor Őze (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2007), 569–571.

the juxtaposition of the scene with other representations referring to the Eucharist.[572] A panel of a stained glass window representing scenes from the life of Saint Anthony in the south ambulatory of Chartres Cathedral (after 1220, Fig. 5.4) has similarly been interpreted in Eucharistic terms. The composition merges two consecutive moments of the narrative: the (this time dove-like) bird heading almost vertically downwards with a white wafer-shaped bread marked with a cross, and the two saints each grabbing a part of the bread to share it, their intersecting arms also forming a cross.[573]

Although the exact reasons behind the inclusion of this rare representation of Saint Paul the Hermit in the iconographic program in Boian can no longer be reconstructed, one of them was probably the Eucharistic connotation of the image, suiting the liturgical context of the chancel.

It is interesting to note the unusual iconographic solution wherein, behind the raven acting as an agent of divine providence, the half-figure of God the Father sending off the bird appears (the head of the fragmentary figure has been destroyed). A similar emphasis on divine providence and the heavenly origin of the bread sent to the two saints can be observed in an altarpiece panel housed in the Kunstmuseum of Basel from 1445, where the figure of God the Father surrounded by a host of angels appears in a cloud in the upper part of the scene depicting the meeting of Saint Paul and Saint Anthony (Fig. 5.5).[574]

The subject of the representation in the upper tier is the *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand* (Fig. 5.6). The martyrs, who were thrown from the Mount Ararat into a thicket of thorns because of their conversion to Christianity, appear in varied convoluted postures, their limbs and torsos being pierced through by the sharp green branches. Their figures are naked but for their loin-clothes. Their leader, Achatius, appears as a beardless young man around the middle of the composition, being differentiated from his soldiers by a red princely hat. The haloed bishop saint in the foreground, reading from an open book held in his hand, is probably Hermolaus, who, according to one version of the legend, baptised the soldiers of Achatius, and consequently suffered martyrdom with them.[575]

[572] Ó Carragáin, *The Meeting of St. Paul and St. Anthony,* 3–19.

[573] Roland Halfen, *Chartres: Schöpfungsbau und Ideenwelt im Herzen Europas. Architektur und Glasmalerei* (Stuttgart: Mayer, 2006), 499–500.

[574] Werner Fleischhauer, "Zur Herkunft des Basler Eremitenbildes von 1445", *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg* 25 (1988): 48–53.

[575] Ágnes N. Tóth, "Hozzászólások a Tízezer vértanú ikonográfiájához. Egy püspök a mártírok körében" [On the iconography of the Ten Thousand Martyrs. A bishop among the martyrs], in *Omnis creatura significans: tanulmányok Prokopp Mária 70. születésnapjára* [Essays in honour of Mária Prokopp], ed. Terézia Kerny and Anna Tüskés (Budapest: CentrArt Egyesület, 2009), 140. See also Christoph Stöcker, "Dürer, Celtis und der falsche Bischof Achatius. Zur Ikonographie von Dürers 'Marter der Zehntausend'," *Artibus et Historiae* 5, no. 9 (1984): 121–137.

In the legend version published in the *Acta Sanctorum*, there are numerous allusions to the biblical Passion story. After the recently baptised soldiers refuse to offer sacrifice to the pagan gods, among other tortures they are scourged and mocked, crowned with crowns of thorns, their sides are pierced through with sharp reeds, they are greeted as "kings of the Jews", and are finally crucified at the order of king Maximianus.[576] Explicit references to Christ's sacrifice are also made in the legend, by pointing to the similarities in the types of torture,[577] but also in a conception of martyrdom as sharing in Christ's sufferings, for which the martyrs pray to be worthy of.[578]

This endeavour to present the martyrs' suffering as analogous to that of Christ is also traceable in visual representations.[579] Even though the episode of the legend usually captured is not the crucifixion of the martyrs, but their impaling on thorns,[580] references to Christ's sufferings are common from the fourteenth century onwards. In several representations, Achatius appears in a posture reminiscent of the crucified Christ in the centre of the composition, amongst his soldiers impaled on the thorn bushes.[581] An example of this type is a wall painting decorating the northern nave wall of the parish church in Medgyes (Mediaș, Mediasch) from around 1420, although here the central figure represented with wide-spread arms, evoking the crucified Christ is most probably, based on his mitre, bishop Hermolaus, and not Achatius (Fig. 5.7).[582] In a particularly bloody rendering of the theme in a diptych in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in Cologne from around 1325–1330, the wounds caused by the sharp thorns on the martyrs' bodies exactly correspond in position and number to the five wounds of Christ, further emphasising the analogy.[583]

In some cases the usual martyrdom in the thorn bushes is complemented with the episode of the crucifixion of the ten thousand martyrs, most famously in Dürer's painting housed in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (1508), where the crucifixion scene in the

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[576] "De x millibus crucifixis mm," in *Acta Sanctorum Junii. Tomus IV*. (Antwerp, 1707), 182–188.

[577] Ibid., 186.

[578] *Beati erimus, si digni fuerimus expiari talibus tormentis, quia merebimur communicare passionibus Christi* (Ibid., 185); *Gloria tibi Christe: quia essemus indigni, dignos nos fecisti suscipere passiones tuas* (Ibid., 186).

[579] On visual references to Christ's Passion in representations of the Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand, see also N. Tóth, *Tízezer vértanú,* 138–140, and Sarkadi Nagy, *Altarpieces*, 75–78.

[580] LCI, vol. 5, 19.

[581] See Sarkadi Nagy, *Altarpieces*, 78 for examples of this composition type.

[582] On the identification of the bishop saint as Hermolaus instead of Achatius, see Stöcker, *Marter der Zehntausend,* 125–127. On the wall painting in Mediaș, see Drăguț, *Mediaș,* 17–18.

[583] N. Tóth, *Tízezer vértanú,* 138–139; Dittmeyer, *Gewalt und Heil,* 135; Frank Günter Zehnder, *Katalog der Altkölner Malerei. Kataloge des Wallraf-Richartz-Museums*, vol. 11 (Köln: Wienand, 1990), 105–107, Abb. 75.

bottom left corner contains various references to the Passion of Christ,[584] which have led Panofsky to describe it as a "reenactment of the Calvary" and a "symbol of the Imitatio Christi" (Fig. 5.8).[585] In a panel of the All Saints' altarpiece in the Abbey Church of Reichenau-Mittelzell, several consecutive episodes of the legend modelled on Christ's sufferings are represented in the foreground of the composition, such as the flagellation, the crowning with thorns, and the crucifixion, while the conventional impaling by thorns is relegated to the background, in a barely recognisable way.

In the fifteenth century, a specific composition type has emerged, combining the martyrdom scene with the crucifixion of Christ into one composition.[586] This type was also widespread in the territory of Medieval Hungary, appearing in several altarpieces from Upper Hungary,[587] and in the altarpiece from Târnava (Nagyekemező, Grossprobtsdorf) in Transylvania (c. 1490–1500, Fig. 5.9).[588] On these compositions a marked visual parallel is suggested between the bodies of the martyrs naked but for their loincloths, bleeding from the thorn-made wounds, and the centrally placed figure of the crucified Christ rising above them, bearing the wounds of the nails and the lance.

Beyond being an illustrative example of the idea of martyrdom as *imitatio Christi*, several authors note that the Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand could be a specifically Eucharistic theme, which in several cases was part of the iconographic program of the chancel.[589] In the church of the Assumption of the Virgin in Krzyzowice (Silesia, Poland), the theme appears as part of a series of Christological compositions surrounding the sacrament niche on the south-eastern wall of the apse (Fig. 5.10).[590] Above the niche flanked by two angels holding candles, the Holy Face appears. To the right, a so-called Eucharistic Man of Sorrows with the *arma Christi* was represented and an angel collecting the blood flowing from Christ's side wound into a chalice. To the left, Christ appears crucified on the Tree of Life, surrounded by ten

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[584] Such as the Christ-like physiognomy of one of the martyrs wearing a crown of thorns, waiting to be crucified between two other martyrs positioned as the good and the bad thief, flanking a central (not yet erect) cross. See Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1948), vol. 1, 121.

[585] Ibid., 121–122.

[586] Robert Suckale, "Ein Tüchleinbild der Achatiusmarter aus der Nachfolge des Meisters von St. Lambrecht," *Galéria – Ročenka Slovenskej národnej galérie v Bratislave* (2001): 80–81, N. Tóth, *Tízezer vértanú,* 139–140, Sarkadi Nagy*, Altarpieces*, 76–78.

[587] For instance, a tempera panel from Rokitó (Rokytov), c. 1450 (N. Tóth, *Tízezer vértanú*, 137–141), the altarpiece of Mary Magdalene in Rokycany (Berki), c. 1480–1490, the altarpiece of Saint Margaret in Mlynica (Malompatak) c. 1515–1520, or the altarpiece of the Church Fathers from Sabinov (Kisszeben) c. 1510–1520. Dénes Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei* [The panel paintings of Medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1955), 279, 358, 386–387.

[588] See Sarkadi Nagy, *Altarpieces,* 75–78.

[589] Dittmeyer, *Gewalt und Heil,* 145; N. Tóth, *Tízezer vértanú,* 140.

[590] Adam. S. Labuda and Krystyna Secomska, eds., *Malarstwo gotyckie w Polsce* [Gothic Painting in Poland] (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2004), vol. 2, 63, vol. 3, Fig. 40.

martyrs (each symbolising a thousand) impaled on thorns, as well as the figures of bishop Hermolaus at the foot of the *arbor vitae* and the half-figure of God the Father above in the clouds. The Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand is associated with Eucharistic themes in an altar panel from Grodków (also in Silesia) as well, where the combination of the martyrdom with a three-figure Crucifixion scene is complemented with a smaller scale Mass of Saint Gregory in the foreground.[591]

Even though the composition in Boian has survived fragmentarily, an emphasis on motifs evoking the Passion of Christ can be observed. The beardless young martyr to the right of Achatius, resembling him in appearance and physiognomy, unlike his companions depicted in various convoluted postures, appears in an upright position, with outstretched arms reminiscent of the Crucifixion, and a thorn piercing through his side at the place where the lance of Longinus had wounded Christ's chest (Fig. 5.11). The next martyr, whose arms and legs are tied together with a rope in the back, is wearing a crown of thorns.

5.2. Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt), former church of the Dominican nunnery

A somewhat later representation of the same theme can be found in the former church of the Dominican nunnery in Sibiu, as part of a complex iconographic program decorating the southern chancel wall (c. 1515–1520, Fig. 5.12).[592] The Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand is painted here as the first scene from the left in the upper tier. In the upper left part of the composition, the executioners are tossing down the martyrs with the help of a long stick from a steep rock of Mount Ararat into a valley inhabited by spiky-branched bushes. Two martyrs are captured in different stages of the movement of falling down, while eight of their companions are suffering below in the valley, their torsos impaled on the spikes, blood flowing from their wounds in streams. The postures of the martyrs are more repetitive here than in the composition in Boian, most figures appearing in a lying position, either facing upwards or the ground, with their arms tied together behind their back, only one of them is kneeling. The top of the cliff overgrown with grass on the right of the scene is the site of a further episode. In the foreground, the martyrs are stripped of their clothes. Behind, the figures of seven martyrs crucified on crosses are discernible (Fig. 5.13).

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[591] Suckale, *Ein Tüchleinbild,* 80, Fig. 7.
[592] The wall paintings on the southern chancel wall were revealed during a renovation of the church in the summer of 2016, by a group of restorers led by Lóránd Kiss. On the history and architecture of the church, see: Salontai, *Mănăstiri dominicane*, 224–227.

The scene seems to be thematically linked to two other compositions of the ensemble. The third scene of the upper tier is the Martyrdom of Saint Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins. Representations of the two legends involving mass martyrdoms are often juxtaposed as each other's pendants on altarpiece wings,[593] just as here they symmetrically flank a composition with four standing bishop saints (see below). Directly below the Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand, the easternmost scene of the lower tier is a three-figure Crucifixion with an unidentified saint and a kneeling donor figure on the left (Fig. 1.60). Even if the inventor of the iconographic program did not opt for the widespread composition type combining the Crucifixion with the Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand, the vertical juxtaposition of the two compositions reflects a similar associative logic. Again, through the analogy of the martyrs stripped of their clothes and pierced by thorns with the figure of Christ wounded by nails, and the inclusion of the episode of the martyrs' crucifixion echoing Christ's death on the cross pictured below, the martyrs' suffering is presented as an act of *imitatio Christi*. In a typological interpretation, the martyrdom becomes a *postfiguration*[594] of Christ's sacrifice – an act in the centre of the liturgy celebrated in the chancel, for which the wall paintings create a setting.

The second scene of the upper register features a row of four standing bishop saints (Cat. Fig. 45). The composition is cut across by an eighteenth-century pilaster partially destroying the two middle figures. The first saint, similarly to the other three figures, is represented in a bishop's attire, with a mitre and a staff (Fig. 5.14). The lying figure at his feet identifies him as Saint Valentine. He is pointing towards the epileptic with his right hand held in a blessing gesture, in an act of healing. His second attribute is a golden monstrance, which he is holding by the knop of the shaft in his left hand.

Although the monstrance is an unusual element in the iconography of Saint Valentine, not accounted for either by his vita or his cult centred on his intercessory power for the epileptics,[595] it is not unparalleled as an attribute. Valentine was similarly represented with a

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[593] LCI, vol. 5, 19–20. On the joint representation of the two martyrdom scenes see also Anna Tüskés, "The Cult of St Ursula in Hungary: Legend, Altars and Reliquaries," in *The Cult of Saint Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins,* ed. Jane Cartwright (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2016), 196, and Samantha Riches, "Male Martyrs, Female Models? St Ursula and St Acacius as Leaders and Victims", in ibid*.,* 251–252.

[594] Timmermann, *Real Presence,* 304. The term is used similarly for hagiographical counterparts of Old Testament prefigurations of the life of Christ in Bernd Monhaupt, "Typologisch strukturierte Heiligenzyklen: Die Adalbertsvita der Gnesener Bronzetür," in *Hagiographie und Kunst. Der Heiligenkult in Schrift, Bild und Architektur,* ed. Gottfried Kerscher (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1993), 357–368.

[595] Although in the case of Saint Valentine the cult and iconography of several saints of the same name have merged, none of them contains references to the Eucharist. LCI, vol. 8, 529–531. On Valentine as a patron of the epileptics, see: Owsei Temkin, *The Falling Sickness: A History of Epilepsy from the Greeks to the Beginnings of Modern Neurology* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2010), 101, and Gerhard Jaritz, "Signs of Mental Disorder in Late Medieval Visual Evidence"*,* in *Mental (Dis)Order in Later Medieval Europe,* ed. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Susanna Niiranen (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2014), 93–97.

monstrance in a winged altarpiece from 1520 originating from the parish church of Bruiu (Brulya, Braller), a village not far from Sibiu (Fig. 5.15).[596] Despite differences in the colouring and details of the clothing, or the simpler, somewhat clumsier and flatter rendering of the mural, the similarity in the posture of the saint and of the epileptic lying in front of him,[597] his characteristic right-hand gesture and his distinctive attribute, the monstrance,[598] suggest a connection between the two works.

The common source of both compositions can be identified in a woodcut by Lucas Cranach prepared for the *Wittenberger Heiltumsbuch*, first published in 1509 (Fig. 5.16). This publication is an illustrated inventory of the reliquary collection of Elector Palatine Frederick the Wise of Saxony housed in the Schlosskirche in Wittenberg, in which the representations of the individual reliquaries are accompanied by an enumeration of their contents.[599] That the woodcut of Saint Valentine is a representation of a reliquary statue is recognisable from the polygonal pedestal even if, instead of a faithful reproduction of the object, Cranach reinterpreted it in a livelier, more realistic manner.[600] According to the description below the image, the monstrance held by Saint Valentine contained five particles and two whole parts of the saint's body. The presence of the monstrance is thus accounted for as a container of relics, similarly to another monstrance held by an unidentified king on fol. 41r containing a piece of Christ's crown of thorns, and the numerous single reliquary monstrances in the collection.

This reference to the reliquary function of the monstrance was nevertheless lost when the composition was transposed from the printed model into the media of panel and mural painting, in the same way as the nature of the original model – a silver reliquary statue – is no longer recognisable. In the altarpiece from Bruiu, the monstrance is clearly the container of the body of Christ, visible through the display glass in the form of the host. Although in the mural painting its quality as a Eucharistic container is not explicit, taking into consideration the

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[596] Recent literature on the altarpiece housed in the Lutheran church in Cisnădie, with references to earlier scholarship: Sarkadi Nagy, *Altarpieces,* 153–155; Firea, *Poliptice medievale,* 156–158.

[597] As the composition of the mural is more crowded, with less space between the standing figures than in the altarpiece panel, only the upper body of the epileptic fitted in, but the posture and clothing of the two lying figures are similar.

[598] The monstrance is rendered differently in the altarpiece panel, having a more embellished and sophisticated design, adorned with a spire and pinnacles.

[599] On the Wittenberger Heiltumsbuch see Livia Cárdenas, *Friedrich der Weise und das Wittenberger Heiltumsbuch: mediale Repräsentation zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Berlin, Lukas Verlag, 2002).

[600] Although the reliquary of Saint Valentine does not survive, there is another, more faithful, copy of it almost contemporary with the woodcut, which gives a more accurate picture of how the reliquary might have looked like. (Reproduced in Livia Cárdenas, "Kollektionskataloge des Heiligen: Reliquiensammlungen im Bild", in *Collectors' Knowledge: What is Kept, What is Discarded,* ed. Anja-Silvia Goeing, Anthony T. Grafton, and Paul Michel (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2013), 184, Fig. 14). See here also for an analysis of how Cranach had transposed the reliquary statues into the medium of prints when illustrating the Heiltumsbuch: ibid., 178–183.

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connections between the two works,[601] it is probable that the monstrance here acquired the same Eucharistic meaning when transposed from the pages of a reliquary book to the new context of a work of art decorating the chancel.

5.3. Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg), Saint Michael's church

On the north-eastern wall of the southern apse of the Saint Michael's church in Cluj, a pope saint holding a golden monstrance appears beside Saint Sebastian, against a background of green hills and a cityscape, in a composition framed by a red border (Fig. 5.17).[602] The haloed pope is wearing a tiara made up of three golden crowns adorned with colourful gemstones, a red mantle, underneath a blue dalmatic with a golden lower hem, and a white alb. Beyond the display glass of the monstrance, the outlines of the host wafer can be recognized placed in the *luna;* this main section is set on a six-lobed foot and is surmounted by a spire and four pinnacles adorned with crockets and finials at the top (Fig. 5.18). On the right, Saint Sebastian appears (Fig. 5.19). He is represented without a halo, stripped of his clothes, tied with a rope to the tree behind him by his arms, his limbs and torso pierced through by arrows. He is holding a green palm leaf in his right hand.

The pope can be identified as Saint Fabian, based on his association with Sebastian.[603] As the feast of both saints fell on the same day, a joint cult of the two saints had developed. Besides common dedication of churches and altars, the two saints often appear together as a pair in visual representations as well.[604] In the upper part of the composition, an angel is

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[601] Another link between the altarpiece and the wall painting is the rare representation of an unidentified bishop saint with a dog as an attribute, paired with Saint Valentine in the altarpiece panel and represented as the fourth standing bishop saint in the mural.

[602] About the wall painting see László Darkó, "A kolozsvári Szent Mihály-templom 1956/57. évi helyreállítása során feltárt falfestmények" [The wall paintings revealed during the renovation of the Saint Michael's church in Kolozsvár in 1956/1957], in *Emlékkönyv Kelemen Lajos születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára* [Festschrift for the 80th birthday of Lajos Kelemen], ed. András Bodor et al. (Bukarest: Tudományos Könyvkiadó, 1957), 207–210, 217; Lángi and Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek,* vol. 3, 78.

[603] Mihály Jánó (in a presentation given at the conference *Műemlékvédelem Erdélyben IV.* [Heritage Protection in Transylvania IV.]*,* Szováta, March 2010, with the title *Megjegyzések a kolozsvári Szent Mihály-templom falképeinek ikonográfiájához* [Remarks on the iconography of the wall paintings in the Saint Michael's church in Cluj]) and Dana Jenei (Jenei, *Thèmes iconographiques,* 27) also identify the saint as Fabian.

[604] LCI, vol. 6, 215. There are also numerous examples of their common veneration in Transylvania. Written sources mention chapels dedicated to Saint Sebastian and Saint Fabian in Șoimeni (Sólyomkő, 1485) and in the Dominican convent of Cluj (1531), altars dedicated to the two saints in the cathedral of Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár), and the parish church of Sibiu, and a donation of a stone column in the honour of Saint Sebastian and Saint Fabian with the image of the saints painted on it to the church of the Virgin Mary in Zimbor (Magyarzsombor, 1482). Saints Sebastian and Fabian were also depicted as a pair in the altarpiece from Bruiu. See Zsigmond Jakó, ed., *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei (1289– 1556)* [The records of Kolozsmonostor Convent (1289–1556)], vol. 1, 799–800, no. 2342, vol. 2, 17, no. 2516; Elek Jakab, ed., *Oklevéltár Kolozsvár története első kötetéhez*

hovering in the sky above a centrally placed hexagonal building of the cityscape. Of the angel's fragmentary figure, only details of the head, the red and green colours of his vestment, and the sword he is holding in his right hand are discernible, at the end of which a white cloth is hanging (Fig. 5.20).

Sebastian was one of the most popular protectors against the plague in the centuries following the Black Death. His veneration as a plague saint was based on a post-mortem miracle described in the Golden Legend, related to the plague epidemic of 680 in Rome and Pavia. In the context of his patronage, the arrows of his martyrdom also became a symbol of the plague, being associated with the arrows of divine wrath sending the epidemic as a punishment upon sinful mankind, a motif originating from the Old Testament.[605]

The martyred Sebastian was also an emphatically Christ-like figure. While all saintly martyrdoms can be seen as imitating the self-sacrifice of their role model, Christ,[606] Sebastian's first martyrdom by arrows as related in the Golden Legend bears a closer resemblance to the Passion of Christ, as the saint, after being mortally wounded and left for dead by the soldiers, was miraculously revived by God.[607] As Louise Marshall argues in a study of the saint's veneration and iconography after the Black Death, the analogy can be taken even further to the protective role of the saint, wherein Sebastian, by accepting the arrows of the plague sent by God on the people, atones for their sins through his suffering, propitiates divine anger and protects the believers from the epidemic. His martyrdom thus can be seen as a redemptive sacrifice analogous to that of Christ.[608]

This parallel is also reflected in visual representations. The image type of the martyred Sebastian, tied to a tree or column by his hands, his naked body pierced by arrows, shows the influence of representations of the suffering Christ.[609] This affinity is exploited in triptychs, where the tortured body of the martyred saint in one of the side panels echoes that of Christ

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[Cartulary to the first volume of the history of Kolozsvár] (Buda: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1870), 374; Firea, *Polipticele medievale,* 122–123, 158.

[605] Louise Marshall, "Manipulating the Sacred: Image and Plague in Renaissance Italy", *Renaissance Quarterly* 47, no. 3 (1994): 489, 493. On the cult of Sebastian as a plague saint see also Karim Ressouni-Demigneux, "La personnalité de saint Sébastien: Exploration du fonds euchologique médiéval et renaissant, du IVe au XVIe siècle," *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome: Moyen Age* 114 (2002): 557–579.

[606] Enrico Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist: The Origin of the Rite and the Development of Its Interpretation* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1999), 134–137.

[607] *The Golden Legend,* 100. Marshall, *Image and Plague,* 495.

[608] Ibid*.,* 495–496.

[609] LCI, vol. 8, 318.

represented in the centre in an episode of the Passion or in a non-narrative devotional image evoking his suffering.[610]

This juxtaposition was also present in wall paintings. In a group of chapels dedicated to Saint Sebastian in south-eastern France, the figure of the patron saint appears in a central position on the eastern altar wall, his naked body bleeding from wounds being paralleled by the figure of the crucified Christ represented directly above.[611] In a votive composition from the beginning of the sixteenth century in the southern aisle of the church of *Unsere Liebe Frau* in Vill (South Tyrol), featuring donor figures below a row of helping saints, the two major plague saints, Sebastian and Roch, flank the figure of the Man of Sorrows holding a chalice. In an imitation of Christ, both saints appear naked but for their loincloths, covered with wounds – by arrows and the plague, respectively – that they display to intercede for the donor family on account of their suffering (Fig. 5.21).[612]

The martyrdom of Saint Sebastian was in several cases represented in the chancel, in the vicinity of Eucharistic themes. On the northern chancel wall of the parish church in Schöder (Austria), the wall section above the sacrament niche is decorated with compositions related to the celebration of the Eucharistic liturgy: angels with candles and the Crucifixion. These scenes are flanked on the left by the figures of two standing saints, whose representation in this context has Eucharistic overtones: Saint John the Evangelist with a chalice[613] and, above, an emphatically Christ-like Saint Sebastian, captured not in the moment of his martyrdom, but in a posture reminiscent of the Man of Sorrows, wearing a red mantle, covered with bleeding wounds, and pointing to his side wound (Fig. 5.22).[614]

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[610] Examples: Master MM, *The Lamentation* (1515), Springfield Museums, Springfield, see Gauvin Alexander Bailey et al., ed., *Hope and Healing: Painting in Italy in a Time of Plague, 1500–1800* (Worcester: Worcester Art Museum, 2005), 163, fig. 67; *Altarpiece of the Suffering Trinity,* c. 1500, Stadtmuseum Simeonstift Trier (for a reproduction, see https://www.bildindex.de, image no. 59.172). In the Resurrection triptych by Hans Memling the martyrdom of Saint Sebastian represented on the left wing seems to stand out from among the Christological scenes of the Resurrection in the centre and the Ascension on the right wing. However, Barbara Lane argues that the martyrdom scene can be seen as substituting a composition representing the sacrifice of Christ, which could have been expected to precede the Resurrection. Barbara Lane, *Hans Memling: Master Painter in Fifteenth-Century Bruges* (London–Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2009), 306.

[611] On the Saint Sebastian chapels in Venanson, St. Etienne de Tinnée and Roubion (France), see Philippe de Beauchamp, *L'art religieux dans les Alpes-Maritimes: architecture religieuse, peintures murales et retables* (Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, 1990), 65–66, 77–79, 84–86.

[612] Josef Weingartner, *Die Kunstdenkmäler Südtirols* (Bozen: Innsbruck, 1973), vol. 2, 265.

[613] For a discussion of Saint John the Evangelist's chalice as a possible Eucharistic symbol see: Vloberg, *L'eucharistie,* 255.

[614] Ronald Gobiet, ed., *Der Meister von Schöder: zur Erhaltung und Erforschung mittelalterlicher Wandmalerei im Ostalpenraum* (Bad Gastein: ARGE, 2002), 39, Farbtaf. X.

The posture of Saint Sebastian in the mural in Cluj is reminiscent of that of Christ in contemporary Flagellation scenes.[615] While it is possible that, as in the examples mentioned above, the figure of Sebastian was juxtaposed as a visual analogy to a representation of the suffering Christ either on the eastern wall of the southern apse, or in an altarpiece, we have no other evidence about the contemporary decoration of the side chapel to support this hypothesis.

Although there is no element in his vita that would qualify him as a plague saint, Pope Fabian, due to his association with Sebastian based on the shared feast day, also came to share the status of the latter as a protector against the pestilence.[616] In this way, he was invoked together with Saint Sebastian in votive masses and prayers against the plague,[617] and was also included in compositions where Sebastian was represented with other plague saints, especially the trio of Saint Sebastian, Fabian and Roch was frequent.[618]

What is peculiar about his representation in Cluj is the monstrance, which is not among the conventional attributes of the saint, who is usually represented with a sword (the instrument of his martyrdom), a book, or a papal cross.[619] Pope Fabian was known throughout the middle ages as the author of a number of decrees[620] containing regulations on the celebration of the Eucharistic liturgy as well as the frequency of lay communion. Although these regulations were often referred to in works of medieval canon law,[621] this concern with the Blessed Sacrament attributed to the pope apparently did not have an effect on his iconography.

While it seems unparalleled as an attribute of Saint Fabian, the Eucharist was a recurring motif of plague iconography.[622] As plague had traditionally been considered a punishment by

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[615] The position of his arms tied to the tree – the left one raised above his head, the right twisted behind his back – can be found for example in the Flagellation by the Master of the Calvary (c. 1440–1450). The graceful move of his legs was probably inspired by the large Sebastian of Schongauer (Bartsch 59), or even more probably a reverse copy by Wenzel von Olmütz. The position of the arrows too largely corresponds to that in this print, which, in turn, also bears close resemblance to compositions of the Flagellation of Christ.

[616] Heinrich Dormeier, "Laienfrömmigkeit in den Pestzeiten des 15./16. Jahrhunderts," in *Maladies et société (XIIe–XVIIIe siècles): Actes du colloque de Biefeld, novembre 1986*, ed. Neithard Bulst and Robert Delort (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1989), 288. On the problem of who can be regarded as a "plague saint", see ibid. 284–298 and idem, "Saints as Protectors against Plague: Problems of Definition and Economic and Social Implications," in *Living with The Black Death,* ed. Lars Bisgaard and Leif Søndergaard (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2009), 169–170.

[617] Ibid., 167.

[618] LCI, vol. 8, 530. The representation of Saints Sebastian, Fabian and Roch as a trio appears as a wall painting for instance in the Holy Trinity Church in Hrastovlje, Slovenia (c. 1490), the parish church of Benna, Italy (1515–1520), or the Saint George's church in Albenga, Italy (1476).

[619] LCI, vol. 6, 215.

[620] "Decrees of Fabian", in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library. Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. IX. The Writing of Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus. Fragments of Third Century,* ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1869), 272–274.

[621] Izbicki, *The Eucharist*, 87, 140, 142.

[622] Christine M. Boeckl, *Images of Plague and Pestilence: Iconography and Iconology* (Kirksville, Mont: Truman State University Press, 2000), 43, 88, 90, 110; Heinrich Dormeier, "'Ein geystliche ertzeney fur die grausam erschrecklich pestilentz'. Schutzpatrone und frommer Abwehrzauber gegen die Pest," in *Das große Sterben.*

God for the sins of mankind, protection and healing were also primarily sought after by devotional means. Besides prayers and saintly intercession, the sacraments, and foremostly penance and the Eucharist, played an important role in pacifying divine anger.[623] In contemporary medical works, the last rites, among them the administration of *the most delightful and precious medicine: the body of our lord and saviour Jesus Christ*[624] were explicitly recommended for plague victims as the most efficient treatment, not so much with the prospect of physical healing, but for the salvation of the soul of the dying.[625]

The importance of the last rites for a good death is a recurring motif in visual representations of the plague as well. In a panel depicting a plague miracle of Saint Nicholas of Tolentino by Giovanni di Paolo (1457), a priest is carrying the viaticum in a Gothic monstrance to the dying person (Fig. 5.23).[626] In a woodcut serving as the title page of a plague treatise by Philipp Culmacher von Eger,[627] the representation of God, a plague angel, and a skeletal personification of death in the central axis suggest the divine origin of the epidemic, while on both sides of the composition the different means of protection appear: interceding plague saints and praying people on the right, and a priest with a host delivering the last communion to a person on his deathbed and a Pietà on the left (Fig. 5.24). Besides stressing the importance of the last Sacrament, the juxtaposition of the body of Christ in the form of the host and his dead body held by the Virgin Mary above suggests that through the Eucharist one can share in the expiatory sacrifice of Christ, and thus hope for a reconciliation with a wrathful, punishing God.[628]

The Eucharist can also appear as a requisite of penitential processions, which were another means of appeasing divine wrath.[629] An example for this is a double-folio representation of the procession of Saint Gregory the Great in the *Très Riches Heures du Duc*

Seuchen machen Geschichte. Ausstellungskatalog (Dresden, Deutsches Hygiene-Museum), ed. Hans Wilderotter and Michael Dorrmann (Berlin: Jovis, 1995)*,* 55–57.

[623] Thilo Esser, "Die Pest–Strafe Gottes oder Naturphänomen? Eine frömmigkeitsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Pesttraktaten", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 108 (1997): 42–45.

[624] Rosemary Horrox, ed., *The Black Death* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 149.

[625] Boeckl, *Images of Plague,* 86. Although a physical healing power was attributed to the Eucharist throughout the medieval period (Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 339–342), the sacrament being seen as medicine not only in an allegorical sense, but for actual maladies, there are no miraculous healings of plague victims known (Maria Wittmer-Butsch and Constanze Rendtel, *Miracula. Wunderheilungen im Mittelalter* (Köln: Böhlau, 2003), 110).

[626] On the iconography of this panel housed in the Akademie der bildenden Kunst in Vienna, see Louise Marshall, "Plague in the city, identifying the subject of Giovanni di Paolo's Vienna Miracle of Saint Nicholas of Tolentino," *Renaissance Studies* 27, no. 5 (2013): 654–680.

[627] *Regimen zu deutsch Magistri Philippi Culmachers von Eger wider die grausamen erschrecklichenn Totlichen Pestelentz*, Leipzig, 1495, see Wilderotter and Dorrmann*, Das große Sterben,* 122, and Karl Sudhoff, *Deutsche medizinische Inkunabeln; bibliographisch-literarische Untersuchungen* (Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1908), 176–178.

[628] For an analysis of this print see Esser, *Die Pest,* 45.

[629] Peter Browe*, Die Eucharistie im Mittelalter: Liturgiehistorische Forschungen in kulturwissenschaftlicher Absicht* (Berlin: LIT, 2011), 291.

de Berry,[630] where in addition to the image of the Virgin on a banner, the Eucharist is carried around in a monstrance in the hope of averting the plague that was raging in Rome in 590.

It appears that, even if it is difficult to convincingly account for the presence of the monstrance as a personal attribute of Saint Fabian, being a common motif of late medieval plague iconography, it fits in with the general message of the composition centred around seeking heavenly protection from the deadly disease.

Angels appear in plague-related narratives in the Old Testament, as well as in the legends of saints, as heralds of divine wrath or remission.[631] *A good angel followed by a bad angel carrying a spear* also appears in the plague miracle included in Saint Sebastian's vita.[632] The textual base for the representation in Cluj, however, is most likely not this legend, but the vision of Saint Gregory the Great, who, when leading an expiatory procession at the time of the plague ravaging in Rome, saw an angel on the top of the Castel Sant'Angelo *wiping a bloody sword and sheathing it,* a gesture which had signalled the end of the plague.[633] Sworded plague angels also occur in representations unrelated to this episode of Saint Gregory's legend (Fig. 5.24),[634] this is also the case of the mural in Cluj. The angel here is not a threatening symbol of divine wrath and of the violence of the epidemic, but, wiping the sword with a white cloth, indicates a positive outcome of appeasing God and the ceasing of the plague as a result of the saintly intercession.

Based on graphic models and stylistic features, the mural can be dated to around 1500. According to the research of István Szabó, in the last decade of the fifteenth century four years were marked by plague on the territory of medieval Hungary, with the epidemic of 1495 being the most devastating, followed by another outbreak around 1510.[635] Even if, with no exact

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[630] On folios 71v and 72r.

[631] Boeckl, *Images of Plague*, 52.

[632] *The Golden Legend*, 101.

[633] Ibid., 174. The passage has an Old Testament prototype. In a story related in the Books of Chronicles, God had sent an angel of pestilence upon Israel, who appeared to King David as *standing between the earth and the heaven, having a drawn sword in his hand stretched out over Jerusalem.* As king David has made offerings at an altar to appease God, the Lord *commanded the angel; and he put up his sword again into the sheath thereof* (1 Chron 21:14–27). See also Lester K. Little, "Life and Afterlife of the First Plague Pandemic," in *Plague and the End of Antiquity. The Pandemic of 541–750,* ed. idem (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 31–32.

[634] For example, on the title page of a plague treatise by Philipp Culmacher von Eger (discussed above, see footnote 627). In a *Concordantia caritatis* manuscript by Ulrich of Lilienfeld (c. 1351–1348) the plague angel sheathing its sword is represented as an Old Testament type for Peter cutting the ear of Malchus (Lilienfeld (Austria), Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 151; fol. 81v (Bilddatenbank REALonline, Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, Universität Salzburg. image no. 003963, http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/. Last accessed June 2017). See also Boeckl, *Images of Plague*, 52.

[635] István Szabó, "Hanyatló jobbágyság a középkor végén" [Declining Serfdom at the End of the Middle Ages], *Századok*, 72 (1938): 36–37. See Gyula Magyary-Kossa, *Magyar orvosi emlékek. Értekezések a magyar orvostörténet köréből. III. kötet: Adattár 1000–1700-ig* [Hungarian Medical Records. Studies on Hungarian Medical History. vol. 3: Repertory 1000–1700] (Budapest: Magyar Orvosi Könyvkiadó Társulat, 1931) for written sources on the individual plague outbreaks.

dating, the commission of the mural cannot be connected to a specific outbreak, historical data about contemporary epidemics is consistent with the interpretation of the mural in suggesting that protection against the plague was a very topical concern at the time.

5.4. Daia (Székelydálya), parish church

On the northern wall of the apse in the parish church in Daia, the representation of a ship fills the lunette-shaped field below the vault (beginning of the sixteenth century, Fig. 5.25). A large crowd of people of both genders and of various ages and social groups are standing in the ship in several rows, all unhaloed. In the front rows, mostly female figures – women and children – can be seen wearing crowns or white veils. In front of the crowd, a now damaged female figure with long wavy hair, wearing a crown and a red mantle is standing, rising above the other figures. To her right is a bishop in an ornate mitre; the figure of a pope with a tiara standing next to him, visible in the watercolour copy by József Huszka,[636] is now more damaged and hardly recognisable. All the people are depicted in half profile turning to the right, their hands raised in a gesture of prayer.

In the upper part of the mast below the crow's nest, there is a three-figure Crucifixion scene set against the background of the sail (Fig. 5.26). The crucified Christ is flanked by the standing figures of the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist, who are turning towards him in prayer. The horizontal bar of the dark brown cross bearing a titulus is bent downwards in a bow shape. Above the crowd, to the right from the mast, there is a group of six men. Several of them are wearing armour, the first one is holding a long wooden stick in his right hand.[637] Behind the group there is a portal painted in various colours resembling a rainbow, with a stone building on the other side.

The scene has been variously identified as an episode from the legend of Saint Margaret[638] or Saint Ursula,[639] part of a Last Judgement scene,[640] while in most of the recent

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[636] József Huszka: Székelydálya. Az északi fal harmadik mezője [Daia. The third field of the northern wall], watercolour copy, 1903, Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Center, Plan Collection, inv. no. FM 108.

[637] The last three figures are very fragmentarily preserved. In the watercolour copy, the fourth figure seems to be haloed, the fifth is wearing a pointed red hat.

[638] József Huszka, "Magyar szentek a Székelyföldön a XV. és XVI-dik századokban." [Hungarian saints in the Szeklerland in the 15th and 16th centuries], *Archaeologiai Értesítő,* 6 (1886): 128–130.

[639] Anna Tüskés, "Szent Orsolya tisztelete a középkori Magyarországon: legendák, ereklyék, oltárok" [The Cult of Saint Ursula in Medieval Hungary: Legends, Relics, Altarpieces], *Opus Mixtum* 3 (2014): 37.

[640] Jolán Balogh, *Az Erdélyi Renaissance* [The Transylvanian Renaissance] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1943), 295; Lángi and Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek,* vol. 1, 104−105 (hypothetical identifications before the complete revealing of the scene).

literature it is described as a representation of the Ship of the Church.[641] Although the composition bears resemblance with allegorical representations of the Church as a ship, considering all iconographic features, it can be identified as the martyrdom of Saint Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins.

The motif of the soldier standing in front of the ship to the right, raising a sword above his head, ready to behead a woman whom he is pulling by her hair over the railing of the boat, is a typical element of the martyrdom of Saint Ursula scenes, with close compositional analogies in the period.[642] The maiden princess standing in front of the crowd is most probably the protagonist of the legend, Saint Ursula, emphasized through her position and larger size, similarly to several other representations of the martyrdom scene. The composition of the praying crowd in the boat also corresponds to the written legendary tradition, which describes that the virgins were accompanied by several men – pope Cyriacus and a number of bishops among them – and some married women. On the other hand, the large proportion of female figures would be unusual in an allegory of the Church as a ship.

The group of soldiers approaching from the right on the shore behind the boat can be interpreted as the Huns attacking Saint Ursula and her retinue when arriving back from Rome to Cologne. The cityscape of Cologne surrounded with the city walls and gates often appears in the background of the martyrdom scene;[643] the portal with the portion of a stone wall behind the soldiers is most probably a simplified reference to the town. According to the legend, the chief of the Huns shot Ursula with an arrow. It is not specified, however, how the members of her retinue met their death. Although archers standing on the shore aiming at the virgins appear in most representations of the scene, there are cases where – as in Daia – there are no archers among the Huns, who are equipped with swords and lances instead.[644]

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[641] Beatrix Gombosi, *"Köpönyegem pedig az én irgalmasságom ..."*: *köpönyeges Mária ábrázolások a középkori Magyarországon = "Mein weiter Mantel ist meine Barmherzigkeit…": Schutzmantelmadonnen aus dem mittelalterlichen Ungarn"* (Szeged: Néprajzi és Kulturális Antropológiai Tanszék, 2008), 163; German, *Sakramentsnischen,* 256; Jenei, *Thèmes iconographiques,* 30; Tekla Szabó, "Magyarvista középkori templomának donátorképei" [The donor portraits of the medieval church of Magyarvista] *Korunk* 26, no. 1 (2015): 6 (the latter author accepts the identification as the Martyrdom of Saint Ursula in a subsequent article: Szabó, *Navicella*, 151).

[642] Examples: Martyrdom of Saint Ursula, altarpiece panel, possibly of Transylvanian origin, c. 1480, private collection, Sarkadi Nagy, *Altarpieces*, 217–218, Fig. II. 148; Martyrdom of Saint Ursula, altarpiece from Beia (Homoródbene, Meeburg), housed in the "Church on the Hill" in Sighișoara (Segesvár, Schäßburg), ibid. 231–234, Fig. II. 167. See Tüskés, *Szent Orsolya*, 39 for further examples.

[643] For instance, in a fresco on the triumphal arch of the Saint Nicholas church in Mače, Slovenia (1467), where in a somewhat similar arrangement as in Daia, the armed Hun soldiers, some of them clad in armour, are emerging through the city gate positioned in the upper right part of the composition to attack the ship. (REALonline, image no. 010654, https://realonline.imareal.sbg.ac.at, Last accessed February 2020).

[644] For example in a miniature in the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry,* fol. 178v.

The motif which would best support an identification of the scene as the Ship of the Church is the Crucifixion appearing in front of the sail. Indeed, there are no references to it in the written versions of the legend of Saint Ursula.[645] Instead, the motif has its origin in the allegory of the Church as a ship with Christ's cross as its mast, on board of which Christian believers could avoid the deadly perils of temptation on the voyage toward the harbour of eternal life.[646] This ship imagery, elaborated by early Christian authors, was flourishing in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,[647] as several contemporary visual representations attest.[648]

However, this is not the only case where the motif of the crucified Christ on the ship's mast appears in the iconography of Saint Ursula. In a composition type used in publications connected to Saint Ursula confraternities, the ship of Saint Ursula acquires an allegorical meaning as a vessel carrying the members of the brotherhood to salvation. A woodcut composition decorating the title page of the confraternity book from Strasbourg (1497)[649] combines all the pious means deployed by the members of the brotherhood to secure the salvation of the soul (Fig. 5.27). Christ's salvific sacrifice, visualised by the figure of Christ crucified on the cross-shaped mast is repeated on the right, in a scene of a priest celebrating mass, an act which has as its immediate effect the salvation of a soul from Purgatory. Below, at the foot of the cross, there is an altar table with the Eucharist in both species, around which a group of saints are gathered, with the figure of the Virgin Mary with the child Christ in the centre, and Saint Ursula on her right. Before the altar, Saint John the Evangelist is collecting Christ's blood securing eternal life streaming from the *fons vitae* into his chalice. Christ's expiatory sacrifice, his body and blood in the sacrament, the intercession of the saints, and

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[645] For a summary of the different versions of the legend, see Frank Günter Zehnder, *Sankt Ursula: Legende, Verehrung, Bilderwelt* (Köln: Wienand Verlag, 1987), 13–41.

[646] One base for this imagery was the story of Odysseus, who, having himself tied to the mast of his ship, could resist the sirens' song, and was therefore considered a pagan type of Christ. See Hugo Rahner, *Greek Myths and Christian Mystery* (New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1971), 328–386.

[647] Thomas Lentes, "Die Barke zur Ewigkeit, der Mastbaum und die Waage des Kreuzes", in *Glaube Hoffnung Liebe Tod – Von der Entwicklung religiöser Bildkonzepte*, ed. Cristoph Geissmar-Brandi and Eleonora Louis (Wien: Kunsthalle, 1995), 194.

[648] Examples: Winand von Steeg: *Adamas colluctancium aquilarum*, 1419, fol. 66r, *The ship of the church*. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 412, see Ernő Marosi, "Winand von Steeg: Adamas colluctancium aquilarum," in *Sigismundus rex et imperator. Művészet és kultúra Luxemburgi Zsigmond korában. 1387-1437* [Sigismundus rex et imperator. Art and culture in the age of Sigismund of Luxemburg, 1387-1437], ed. Imre Takács (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 463–464; Hans von Kulmbach: *Das sinkende Schiff der Kirche*, woodcut from the *Speculum naturalis coelestis & propheticae visionis* by Joseph Grünpeck, Nürnberg, 1508, see Stephan Leibfried and Wolfgang Winter, *Ships of Church and State in the Sixteenth-Century Reformation and Counterreformation: Setting Sail for the Modern State* (Badia Fiesolana: European University Institute, 2014), 14.

[649] Bartholomäus Kistler: *Von Sant Ursulen schifflin*. Strassburg, 1497, see Marcus Dekiert, "Bartholomäus Kistler", in *Spätmittelalter am Oberrhein. Große Landesausstellung Baden-Württemberg 29. September 2001 – 3. Februar 2002. Teil 1. Maler und Werkstätten 1450 – 1525*, ed. Dietmar Lüdke (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2001), 390–391, Fig. 228.

prominently that of Saint Ursula on account of her merits and martyrs' death, all work toward the propitiation of God and secure salvation for the ship's passengers.

The image of the crucified Christ on the ship's mast could also feature in narrative representations of the martyrdom scene, as in the case of Daia, although this was less common. In a panel of an altarpiece from the Cistercian nunnery of Lichtental (Germany) from 1496, two crucifixes of identical design and dimension (now considerably smaller) appear: one on the top of the column-like mast of the ship, and another, which Saint Ursula is holding up in her hand (Fig. 5.28).[650] The presence of the crosses is justified by her words visualized in the form of a curling inscription scroll,[651] encouraging members of her retinue to fight bravely in Christ's cross, as eternal life will follow the cruel death brought upon them. In the central panel of Jörg Breu the Elder's Saint Ursula altarpiece (c. 1520–1530),[652] the mast of Saint Ursula's ship is replaced by a life-size figure of Christ on the cross, encompassed in a rainbow-like halo, creating a devotional focal point within the populous, stirring martyrdom scene.

The above examples show that the incorporation of the Crucifixion into a representation of Saint Ursula's martyrdom is not an iconographic oddity, but an iconographic feature fitting well into contemporary developments in the devotion to the saint and the representation of the theme.[653] This motif prompts a more comprehensive interpretation where the ship, beyond being the vessel carrying Saint Ursula and her retinue to meet their fate under the walls of Cologne, on another level also evokes the idea of the Church as a ship, in which the community of believers make their journey through life and death under the protection of the Cross – an image which at the same time also resonates with the liturgy celebrated at the high altar, a sacramental representation of Christ's redeeming sacrifice.

The body of Christ is even more emphatically the focal point of the fragmentarily surviving wall painting decoration of the sacrament niche on the north-eastern wall of the apse (Figs. 3.9, 3.10, 3.11).[654] Above the ogee-arched niche, Saint Veronica is standing before a stone wall, holding up her veil with the Holy Face. Below, the upper bodies of two haloed saints

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[650] Zehnder, *Sankt Ursula,* Taf. 1.

[651] *Jn Cruce hac Christi pugnemus fortiter om(n)es: Nec nos Conturbe(n)t crudeli morte tÿra(n)ni: Nam hoc triste malum sequitur mox vita p(er)hemnis 1496*, see Ilas Bartusch, "Baden-Baden-Lichtental, Kloster Lichtenthal, Klosterkirche/Fürstenkapelle", in *Die Deutschen Inschriften 78. Stadt Baden-Baden und Landkreis Rastatt*, no. 127 (http://www.inschriften.net/baden-baden-und-landkreis-rastatt/inschrift/nr/di078-0127.html#content, last accessed February 2020).

[652] Andrew Morrall, *Jörg Breu the Elder: Art, Culture and Belief in Reformation Augsburg* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 189–192, fig. 3.24.

[653] A notable difference from most other compositions is that in Daia the cross of Christ does not effectively form the mast of the ship, but rather hovers before it in the air as a vision, and that it is supplemented with the mourning figures of the Virgin Mary and Saint John.

[654] The composition is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.2; see also there for bibliographic references.

survive, who are turning towards the sacrament niche, their hands raised in a gesture of prayer. The figure on the left can be identified as Saint Peter, based on the fragmentary object resting against his shoulder, the surviving upper part of which resembles the shaft and bit of a key; the other saint is thus most probably Saint Paul.[655]

The Veil of Veronica, along with the heads of both apostle princes Peter and Paul, counted among the most precious relics of Rome,[656] which attracted masses of pilgrims to the Eternal City in the hope of indulgences. The image of the *sudarium* flanked by Saint Peter and Saint Paul (with or without the figure of Saint Veronica herself) thus has pilgrimage associations,[657] and was spread by pilgrim-badges from the fourteenth century onwards, and by prints later on.[658] In Transylvania several examples of this type are known on pilgrims' badges or coins reused in the decoration of bells in the second half of the fifteenth century,[659] and a similar composition has been presumed to have decorated the Lázói chapel in Alba Iulia.[660]

In Daia, this familiar composition was adapted to the context of the sacrament niche: as detailed in Chapter 3, the veil bearing the true Face of Christ was a particularly suitable and popular decoration of the tabernacle containing the body of Christ in the form of the Eucharist. The two apostolic saints associated with the *sudarium* have become adoring figures who, through their praying gestures, set an example for the viewer in the devotion to the sacrament.

5.5. Sighișoara (Segesvár, Schäßburg), parish church

A set of fragmentary representations on the northern chancel wall of the Saint Nicholas church in Sighișoara may also have served as the decoration of a sacrament niche that was later replaced with the sacrament house visible today.[661] In the upper register, to the left of the sacrament house, there is a partially surviving composition featuring an angel figure with the *arma Christi* evoking different moments of Christ's Passion: the cross with the crown of thorns,

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[655] Similar identification: Jenei, *Thèmes iconographiques,* 22 and Szabó, *Magyarvista,* 6.

[656] Eamon Duffy, *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes* (New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 2006), 182.

[657] Szabó, *Magyarvista,* 6.

[658] Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c.700–c.1500.* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 162–163.

[659] Benkő, *Erdély középkori harangjai*, 188–189.

[660] Szabó, *Magyarvista,* 6; András Kovács, "Középkori erdélyi zarándokok" [Medieval pilgrims from Transylvania], *Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Múzeum érem- és régiségtárából* 6–7 (2011–2012): 213.

[661] The wall paintings are earlier than the sacrament house dated to around 1490–1500. Although their exact dating is uncertain, they may be contemporary with the rest of the Late Gothic wall painting decoration finished in 1483–1484 following the completion of the church's reconstruction. See German, *Sakramentsnischen,* 250, 281; Dana Jenei, "Pictura murală a bisericii „din Deal" din Sighișoara" [The Wall Painting of the Church "on the Hill" in Sighișoara], *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 14–15 (2004–2005): 107–109, and Cat. No. 14, "Dating".

the ladder, rooster, lance, and sponge on a reed (Fig. 1.73). In the lower register, the mourning figure of Saint John the Evangelist suggests that a composition centred on the image of the Suffering Christ was painted here,[662] which was flanked by the figures of Saint Ursula and Saint Barbara (Figs. 1.71, 1.72). Both standing figures are represented in half profile, turning towards the composition in the centre, from which they are separated by an illusionistic frame. Both of them are wearing crowns, their long hair spreading over their mantle, and holding their conventional attributes: Saint Ursula her arrow,[663] and Saint Barbara a tower in her right hand, while in her left hand fragments of a golden chalice, most likely with the host above it, can be discerned.

Of the two virgin saints, it is Saint Barbara whose cult and iconography is most evidently linked to the devotion to the Sacrament stored in the tabernacle. Her late medieval cult was based on her role as an intercessor in the hour of death, ensuring that her devotees would not die without confession and communion. This task to protect against sudden death by securing the administration of the last rites is visualized in her attribute, the chalice with the host, which from the fifteenth century onwards was added to her original attribute, the tower.[664]

Consequently, Saint Barbara was probably the saint whose association with the Eucharist was most emphatic and most frequent in Late Gothic art,[665] and whose figure was also an obvious choice for the decoration of sacrament houses and niches.[666] Several authors point out the role of the clergy in the promotion of the cult of Saint Barbara in the context of constructing a Eucharistic discourse where clerics act as mediators of divine grace through the sacraments,[667] which were indispensable not only for a good Christian life but also to secure a good Christian death.[668] Thus, representations of Saint Barbara in a sacramental context,

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[662] See Chapter 1.6.

[663] As the arrowhead does not survive, the identification is hypothetical; still, the relatively short stick serving as the attribute of the saintly princess is most plausibly an arrow.

[664] For an analysis of this shift in Saint Barbara's iconography, see Megan Cassidy-Welch, "Prison and Sacrament in the Cult of Saints: Images of St Barbara in Late Medieval Art", *Journal of Medieval History*, 35, no. 4 (2009): 371–384.

[665] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: the Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 81; Dambeck, *Heiligenattribute,* 27–28. Saint Barbara also appears frequently with her Eucharistic attributes in Transylvanian winged altarpieces. On her cult among the Transylvanian Saxons and her representations, see Maria Crăciun, "The Cult of St Barbara and the Saxon Community of Late Medieval Transylvania", in *Identity and Alterity in Hagiography and the Cult of Saints,* ed. Ana Marincović and Trpimir Vedriš (Zagreb: Hagiotheca, 2010), 137–163.

[666] Timmermann, *Real Presence*, 306.

[667] Miri Rubin, "The Eucharist and the Construction of Medieval Identities", in *Culture and History 1350–1600: Essays on English Communities, Identities and Writing*, ed. David Aers (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992), 59.

[668] Crăciun, *The Cult of St Barbara*, 139.

besides being an expression of the devotion to the saint, may also have served as reminders of the importance of the last communion.[669]

In the uppermost register of the northern chancel wall, in the lunette of the vault in the eastern bay, the standing figure of Mary Magdalene is visible, holding her ointment jar in her hands (Fig. 5.29, 1484). The donor figure kneeling before her has been hypothetically identified as Michael Polner, mayor of the town, who had played an important role in the Late Gothic rebuilding of the church.[670] Between the two figures a plant pot can be seen, the whole composition being framed by an unusually long decorative inscription scroll, for the most part unreadable.[671]

In her study of the wall painting, Corina Popa remarks that, just as in the case of the donor portraits on the western side of the chancel arch, this votive image was associated with representations evoking Christ's sacrifice in the lower register, and suggests that the saint's key role played in the Passion story probably earned her this privileged place within the chancel decoration.[672] Indeed, Mary Magdalene plays an important role in the Gospel narratives not only as a witness of Christ's Crucifixion and Entombment, but also as a discoverer of the empty tomb, and, according to some accounts, the first person to encounter the risen Christ.[673]

At the same time, an important aspect of her cult was that as a repenting sinner, she was set as an example of perfect penance for the believers, primarily in mendicant preaching.[674] The reverence for the saint is also traceable among the Dominicans of the town of Sighișoara, who, not long after the completion of the chancel decoration of the parish church, commissioned an altarpiece for an altar dedicated to Mary Magdalene.[675]

As Katherine Ludwig Jansen argues in her monograph on the saint, one of the main factors behind the late medieval flourishing of the cult of Mary Magdalene was the reformulation of the sacrament of penance at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, by making an annual confession of sins obligatory.[676] The same decree *Omnis utriusque sexus* also required all believers to take communion at least once a year at Easter, for which confession and penance were a prerequisite, cleansing and preparing the penitent for the reception of the

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[669] Achim Timmermann, "Staging the Eucharist: Late Gothic Sacrament Houses in Swabia and the Upper Rhine", Ph.D. dissertation (London: Courtauld Institute, University of London, 1996), 252.

[670] Popa, *Sighișoara*, 181.

[671] Dana Jenei has read a part of the inscription as *S. MARIA MAGDALENA. 1484,* see Jenei, *Sighișoara,* 112.

[672] Popa, *Sighișoara,* 180.

[673] The *Noli me tangere* scene being represented on the northern wall of the tower base. On this composition, see Sarkadi Nagy, *Összefüggések,* 343.

[674] Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen*, 203–206.

[675] Around 1490–1500, see Firea, *Polipticele medievale*, 295.

[676] Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen*, 199–201.

Eucharist. The close connection between the sacraments of confession and communion, characteristic for late medieval religiosity,[677] can also be observed in the case of the veneration of Mary Magdalene, whose example served not only to promote the cult of penance but also to provide a model for devotion to the Eucharist.[678] In the last episode of her life as narrated in the Golden Legend, when feeling the approach of her death after thirty years of retirement in the desert, she announces bishop Maximian to meet her in the church, where, accompanied by a choir of angels, *shedding tears of joy, [she] received the Lord's Body and Blood from the bishop* before she lay down in front of the altar and her soul departed to God.[679] The Last Communion of Mary Magdalene was a popular Eucharistic theme in mendicant sermons, as well as in wall paintings and altarpieces primarily in Italy, but also north of the Alps.[680] The figure of Mary Magdalene was also frequently incorporated in the iconographic programs of tabernacles.[681] On the sacrament house in the Saint James' church in Rothenburg ob der Tauber (Germany) the figures of Saint Barbara with her chalice and Mary Magdalene with her ointment jar are flanking the host compartment.[682] In the fourteenth-century wall painting decoration of the sacrament niche in Väskinde (Sweden), Mary Magdalene appears kneeling before the figure of the enthroned Christ, wiping his feet with her hair. In an analysis of this rare composition, Mereth Lindgren interprets the figure of the sinner-saint as a personification of the faithful in their devotion to the *Corpus Christi* stored in the tabernacle.[683]

The reasons behind the donor's choice to be represented in the company of Mary Magdalene in Sighișoara remain unclear. Besides her close association with Christ as recorded in the Gospels, a further appeal of the saint as an intercessor and model may have been her hope-giving transformation from a sinner into a saint, suggesting both the importance and efficacy of the sacraments of penance and communion in attaining salvation.

While not explicitly Eucharistic, one more hagiographic composition within the church interior deserves a brief excursus by virtue of its liturgical connections. In a rhomboid vault compartment between the first two piers (counting from the east) separating the northern aisle

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[677] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 84.
[678] Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen*, 222–224.
[679] *The Golden Legend*, 381.
[680] Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 81.
[681] Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen*, 222.
[682] Timmermann, *Real presence*, 49–51, fig. 50.
[683] Mereth Lindgren, "Sakramentsskåpens ikonografi" [The iconography of tabernacles], in *Ting och Tanke. Ikonografi pa liturgiska föremal* [Thing and thought. The iconography of liturgical objects], ed. Ingalill Pegelow (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 1998), 172.

from the nave, the representations of Saint Michael and Apostle Matthew[684] were painted (Fig. 5.30). The year (1)483 at the end of the inscription scroll encompassing the figure of Matthew dates both compositions, which were probably painted by the same workshop as the representation of Mary Magdalene in the chancel.[685] Below both figures, the emblem of the furriers' guild was painted in two versions, pointing to the identity of the commissioners.[686]

The figure of Saint Michael was painted on the eastern half of the vault compartment connected to the north-eastern pier (Figs. 5.31, 5.32). The saint is wearing a yellow alb and a stole crossed diagonally on his chest. In his left hand he is holding a scale with a praying soul – depicted as a naked homunculus in a kneeling posture – visible on one of its pans, while raising a sword above his head with his right hand, ready to fight the Evil represented as grotesque devil figures.[687]

According to the regulation of the furriers' guild in Sighișoara issued in the following year (1484), the members of the guild had the duty to light candles on the altar of Saint Michael at vespers, matins, as well as on all feast days at singing, with a penalty of one pound of wax being imposed on members neglecting this duty.[688]

Although there is no indication of the location of this altar, it seems a likely possibility that it stood in the parish church, placed against the easternmost northern pier, below the wall painting representing its titular saint.[689] The western side of piers between the nave and the aisles was a common place for side altars in the late medieval period. Remnants of the stone masonry of such altars can still be observed in Sighișoara in case of the middle piers of both the northern and the southern row.

The wall painting decoration of the vault directly followed a rebuilding campaign involving the transformation of the nave into a hall church.[690] It is unsure whether an altarpiece was also commissioned at this time to visually enhance this altar. In any case, presuming such a direct spatial connection between the altar of Saint Michael and his wall painting

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[684] The figure follows a composition by Schongauer depicting Apostle Philip (B. 38), taking over the attribute of Philip (the cross) as well. The saint can be identified as Matthew based on the accompanying inscription, cf. Cat. No. 14, "Inscriptions". For the identification of its model, see Firea, *Polipticele medievale,* 93–94.

[685] Jenei, *Sighișoara*, 111–112.

[686] Drăguț, *Arta gotică*, 245; Jenei, *Sighișoara*, 112. On connections of this image to mayor Michael Polner, see Sarkadi Nagy, *Altarpieces*, 89.

[687] For considerations of the iconography, the graphic sources and analogies of this composition, see Jenei, *Sighișoara*, 112–113, and Sarkadi Nagy, *Altarpieces*, 50–51, 89.

[688] Friedrich Müller, ed. *Deutsche Sprachdenkmäler aus Siebenbürgen: aus schriftlichen Quellen des zwölften bis sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Hermannstadt: Steinhausen, 1864), 99. See Cat. No. 14, "Historical data".

[689] Emese Sarkadi Nagy already made the connection between this clause of the guild's regulation and the mural painting, assuming that the source referred to an altarpiece, Sarkadi Nagy, *Altarpieces*, 89.

[690] See Cat. No. 14, "Architectural context".

representation, the mural may have fulfilled various functions generally associated with altarpieces: acting as a titulus indicating the altar's dedication, expressing devotion to the titular saint, as well as providing a visual emphasis to this important locus of the guild's devotional life.

5.6. Conclusion

The examples discussed above constitute only a part of the hagiographical representations in the wall painting decoration of chancels or otherwise associated with altars, many of which have no discernible Eucharistic connotations. Although in the selection of saints to be represented in the chancel – just as in any part of the church – factors like the spread of a saint's cult and a need for his or her intercession, as well as personal preferences of the donors and the inventors of the iconographic programs must have played a primary role, some representations of saints seem to carry an additional layer of meaning connected to Eucharistic devotion. The fact that most of the latter images are located in the chancel[691] suggests conscious choices on the part of the inventors of the iconographic programs in adapting the subject matter of the wall paintings to the function of the given liturgical space.

Based on the way they evoke the Eucharist, the representations can be divided into two groups: while some explicitly depict the Eucharistic species contained in a monstrance or a chalice, or make a reference to it in the form of heavenly nourishment provided to a saint, others allude to the sacramental body of Christ in a subtler way, by recalling Christ's sacrifice on the cross through specific iconographic details. This parallelism is most explicit in cases when – using Timmermann's typological framework of interpretation – the connection between the saintly martyrdom (the type) and Christ's crucifixion (the antitype) is suggested either by the juxtaposition of the two (Sibiu) or their combination within one composition (Daia).

While often the association of a saint with the sacrament can readily be traced back to their cult and legend, in some cases it seems to be more incidental, such as the equipment of Saint Valentine with a monstrance, or the representation of Saint Peter and Saint Paul as adoring figures flanking the tabernacle. Both compositions can be explained with the use of visual sources taken from a different context (here: the veneration of relics), which acquire an additional, Eucharistic meaning in the new context.

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[691] As an exception, a depiction of Saint Francis receiving the wounds of Christ on the north wall of the tower base in the Saint Nicholas church in Sighișoara seems to be thematically linked to the neighbouring Passion scenes and may have a Eucharistic connotation, see Dittmeyer, *Gewalt und Heil,* 143.

Due to the fragmentary survival of chancel decorations from this period, it is difficult to draw a general conclusion about the place of hagiographical compositions with Eucharistic associations in the iconographic programs. In cases when they can be analysed in the context of other elements of the contemporary chancel decoration, representations of saints bearing Eucharistic connotation tend to supplement more conventional, straightforward Eucharistic imagery – such as the Crucifixion, *arma Christi*, or Veronica's veil – which provide a reference point for the interpretation of the images of saints set in the service of Eucharistic devotion.

Conclusion

Through an investigation of Eucharistic imagery in the Late Gothic wall paintings of Transylvania, this thesis was intended as a contribution to the study of interconnections between image, liturgy, and devotion within the late medieval church interior, as well as to research on the individual wall painting ensembles used as case studies.

In line with the results of earlier studies on medieval wall paintings in a liturgical context,[692] the analysed examples confirm an evident interconnection between the function of spaces dedicated to mass celebration and the iconography of their wall painting decoration. The recurrence of representations evoking the sacrifice of Christ in the decoration of chancels, chapels, and side altars suggests that the function of a given liturgical space was an important, if not the only, factor determining iconographic choices. While in many cases explicit sacramental motifs such as chalice-holding angels underscore their Eucharistic meaning, even without such straightforward references, visual evocations of Christ's sacrifice must have been considered as relevant to its liturgical representation at the altar.

While particular image types in the focus of each chapter could all be taken to refer to the body of Christ present in the sacrament, they display different patterns in their placement within the church interior, modes of representing the body of Christ and engaging the viewer, and potential meanings and associations.

The five surviving examples of single Crucifixions discussed in Chapter 1 show a remarkable iconographic variety and suggest the recurrence of this theme in the decoration of chancel walls or as the main image over an altar located in the nave or in a chapel. The analyses of Crucifixion scenes pointed to various visual strategies aimed at focusing the viewer's gaze on the body of Christ, and at merging the boundaries between a biblical past and a liturgical present, the reality of the image and that of the viewer. Particularly interesting is the large variety of secondary figures associated with the Crucifixion: in addition to the participants described in the Gospels, figures from allegories and parables, saints, and portraits of contemporaries. Engaged in an act of viewing Christ, or otherwise reacting to the central event, they provide models of identification for the viewer; in some cases the ideal attitudes of

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[692] Regnerus Steensma, "Anordnungsprinzipien der Wandmalereien in Groninger Kirchen," in *Wandmalerei in Niedersachsen, Bremen und im Groningerland*, ed. Rolf-Jürgen Grote and Kees van der Ploeg (Hannover: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2001), 99–100; Eric Palazzo, "Art and Liturgy in the Middle Ages: Survey of Research (1980-2003) and Some Reflections on Method," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 105 (2006): 170–184; Wehli, *Tematikai és ikonográfiai jelenségek*, 191; Kroesen, *Village Church,* 27.

compassion and devotion to the crucified Christ are underlined by an antithesis with negative models. In these respects, single images of the Crucifixion within the material under study are clearly differentiated from representations of the theme depicted as part of Passion cycles, which display less iconographic flexibility.

Passion cycles – placed typically on the northern wall, often in an association with the sacrament niche – were another typical element of chancel decorations. While visual narratives of Christ's sacrifice in their entirety could have been seen as relevant to the mass celebrated in memory of the Passion, the examples in Chapter 4 suggest – in line with the results of earlier research on Passion cycles – that individual episodes differed in their potential to convey a Eucharistic meaning. The key scenes of the Crucifixion and the Last Supper highlighted through their size and placement in Cluj and Râșnov are at the same time the episodes most relevant to the mass sacrifice from a theological point of view. Representations of the Descent from the Cross and the Entombment centred on the helpless, tortured body of Christ stripped of his clothes and bleeding from his wounds were also particularly well suited to express a Eucharistic message and serve as foci for devotion to the Corpus Christi. This connection was sometimes reinforced by specific iconographic solutions underscoring sacramental associations, as demonstrated in the case of the representations of the Descent from the Cross in Suseni and the Entombment in Mărtiniș, both known today from watercolour copies.

Based on an examination of the six surviving examples of the Man of Sorrows and the related image type of the *Notgottes* in Chapter 2, the placement of these images seems to have been less standardized. Nevertheless, their frequent spatial association with the altar and the sacrament niche – with images of the Suffering Christ painted either directly above these structures, or on a neighbouring wall – and the recurrence of the motif of the chalice catching the blood of Christ in some of the representations point to their appreciation as images with a strong potential to express a Eucharistic message.

Images of the Man of Sorrows present a different mode of representing the body of Christ than Crucifixion scenes or Passion cycles. Being alive and atemporal, the very posture of the *Vir dolorum* is defined by the aim to provide the best view of his wounds, which he invites the viewer to behold in an act of self-display. The two different modes are sometimes contrasted within one ensemble through a juxtaposition of the Man of Sorrows with the Calvary (in the parish church in Sibiu) or a Passion cycle (in the Saint Michael's church in Cluj). In both cases, the Man of Sorrows is placed lower – that is, spatially closer to the beholder – than the representation of the Passion events set in a well-defined historical time. Turned towards the viewer, addressing him directly while displaying the signs of his adjacently depicted Passion,

the figure of the Man of Sorrows might have been considered more efficient in engaging the viewer in a compassionate contemplation of his sufferings.

The act of display – this time by Saint Veronica or figures of angels – is also emphatic in depictions of Veronica's veil analysed in Chapter 3, with praying figures of identification – saints or donors – sometimes providing an example for the viewer in the adoration of the Holy Face. The Veronica has been described in earlier research as a multivalent image; the analyses of case studies confirmed its adaptability to various iconographic and functional contexts. Its recurring placement in a Eucharistic context – above the sacrament niche (in Daia), or else in an association with the liturgy performed at the high altar –, its formal resemblance to a host wafer (in Feliceni), and the motif of angels clad in liturgical vestments (in Sighișoara and Biertan) show that besides its connections to the cult of the Roman relic and its eschatological associations, the representation of the Holy Face was in some cases understood to refer to the body of Christ present in the sacrament.

From among the representations of saints depicted on the chancel walls within the material under study, nine compositions from five churches were selected for examination in Chapter 5 based on their sacramental connotations. The analyses demonstrated two patterns in which figures of saints were associated with the Eucharist in their iconography. Single figures of saints could acquire Eucharistic attributes based on their vita (Saint Paul the Hermit, Boian), their intercessory powers related to the Sacrament (Saint Barbara, Sighișoara), through a reinterpretation of a model (Saint Valentine, Sibiu), or an association presently unaccounted for (Saint Fabian, Cluj). In addition, some representations of saintly martyrdoms carried the potential to evoke the sacrifice of Christ through specific iconographic details. While an examination of analogies showed that the placement of the Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand with an emphasized *imitatio Christi* aspect and of the Christ-like figure of Saint Sebastian was recurrent in a Eucharistic context, as opposed to the other image types discussed in the thesis, they were less suited to connote the Eucharistic body of Christ in themselves; their sacrificial meaning would have been activated primarily through a typological juxtaposition with a representation of Christ's sacrifice and their spatial association with the altar. From among the different iconographic themes under study, the sacramental connotation of images of saints has received the least attention so far. The line of inquiry followed here could be extended to a larger sample of hagiographical compositions appearing in the decoration of altars, sacrament houses and niches, and on chancel walls, to learn more about patterns in which some representations of saints in these contexts bore references to the Eucharist and the Passion of Christ.

In several cases a juxtaposition of different image types focused on the body of Christ can be observed, facilitating various meaningful associations and amplifying Eucharistic meaning. The monumental Calvary composition in the parish church in Sibiu originally featured three Christological images along its central vertical axis, evoking important events of salvation history – Christ's incarnation, death on the cross and resurrection – in chronological order. The juxtaposition of the crucified Christ with the representation of the Eucharistic species in Maiad appears like a visual statement of equivalence between the two.

Similar juxtapositions implying some type of correspondence can be detected not only within single compositions but also among different images within an ensemble, being a means of creating meaning characteristic for the medium of wall painting. Examples of such associations include the juxtaposition of the Man of Sorrows with the *arma* evoking various Passion events and the narrative depiction of the Passion on two adjacent walls in Cluj, or the placement of the Holy Face described in prayers as an anticipation of the sight of the Lord as Judge at the second coming opposite to the figure of Christ on the Last Judgement scene in Biertan. The vertical juxtaposition of the Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand evoking the Passion of Christ in several details and of the Crucifixion in Sibiu (former church of the Dominican nunnery) implies a typological connection between the two events; the sophisticated iconographic program in Mediaș allows for a whole network of possible interconnections, including one between the image of the dead Christ held by God the Father, identified by Saint John the Baptist as the Lamb of God and the image of the *Agnus Dei* in the centre of the vault. These meaningful juxtapositions testify to a conscious planning on the part of the inventors of the iconographic programs and a conception of wall painting ensembles as more than the sums of their parts.

While connections to the Eucharistic cult and liturgy were in the focus of this thesis, a plurality of intertwined layers of meaning can be presumed in the case of most representations. Images of Christ's sacrifice were equally well suited to provide a palpable form to the mystery of the Eucharist and to evoke empathy with Christ's sufferings; they can thus be regarded as belonging to the imagery of both partly overlapping fields of late medieval Passion devotion and Eucharistic devotion.

In addition, the analyses pointed to an emphasized ecclesiological overtone of some of the compositions examined. In particular, the association of the figure of Saint Peter, or of both apostle princes Peter and Paul, with Eucharistic imagery may have been intended to underscore the role of the Church and priesthood as mediators of salvation through the sacraments. The particular version of the Martyrdom of Saint Ursula with the Crucifixion appearing before the

mast may also have evoked the idea of the Church as a ship, on board of which Christian believers make their journey toward the harbour of eternal life.

Similarly frequent was an association of images of Christ's sacrifice with the Last Judgement or other eschatological themes on the chancel walls,[693] the chancel arch,[694] or in chapels in which masses for the dead were presumably celebrated,[695] emphasizing the soteriological significance of Christ's death on the cross. The Eucharistic, ecclesiological, and eschatological layers of meaning are sometimes intertwined in complex iconographic programs like the ones decorating the chapels in Hărman and Mediaș.

The analyses aimed to examine wall paintings as part of a larger complex formed by the ritual, spiritual, and material components of mass celebration. In several instances, a potential connection was suggested between images and specific moments of the liturgy, primarily of the Canon of the Mass. In particular, the analyses of the wall paintings in Mediaș and Maiad demonstrated the possibility of numerous associations between the images and liturgical texts. More generally, it was suggested – in line with arguments in earlier research – that an association between images centred on an act of display of the body of Christ – such as most representations of the Veronica – and the act of the Elevation of the Host would have been plausible in a Eucharistic context. In a similar vein, depictions of the *Corpus Christi* (represented as the Man of Sorrows, the Holy Face, or as the chalice and the host) held by angels clad in liturgical vestments might have been understood to evoke the act of the angels carrying the Eucharistic sacrifice to the heavenly altar, as expressed in the words of the *Supplices te rogamus* prayer.

It is important to note that in such cases no one-to-one correspondence is implied between an image and a liturgical text or act, all the less so as a liturgical meaning is only one of several possible associations of most images, as suggested above. Rather, such parallels are better perceived as potential connections, which may have played a role in the choice of iconographic themes, and which may have been activated in a given context in case the viewer was equipped with a liturgical knowledge enabling such connections.

References to the material equipment of the mass and Eucharistic devotion are even more explicit in several images painted on the chancel walls. Representations of liturgical utensils include chalices held by angels in images of the Crucifixion or the Man of Sorrows, and monstrances and chalices appearing as the attributes of saints. The vestments worn by the

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[693] In Mărtiniș and in the former church of the Dominican nunnery in Sibiu.
[694] In Sighișoara.
[695] In Mediaș, Biertan, and Hărman.

celebrants and his assistants recur in the representations of saints wearing a chasuble,[696] and of angels clad in albs. Some images may have been meant to more indirectly evoke the host placed on the corporal, as argued in the case of the Veronica's veil painted on the eastern chancel wall in Vlaha, or the representation of the sacrificed body of Christ laid on a shroud in the Entombment scene in Mărtiniș.

While there are no sources to shed light on the intentions behind specific iconographic choices or the reception of images other than the wall paintings themselves, a few observations on the connections between word, image, and ritual can be made. Without reducing them to simple illustrations of liturgical texts or theological concepts, it seems that wall paintings often paralleled through visual means the words of the celebrant, or reflected essential ideas connected to the mass and salvation. In particular, it appears that wall paintings were well suited to represent concepts which, while evident theological truths and expressed in different prayers of the mass, were less palpable throughout the ritual, such as the true essence of the Eucharist as the body and blood of Christ, imperceptible under the species of the bread and wine, the identity between the sacrifice of Golgotha and that of the altar, or the connection of the earthly and the heavenly spheres throughout the celebration of the mass. As pointed out in earlier research, wall paintings – similarly to other forms of monumental art – contributed to the structuring of liturgical space, distinguishing areas with different functions within the church interior.[697] At the same time, images of the Corpus Christi conceived to resonate with the Eucharistic liturgy as a whole, or with its specific moments, were presumably a defining feature enhancing the experience of the mass, whether one envisages the officiating clergy facing an image of the sacrificed Christ painted on the altar wall of a chapel, or being confronted with depictions of the Passion on the northern chancel wall while occupying their seat placed along the opposite wall. For the laity following mass from the nave, images like the Veronica or the Crucifixion painted on the chancel arch provided in some cases meaningful visual frames for the ritual.[698]

An examination of wall paintings in connection with the liturgical furnishing they decorated has also proved a fruitful line of inquiry. While within the material under study no complete ensemble of an altar and its wall painting decoration has survived, such connections can in some cases be reconstructed based on traces suggesting the location of an altar later

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[696] For instance, the figures of Saint Peter and an unidentified bishop saint flanking the Crucifixion in Hărman or the figure of Saint Valentine holding a monstrance in the former church of the Dominican nunnery in Sibiu.
[697] Cf. Palazzo, *Art and Liturgy*, 175–176, with references to further literature.
[698] As in Feliceni, Sighișoara, and Maiad.

removed[699] or written evidence,[700] in other cases presumed based on the placement of wall painting compositions in parts of the church interior where side altars were typically positioned, or their design sometimes imitating winged altarpieces. In the material under study, wall paintings were used as the decoration of altars located in the nave or in chapels, with no example of a mural retable painted on the eastern chancel wall, associated with a high altar, surviving.[701]

The analysed examples of mural altarpieces demonstrate various formal and spatial arrangements. In most cases, wall paintings with a similar function were painted above the altar mensa, although unlike a three-dimensional retable, they did not necessarily appear to be attached to the altar, but could be positioned somewhat higher. In some cases, they display formal features inspired by winged altarpieces, as the imitated triptych in Mediaș, or the Calvary composition in Maiad with a predella-like lower panel. In other cases, wall paintings without any formal resemblance to wooden altarpieces presumably fulfilled similar functions of visually highlighting the altar, indicating its dedication, and serving as a backdrop for mass celebration, like the Calvary scene painted on the eastern wall of the chapel in Hărman, or the Passion cycle on the northern wall of the south-western tower base in Cluj.

A particular arrangement combining decoration in various media can be presumed in Biertan, where lacunae in the painted decoration of the southern chapel wall suggest that a smaller-sized retable may have been placed on the altar, flanked by two wall painting "panels" painted in trompe l'oeil. In Sighișoara, a figure of Saint Michael on the nave vault may have been commissioned by the furriers' guild to visually enhance the altar of the saint probably positioned below the mural, against the easternmost northern pier.

The case studies thus demonstrate a considerable variety in form and spatial relationship to the altar. Mural altarpieces in Transylvanian wall painting would deserve further exploration including works not distinctly Eucharistic in their iconography[702] and which date earlier than the chronological frame of the current study.

Wall painting was also commonly used in the decoration of sacrament niches. Analyses of representations fulfilling such a function in Cluj, Daia, Ormeniș, Sighișoara, and Suseni have demonstrated evident interconnections between their iconography and the sacrament stored in the tabernacle they adorned. While various representation types were used in the decoration of

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[699] Such as gaps in the painted layer suggesting the placement of the altars in the chapels in Mediaș and Biertan.

[700] In case of the altar of Saint Michael in Sighișoara.

[701] Such solutions are known from earlier periods. From among the earlier examples of Transylvanian wall paintings mentioned in the thesis, the Christological compositions on the eastern chancel wall in Vlaha dating from around 1400 may have been meant to serve as the backdrop for mass celebration.

[702] Such as the two imitated winged altarpieces on both sides of the chancel arch in Racu (Csíkrákos).

sacrament niches, a characteristic pattern is a placement of a composition centred on the figure of the sacrificed Christ above the niche, aligned with its vertical axis, as the Holy Face in Daia, or the Passion cycle concluding with the Crucifixion in Cluj.[703]

While a comprehensive examination of chancel decoration programs remains a task for future research, a few general observations can be made in this respect. Within the material under study, a concentration of images evoking the sacrifice of Christ – the Crucifixion, the Man of Sorrows, Veronica's veil, and the Passion cycle – on the northern side of the chancel can be observed. The considerations regarding the recurrence of Passion cycles on the northern wall detailed in Chapter 4 can be extended to partially account for patterns in the placement of all Christological images: the sacrament niche positioned on the northern chancel wall or the north-eastern wall of the apse probably inspired a concentration of images of Christ's sacrifice in these areas, whether or not they were directly connected to the tabernacle.[704] Several cases where the decoration of both sides of the chancel can be compared confirm this pattern, as the iconographic programs in Suseni and Mărtiniș, partially documented through watercolour copies, which include representations of the Passion on the northern wall combined with Mariological or eschatological themes on the opposite wall.

It has to be noted, however, that within the examined material, the wall painting decoration of the southern chancel wall is much less frequently preserved in the first place. This pattern of survival raises the possibility that in case there was no intention or means to decorate the entire surface of the chancel, the decoration may have been concentrated on the northern wall, which, usually unbroken by windows,[705] offered a more suitable surface for monumental painting, with the visual enhancement of the tabernacle as the place of storage of the body of Christ furnishing an important task of decoration. The fragmentary nature of the evidence, however, does not permit far-reaching conclusions in this respect.

The Late Gothic period has often been described as one of decline in the history of wall painting on the territory of medieval Hungary, when this medium has lost its significance due to reasons like the widespread of winged altarpieces, or a lower number of new tasks for

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[703] In Sighișoara, only the mourning figure of Saint John the Evangelist is preserved of what presumably had been a similar composition with the figure of Christ in the centre, which probably decorated the sacrament niche before the installation of the sacrament house.

[704] In some cases, compositions with evident Eucharistic connotations survive on wall sections adjacent to the one with the tabernacle, for instance a Calvary scene with chalice-holding angels in Cârța, or the Angel Pietà in Sântimbru.

[705] The decoration of the chancel of the former church of the Dominican nunnery in Sibiu presents an exception to this pattern; with the convent building being attached to the southern wall of the chancel and windows opened in the northern wall, here the southern wall offered a coherent surface for a vast figural program including representations of Christ's sacrifice.

painters, most surfaces in the church interiors being already decorated with wall paintings from earlier periods. As it is usually observed, there was no more demand for coherent decoration programs covering the entire chancel or nave walls, with disparate devotional scenes taking their place.[706]

While these observations are accurate in some respects, especially concerning the decoration of naves, based on the material analysed in the thesis it can be argued that wall painting was still an important means to visually highlight the chancel as the most important space of the church interior. Wall painting decoration was sometimes carried out as part of the Late Gothic reconstruction of the chancel, as in Ionești and probably in Mărtiniș; in other cases, thirteenth or fourteenth-century chancels were updated with wall paintings in the Late Gothic period, as in Sighișoara, Sibiu (parish church), Râșnov, Suseni, and Sânvăsii (Nyárádszentlászló).[707] This was also the time when several chapels in the churchyard cemeteries, sometimes dating centuries earlier based on their architectural features, received extensive wall painting decoration.

Since in most cases it is not known what percentage of the original decoration the surviving fragments represent, no estimate can be given as to the prevalence of wall painting programs covering the entire chancel interior. While, as noted above, the uneven distribution of surviving compositions within the chancel space may suggest that in some cases the wall painting decoration was concentrated on the northern wall, in other cases chancels received a more extensive decoration. The single case of an entirely painted chancel preserved is the late fifteenth-century decoration of the fourteenth-century chancel in Sânvăsii, following a traditional iconographic scheme with the representation of the Maiestas Domini on the vault and apostles on the walls. Elements of this iconographic scheme and evidence that the painted decoration probably covered all surfaces of the chancel can be found in Suseni (documented through watercolour copies) and in Bădești[708] (now partly under whitewash), suggesting that coherent decoration programs extending to the whole chancel interior may not have been the exception in the Late Gothic period either. In some other cases, even though there is no evidence that the entire surface of the chancel was painted, spectacular decoration programs demonstrating a monumental conception and iconographic coherence survive, as in Daia and

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[706] Radocsay, *Falképek*, 24–25; *Magyarországi művészet,* 191–193, 195, 701; Jenei, *Thèmes iconographiques,* 11–12.

[707] On this ensemble, not containing any of the sacrificial image types in the focus of this thesis, see Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek*, 252–271.

[708] See Zsombor Jékely, "Bádok – Református templom" [Bádok – Calvinist church], in „*...ideje az építésnek...*" *A Rómer Flóris Terv műemlék-helyreállításai* [„...a time to build..." Monument restorations in the framework of the Rómer Flóris plan], ed. Tibor Kollár (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2018), 20–21.

in the church of the Dominican nunnery in Sibiu, or are documented through watercolour copies, as in Mărtiniș.

In most cases there are no direct sources to shed light on the circumstances of the creation and commissioning of the wall paintings. Most direct indicators of patronage – donor portraits, inscriptions, or coat of arms – survive in an urban context, namely in the Saxon towns of Sibiu and Sighișoara. To be noted is a proliferation of donor portraits compared to earlier periods, with four compositions containing altogether six figures of donors surviving. While their identification in all cases remains at best hypothetical, these portraits, together with such symbols of group identities as a guild emblem, testify to a diversity of categories of patrons within urban society, including members of the clerical and secular elite, and guilds.[709] The evidence of the joint patronage of a donor accompanied by the emblem of the painter's guild and a tonsured priestly figure on the chancel arch of the parish church in Sighișoara suggests that the actual mechanisms of patronage may have been even more varied than such clear-cut categories would suggest.

In some cases, aspects of the circumstances of creation can be reconstructed even when the wall paintings contain no direct indicators of patronage. Based on motifs known from pilgrims' badges carved on the corbels, András Kovács has connected the reconstruction of the chancel in Ionești, including the decoration of the northern wall with a Passion cycle, to a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, presumably taking place before the rebuilding campaign completed in 1522.[710] In a similar vein, it has been suggested in Chapter 3 that the image of the Veronica painted on the eastern wall of the chapel in the so-called Catholics' tower in Biertan, resembling the type associated with the Roman relic, possibly commemorated a pilgrimage to Rome completed by parish priest Martinus Schezer in 1493. It is notable in this context that the wall painting decoration of the chancel in Râșnov dates from the same holy year of 1500 when parish priest *Laurentius* undertook a pilgrimage to the Eternal City, as his enrolment in the Holy Spirit Confraternity in Rome suggests.[711] The connection of the art of the parish churches to pilgrimages would deserve further exploration.

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[709] Cf. Ciprian Firea, "Evidence of Patronage in Late Medieval Transylvania. Saxon Priests as Promoters of the Arts," *Annales Universitatis Apulensis Series Historica* 2 (2012), 151.

[710] András Kovács, "The Transylvanian Pilgrims of El Camino. Corbels of the Sanctuary of Homoródjánosfalva (Ionești, RO)," in *Bonum ut Pulchrum: Essays in Art History in Honour of Ernő Marosi on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Lívia Varga, László Beke, Anna Jávor, Pál Lővei, and Imre Takács (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó - MTA Művészettörténeti Kutatóintézet, 2010), 493–500.

[711] This connection was observed by Dana Jenei in idem, *Pictura*, 172. For an argument on the role of parish priests as patrons in localities inhabited by the Transylvanian Saxons of lesser importance than the major urban centres, see Firea, *Evidence of Patronage*, 149–172.

On a more specific level, the research has contributed to our knowledge about the individual wall painting ensembles examined. The catalogue of the thesis includes entries on several recently recovered wall paintings yet unpublished, or ones that have not been dedicated separate studies yet.[712] In some cases, previous iconographic identifications were amended, as of a representation of the Martyrdom of Saint Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins in Daia displaying a rare iconography, or of the introductory scenes of the Passion cycle in Cluj preserved in a fragmentary state. In other cases, hypotheses about the iconography of now lost details were formulated based on analogies.

The study of visual sources and analogies has generally proved a fruitful line of inquiry. For some representations, direct compositional sources were identified, as for the figure of Saint Valentine in the former church of the Dominican nunnery in Sibiu, modelled on a woodcut by Lucas Cranach, which, besides providing a firm *terminus post quem* for the dating of the ensemble, also accounts for the unusual iconography of the saint. Even in cases when no direct source was found, an examination of compositional analogies enabled a better understanding of the representations in the context of contemporary iconographic trends. At the same time, lesser-known Transylvanian examples of rare image types bear relevance to the study of these image types in general: the image of the three estates in Hărman is one of the – to my knowledge – three surviving representations of this theme in wall painting; the scene of the Martyrdom of Saint Ursula with the crucifix on the ship's mast in Daia is one of a few examples of this rare allegorical type in any medium.

Corresponding to its twofold aim, the dissertation has contributed to the study of Late Gothic wall paintings in Transylvania through their examination in the context of the ritual which was the primary function of the churches and chapels they decorated, and also to research on the visual culture of the Eucharistic cult and liturgy through the inclusion of lesser-known new material into its study. In addition to confirming connections between wall paintings adorning liturgical spaces serving for mass celebration and the ritual performed here, the research has yielded new insights regarding the potential of the various representation types to convey a Eucharistic meaning, the various ways wall painting was employed to visually enhance the immediate or broader environment of the altar, interconnections within the iconographic programs and patterns of decorating the church interior, and contributed to a mapping of the Central European connections of Transylvanian artistic phenomena.

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[712] Such as the wall paintings in Cârța and in the former church of the Dominican nunnery in Sibiu.

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Concordance of Transylvanian place names

Romanian	Hungarian	German
Alba Iulia	Gyulafehérvár	Karlsburg
Alma	Küküllőalmás	Almen
Alţâna	Alcina	Alzen
Apold	Apold	Trappold
Bădeşti	Bádok	
Băgaciu	Szászbogács	Bogeschdorf
Bâra	Berekeresztúr	Kreutzdorf
Beia	Homoródbene	Meeburg
Biertan	Berethalom	Birthälm
Boian	Alsóbajom	Bonnesdorf
Braşov	Brassó	Kronstadt
Bruiu	Brulya	Braller
Cârţa	Csíkkarcfalva	
Cetatea de Baltă	Küküllővár	Kokelburg
Chimindia	Keménd	
Chilieni	Kilyén	
Cincu	Nagysink	Groß-Schenk
Cisnădie	Nagydisznód	Heltau
Cluj	Kolozsvár	Klausenburg
Crăciunel	Homoródkarácsonyfalva	Krötschendorf
Curciu	Küküllőkőrös	Kirtsch
Daia	Székelydálya	
Dârjiu	Székelyderzs	
Dealu Frumos	Lesses	Schönberg
Delniţa	Csíkdelne	
Dumbrăvioara	Sáromberke	Scharnberg
Feliceni	Felsőboldogfalva	
Ghelinţa	Gelence	
Hărman	Szászhermány	Honigberg
Ioneşti	Homoródjánosfalva	Eissdorf
Jelna	Kiszsolna	Senndorf
Leliceni	Csíkszentlélek	
Maiad	Nyomát	
Mărtiniş	Homoródszentmárton	Sankt Marten
Mălâncrav	Almakerék	Malmkrog
Mediaş	Medgyes	Mediasch
Mihăileni	Csíkszentmihály	
Moşna	Muzsna	Meschen
Movile	Százhalom	Hundertbücheln
Mugeni	Bögöz	Begesen
Ocna Sibiului	Vizakna	Salzburg
Ormeniş	Szászörményes	Irmesch
Păuca	Pókafalva	Törnen

Prejmer	Prázsmár	Tartlau
Râșnov	Barcarozsnyó	Rosenau
Sântimbru	Marosszentimre	Emrichsdorf
Sânvăsii	Nyárádszentlászló	
Sebeș	Szászsebes	Mühlbach
Sibiu	Nagyszeben	Hermannstadt
Sighișoara	Segesvár	Schäßburg
Suseni	Marosfelfalu	
Șoimeni	Sólyomkő	
Șumuleu Ciuc	Csíksomlyó	Schomlenberg
Târnava	Nagyekemező	Grossprobtsdorf
Vânători	Vadász	
Vlaha	Magyarfenes	
Zimbor	Magyarzsombor	

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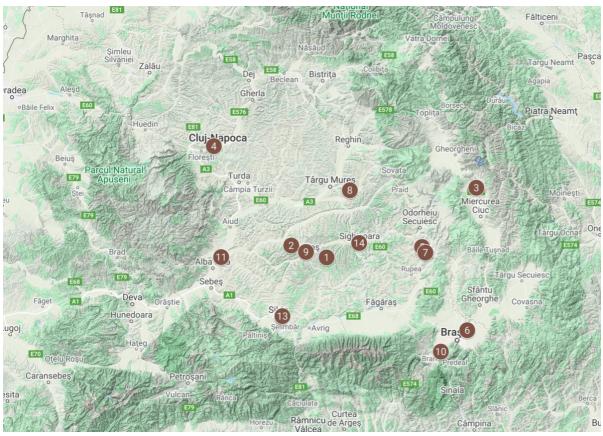
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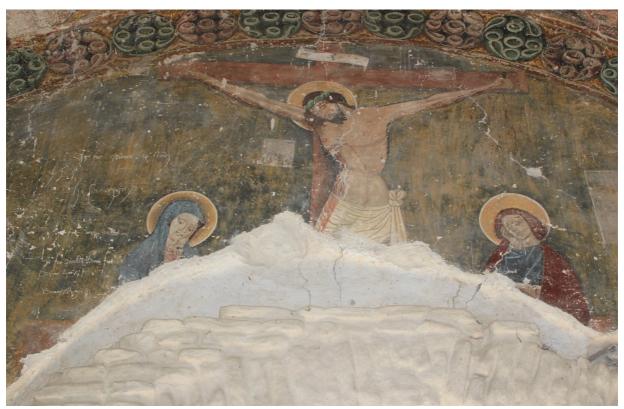

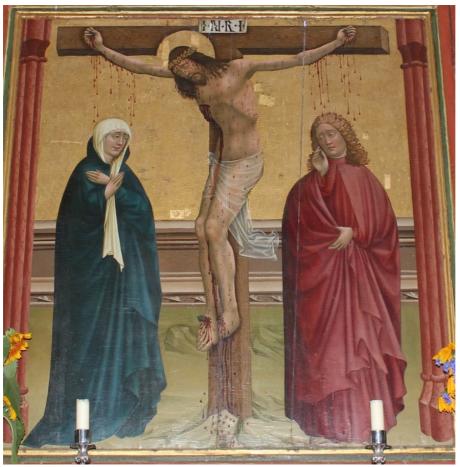Fig. 1.2. Crucifixion, Hărman, detail.

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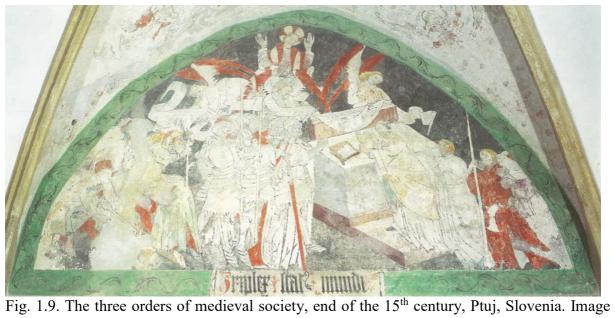Image source: http://cdm.csbsju.edu/digital/collection/HMMLClrMicr/id/18593/rec/91.

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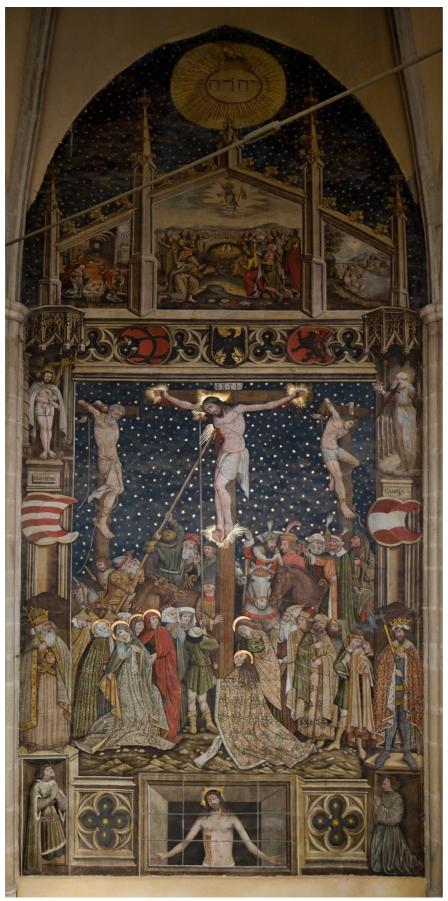

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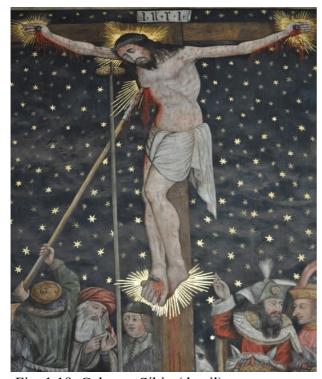
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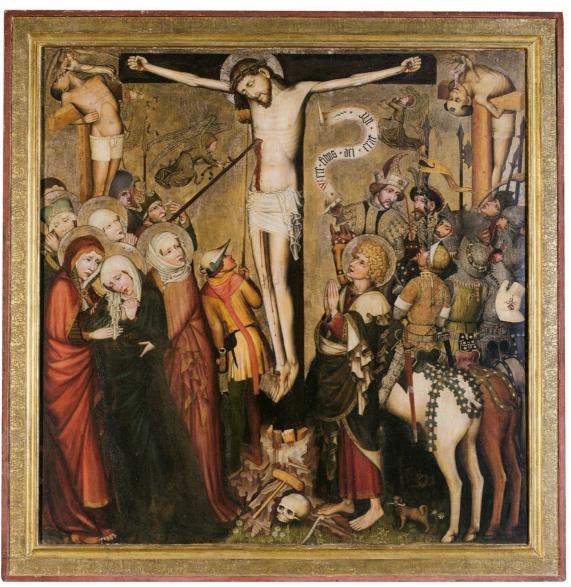
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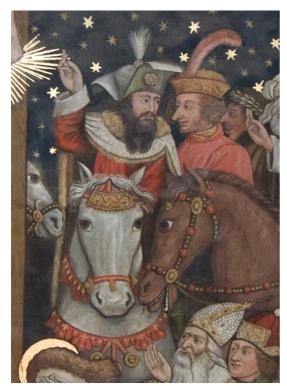
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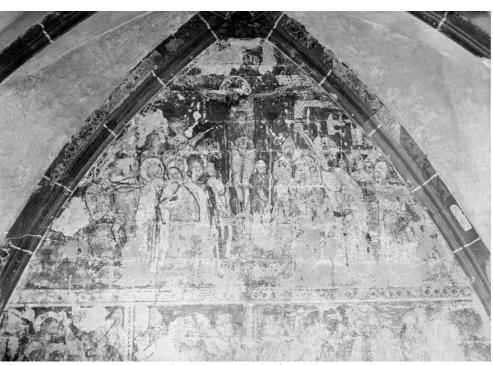
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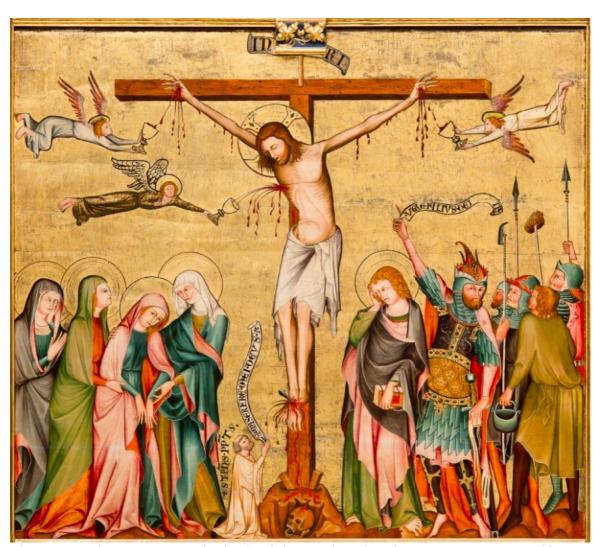
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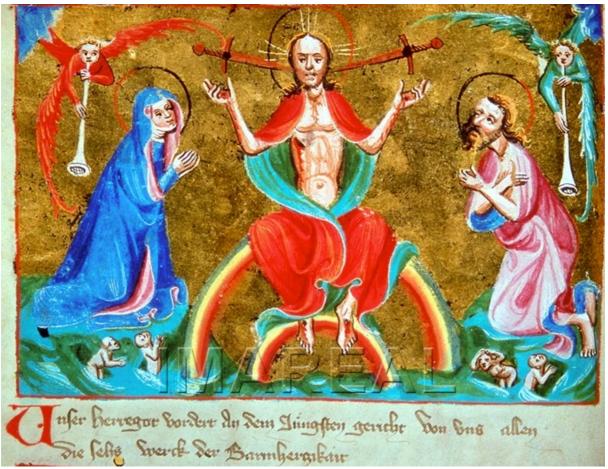
Fig. 4.25. Leitbuch of the Holy Spirit Hospital in Nuremberg, Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, HS. 4.2, c. 1410–1420. Image source: http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline, image no. 008247.

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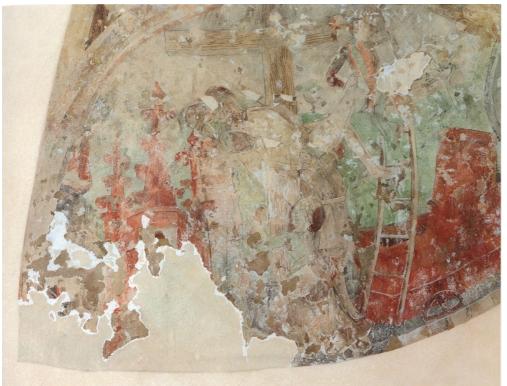
Fig. 4.33. Descent from the Cross, Suseni. Watercolour copy by Lajos Jámbor, 1908. Plan Collection of the Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Center. Image source: Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek*, 201.

Fig. 4.34. The wall paintings of the apse vault, Suseni. Watercolour copy by Lajos Jámbor, 1908. Plan Collection of the Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Center, inv. no. FM 471. Image source: Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek*, 199.

Fig. 4.35. Wall paintings on the northern chancel wall. Watercolour copy by József Huszka, 1883. Plan Collection of the Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Center, inv. no. FM 273. Image source: Jánó, *Színek és legendák*, Colour Plate X.

Fig. 4.36. Wall paintings on the southern chancel wall. Watercolour copy by József Huszka, 1883. Plan Collection of the Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Center, inv. no. FM 274. Image source: Jánó, *Színek és legendák*, Colour Plate IX.

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Chapter 5.

Fig. 5.1. Saint Sophia with her three daughters; Saint Paul the Hermit fed by a raven. Boian, parish church.

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Fig. 5.6. Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand, Boian, parish church.

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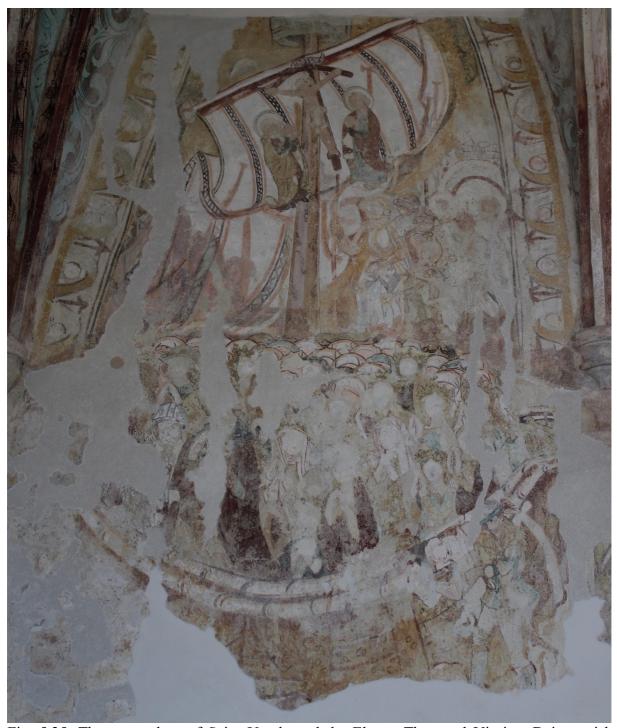
Fig. 5.25. The martyrdom of Saint Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins, Daia, parish church.

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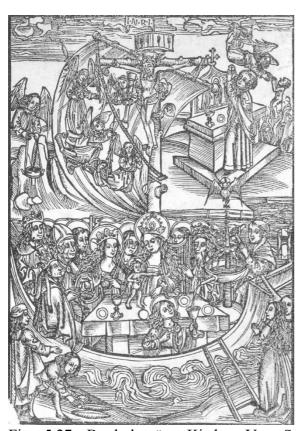
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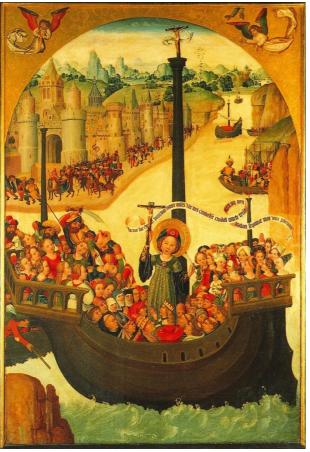
Fig. 5.28. The martyrdom of Saint Ursula, altarpiece panel, Cistercian nunnery of Lichtental. Image source: Zehnder, *Sankt Ursula*, Taf. 1.

Fig. 5.29. Mary Magdalene with a donor figure, Sighișoara, parish church.

Fig. 5.30. Saint Michael and Apostle Matthew on the vault between the first two northern piers counted from the east.

Fig. 5.31. Saint Michael. Photo: Ciprian Firea.

Fig. 5.32. The view of the northern aisle towards the east. Photo: Ciprian Firea.

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The catalogue of the wall paintings

Notes to the catalogue

The principle of selection for the catalogue was to include all ensembles of Late Gothic wall painting from Transylvania of which at least one composition is analysed in the thesis, with the exception of ensembles where only small fragments survive,[714] the further revealing of which can be expected in the near future,[715] or ensembles that are no more extant and are only known from watercolour copies.[716]

Catalogue entries on individual monuments include the following sections: historical data; dedication of the church or chapel; current denomination; architectural context; location of the scenes; state of conservation; description; other wall paintings (if any); inscriptions; dating, and bibliography.

In compilations of *historical data* on the churches, an emphasis is laid on the period of creation of the wall paintings, and on information that might shed light on the cultural, religious, or economic context of their production, or on the question of patronage. *Bibliographical overviews* contain a brief survey of previous research on the wall paintings, focusing on studies furnishing relevant new results. The length and level of detail of *descriptions* vary depending on whether the ensemble has already been described in detail in previous literature, or whether a detailed description is included in one of the chapters of the thesis. In the section *Other wall paintings,* elements of the wall painting decoration of the respective church are listed that are not in the focus of this research, either because they fall outside the chronological frame, or are unlikely to have been spatially connected to an altar, based on their location. *Bibliographies* at the end of catalogue entries are not meant to be exhaustive; they include essential literature on the wall paintings, as well as on their architectural and historical context, with a focus on more recent works.

References to figures in the format *Fig. x.y* can be found in the Figure section of the thesis chapters, with *x* indicating the chapter number. Figures following the individual catalogue entries are marked as *Cat. Fig. x.*

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[714] Such as a fragmentary scene in the parish church in Meșe (Mese, Meschendorf), discussed in Chapter 4.2.

[715] The decoration of the chancel in Ormeniș (Szászörményes, Irmesch) including a representation of the Man of Sorrows analysed in Chapter 2.3.

[716] The wall paintings in Mărtiniș (Homoródszentmárton, Sankt Marten) and Suseni (Marosfelfalu).

Cat. No. 1. Biertan (Berethalom, Birthälm), chapel of the so-called Catholics' Tower

Historical data:

1283: the first mention of the parish priest in Biertan along with other priests of the seat of Mediaș: *Johannes de Berthelm*[717]

1402: Pope Boniface IX grants an indulgence to the church of the Virgin Mary in Biertan.[718]

1418: King Sigismund grants weekly market and the right of high justice *ad eandem nostram civitatem seu opidum Berthalm ad sedem Meggies.*[719]

1432: mention of Sigismundus, parish priest of Biertan and dean of the seat of Mediaș, in the last will of Anna, relative of *Nicolaus filius Appa de Almakerek*, in which she benefits the church of the Virgin Mary in Biertan.

1454: mention of the parish priest in a dispute concerning a last will benefitting the church: *honorabilis vir dominus Michael plebanus de Byrthhalben, baccalaureus in decretis, sedisque Megiensis decanus*[720]

1468: mention of the fortification around the cemetery in a charter in which king Matthias releases a third of the market town's inhabitants of their military obligations: *ita ut cemeterium quod per ipsos in eodem oppido munitum est.*[721]

1468: *Martinus Schezer de Megiez* (probably identical with the later parish priest in Biertan) first appears in the registers of the University of Vienna. He is *baccalaureus artium* in 1472 and *magister artium* in 1476.[722]

1490: the first mention of *Magister Martinus plebanus de Berthalom*[723]

1493, 21 March: he appears in the register of the Holy Spirit Confraternity in Rome: *Ego mayster Martinus pleb. de Birthalmen Albensis Transilvanen. dioc. intr. cum consangvineis meis (?) Jacobo et Petro et amico m. Michaele Greorii, feria 7 post Letare.*[724]

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[717] Franz Zimmermann and Carl Werner, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, (Hermannstadt-Bucharest: Auschuss des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde–Editura Academiei Române, 1892–1991), vol. 1, no. 203.

[718] Ibid., vol. 3, no. 1466.

[719] Ibid., vol. 4, nos. 1836 and 1837.

[720] Ibid., vol. 5, no. 2903.

[721] Ibid., vol. 6, no. 3649.

[722] Sándor Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a középkorban* [University attendance of Transylvanian students in the middle ages] (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1979)*, 285.

[723] *Urkundenbuch,* vol. 8, no. 5098 E *.

[724] *Monumenta Vaticana,* I. vol. 5, 21. Pietro Egidi, ed. *Necrologi e libri affini della provincia Romana*. vol. 2. Fonti per la storia d'Italia pubblicate dall'Istituto storico italiano (Rome: L'istituto, 1914), 355.

1493, 26 March: Petrus Menzi de Vicenzia, bishop of Cesena and papal auditor confirms the indulgence grant issued by Boniface IX in 1402 to the church of the Virgin Mary in Biertan, at the request of magister Martin Schezer, parish priest of Biertan.[725]

1502: Notary public *Valentinus Michaelis Polner de Megies (...) decretorum Baccalaureus* records and certifies the last will of Simon Henningk benefiting the parish church, at the request of *Martinus Schezer plebanus et rector principalis parochialis ecclesie Beate marie virginis de byrthalom,* in the presence of *Discretis et honestis Lazaro predicatore Michaele Capellano Georgio Carpentario et Sigismundo Scholastico de Kewrcs*.[726]

1510: According to the tax registers, Biertan pays the highest amount of tax among the settlements of the two seats (31 marks), followed by Mediaş (28 marks).[727]

Dedication of the chapel: unknown[728]

Current denomination: the chapel is no longer used as a liturgical space; the parish church is now Lutheran.

Architectural context:

The so-called Catholics' Tower is located south of the parish church in Biertan, along the inner fortification wall. The barrel-vaulted chapel on the ground floor has a nearly square ground plan. It can be accessed from the north through a shoulder-arched portal, and is lit by two segmental arched windows, the one on the eastern wall being late medieval, the western window having been opened after the completion of the wall paintings, probably in the mid-sixteenth century.[729] There are three niches built into the walls: two largely square ones under both figural scenes on the southern wall, and one of the shape of a lying rectangle in the western wall.

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[725] *Urkundenbuch,* vol. 8. no. 5352.

[726] *Zentralarchiv der Evangelischen Kirche A.B. in Rumänien. Urkunden (1355-1693)*, no. 610-A-10. Online accessible: monasterium.net (https://www.monasterium.net/mom/RO-ZAEKR/Urkunden/610-A-10/charter, last accessed: December 2019). For a transcription, see Friedrich Müller, "Die evangelische Kirche in Birthälm," *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 2 (1857): 216–217.

[727] J. M. Salzer, *Der königl. freie Markt Birthälm in Siebenbürgen* (Vienna: Verlag von Carl Graefer, 1881), 73.

[728] The iconography of the wall paintings is not conclusive in this respect. While both compositions of the southern altar wall as well as the scene above the entrance in the exterior are mariological, a dedication to the Virgin Mary would have repeated the patrocinium of the parish church. To be noted is the recurrence of Saint Michael in the iconographic program, who was a frequent patron of charnel and cemetery chapels, cf. Franz Hula, *Mittelalterliche Kultmale: die Totenleuchten Europas. Karner, Schalenstein und Friedhofsoculus* (Wien: Selbstverlag, 1970), 39.

[729] Lóránd Kiss, "Situation zum Kulturerbe Wandmalerei in den evangelischen Kirchen Siebenbürgens. Untersuchungen, Erhaltungszustand, Lösungen für Konservierungen. Fallstudie: Erhalt der Wandmalereien in der katholischen Kapelle in Birthälm," in *Kulturerbe siebenbürglischen Kirchenburgenlandschaft. Natur und Kultur im Spannungsfeld – Erhalt von Kulturlandschaft und gebauten Kulturgütern. Beiträge zum internationalen Symposium im Mai 2018*, ed. Alexander Kloos et al. (Verband der Restauratoren: Bonn, 2019), 187 (online accessible: https://www.restauratoren.de/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/Publikation_Symposium_Berlin_2018_IV_07-16-2019_96DPI.pdf, last accessed January 2020).

Considering the somewhat elevated level of the chapel now accessible through three steps, Helga Fabritius has raised the possibility that there may have originally been a basement functioning as an ossuary, now undetectable.

The building phases of the parish church and its fortification up to around 1500 have generally not been well clarified. Through dendrochronological investigations the building of the Catholics' tower has been dated to the 1420's, while the use of oak cut around 1501–1503 for the reconstructed ceiling of the first floor, the wooden balcony and the roof of the tower point to a later building phase at the beginning of the sixteenth century.[730] By this time, the Late Gothic reconstruction of the parish church was under way,[731] lasting up to the 1520's, and involving the building of a three-aisled hall church with a star-net vault and the revaulting of the chancel.

Location of the scenes: The wall painting decoration extends to all four walls and the vault of the chapel, as well as to the field above the entrance portal in the exterior.

State of conservation: The wall paintings are in a varying, but generally fragmentary state of preservation, due to the mixed *fresco-secco* technique, fissures in the walls, and later interventions, such as the opening of a window in the western wall and the building of an entrance to the upper floor through the vault. Surfaces especially affected by damages include the lower register of painted curtains, where most of the layer of whitewash was lost, the vault, where the layer of paint is much deteriorated, the Last Judgement scene on the western wall, and the composition on the exterior. The murals were cleaned and conserved in 2014–2015, and a restoration of the decoration of the southern wall was carried out through the chromatic integration of the smaller lacunae.[732]

Bibliographical overview:

Friedrich Müller (1857): first detailed description of the wall paintings.[733]

Vasile Drăguț (1979): discussion of stylistic traits, dating to the beginning of the sixteenth century.[734]

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[730] The dendrochronological analysis was carried out in the Anno Domini Dendrolab Dendrochronology Laboratory in Miercurea Ciuc (Csíkszereda), http://dendrolab.ro/hu/page/Kutatasaink-18.

[731] On the dating of the beginning of the reconstruction works, see Kinga German, "Die spätgotische Pfarrkirche zu Birthälm in Siebenbürgen: Überlegungen zur Bauchronologie," in *Die Länder der böhmischen Krone und ihre Nachbarn zur Zeit der Jagiellonenkönige (1471 - 1526): Kunst, Kultur, Geschichte,* ed. Evelin Wetter (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2006), 225–234.

[732] Kiss, *Birthälm*, 185–187.

[733] Müller, *Birthälm*, 206–208.

[734] Vasile Drăguț, *Arta gotică în România* [Gothic art in Romania], (Bucharest: Editura Meridiane, 1979), 254, 257.

Jutta Reisinger (1991): detailed description of the wall paintings, discussion of the altar once probably standing at the southern wall and its decoration, identification of the scene on the exterior as the coronation of Vladislaus II, dating to around 1496.[735]

Dana Jenei (2004): detailed description, iconographic and stylistic analysis of the wall paintings, dating to around 1497. Attributes the ensemble to a workshop working in the parish church of Sighişoara around 1483–1484.[736]

Terézia Kerny (2009): description and analysis of the scene on the exterior, dating to 1490.[737]

Description:

On the southern wall, the scenes of the Annunciation and the Adoration of the Magi were depicted in two illusionistic panels with imitated stone frames (Cat. Fig. 1, Fig. 1.34). Between the two panels, a green textile printed with a floral pattern in black and golden is "hanged" on the illusionistic moulding of the parapet painted on the vault above. Below each panel there is a wall niche with a consecration cross painted on their back wall. The rest of the lower register below the two figural scenes was filled with imitated curtains of alternating green and red colours of which now only fragments survive. A rectangular lacuna in the plaster in the middle of the lower register indicates that the medieval altar was probably placed here directly against the wall. Above, there is another lacuna in the painted surface, approximately of the shape of a standing rectangle, suggesting that a retable or another type of object was probably placed on the altar.

The western wall is filled by a monumental Last Judgement scene (Fig. 3.24, Cat. Fig. 2). In the middle of the upper register, the figure of Christ as judge enthroned in a mandorla is surrounded by trumpet blowing angels and flanked by the interceding figures of the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Baptist. In the lower register below, somewhat to the left from the middle, the fragmentary figure of Saint Michael, raising his sword above his head, can be discerned. On his right, the procession of the blessed entering Paradise through a gate can be seen, being received by an angel (Cat. Fig. 3). The representation of the damned has been largely destroyed by the later opening of a window: now only a few fragments of the figures to

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[735] Jutta Reisinger, "Die Fresken des »Katholischen Turmes« zu Birthälm." *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 14, no. 2 (1991): 211–220.

[736] Dana Jenei, "Biertan. Picturile capelei din „Turnul Catolicilor"." [Biertan. The paintings in the chapel of the „Tower of Catholics"], in *Arhitectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania* [Medieval ecclesiastical architecture in Transylvania], vol. 3, ed. Daniela Marcu Istrate, Adrian Andrei Rusu and Péter Levente Szőcs (Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 2004), 269–286.

[737] Terézia Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok középkori kompozíciói a templomok külső falain" [Frescoes of Hungarian Canonized Kings on the Outer Walls of Medieval Churches], in *Omnis creatura significans: tanulmányok Prokopp Mária 70. születésnapjára* [Omnis creatura significans: essays in honour of Mária Prokopp], ed. Terézia Kerny and Anna Tüskés (Budapest: CentrArt Egyesület, 2009), 84.

the left of Saint Michael can be seen, and a part of the open Hellmouth on the right edge of the scene.

On the northern wall, a green textile fills the narrow surface above the entrance portal, dividing in two a composition fittingly described by Dana Jenei as a *Pestbild* (Cat. Figs. 4, 5). On the left, God the Father is depicted with a stretched bow, ready to send the arrows of his wrath on mankind. Before him, the figure of Christ as the Man of Sorrows can be seen, clad in a long mantle, raising his right hand before him, and probably indicating his side wound with his left hand. To the right, an angel wearing an alb and a stole is holding up an arrow with a shield adorned with the *arma Christi*; besides him, the Virgin Mary appears as the Mantle Madonna.

The figures of Saint Michael and Saint George flank the window on the eastern wall (Cat. Fig. 6). Above the window, the relatively small-size, fragmentary figure of Saint Veronica can be seen with the *Sudarium*, whose corners are held by two angels (Figs. 3.22, 3.23).

The representation of Christ in Majesty appears in the centre of the vault, set in an architectural frame of illusionistic parapets on both sides (Cat. Fig. 7).

The composition above the entrance portal in the exterior is to a great extent abraded (Cat. Fig. 8). In the middle, the figure of the Madonna can be seen being crowned by two angels. To the right, a knightly saint is standing, wearing a crown, clad in armour and holding a halberd, based on which he can be identified as Saint Ladislaus. Not much survives of the probably beardless, haloed figure, who is crowned by the child Christ. Behind his or her figure in the background, the outlines of a castle can be discerned.

Dana Jenei describes the figure as a female saint, possibly Saint Catherine. In contrast, Jutta Reisinger and Terézia Kerny identify the scene as a commemoration of a recent political event, the coronation of Vladislaus II, who is depicted in the company of his patron saint, Ladislaus.

In the present state of the mural it cannot be decided whether the figure in question is female or male. An argument against the first identification is that the coronation is not part of the established iconography of Saint Catherine,[738] or of other virgin saints. Also, had this image served to indicate the saints in whose honour the chapel was dedicated, as Jenei had

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[738] A single medieval example of such a representation is known to me, in the crypt of the church of Notre-Dame in Montmorillon, France (around 1200, https://www.bildindex.de/document/obj20961235?part=0&medium=fmc1855880).

suggested,[739] one would have expected a recurrence of Saint Catherine (or another holy virgin) and Saint Ladislaus in the iconographic program of the interior.

The interpretation as the coronation of Vladislaus II would better account for the presence of Saint Ladislaus, allowing for an iconographically more coherent reading of the composition. Terézia Kerny has pointed to a 1317 wall painting in Spišská Kapitula (Szepeshely, today Slovakia), depicting the coronation of Charles Robert by the Madonna, as a compositional parallel.[740] An argument against this identification, however, is the golden circle forming a halo around the head of the figure kneeling before the Madonna, identifying him (or her) as a saint.

Inscriptions: Two representations seem to have had inscriptions – the scroll of the angel on the Annunciation scene, and the open book held by the Christ in Majesty on the vault – none of which have been preserved well enough to be readable.

Dating:

Dana Jenei attributes the wall paintings to a workshop working after 1483 in Sighișoara, responsible for the hagiographic scenes in the northern and southern aisles and the row of painted curtains in the chancel.[741] She hypothetically connects this workshop to a certain *Mathias pictor*, documented to have lived in Sighișoara around 1484–1494. As she argues, the ensemble in Biertan can probably be dated after 1493 (the year when parish priest *Martinus* obtained the confirmation of the papal indulgence for the church, first issued in 1402), and presumably to 1497, when a painter named *Mathias* is documented to have come to Biertan.[742]

Indeed, similarities in various stylistic features can be observed, as pointed out by Jenei, such as the modelling of folds with colours, the use of illusionistic frames, or a predilection for brocade-patterned draperies.[743] At the same time, there are apparent differences in the rendering of individual details and the treatment of surfaces, as well as distinctive stylistic features characteristic for only one of the ensembles.[744] Jenei is also right to point out compositional resemblances with wall paintings in Sighișoara, such as the similar design of the row of imitated curtains in the chancel, or of the armour of Saint George in the two-episode representation of

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[739] Jenei, Biertan, 271.

[740] Kerny, *Magyar szent királyok*, 84.

[741] Jenei, *Biertan*, 278–279.

[742] Ibid., 270–271, 278–279.

[743] Ibid., 278–279.

[744] Although the fragmentary state of both wall painting ensembles renders the comparison of stylistic traits difficult, details such as the fine modelling of the mantle of the eldest king in the Epiphany scene conveying a remarkably convincing plasticity to the textile, or the detailed elaboration of the Magi's facial features do not seem to be paralleled in Sighișoara. Also, the use of illusionistic frames was generally widespread in the period, their particular design differing in Biertan and Sighișoara.

his legend in the northern aisle. These resemblances extend to wall paintings in Sighișoara, which are attributed to a different workshop.[745] In addition, close compositional correspondences can be observed with the altarpiece in Mălâncrav (dated recently to between 1460–1469)[746] as well, owing either to the use of a common model or a first-hand knowledge of the altarpiece by the painter(s) working in Biertan.

The similarities with the wall paintings executed probably in the 1480's in Sighișoara constitute an argument for an earlier dating than the beginning of the sixteenth century proposed by Vasile Drăguț. Still, the evidence for the identity of the two workshops does not seem conclusive, although it is possible that at least one of the masters working in Biertan had previously participated in the decoration of the Church on the Hill in Sighișoara. The attempt to connect him with the name *Mathias* does not seem supported well enough by documentary evidence.[747]

A further argument to view the 1493 visit to Rome by parish priest Martinus Schezer as a *terminus post quem* may be the depiction of the Veronica which, while compositionally related to the representation in Sighișoara, differs from it in the physiognomy of the Holy Face, which seems to follow the type associated with the Roman relic. In case one accepted the interpretation of the fragmentary composition on the exterior as the coronation of Vladislaus II in spite of the iconographic inconsistency created by the halo, 1490, his year of coronation, is an additional *terminus post quem*, while his visit to Transylvania in the summer of 1494, including a stay in the nearby town of Mediaș, may have been an incentive behind this iconographic choice. The *Pestbild* on the northern wall of the chapel may have been occasioned by the great plague epidemic of 1495.

Based on their stylistic features and historical data, the wall painting decoration of the chapel was thus probably carried out at the end of the fifteenth century, presumably around 1495.

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[745] The representation of Veronica's veil on the chancel arch.

[746] Jenei, *Biertan*, 273–275, 278. For the dating of the altarpiece in Mălâncrav, see Boglárka Tóth, "Az almakeréki szárnyasoltár dendrokronológiai kormeghatározása" [Dendrochronological age determination of the winged altarpiece of Almakerék], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 66 no. 2 (2017): 351–356.

[747] There is no direct documentary evidence based on which to attribute the respective group of wall paintings in Sighișoara to this painter, or to confirm his identity with a painter of the same name appearing in a 1497 list of expenditures from Sibiu. Here, in an entry from March 1497, *Mathias pictor*, along with a judge, is sent to a certain *dominus Josa* (Josa de Som?), who, according to an entry from the previous month, had resided in Biertan at that time, and who is now presented with a gift of two gilded shields. The document does not provide evidence to connect Mathias' mission to an artistic enterprise in Biertan, see Ausschuss des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, ed., *Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Hermannstadt und der Sächsischen Nation*. Quellen zur Geschichte Siebenbürgens aus Sächsischen Archiven, no. I/1 (Hermannstadt: Michaelis, 1880), 238. On *Mathias pictor,* see also Ciprian Firea, *Polipticele medievale din Transilvania: Artă, liturghie, patronaj* [Medieval polyptychs from Transylvania: Art, liturgy, patronage] (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2016), 341–342.

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Cat. Fig. 1. The southern wall of the chapel.
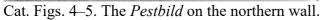
Cat. Fig. 2. The Last Judgement on the western wall (detail).

Cat. Fig. 3. The Last Judgement on the western wall (detail).

Cat. Figs. 4–5. The *Pestbild* on the northern wall.

Cat. Fig. 6. The eastern wall.

Cat. Fig. 7. Christ in Majesty on the vault.

Cat. Fig. 8. Coronation scene with the Madonna and Saint Ladislaus over the entrance.

Cat. No. 2. Boian (Alsóbajom, Bonnesdorf), parish church

Historical data:

1309: first mention of the settlement (*villa Boneti)* and its parish priest (*Thedericus*).[748]

Around the middle of the fifteenth century, the village goes through the hands of several owners:

Nicolaus de Vyzakna (1447),[749] *Georgius de Ludbregh* (1452),[750] and *Johannes Pongratz* (1462).[751]

1477: date on the medieval bell[752]

1482: King Matthias donates the village to the Moldavian prince Stephen the Great, along with the estate of Cetatea de Baltă (Kokelburg, Küküllővár).[753]

Dedication of the church: unknown

Current denomination: Lutheran

Architectural context:

The church has a single nave of three bays and a slightly narrower, rectangular chancel of two bays. The nave had been covered with a Late Gothic net vault, which was replaced in 1882 with a flat ceiling. The chancel is covered by a star vault.

Reconstructions of the building phases of the church were based on dates inscribed on the triumphal arch, no longer visible, but recorded by Friedrich Müller at the middle of the nineteenth century. Accordingly, construction works may have taken place around 1402; the mention of the parish priest at the beginning of the fourteenth century suggests that the church is earlier. Based on the date of 1506, a second Gothic reconstruction was carried out around this time. The Late Gothic vault of both the nave and the chancel, the ogee arched northern and southern portals, the ogival western portal, and the traceried windows in the nave and the chancel probably all date to this building phase. This was also the time when the chancel was fortified with an upper defence level and the fortification wall with a gate tower was built around the church.

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[748] *Urkundenbuch,* vol. 1, no. 314.
[749] Ibid., vol. 5, no. 2589.
[750] Ibid., no. 2776.
[751] Ibid., vol. 6, no. 3313.
[752] Elek Benkő, *Erdély középkori harangjai és bronz keresztelőmedencéi* [Medieval bells and bronze baptismal fonts of Transylvania] (Budapest–Kolozsvár: Teleki László Alapítvány–Polis, 2002), 223.
[753] Marius Diaconescu, "Contribuții la datarea donației Ciceului și Cetății de Baltă lui Ștefan cel Mare [Contributions to the dating of the donation of Ciceu and Cetatea de Baltă to Stephen the Great]," *Analele Putnei* 9, no. 1 (2013): 101–102.

The Late Gothic furnishing of the church included a winged altarpiece from around 1480, in which fourteenth-century reliefs had been reused (now in the Brukenthal Museum in Sibiu (Hermannstadt, Nagyszeben)), and the sacrament house on the northern chancel wall, dated between 1493 and 1506.

Location of the scenes: on the northern wall of the chancel, in the western bay.

State of conservation: The fragmentary scenes were discovered in the 1980's, with the occasion of renovation works in the chancel. No conservation has taken place, the wall paintings are in a poor state of preservation, with many surfaces lost or damaged.

Bibliographical overview:

József Lángi (2004): observations on the technique and state of conservation; description of the two scenes.[754]

Ágnes N. Tóth (2009): points to the Eucharistic connotation of the Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand scene.[755]

Dana Jenei (2014): identification of the representation of Saint Paul the Hermit fed by a raven.[756]

Description:

The wall paintings have been preserved in two tiers. The subject of the representation in the upper tier is the *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand* (Fig. 5.6). Large parts of the scene are completely lost, and the surviving parts are much damaged, with many holes and detached surfaces.

The martyrs, who were thrown from the Mount Ararat into a thicket of thorns, appear in varied convoluted postures, their limbs and torsos being pierced through by the sharp green branches. Their figures are naked but their loin-clothes. Their leader, Achatius, appears as a beardless young man around the middle of the composition, being differentiated from his soldiers by a red princely hat. Next to him, to the right, a martyr in a posture reminiscent of the Crucifixion can be seen. On his left, a martyr wearing a crown of thorns is impaled on a thorn, his arms and legs are tied together with a rope in the back (Fig. 5.11).

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[754] József Lángi and Ferenc Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek és festett faberendezések* [Transylvanian wall paintings and painted furniture] (Budapest: Állami Műemlékhelyreállítási és Restaurálási Központ, 2004), vol. 2, 8–9.

[755] Ágnes N. Tóth, "Hozzászólások a Tízezer vértanú ikonográfiájához. Egy püspök a mártírok körében" [On the iconography of the Ten Thousand Martyrs. A bishop among the martyrs], in *Omnis creatura significans: tanulmányok Prokopp Mária 70. születésnapjára* [Essays in honour of Mária Prokopp], ed. Terézia Kerny and Anna Tüskés (Budapest: CentrArt Egyesület, 2009), 140.

[756] Dana Jenei, "Thèmes iconographiques et images dévotionelles dans la peinture murale médiévale tardive de Transylvanie (deuxième parti du XVᵉ siècle – premier quart du XVIᵉ siècle)," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts*, 51 (2014): 31–32.

In the foreground of the scene, to the left of the figure of Achatius, a haloed saint with a mitre is standing, reading from an open book that he is holding in his hand. He is probably bishop Hermolaus, who, according to one version of the legend, baptised the ten thousand martyrs, and consequently suffered martyrdom with them. The sloping green surface forming the background in the left part of the scene is probably the Mount Ararat. To the right, the background is yellow.

The composition of the lower tier, framed by a red border shown in perspective, features figures of saints set against a background of green and yellow hills (Fig. 5.1). On the left, the representation of *Saint Sophia with her three daughters* can be seen. Of their figures, only the upper body of Saint Sophia and the heads of the daughters have been preserved. The four figures are standing in a hexagonal architectural structure with red walls and a green vault. On the three rear walls, rectangular windows open to the hills in the background; the front walls are missing.

The diadem of Saint Sophia is made up of seven crowns of alternately lighter and darker golden colours in gradually decreasing sizes. Underneath, her head is wrapped in a white coif. She is wearing a red mantle with a golden hem, and a golden dress below. Her hands are clasped together in prayer. Her three daughters – *Fides, Spes*, and *Caritas* – are represented on her left, with long blond hair, each wearing a simple, four-pointed crown.

To the right of the architectural structure, a tonsured monk is standing, with grey hair and beard, and a halo (Fig. 5.2). He is wearing a dark brown monastic gown, and a white habit underneath, fastened with a black belt. He is holding an open book in his right hand, and a staff in his left, while pointing to the book with his index finger. Although the ending of the staff is partly destroyed, the remaining outlines suggest that it was T-shaped. From the upper right corner of the scene, a black bird comes flying, bringing a white disk-shaped object in its beak (Fig. 5.3).

The saint has been identified as Saint Anthony the Great[757] or Saint Paul the Hermit.[758] Although the clothing, the book, and the T-staff correspond to the iconography of Saint Anthony, the raven bringing bread is unusual in single representations of the saint, while it often appears as an attribute of Saint Paul the Hermit, or in scenes depicting the meeting of the two saints within narrative cycles of Saint Anthony's life. In addition, while the typical clothing of Saint Paul is a robe woven of palm leaves, he may also appear, like Saint Anthony, in a monastic

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[757] Lángi and Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek*, vol. 2, 8–9.
[758] Kinga German, *Sakramentsnischen und Sakramentshäuser in Siebenbürgen* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2014), 174; Jenei, *Thèmes iconographiques*, 31–32.

attire, with a book and a T-staff. An identification as Saint Paul the Hermit is thus the most plausible.

To the right of this scene, a small fragment of the following scene survives, with only the grey background (probably an architectural element) and a brown detail (possibly the clothing or the hair of a figure) visible.

Dating: The fragmentary wall paintings have been variously dated to the first half of the fifteenth century,[759] the second half of the fifteenth century,[760] around 1500,[761] the beginning of the sixteenth century,[762] and to 1520.[763] As closest analogies, the wall paintings with similar subjects in the parish church in Mediaș (Medgyes, Mediasch) have been mentioned. Here the *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand* scene (dated to around 1420 based on an inscription) does not show a resemblance to the representation in Boian. In the case of the depiction of *Saint Sophia with her three daughters*, dated to the end of the fifteenth century, compositional similarities can be observed (in the arrangement of the figures, gestures, the structure of the crowns), although there seems to be no close stylistic connection. The facial features, clothing, and crowns in the composition in Boian are also comparable to the representations of the wise and foolish virgins and the apostles in Sânvăsii (Nyárádszentlászló) from around 1496. In this way, the wall paintings seem to fit into the context of the reconstruction works carried out in the church around 1500, and may be approximately contemporary with the sacrament house dated between 1493 and 1506.

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[759] N. Tóth, *Tízezer vértanú*, 140.
[760] Hermann Fabini, *Atlas der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kirchenburgen und Dorfkirchen* (Hermannstadt–Heidelberg: Monumenta Verlag–Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, 1999), vol. 1, 84.
[761] Judit Sebő, "A holy matron and her daughters: Saint Sophia in Late Medieval Hungary," in *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, vol. 11, ed. Judith Rasson and Katalin Szende (Budapest: Central European University, Department of Medieval Studies, 2005), 141.
[762] Hermann Fabini, *The Church-Fortresses of the Transylvanian Saxons* (Sibiu: Editura Monumenta, 2010), 144.
[763] Drăguţ, *Arta gotică*, 264, footnote 117.

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Cat. no. 3. Cârța (Csíkkarcfalva), parish church

Historical data:

1333–1334: Mention of a settlement named *Torkov/Torku* and its priest *Nicholas* in the register of the papal tithes.[764] It has been convincingly argued that this data refers to the church in Cârța.[765] (The settlement is known in later medieval sources as *Nagyboldogasszony* (Our Lady of the Assumption)).

1495: First certain mention[766] of the parish priest in Cârța, who at the same time held the office of vice dean of Csík and Gyergyó: *Bartolomeus plebanus de Nagybodogazzon, vice-archidiaconus sedisz Chyk et Gyergyo.*[767]

1506(?)[768]: *Laurentius Praesbiter de Olahfalu, Plebanus de Nagy Boldog Asszony et Vice Archidiaconus Sedium Csik et Gyergyo*[769]

1802: Parish priest and canon József Némethy reports on pulling down the church building in 1796 in order to enlarge it, but preserving its sanctuary due to its antiquarian value: *ezen Templom régi és igen kitsin lévén, én ell rontattam 1796-ban (a' sanctuariumat meg hogyván a' régiségnek meg tartásáért) meg nagyíttattam, ugy hogy a' mely annak előtte 15 öl volt, most 18 öles.*[770]

Dedication of the church: Our Lady of the Assumption

Current denomination: Catholic

Architectural context:

The first building phase probably dates to the late thirteenth century, when a single-nave church with a western tower and a chancel presumably ending in a semicircular apse was built. Sometime in the second half of the fifteenth century a new chancel somewhat narrower than the nave, with a polygonal apse was erected. The chancel originally extended to three bays (being with one bay longer to the west than in its current form) and was covered with a cross-

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[764] Zsigmond Jakó, ed., *Erdélyi okmánytár* [Transylvanian archives] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2004), vol. 2, nos. 1138, 1139.

[765] István Botár, "A csíkkarcfalvi Nagyboldogasszony plébániatemplom régészeti kutatása (2011-2012)" [The archaeological research of the Our Lady of the Assumption Parish Church in Csíkkarcfalva], in *A Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve*, vol. 8, ed. Imola Kelemen (Csíkszereda: Csíki Székely Múzeum, 2012)*,* 11.

[766] For a discussion of earlier charter evidence connected to the church in previous research, see Botár, *A csíkkarcfalvi Nagyboldogasszony plébániatemplom*, 9.

[767] *Székely oklevéltár*, vol. 8, no. 103.

[768] The charter is known from an eighteenth-century copy, where it is dated to 1406. However, based on the names occurring in the document, it has been proposed that the date is a misreading of a later year, probably of 1506. See Botár, *A csíkkarcfalvi Nagyboldogasszony plébániatemplom,* 9.

[769] *Székely oklevéltár,* vol. 1, no. 87.

[770] "This church being old and small, I had it dismantled in 1796 (preserving its sanctuary to conserve the antiquity), I had it enlarged, so what had been 15 fathoms long before, is now 18 fathoms long." István Ferenczi, "Csíkkarcfalvi régiségek" [Antiquities from Csíkkarcfalva], *Erdélyi Múzeum*, 48 (1943): 416.

rib vault. The keystone of the demolished western bay can now be found in the church-yard, and is decorated with a rosette motif, the other two keystones have not preserved figural decoration. Among the corbels, the one located near the sacrament niche on the northern wall is decorated with the head of a haloed saint with beard and braided hair. The sacrament niche is adorned with an ogee arched gable and pinnacles, with now empty niches for statues on both sides of the host compartment (Fig. 1.59).

The nave was vaulted and strengthened with buttresses in the sixteenth century. Sometime between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries the western tower was rebuilt, and a chapel was attached to the southern chancel wall, which was later demolished. In 1796, the enlargement of the nave to the west as well as to the east resulted in the demolition of the western bay of the chancel and of the medieval triumphal arch. As recent archaeological investigations have shown, the northern and southern walls of the medieval nave have been mostly preserved. The building of a southern porticus, a northern chapel attached to the nave and a new, larger sacristy was also carried out at this time.

The fortification wall enclosing the church precinct dates back to the fifteenth century; it was heightened and furnished with a south-eastern gate tower in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries.

Location of the scenes: On the northern chancel wall, above the sacristy portal (originally in the second bay from the west of the Late Gothic chancel, now in the first bay).

State of conservation: The wall painting was discovered during the renovation of the church in 2011–2012 by restorer Attila Czimbalmos and his team. Consecutively it was conserved, and the smaller losses were retouched. The loss of painted surfaces and details is partially due to the mixed fresco and secco technique, the parts where the latter was used, being more poorly preserved. The upper part of the composition is in a better state of conservation, the lower half is more worn out and fragmentary. Among several fissures and losses, more important damages include a large loss of surface at the bottom right part of the scene; a fissure cutting through the right side of the composition, broadening into a lacuna ranging from the vertical cross beam through Christ's left upper arm to the head of the left angel and the upper part of his chalice.

Bibliographical overview: no art historical study has been published yet on the wall painting.

Description:

The Crucifixion scene fills the lunette-shaped field below the vault, its lower margin reaching down slightly above the level of the corbels (Fig. 1.54). The upper half of the scene is dominated by the figure of the crucified Christ, his cross rising above the crowd filling the lower half of the composition (Fig. 1.55). His head fallen off to the right is adorned with a

golden disk-shaped halo, and the crown of thorns. His facial features are not well preserved, his eyes are probably closed. The S-form of his broken body, the contours of his protruding ribcage and narrow waist, his muscular legs, and the right foot shown in perspective, placed over the left one, are drawn with vigorous lines.[771] A relatively long titulus scroll appears before the upper cross-shaft, with both ends curling upwards, its slightly bent form echoing the arch of the outstretched arms. It is symmetrically aligned not with the axis of the vertical cross-bar, but with that of Christ's body, shifted somewhat to the right.

Two angels on his sides are holding golden chalices below his side wound, as well as below his arms. They are wearing long dresses with golden lower hems and golden collars, one turquoise green, the other white, adorned with a purple brocade pattern. The blood flowing from the wounds is not visible.[772]

The crosses of the two thieves flanking Christ are positioned lower, and their horizontal bars are shorter, corresponding to the arch of the lunette. Their figures are somewhat smaller than that of Christ, which suggests their position further back behind Christ's cross. Their contorted bodies are twirled around their crosses; their arms are hooked over the horizontal crossbars. Both thieves are turning their heads upwards, and to the right. A winged and horned devil wearing red is snatching away the soul of the bad thief emerging from his mouth, pictured as a naked *homunculus* with widespread arms. An angel clad in a dark blue dress receives the soul of the penitent thief into a white cloth.

The lower part of the composition is less well preserved. To the left (the right of Christ), a group of four haloed, standing persons can be surmised, probably including the Virgin Mary (and possibly the figures of Saint John the Evangelist and the other Maries). The three figures decipherable on the right also seem to wear haloes.

Suggestion of the landscape is confined to the green grass on which the figures at the foot of the cross are standing. The brownish background is studded with tiny golden stars. The scene is enclosed in an illusionistic frame of imitated stone, the arch of the upper part resembling the rib of the vault, with a "keystone" in the middle.

Inscriptions: The inscription of the titulus scroll is not readable anymore.

Dating: The fragmentary state of the mural limits the scope of stylistic observations. The central crucifix seems compositionally related to the Crucifixion in the altarpiece from Prejmer

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[771] Some details are rather clumsy, for example the hands nailed to the wood, the contours of the left side of his chest and waist, or the placement of the two feet on each other.

[772] The spatial relationship between the angels and the two crosses on the sides is problematic. Although based on their smaller size, the crosses of the thieves are located further back in space than Christ, the hand of the good thief, and the vertical crossbeam of the bad thief overlaps the angels' figures.

(c. 1450), but a stylistic link is not evident. The folds of the angels' dresses are not yet so angular and distinctly articulated as would be characteristic for the end of the fifteenth century. The abstract, star-studded background is also more typical of works created in the middle decades of the fifteenth century, bearing reminiscences of the International Gothic. Taking into consideration the architectural features of the Late Gothic vault as well, a dating to around 1460–1480 seems plausible.

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Cat. No. 4. Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg), Saint Michael's church

Historical data:

1316: mention of *Benedictus plebanus de Kuluswar et canonicus Albensis* in a charter issued by Charles Robert granting rights to the town.[773]

1349: letter of indulgence for the Saint Michael's church and the Saint James chapel.[774]

1400: letter of indulgence to the parish church by pope Bonifatius IX.[775]

1453: King Ladislaus V. confers to parish priest *Gregorius Slewing* the title of royal house chaplain and all the privileges of this office.[776]

1481: after the resignation of *Gregorius Slewnig,* bishop *Ladislaus Gereb* invests *Jacobus doctor* with the office of parish priest.[777]

1489: charter ordering the investigation of a case of arson of the parish church.[778]

The dedications of several altars once standing in the church are known from written sources: the altar of Saint Catherine (1408),[779] Corpus Christi (1422),[780] Saint Michael (1422),[781] Saint Francis (1451),[782] Saint John (1454),[783] and All Saints (1475).[784]

For the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, the list of parish priests can be almost completely reconstructed from the written sources. Prior to bearing this function, most of them had pursued university studies:

Name	Term of Office[785]	University degrees
Cristanus	1404–1416	1394 *baccalaureus artium* in Vienna
		1397 *licentiatus artium* in Vienna[786]
Johannes Megerlein	1422–1428	1404: *baccalaureus artium* in Vienna
		1410: *licenciatus artium* in Vienna

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[773] *Urkundenbuch,* vol. 1, no. 346; *Erdélyi okmánytár,* vol. 2, no. 263.

[774] Jakab Elek, ed., *Oklevéltár Kolozsvár története első kötetéhez* [Cartulary to the first volume of the history of Kolozsvár] (Buda: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1870), no. 66; *Urkundenbuch,* vol. 2*,* no. 630.

[775] Jakab, *Oklevéltár*, no. 69; *Urkundenbuch,* vol. 3, no. 1454.

[776] *Urkundenbuch,* vol. 5, no. 2878.

[777] Jakab, *Oklevéltár,* no. 167.

[778] Ibid., no. 179.

[779] *Urkundenbuch,* vol. 3, no. 1605.

[780] Jakab, *Oklevéltár,* no. 89.

[781] Ibid., no. 45.

[782] *Urkundenbuch,* vol. 5, no. 2725.

[783] Zsigmond Jakó, ed., *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei (1289–1556)* [The convent records from Kolozsmonostor (1289–1556)] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), vol. 1, no. 1153.

[784] Jakab*, Oklevéltár*, no. 155.

[785] Based on Géza Hegyi, "Kolozsvári plébánosok a középkorban" [Parish priests in Cluj in the medieval period], *Református Szemle* 99 (2006): 760–761.

[786] Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása*, 219–220, no. 387.

1418: doctor of medicine in Padua[787]

Martinus	1432–1439	
Andreas	1439	
Gregorius Slewnig	1450–1481	1445: *baccalaureus artium* in Vienna
		1456: *baccalaureus juris* in Vienna[788]
Jacobus	1481–1515	1463: *baccalaureus artium* in Vienna
		1468: *magister artium* in Vienna[789]
Johannes Clyn	1515–1529	1492: *baccalaureus artium in Vienna*
		1509: *decretorum doctor* in Padua[790]

Dedication of the church: Saint Michael

Current denomination: Catholic

Architectural context:

After late Romanesque precedents in the thirteenth century, the construction of the Gothic church lasted with interruptions from the second half of the fourteenth century to the second half of the fifteenth century. Within the complex building history involving several changes in the plan, the following phases have been reconstructed: the building of the chancel and the side apses (third quarter of the fourteenth century), the lower part of the southern nave wall and the south-western tower, then the northern nave wall (the southern and northern portals are dated to around 1430, based on stylistic analogies), the western facade (middle of the fifteenth century), the vaulting of the nave and the aisles supported by piers, the sacristy, and the western tribune (after the middle of the fifteenth century). The vaulting of the south-western tower base bears the coat of arms of the Schleynig family, and thus has generally been dated to between 1450 and 1481, when Gregorius Schleynig held the office of parish priest. After a fire in 1489, the chancel was newly vaulted. The church suffered further damages during two fires in the second half of the seventeenth century destroying the north-western tower and the chancel vault, followed by reconstruction works in the eighteenth century. The Neo-gothic tower attached to the northern aisle was built between 1837 and 1859.

State of conservation:

Flóris Rómer was the first to discover traces of wall paintings in the south-western tower base in 1864, and revealed the Passion scenes on the northern and western walls in 1868. István Gróh made watercolour copies of the wall paintings, and revealed further fragments on the

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[787] Ibid., 249–250, no. 893.
[788] Ibid., 234, no. 637.
[789] Ibid., 244, no. 812.
[790] Ibid., 265, no. 1115.

southern wall of the chapel in 1904. Restoration works were carried out on the wall paintings in 1942, which involved a completion of lost surfaces and enhancing of faded details in the upper two registers of the Passion cycle. László Darkó revealed the wall paintings in the southern and northern aisles and in the southern apse with the occasion of the renovation of the church in 1956–1957.

The wall paintings are in a varying state of conservation. In his report of the revealing of the wall paintings in the south-western tower base, Flóris Rómer expressly notes how in the process of removing the whitewash, a part of the paint was also detached. Here, with the exception of the repainted parts, many losses and damages can be observed. Of the lower register of the northern wall and the compositions on the western and southern walls only fragments survive.

The representation in the southern apse is faded and fragmentary, its lower part having been cut through with an oblique line when the wiring was installed. It was painted over a scene belonging to an earlier layer, visible to the right of the composition, at places showing through the Late Gothic layer of painting.

Bibliographical overview:

László Darkó (1957): gives a detailed description of the wall paintings he revealed in 1956–57, including observations on the technique, state, iconography, style, and dating.[791]

Vasile Drăguț (1979): In his analysis of the wall paintings in the south-western tower base and the southern aisle, focuses on the stylistic features and influences, pointing out the impact of the International Gothic.[792]

József Lángi (2006): outlines the chronology of the different wall painting fragments and their relation to the architecture.[793]

Mihály Jánó (2008): outlines the afterlife and historiography of the wall paintings.[794]

I.

Location of the scenes: south-western tower base.

Description:

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[791] László Darkó, "A kolozsvári Szent Mihály-templom 1956-57. évi helyreállítása során feltárt falfestmények" [The wall paintings revealed during the renovation of the Saint Michael's church in Kolozsvár in 1956-1957], in *Emlékkönyv Kelemen Lajos születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára* [Festschrift for the 80th birthday of Lajos Kelemen], ed. Bodor András et al. (Bukarest: Tudományos Könyvkiadó, 1957), 207–218.
[792] Drăguț, *Arta gotică*, 236–237, 241.
[793] Lángi and Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek*, vol. 3, 75–78.
[794] Mihály Jánó, *Színek és legendák. Tanulmányok az erdélyi falfestmények kutatástörténetéhez* [Colours and legends. Studies on the history of research on Transylvanian wall paintings] (Sepsiszentgyörgy–Csíkszereda: Pallas-Akadémia Kiadó, 2008), 25–26, 49, 59–60, 65–67.

On the northern wall of the south-western tower base a Passion cycle was depicted in three registers (Figs. 2.6, 4.1).[795] The three fragmentarily surviving compositions of the lower register can be identified as the Entry into Jerusalem (Figs. 4.3, 4.4), the Last Supper (Figs. 4.8, 4.9, 4.10), and Christ on the Mount of Olives (Figs. 4.6, 4.7).[796] The cycle continues with the episodes of the Trial of Christ before Caiaphas (Fig. 4.11), the Crowning with thorns (Fig. 4.13), and the Flagellation (Fig. 4.14) in the middle register, and concludes with a many-figure Calvary scene in the lunette-shaped upper register (Figs. 2.7, 4.15). Below the cycle, there are four consecration crosses.

On the western wall, to the right of the window, a fragmentary representation of the Man of Sorrows with the *arma Christi* can be seen (Figs. 2.1, 2.5).[797]

On the southern wall, to the right of the window, a Last Judgement composition survives, with the figure of Christ enthroned in a mandorla, flanked by the Virgin Mary and probably Saint John the Baptist (Fig. 4.23). To the left of the window, a fragment of a composition with a dark blue background and a geometric frame identical to the one framing the Last Judgement can be seen.

Other wall paintings:

On the southern wall of the southern aisle, in the wall section below the window in the second bay from the west, to the left, there is a five-lined inscription on a white background, in a turquoise green field. The inscription is much faded and damaged, and is hardly decipherable. To the right of the inscription, two figural compositions survive, framed by geometrical borders. Of the *Crucifixion,* only fragments of the upper half of the scene have been preserved. To the right, a group of seven women saints flanking the figure of the Virgin Mary with the child Jesus can be seen.

On the wall linking the southern apse with the southern wall of the southern aisle, a small fragment survives: under a geometric frame, the right arm of the horizontal crossbar and the titulus is visible, and the upper segments of two haloes below. The scene probably depicted an episode of the Passion following the removal of Christ's body from the cross, possibly the Descent from the Cross.

On the northern wall of the northern aisle, a fragment of the lower right part of a scene with a geometric frame survives: the lower part of a white dress, probably belonging to a female figure, and the leg of a figure kneeling in front of her, clad in armour.

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[795] For a detailed description and analysis, see Chapter 4.1.
[796] For a discussion of their identification, see ibid.
[797] For a description and analysis, see Chapter 2.1.

Inscriptions:

The words of Christ's prayer in the Christ on the Mount of Olives scene, depicted in a two-line inscription, are undecipherable.

In the Flagellation scene, a figure identifiable as high priest Annas is holding an inscription written in Gothic minuscules: *anna[s?]*.

The INRI inscription of the cross titulus is written in Gothic minuscules in the representation of the Man of Sorrows with the *arma Christi*, and with majuscules in the Calvary scene (based on a comparison of photos taken before and after the restoration in 1942, the left part of the inscription with the letters IN seems to be a completion executed at this time).

Dating: Although the wall paintings in the southern and northern aisles and in the south-western tower base have all generally been dated to the middle of the fifteenth century, they have not been treated as belonging to the same ensemble, and their relation to each other has not been completely clarified.[798] Due to the fragmentary state and the repainting of some of the scenes, there are relatively few comparable details. Still, based on the observation of the decorative borders and other stylistic features, it seems probable that the wall paintings of the aisles and of the chapel were executed around the same time.[799] A dating to the middle decades of the fifteenth century, a period characterised by a lasting impact of the International Gothic, seems plausible.

II.

Location of the scene: north-eastern wall of the southern apse

Description:

On the left of the composition, a pope is standing (Figs. 5.17, 5.18). He is haloed, wearing a tiara made up of a red cone-shaped hat and three golden crowns of decreasing sizes with lily-shaped points, adorned with blue, green, and red gemstones. He is wearing a purplish

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[798] László Darkó notes that the two scenes on the southern wall of the southern aisle are similar in style to the wall paintings in the south-western tower base, even though their master was less talented. According to Dénes Radocsay, the style of the wall paintings in the aisles and of those in the chapel significantly differs. József Lángi argues that the fragments in the northern aisle and on the south-eastern wall of the southern aisle are probably coeval with the decoration of the chapel, but does not address the question of how the wall paintings on the southern wall of the southern aisle chronologically relate to these.

[799] The fragment in the northern aisle and the wall paintings on the southern wall of the chapel in the south-western tower base have an identical geometric frame. Similar, but more complex patterns frame the scenes on the northern and western walls of the chapel. In addition, the border dividing the Crucifixion scene from the row of women saints in the southern aisle seems to be decorated with the same kind of pattern as the one visible below the Christ on the Mount of Olives scene on the northern wall of the chapel. Although the haloes of the women saints in the southern aisle are different from the haloes of the saints in the chapel, the composition and colouring of the cruciform halo of Christ is similar in both places. Further similarities among all compositions include the red margin of almost all geometric patterns, the dark blue backgrounds and the general colour scheme, as well as the influence of the International Gothic.

red mantle with a green collar and vivid red lining, fastened by a golden buckle; underneath, a blue dalmatic with a golden lower hem decorated with gemstones, and a white alb. He is holding a golden monstrance.

On the right, Saint Sebastian appears (Fig. 5.19). He is represented without a halo, stripped of his clothes. His body is pierced through by arrows at several places. His raised left arm is tied with a rope to the tree behind him. Of the branches of the tree, only the contours survive. His right arm is bent, he is holding a green palm leaf (?) in his right hand. With a graceful move, he steps behind with his slightly bent right leg, lifting his heel, while placing his weight on his left foot shown in perspective.

The pope can be identified as Saint Fabian, who was often venerated together with Saint Sebastian, as the feast of both saints fell on the same day. Besides common dedication of churches and altars (for example the altar of Saint Fabian and Sebastian in Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár)), the two saints often appear together as a pair in visual representations as well (for example, in the altarpiece from Bruiu (Braller, Brulya) from 1520).

In the centre above, the fragmentary figure of an angel is visible in the sky, wearing green and red clothes and holding a sword in his right hand, at the end of which a white cloth is hanging (Fig. 5.20).

Architectural and landscape elements form the background of the composition: green hills and a winding road in the foreground and behind Saint Sebastian, and a cityscape behind the figure of the pope. In the centre, between the two figures, a central-plan, polygonal building is standing, with a facade richly articulated with windows and mouldings. To the left, further buildings can be discerned: on the left margin, a wall shown in perspective, behind it gable-roofed houses with red and green roofs, and towers with a row of windows on each level.

The scene is framed by a brownish red border.

Dating: The dating of the scene to around 1500 proposed in previous literature is plausible. The figure of Saint Sebastian seems to follow in some details the composition of a print by Schongauer (Bartsch 59), possibly mediated through a reverse copy by Wenzel von Olmütz.

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Cat. No. 5. Daia (Székelydálya), parish church

Historical data:

1333: first mention of the settlement in the register of the papal tithes: *Clemens de Dalya solvit II. et medium banales*.[800] The village and its priest also feature in the 1334 register: *Item Clemens sacerdos de Daya solvit II. banales antiquos*.[801]

Dedication of the church: unknown

Current denomination of the church: Calvinist

Architectural context:

The church has a single nave, and a chancel narrower than the nave, made up of two bays and a polygonal apse. Remains of the sacristy walls attached to the northern wall of the chancel and its walled-up portal survive. Archaeological investigations have also revealed an ossuary attached to the northern wall of the nave.

While archaeological finds point to an earlier (possibly twelfth-century) building, the earliest church with an identifiable plan including the current nave and a shorter, rectangular chancel probably dates from the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Late Gothic reconstruction works involving the building of an extended chancel and the sacristy took place in the second half of the fifteenth century. The cross-rib vault covering the chancel probably dates from the end of the fifteenth century. The vault is supported by profiled corbels, two of them adorned with human faces. The chancel was furnished with a sacrament niche on the north-eastern wall and a sitting niche on the southern wall.

The nave is covered with painted wooden ceiling dating from 1630. No traces of the medieval vault have been found.

Of the later renovations and reconstructions most important to note are the works carried out around 1800 when the tower attached to the western façade and the western organ tribune were built, and the Gothic windows of the nave and the chancel were transformed. In 1844, the medieval triumphal arch was widened.

Location of the scenes: northern wall of the apse; north-eastern wall of the apse around the sacrament niche; chancel vault.

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[800] László Fejérpataky, ed. *Rationes collectorum pontificorum in Hungaria. Pápai tizedszedők számadásai. 1281-1375*. Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia. Vatikáni magyar okirattár, vol. I.1 (Budapest: 1887), 115.

[801] Ibid., 133.

State of conservation:

The decoration of the chancel vault has never been covered. It was first mentioned by Balázs Orbán in 1868. In 1882 József Huszka revealed the scene on the northern wall. As he later relates, he could only partially recover the composition, as due to the strong adherence of the whitewash to the paint, the revealing could only be done by damaging the figures, and the fragmentary scene was immediately whitewashed for aesthetic reasons. At this time, and upon his return in 1903, he made drawings and watercolour copies of the wall paintings.[802]

In 1911, the head of the church council drew attention to the precarious condition of the chancel vault, which threatened to collapse. Although in the following year experts of the National Committee of Historic Monuments came to examine the vault, the promised renovation was not carried out due to the outbreak of the war.

While the condition of the church and the wall paintings had been continuously deteriorating due to water damages and earthquakes, subsequent restoration campaigns between 1961–1972 and 1991–1999 were only partially successful. The two representations of Saint Christopher on the northern exterior wall of the nave were discovered during the first campaign. The wall paintings of the nave, further fragments in the exterior, and the scene around the sacrament niche were uncovered in 1991–1992, the organ tribune in the chancel, which was partially hiding the latter, having been removed.

From 2006, restoration works on the church continued: after structural reinforcement of the vault and the complete uncovering of the compositions on the chancel walls, the conservation and restoration of the wall paintings in the chancel were finished in 2013.

The late eighteenth-century stucco decoration has covered the uppermost part of the scene on the northern chancel wall. The bottom part of the composition is also missing. Numerous damages are visible: several vertical fissures are cutting through the composition; the lower left part of the surviving surface is greatly abraded. The figures are generally damaged, almost all the faces have been lost. The scene around the sacrament niche is similarly damaged, the losses extend to all the faces of the figures and two larger lacunae affecting the representation of the *sudarium*. The parts below the niche are very damaged or completely lost. Although the various damages resulted in numerous fissures and losses on the vault decoration, it is relatively well preserved on almost all surfaces.

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[802] The watercolour copies made by József Huszka in 1903 are kept in the Plan Collection of the Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Center: inv. no. FM 107 (the view of the chancel from the west), inv. no. FM 108 (the scene on the northern chancel wall), inv. nos. FM 109–115 (the vault cells in twos). The copies were published in Jánó, *Színek és legendák,* Colour Plates nos. XII–XX.

Bibliographical overview:

József Huszka (1886): detailed description of the scene on the northern wall of the chancel interpreted as the apotheosis of Saint Margaret.[803] Dating (together with the vault): beginning of the sixteenth century.[804]

Jolán Balogh (1943): dating of the vault decoration and the scene on the northern wall identified as the host of the saved to the first quarter of the sixteenth century; short bibliographical overview.[805]

Árpád Mikó and Miklós Szentkirályi (1987): discussion of the vault decoration in the context of Gothic foliage decoration and green chambers in medieval Hungary and Europe, connection to contemporary painted wooden ceilings in terms of style and quality. Dating: 1505–1520.[806]

Mihály Jánó (1993): summary of the results of the wall investigation in 1992, description of the newly discovered wall paintings in the nave, chancel, and the exterior. Dating: c. 1480–1500 (wall paintings on the chancel walls); beginning of the sixteenth century (the decoration of the vault).[807]

Emese Nagy (2001): detailed description of the vault decoration, analysis of the heraldic and figural motifs, interpretation of the decoration program in the context of the contemporary fashion of green chambers.[808]

Mihály Jánó (2008): summary of the research and preservation history of the wall paintings.[809]

Attila István Szekeres (2011): heraldic analysis of the coats of arms. Dating of the vault decoration to between 1508–1516.[810]

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[803] He interpreted the sail as a curtain framing the scene, the mast as a column, and the hull of the ship as hanging draperies, see József Huszka, "Magyar szentek a Székelyföldön a XV. és XVI-dik századokban" [Hungarian saints in the Szeklerland in the 15th and 16th centuries], *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, 6 (1886): 128–129.

[804] Ibid.

[805] Jolán Balogh, *Az Erdélyi Renaissance* [The Transylvanian Renaissance] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1943), vol. 1, 295, 301.

[806] Árpád Mikó and Miklós Szentkirályi, "Az ádámosi unitárius templom festett famennyezete (1526) és a famennyezet rekonstrukciója (1985)" [The painted wooden ceiling of the Unitarian church of Ádámos (1526) and its reconstruction (1985)], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 36, nos. 1–4 (1987): 103–107.

[807] Mihály Jánó, "A székelydályai református templom kutatása" [The investigation of the Calvinist church in Daia], *Műemlékvédelmi szemle* 3, no. 1 (1993): 25–41.

[808] Emese Nagy, "Green Chamber Iconography from Saxony to Székelydálya (Daia Secuiască): A Case Study," in *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, vol. 7, ed. Marcell Sebők and Katalin Szende (Budapest: Central European University, Department of Medieval Studies, 2001), 39–63.

[809] Jánó, *Színek és legendák*, 57, 83, 100–102, 116–119.

[810] Attila István Szekeres, "A székelydályai református templom címerei" [The coat of arms of the Calvinist church of Daia], in *Jelképek a Székelyföldön. Címerek, pecsétek, zászlók.* [Emblems in the Szeklerland. Coat of arms, seals, flags.], ed. János Mihály (Csíkszereda: Hargita Megye Hagyományőrzési Forrásközpont–Udvarhelyszék Kulturális Egyesület–Hargita Népe, 2011), 29–38.

Tekla Szabó (2015, 2018): emphasizes the pilgrimage connections of the representation of Veronica's veil, based on its iconography and the family connections of the presumed commissioner, Lénárd Barlabássy.[811]

Description:

A fragmentary representation of Veronica's veil survives above the sacrament niche (Figs. 3.9, 3.10). Saint Veronica is standing before a stone wall. She is haloed, wearing a white veil on her head; a lock of her curly black hair is visible beneath. She is raising her arms,[812] holding up the large veil, which falls down in undulating folds on the sides, covering the rest of her body. In the middle of the veil, the face of Christ can be discerned: his decorated halo, undulating brown hair, and probably bifurcated beard. His face (just like Veronica's) is largely destroyed.

Below, the upper parts of two figures flanking the sacrament niche survive, set against a dark background. They are haloed, wearing greenish-brown mantles and long-sleeved white dresses underneath. They are turning towards the niche, raising their hands in a gesture of prayer. Their faces are destroyed. The figure on the left may be identified as Saint Peter based on his attribute, an object resting against his shoulder, the surviving upper part of which resembles the shaft and bit of a key (Fig. 3.11). The other saint is thus probably Saint Paul, based on the common association of the two saints, who frequently appear as a pair in representations of Veronica's veil.[813] This lower part of the composition is framed by a white border, which is completed with a black and white geometric pattern on the right side. (A similar, but simpler pattern made up of a row of semicircles frames the upper part of the composition from the left). Of the painted ornament, probably a finial, which once crowned the ogee-arched niche, only its contours are partly visible.

On the northern wall of the apse, there is a representation of the Martyrdom of Saint Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins (Fig. 5.25).[814] The ship of Saint Ursula fills the entire width of the scene. Inside, a large number of people are standing in several rows, both men and women. Of most figures standing in the back rows, only the top of their heads is visible. In the front rows, mostly female figures (women and children) can be seen with veils or long wavy hair, many of them wearing crowns, and a bishop in an ornate mitre. The figure of the pope on

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[811] Tekla Szabó, "Magyarvista középkori templomának donátorképei" [The donor portraits of the medieval church of Magyarvista], *Korunk*, 26, no. 1 (2015): 6; Idem, "The 14th Century Representations of Navicella and the Story of the Murals from Jelna (Bistrița-Năsăud County)," *Caiete ARA*, 9 (2018): 151.

[812] The part of the scene where her right arm had been is destroyed.

[813] See Chapter 3.2.

[814] For previous identifications of the scene, and arguments for an identification as the Martyrdom of Saint Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins, see Chapter 5.4.

his right with a three-level tiara, visible in the watercolour copy by József Huszka, is now more damaged and hardly recognisable. The crowned female figure standing in front of the crowd, rising above the other figures, is probably Saint Ursula. Her figure is largely destroyed along the central axis. She is wearing a red mantle; her long wavy hair falls freely over her shoulders. All the passengers of the ship are turning in the same direction to the left in three quarter profile, their hands put together in prayer. All their faces are destroyed.

In the upper part of the mast below the crow's nest, there is a three-figure Crucifixion set against the background of the sail (Fig. 5.26). The horizontal bar of the dark brown cross bearing the titulus is bent downwards in a bow shape. The crucified Christ – haloed, with closed eyes – is flanked by the standing figures of the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist, who are turning towards him in prayer. The Virgin Mary is wearing a yellow mantle over a red dress, Saint John a green dress and a red mantle. Behind them, the sail decorated with stripes of a black zig-zag pattern falls down undulatingly.

Beyond the ship, to the right from the mast, a group of six men can be seen. The first three figures, which are better preserved, are wearing armour; the first one is holding a long wooden stick in his right hand. Behind the group, there is a portal in brown, green, and white colours, resembling a rainbow, with a stone building on the other side. The group of soldiers approaching from the right can be interpreted as the Huns attacking Saint Ursula and her retinue when they arrive to Cologne from Rome; the architectural elements behind them are probably a simplified reference to the town. In front of the ship, to the right, a Hun soldier is standing, raising a sword, preparing to behead a virgin whom he is pulling by her hair over the railing of the boat.

The lunette of the vault is framed by a decorative band of egg-and-dart motifs down to the corbels. Below the corbel on the right, a red column with a spiralling decorative band coiled around it frames the scene (a similar column probably appeared on the left, this part however is much damaged).

The decoration of the chancel vault consists of vegetal motifs interspersed with human figures and faces as well as eight coats of arms (Cat. Fig. 10). The coiling tendrils with stylized, winding leaves and large flowers cover evenly all the surfaces of the vault cells, creating a dynamic and decorative effect. A great variety of patterns can be observed, the flowers vary in their form, size, and colour (Cat. Figs. 11, 12). In some cases, the vegetation is growing out of vases.

The decoration in some fields follows the concept of the so-called green-on-green monochrome painting, the vegetal ornamentation drawn with black contours being of the same

turquoise green colour as the background, with some of the flowers or the end of the leaves providing occasional black or golden-brown accents. In most fields, the green vegetation is outlined against a differing – black, yellowish-green, or dark green – background.

The figural representations fit into this colour scheme, organically merging into the vegetal environment. In the north-eastern cell of the apse, a figure of a Turk in an Ottoman dress can be seen, wearing a turban and black boots, holding on to one of the stems (Cat. Fig. 13). In the next cell to the west, there is a frontally represented male head in the centre, with long hair, wearing a headband made of two intertwining ribbons (Cat. Fig. 14). Two wings are growing out of his head instead of a neck and shoulders, and a tendril branching in two is growing out of his mouth. Above him another male head was painted, this time in profile, with a beard and a laurel wreath. In the opposite field to the south, the figure of a man wearing a hat, a tunic, and a hose appears. He is lifting his right leg and arm, holding on to a tendril with his hand, as if he wanted to clamber up the vegetation. Above, to the left, a smaller-sized female figure is standing in the cup of a flower, wearing a long black dress, a white headscarf, and holding a spindle and a distaff in her hands (Cat. Fig. 15). Between the two figures a squirrel (?) is running.

The coats of arms are placed in the cells along the two transverse ribs of the vault, two in each of the four cells. Their colour scheme is white and golden-brown against a uniformly red background, and thus they stand out against the surrounding – overwhelmingly green – vegetation. From east to west and from north to south, the following coats of arms appear: King Vladislaus II (Cat. Fig. 16), a coat of arms featuring the head of an ox with a moon-sickle and a six-pointed star (Cat. Fig. 17), the Szekler and the Saxon communities, the towns of Brașov, Sibiu, and Sighișoara (Cat. Fig. 18), as well as the blazon of the Arpadian dynasty.

The vault ribs are painted in red, partially with green edges, and bear a simple vegetal ornament of elongated leaves drawn with black, arranged in twos or threes.

Other wall paintings:

The wall painting decoration of the church has survived from several periods:

– on the earlier chancel walls (now below floor level), traces of painted curtains from around 1300.

– in the nave, fragmentary scenes from the legend of Saint Ladislaus (northern wall, and partly on the western wall) and the legend of Saint George (southern wall): fourteenth century.

– further detached wall painting fragments were revealed in archaeological excavations from both the earliest (around 1300) and the fourteenth-century phase.

– traces of wall paintings on the northern exterior wall of the nave: to the right, the two haloes of a representation of Saint Christopher are recognizable (fifteenth century), under which, according to László Dávid, there had been an earlier, fourteenth-century representation of the saint.[815]

– a red vegetal frieze of intertwining stalks with stylized leaves and acorn motifs is running along the nave walls above the fourteenth-century scenes. It is possibly coeval with the decoration of the chancel.

Dating: c. 1500–1516. The decoration of the chancel[816] can be dated to between 1490 and 1516, based on the coat of arms of King Vladislaus II painted on the vault (Cat. Fig. 16). While another coat of arms featuring the head of an ox with a moon-sickle and a six-pointed star (Cat. Fig. 17) has been traditionally attributed to Lénárd Barlabássy, vice-voivode of Transylvania between 1501 and 1516, this attribution does not seem well justified.[817] Nonetheless, features such as the egg-and-dart motif framing the Martyrdom of Saint Ursula scene point to a dating to the early sixteenth rather than the late fifteenth century.

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[815] László Dávid, *A középkori Udvarhelyszék művészeti emlékei* [Artistic monuments of medieval Udvarhelyszék] (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1981), 261.

[816] The representations of the Martyrdom of Saint Ursula and Veronica's veil are contemporary with the decoration of the vault. Lóránd Kiss, personal communication, 19 June 2018.

[817] As heraldist Attila István Szekeres remarks (while sustaining the attribution), the moon and the star do not appear in other representations of the vice-voievode's coat of arms, while the ox-head was a common heraldic motif appearing in the coat of arms of several Transylvanian families, cf. Szekeres, *A székelydályai református templom címerei*, 33–34. More recently, Ciprian Firea has argued against the attribution of the coat of arms to Lénárd Barlabássy in a paper given at the conference *The Medieval Parish as a Place of Convergence: Institution, Community, Cult and Monument. A Workshop on the Perspectives of Research on the Central-Eastern European Region*, Romanian Academy–Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, October 2017, with the title "'In Search of a Patron'. Saxon Priests as Promoters of the Arts in Late Medieval Transylvania (c. 1350–1550)."

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Cat. Fig. 9. View of the chancel from the nave.

Cat. Fig. 10. The decoration of the chancel vault.

Cat. Figs. 11–12. Vegetal decoration on the vault.

Cat. Figs. 13–15. Figural representations on the vault.

Cat. Figs. 16–18. Coats of arms on the vault.

Cat. No. 6. Hărman (Szászhermány, Honigberg), chapel in the eastern tower of the church fortification

Historical data:

1240: first mention of the church in Hărman[818]

1400: Pope Boniface IX grants an indulgence to the church of Saint Nicolas in Hărman.[819]

1427: King Sigismund requests that his chaplain *Martinus Nicolaus de Alwyncz* is elected the parish priest of Hărman after the decease of parish priest Nicolaus.[820]

1442: first mention of *Anthonius, plebanus de monte Mellis decanusque sedis Brassouiensis.*[821] He appears in the sources holding both offices up to 1449.[822]

1457: *Petrus Braschowiensis decanus necnon plebanus in Wydenbach* confirms *Caspar Berwart de Wydenbach* in his office as the parish priest of Hărman, after the death of his predecessor Laurencius Karg.[823]

1483: *Symon Thuesch, artium baccalaureus et plebanus in Monte Mellis*[824]

Dedication of the chapel: unknown

Current denomination: the chapel is no longer used as a liturgical space; the parish church is now Lutheran.

Architectural context:

The four-storey tower housing the chapel is located to the east of the parish church of Saint Nicholas, as part of the fortification surrounding the church. The semi-basement is accessible through a portal from the west. The level of the ground floor where the chapel is located is elevated well above the ground. The wide round arched portal once leading into the chapel was later walled up.

Based on a survey of similar structures with a chapel over a cellar-like basement in church cemeteries in German territories, as well as in Transylvania, Helga Fabritius concludes that it probably functioned as a charnel chapel above an ossuary, a conclusion underscored by the find of human bones in the basement, just as in the case of the chapels from Mediaș (Medgyes, Mediasch), Cisnădie (Nagydisznód, Heltau) and Curciu (Küküllőkőrös, Kirtsch).[825]

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[818] *Urkundenbuch,* vol. 1, no. 76.
[819] Ibid., vol. 9, no. 9017.
[820] Ibid., vol. 4, no. 1990.
[821] Ibid., vol. 5, no. 2439.
[822] Ibid., nos. 2464, 2596, 2638, 2691.
[823] Ibid., no. 3089.
[824] Ibid., vol. 9, no. 9030.
[825] Helga Fabritius, *Die honigberger Kapelle. Kunst uns Selbstdarstellung einer siebenbürgischen Gemeinde im 15. Jahrhundert* (Dössel: J. Stekovics, 2006)*,* 30–50.

The room has a rectangular ground plan and is made up of two bays, both covered with a cross-rib vault, and separated by a transverse arch. A large, round arched niche in the eastern wall, later walled up, may have originally housed the altar. Similar, though narrower niches with small lancet windows, later walled up, were carved in the southern and northern walls of the eastern bay. In the western bay, shallower, rectangular niches articulate the northern and southern walls.

The originally two-storey structure consisting of an ossuary and a chapel above it was probably built in the second half of the thirteenth, or the beginning of the fourteenth, century. Its reconstruction into a defence tower with two additional floors covered with a pent roof, and the walling up of the niche on the eastern wall was probably a response to the Ottoman attacks hitting the region in the 1420's and the 1430's.[826] The fact that on the eastern wall the wall painting decoration was designed to cover the entire wall surface – with a part extending over the walling up of the niche still visible – suggests that this reconstruction campaign preceded the execution of the wall paintings.

In a reconstruction phase succeeding the wall painting decoration, datable to the sixteenth century, embrasures were opened in the southern and northern niches of the eastern bay, and the western entrance arch was walled up. In the eighteenth century, the embrasures were walled up, and a window was opened in the eastern wall.

Location of the scenes: The wall painting decoration covers the whole interior of the chapel.

State of conservation:

The revealing of the wall paintings first mentioned in 1897[827] took place in several phases. During the restoration between 1996–1998 all wall painting surfaces which were under whitewash until then were revealed, including those in the walled-up niches on the southern and northern walls of the eastern bay.

The wall paintings painted in a *secco* technique are in a varying but generally fragmentary state of preservation, with the decoration of the western bay being on average more deteriorated, and with much of the layer of whitewash lost in the inferior parts of the lower decorative register. Various losses were caused by later interventions, such as the opening of the embrasures or the installation of a fireplace with a chimney besides the northern wall of the eastern bay. With the opening of a window in the eastern wall, almost all surfaces coinciding with the medieval wall niche were lost. Other damages include numerous cracks, larger and smaller lacunae, abrasions, and a large number of graffiti.

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[826] Ibid., 28.

[827] In a church visitation, see Fabritius, *Die Honigberger Kapelle*, 11.

Bibliographical overview:

Vasile Drăguț (1979): Observations on the stylistic features and stylistic origins of the wall paintings; accepts the dating to c. 1460–1470 proposed in earlier research.[828]

Tünde Wehli (1983): an examination of interconnections within the iconographic program and of the sources of the *Defensorium* composition; dating to the first half of the fifteenth century.[829]

Ruxandra Balaci (1989): analysis of the iconographic and stylistic features, dating to c. 1470–1480.[830]

Christine Peters (1997): an iconographic analysis in the context of the pre-Reformation religiosity of the Transylvanian Saxons, dating to the late fifteenth century.[831]

Helga Fabritius (2006): a monograph on the chapel and its decoration, including an architectural analysis, detailed description of the wall paintings, stylistic analysis, an interpretation of the iconographic program, and a catalogue of the inscriptions. Suggests that the room functioned as a charnel chapel and proposes a dating for its decoration c. 1440–1450. Emphasizes the didactic function of the wall paintings; argues for a clerical authorship of the iconographic program, and a connection to the University of Vienna; identifies parish priest Antonius (1442–1449) as the most likely concepteur and commissioner.[832]

Dana Jenei (2006): a detailed description and analysis of the iconographic program, with a dating to around 1486.[833]

Christine Peters (2008): an analysis of the representation of the three orders in a social-historical context.[834]

Description:

On the eastern wall a three-figure Crucifixion was painted, flanked by the representation of the three orders of medieval society to the left, and the figures of the Pharisee and the

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[828] Drăguț, *Arta gotică*, 244–245.

[829] Tünde Wehli, "Könyvfestészeti és grafikai előképek az 1470 előtti magyarországi falfestészetben" [Manuscript illuminations and prints as models in the wall paintings in Hungary before 1470], *Ars Hungarica* 11 no. 2 (1983): 217–220.

[830] Ruxandra Balaci, "Noi aspecte iconografice în pictura murală gotică din Transilvania: Hărman și Sânpetru" [New iconographic aspects in the Gothic mural painting of Transylvania: Hărman and Sânpetru.], *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei, Seria Arta Plastică* 36–37, (1989–1990): 3–17, 3–8.

[831] Christine Peters, "Mural Paintings, Ethnicity and Religious Identity in Transylvania: The Context for Reformation," in *The Reformation in Eastern and Central Europe*, ed. Karin Maag (London: Routledge, 1997), 101–107.

[832] Helga Fabritius, *Die honigberger Kapelle. Kunst uns Selbstdarstellung einer siebenbürgischen Gemeinde im 15. Jahrhundert* (Dössel: J. Stekovics, 2006).

[833] Dana Jenei, "Pictura murală a capelei din Hărman" [The mural painting of the chapel in Hărman], *Ars Transilvaniae* 12–13 (2002–2003): 81–102.

[834] Christine Peters, "The Virgin Mary and the Publican: Lutheranism and Social Order in Transylvania," in *The Impact of the European Reformation: Princes, Clergy and People*, ed. Bridget Heal and Ole Peter Grell (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), 154–159.

Publican to the right (Cat. Fig. 19, Figs. 1.1, 1.2, 1.5, 1.7). On the side walls of the eastern bay, apostles holding versets from the Creed, divided into two groups of six, appear in the upper register, paired with an equal number of prophets in the niches below, equipped with inscription scrolls with Old Testament prophecies prefiguring the respective articles of faith (Figs. 1.13, 1.14, Cat. Fig. 20). Saint Peter is depicted as a bishop in front of the prophets in the lower register on the southern wall (Fig. 1.15); opposite him, on the northern wall, an unidentified bishop without a halo appears (Fig. 1.16).

The representations of the vault in the eastern bay include the Maiestas Domini (eastern cap of the cross-rib vault), the Coronation of the Virgin Mary (western cap), and the four evangelists paired with the four Church Fathers (northern and southern cap, Fig. 1.12).

On the top of the transverse arch separating the two bays, the figures of Saint Paul and Saint James the Elder were painted (Cat. Fig. 21). Below both saints, a group of haloed figures without attributes appear in an architectural frame, turned towards the east in a prayerful stance (Cat. Figs. 22, 23). Underneath, on the southern wall, a representation of the *Defensorium* theme was depicted, with the central Nativity scene surrounded by four animal symbols and four Old Testament types of the Virgin Birth, set in a complex geometrical frame bearing inscriptions, made up of a diamond inserted between two concentric rectangles (Cat. Fig. 24). Opposite this composition on the northern wall, the Last Prayer of the Virgin was painted (Cat. Fig. 25).

The dominating theme of the western bay is the Last Judgement. The figure of Christ as Judge flanked by the interceding Virgin Mary and Saint John the Baptist is depicted in the western cap of the vault (Cat. Fig. 26). In the eastern cap, the Apocalyptic vision of the Maria in Sole appears between Saint Catherine and Saint Barbara (Cat. Fig. 27). The seven works of mercy in the southern cap are placed as a pendant to the Parable of the Rich Man and Poor Lazarus in the northern cap (the latter extending to the upper part of the northern wall as well); both compositions are now in an extremely fragmentary state (Cat. Figs. 28, 29)

The college of apostles with the cross of the *arma Christi* in the upper register of the western wall (Cat. Fig. 30), the resurrected raising from their tomb and the damned entering the mouth of Hell on the northern wall (Cat. Fig. 31), and the procession of the blessed into Paradise on the southern wall (Cat. Fig. 32) all belong to the representation of the Last Judgement. In the lower register of the western wall, the Annunciation was painted, with the figure of Archangel Gabriel to the left, and the Virgin Annunciate to the right of the entrance arch. On the inner side of the arch, the representations of the Wise and the Foolish Virgins survive in a fragmentary state.

The decorative borders framing the compositions exhibit a large variety of vegetal and geometrical ornaments. The bottom register is filled with vegetal scroll motifs and a curtain held by angel figures on the northern wall of the western bay.

Inscriptions:

The wall painting ensemble features a vast number of inscriptions in Gothic minuscules (around 65 altogether), which were published by Helga Fabritius along with a German translation.[835] Here only the inscriptions in the eastern bay – relevant to the analysis in Chapter 1 – are listed, based on the transcriptions by Fabritius.

Eastern wall

Allegory of the three orders of medieval society:

1. Tu [...] decime et primicie da(n)tur

2. tu p(ro)tege ideo ce(n)sus et t(ri)buta [da](n)tur

3. tu que illabora vt p(ro) te or(ati)o fu(n)dat(ur) et p(ro)tegaer(is) ab hostib[us].

The parable of the Pharisee and the Publican

1. [Gr]acias ago tibi qui[a] [...]/ ceteri ho[mi]nes raptores i[n]iusti adulteri.

2. De[us] p[ro]pitius esto mihi pec/catori.

Southern wall of the eastern bay

Apostles

1–3. destroyed

4. (us) /sepul[t](us)

5. [de]scendit / [...] [infe]r[n]a

6. tercia [...]

Prophets

1. Jeremie/3 patre(m) in vocabitis qui fecit terram (et) co(n)didit celos

2. David domin(us) dixit ad me fili(us) me(us) es tu ego ho (di)e genui te

3. Jesajas 7 ecce virgo (con)cipiet et pariet filiu(m)

4. Zacharias aspicient ad me /que(m) crucifixeru(n)t

5. Osee 13 o mors ero/mors tua morsus/tuus ero

6. Jonas 2 et euomuit/ ionam in / aridam

Northern wall of the eastern bay

Apostles

All the inscriptions held by the apostles on the northern wall are destroyed.

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[835] Fabritius, *Die Honigberger Kapelle*, 163–172.

Prophets

1. Amos ix Qui edificat asce(n)sione(m) sua(m) in celu(m)

2. Sophonias iii exspecta me dicit domin(us) in die resureccionis mee

3. Johel effo(n)da(m) spiritu(m) meu(m) / super o(m)nem carne(m) et p(ro)phetabu(n)t

4. Mihias Jn / uocabu(n)t o(m)nes deu(m) et seruiiet ei

5. Ezechiel xxxiiii educam vos de populis et (con)g(re)gabo eas de/terris

6. Daniel euigilabu(n)t in uita(m) eterna(m) alyi obp(ro)briu(m) vt vident se[m]p(er).

Dating:

In Romanian scholarship the wall painting ensemble has been categorised as a Late Gothic work, with the dating proposed by Eduard Morres in 1929 of c. 1460–1470[836] being for a long time accepted, then adjusted towards ever later datings by Ruxandra Balaci (c. 1470–1480) and Dana Jenei (c. 1486). In contrast, Hungarian authors have seen the wall painting ensemble as a late example of International Gothic painting, dating it to the first half of the fifteenth century,[837] or to around 1430.[838]

In turn, Helga Fabritius suggested a dating c. 1440–1450, arguing that while the wall paintings exhibit features characteristic of the International Gothic, a hardening of folds and a penchant towards more realism typical of the Late Gothic can already be observed, and pointing to the altarpiece in Prejmer (Prázsmár, Tartlau) and the Calvary mural in Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt) as the closest analogies. Her arguments based on a detailed stylistic analysis are convincing. It must be noted nonetheless that there is very little evidence based on which to date works of art of this transitory period in Transylvanian painting, the wall painting in Sibiu (1445) providing the only fix reference point having been affected by several post-medieval repaintings. Also, there is no unanimous agreement about the dating of the Prejmer altarpiece – which is presumably earlier than the wall paintings in Hărman – to before 1450 either.[839] A broader dating of c. 1440–1460 may thus be better aligned with the fragmentary evidence of mid-fifteenth century painting in Transylvania.

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[836] Eduard Morres, "Die Kirchen und ihre Kunstschätze – Die gotische Wandmalerei," in *Das Burzenland*, vol. 4., ed. Erich Jekelius (Kronstadt: Burzenländer Sächs. Museum, 1929), 197–199, cited in Fabritius, *Die Honigberger Kapelle*, 13.

[837] Wehli, *Könyvfestészeti és grafikai előképek*, 217.

[838] Ernő Marosi, ed., *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül* [The art of Hungary around 1300–1470], vol. 1. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), 616.

[839] For a later dating, see for instance Gábor Endrődi, "Winged Altarpieces in Medieval Hungary," in *The Art of Medieval Hungary,* ed. Xavier Barral i Altet, Pál Lővei, Vinni Lucherini, and Imre Takács (Rome: Viella, 2018), 195.

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Cat. Fig. 19. View of the chapel from the west.

Cat. Fig. 20. The northern wall of the eastern bay.

Cat. Fig. 21. Saint James the Elder and Saint Paul on the transverse arch.

Cat. Fig. 22. Figures of saints on the transverse arch (northern side).

Cat. Fig. 23. Figures of saints on the transverse arch (southern side).

Cat. Fig. 24. Typological representation of the Nativity.

Cat. Fig. 25. The Last Prayer of the Virgin Mary.

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Cat. Fig. 26. Christ as Judge flanked by the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Baptist.

Cat. Fig. 27. Maria in Sole with Saint Catherine and Saint Barbara.

Cat. Fig. 28. The seven works of mercy.

Cat. Fig. 29. Parable of the Rich Man and Poor Lazarus.

Cat. Fig. 30. View of the chapel from the east.

Cat. Fig. 31. The resurrected and the damned entering Hell.

Cat. Fig. 32. The procession of the blessed into Paradise.

Cat. No. 7. Ioneşti (Homoródjánosfalva, Eissdorf), parish church

Historical data:

1448 first mention of the settlement as *Janosfalwa*[840]

1481 date on the medieval bell, now lost.[841]

Dedication of the church: unknown

Current denomination: Unitarian

Architectural context:

The church has a single nave and a chancel of the same width with a polygonal ending, the two being separated by a pointed chancel arch. Both the nave and the chancel are covered with a net vault, apparently dating from the same period; on one of the corbels in the chancel, the year 1522 is carved. In addition to the vault, a tabernacle on the northern chancel wall and the southern shouldered arch portal of the nave probably also date from this Late Gothic reconstruction phase. The western tower and the porticus in front of the southern entrance are post-medieval additions, as are the western and eastern tribunes.

The earlier phases of the building history are uncertain due to a lack of written sources and archaeological research. While the round-arched western stone portal opening into the nave from the tower has traditionally been dated to the thirteenth century, and thus interpreted as an indication of a Romanesque building phase, more recent research has questioned this view, arguing for a dating of the portal in the Late Gothic period.

Location of the wall paintings: The scenes are located on the northern chancel wall, in the lunettes of the second and third bays counted from the west (Fig. 4.27).

State of conservation: The wall paintings were discovered and revealed during the renovation of the church between 1937 and 1942, but were cleaned and conserved only in 2004. Both scenes are greatly damaged, with many painted surfaces completely missing, or otherwise being affected by holes and fissures. In the *Christ on the Mount of Olives,* an oblique fissure cuts across the middle of the scene; the lower left corner is missing. In *the Christ before Pilate* scene, the figures of two of the soldiers flanking Christ are almost completely destroyed, as well as a part of the figure of Pilate.

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[840] *Székely oklevéltár,* vol. 1, no. 129.
[841] Benkő, *Erdély középkori harangjai,* 272.

Bibliographical overview:

József Lángi (2004): observations on the technique and state of conservation, identification and brief description of the Christ before Pilate scene.[842]

Zsombor Jékely and Lóránd Kiss (2008): description of the wall paintings after their cleaning and conservation, comparison to the Passion cycle in Mărtiniș (Homoródszentmárton, Sankt Marten).[843]

Description of the scenes:

Christ on the Mount of Olives

Of the kneeling figure of Christ in the foreground, only parts of his purple robe and his arms spread wide in a praying posture can be seen (Cat. Fig. 33). To the left, two haloed apostles are sleeping in a seated position. The one on the left, a bearded man with a bold head (probably Peter) is leaning his head on his left hand in his sleep, the other, a man with brown hair and beard (probably James) is supporting his head with two hands. To the right of Christ, only the halo of the third apostle (probably John), his green sleeve and brownish mantle are visible.

A large brown rock frames the scene from the right, with a patch of green grass on the top, on which the contours of a chalice can be recognized, although this motif is almost completely destroyed. In the background, fragments of a fence, a gate (?), and a tree can be discerned. Above, at the top of the lunette, an angel with the *arma Christi* appears, wearing a white dress, his green-feathered wings widespread. Among the *arma,* the Cross, the column, the lance, and another stick-like object – probably the reed with the vinegar sponge – can be recognized.

Christ before Pilate

Pilate is sitting on a throne in the right part of the composition, wearing an oblong hat, a brown mantle, and holding a sceptre in his right hand (Cat. Fig. 34). Behind his throne, a turquoise-green drapery is hanged.

Christ is standing to the left, wearing a purple robe, his hands bound together in the front. He is surrounded by several soldiers holding spears, halberds, and bludgeons, raising their arms ready to strike at him. The vertical and oblique lines of the weapons and the arms of the soldiers make the otherwise static scene dynamic.

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[842] Lángi and Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek*, vol. 2, 43.

[843] Zsombor Jékely and Lóránd Kiss, *Középkori falképek Erdélyben: értékmentés a Teleki László Alapítvány támogatásával* [Medieval wall paintings in Transylvania: salvage with the support of the Teleki László foundation] (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2008), 120–128.

Inscriptions: At the top of the *Christ before Pilate* scene, there is a convoluted scroll with the inscription MAR[I]A (?); below it, the date of 1522 is painted with large black numerals.

Dating: 1522, based on the year painted on the Christ before Pilate scene. The wall paintings are in this way contemporary with the Late Gothic vault.

Bibliography:

Benkő, Elek. *Erdély középkori harangjai és bronz keresztelőmedencéi* [Medieval bells and bronze baptismal fonts of Transylvania]. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2002, 272.

Dávid, *A középkori Udvarhelyszék,* 143–150.

Entz, *Erdély építészete a 14-16. században*, 141, 199–200, 306.

Jékely, Zsombor and Lóránd Kiss. *Középkori falképek Erdélyben: értékmentés a Teleki László Alapítvány támogatásával* [Medieval wall paintings in Transylvania: salvage with the support of the Teleki László foundation]. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2008, 120–128.

Kovács, András. "The Transylvanian Pilgrims of El Camino. Corbels of the Sanctuary of Homoródjánosfalva (Ionești, RO)", in *Bonum ut Pulchrum: Essays in Art History in Honour of Ernő Marosi on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Lívia Varga, László Beke, Anna Jávor, Pál Lővei and Imre Takács. Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó - MTA Művészettörténeti Kutatóintézet, 2010, 493–500.

Lángi and Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek*, vol. 2, 43.

Cat. Fig. 33. Christ on the Mount of Olives.

Cat. Fig. 34. Christ before Pilate

Cat. No. 8. Maiad (Nyomát), parish church

Historical data:

1513: first documentary mention of the settlement as *Monyath*.[844]

1609: mention of the settlement as *Monyath alias Boldogasszonyfalva*[845]

1634: Having learnt about denominational conflicts in the village of *Monyard* and *Bozed,* prince György Rákóczi sends a committee to count the adherents of both denominations [*Unitarian and Calvinist*] and hand over the church and its properties to the denomination in majority.[846]

Dedication of the church: unknown. The name variant of the settlement *Boldogasszonyfalva* might suggest a dedication to the Virgin Mary.

Current denomination: Unitarian

Architectural context: The single-nave church with a narrower chancel terminating in a semicircular apse was built in the thirteenth century. From this Romanesque building period date the two round arched windows on the southern wall of the chancel. The sacristy attached to the northern side was torn down in the nineteenth century, its walled up round arched portal is still visible. Diagonal buttresses support the north-western and south-western corners of the nave. The painted coffered ceiling covering the nave dates from 1735.

Location of the scenes: the southern side of the triumphal arch facing the nave; the northern nave wall besides the triumphal arch.

State of conservation: Balázs Orbán was the first to mention wall painting fragments in the church in 1868, which he describes as imitating Byzantine features. An investigation of the church interior in 2007 revealed painted surfaces in several places in the nave, while in the chancel no traces of wall paintings were found. Among the wall painting fragments, most intact is the Crucifixion scene on the southern side of the triumphal arch. Still, it has suffered significant damages: besides a vertical fissure cutting across the right half of the composition, there are many losses concentrating on the body of Christ and the faces of the figures, all of which are destroyed. In the lower left corner of the composition there is a larger lacuna in the painted surface affecting the figures of Saint Peter and one of the angels. Only fragments of the wall paintings on the northern side of the triumphal arch and on the northern nave wall survive.

Bibliographical overview: Zsombor Jékely and Lóránd Kiss (2008): report on the wall investigation and the revealing of the wall paintings, description of the Crucifixion scene,

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[844] *Székely oklevéltár*, vol. 8, no. 136.
[845] Ibid*.,* vol. 6, no. 1051.
[846] Ibid., no. 1107.

stylistic observations, comparison to the wall paintings in the Tower of Catholics in Biertan and dating to the second half of the fifteenth century.[847]

Description:

The red frame divides the representation on the southern side of the chancel arch in two fields. In the upper field a many-figure Crucifixion was depicted (Figs. 1.39, 1.40). The T-shaped cross adorned with rhombus-like patterns suggesting the wood grain and wedged into a pile of black stones is in the middle of the composition, filling its entire height. On its top there is a white scroll, once probably containing the INRI inscription that is no longer visible.

Christ, haloed, wearing a white loincloth and probably the crown of thorns, is tilting his head to his right. His face and the parts of his body where his wounds had probably been – his hands, chest and feet – are destroyed. To the right of Christ four figures are standing, all haloed. In the centre of the group is the Virgin Mary, clasping her hands and tilting her head to the right in sorrow. She is wearing a long white mantle over a greyish striped dress. Two figures are supporting her from both sides: the one on the left is wearing a reddish-brown mantle, with the sleeve of a yellow patterned dress visible below, and a white cloth over the shoulders, reaching down in the front to the ground in angular folds. The figure on the right is dressed in a similar coloured long mantle, with a grey hem on the sleeve. Of the fourth figure standing behind them only the halo is visible.

The front figure in the group to the left of Christ is a man in oriental costume: a turban, a brocade patterned yellow dress with a red collar, a sword on his belt, and pointed brown shoes. With his lifted right hand he is probably pointing to Christ (his index finger is destroyed), and appears to turn his face back to the soldiers behind him, although this detail is again not clear, as his face is also destroyed. He can be identified as the Centurion affirming the identity of Christ as the Son of God. Behind him three figures wearing armour and helmets are discernible, raising spears towards the sky. One of them is armed with a shield adorned with three rosette motifs, and a sword in an ornate scabbard. A landscape with hills and trees, and a grey sky is discernible in the background.

In the middle of the lower field are two angels holding a chalice with a host (Fig. 1.41). The face and the wings of the left angel are destroyed. He is wearing a long yellow dress. The angel on the right is wearing a white dress with a golden collar, the feathers of his wings are brownish red and black, his face is also largely destroyed. The angels are flanked by two half-figured saints: on the right is Saint Paul, haloed, holding a sword in his left hand, and a book in

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[847] Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek,* 272.

his right, wearing a white mantle held together with a buckle and a brownish red dress. He is grey haired; his face is destroyed. Of the saint on the left only his halo and a fragment of his attribute, a rectangular metal object survives, which he probably held in his right hand. Based on his pairing with Saint Paul and his attribute, which might be the end of a key, he is probably Saint Peter.

Another wall painting fragment has been revealed on the northern wall of the nave, close to the triumphal arch (Fig. 1.50). The representation painted in red and yellow, consisting of pinnacles decorated with crockets, openwork tracery and vegetal ornaments, resembles the superstructure of a winged altarpiece. In the middle, the faint outlines of a Crucifixion are decipherable (Fig. 1.51): the vertical and horizontal bars of the T-shaped cross and the contours of the crucified Christ: his wide spread arms, his head tilted to his right, a fragment of his right leg, and the undulating end of his loin-cloth.

Fragments of a third, now unidentifiable wall painting composition survive on the northern side of the triumphal arch (Fig. 1.53). This scene had a similar red frame as the Crucifixion on the opposite side of the arch.

Dating: c. 1480–1500, based on compositional and stylistic analogies. This type of composition with a single cross and the emphatic figure of the Centurion clad in exotic clothing, pointing to Christ, was widespread in Central European painting around 1470–1500.[848] Analogies of the schematic, angular folds of the Virgin Mary's robe can be found in Upper Hungarian panel painting from around 1480.[849]

Bibliography:

Entz, *Erdély építészete a 11-13. században*, 62, 138.

Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek*, 272–277.

Léstyán, Ferenc. *Megszentelt kövek. A középkori erdélyi püspökség templomai* [Sacred stones. The churches of the medieval bishopric of Transylvania]. Kolozsvár: Gloria, 1996, vol. 1, 360–361.

Orbán, Balázs. *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból* [Description of the Székely Land from a historical, archaeological, natural historical, and ethnographic point of view]. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868. https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Tunderkert-tunderkert-1/a-

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[848] A panel of an altarpiece from Sand in Taufers, South Tyrol, c. 1490–1500, provides a close analogy: http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/, image no. 003748, last accessed June 2016. Comparable, although not directly related compositions can be found in prints by Schongauer (Bartsch 22, c. 1470–1482, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/366986) and Monogrammist A.G. (Bartsch 14, https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?assetId=1232780001&objectId=1400544&partId=1).

[849] For example, Smrečany (Szmrecsány, Slovakia), high altarpiece, c. 1480, http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/, images no. 012707–012715, last accessed June 2016.

szekelyfold-leirasa-14496/marosszek-1596A/x-nyarad-szent-laszlo-es-videke-15B0C/, accessed April 2020.

Cat. No. 9. Mediaș (Medgyes, Mediasch), chapel of the so-called Marienturm

Historical data:

1267: first mention of the settlement as *Mediesy*[850]

1283: *omnes sacerdotes de Medies*[851]

1359: first mention of Mediaș as *civitas*[852]

1414: The parish church dedicated to Saint Margaret is first mentioned: *in choro ecclesiae parochialis sanctae Margarethae*[853]

1423: *in locum iudicio consuetum convenire, scilicet ecclesiam beatae Margarethae virginis in Medyes*[854]

1446: Pope Eugene VI. grants an indulgence to the visitors of the Saint Margaret's church in Mediaș.[855]

1477: the founding of a mass of the Holy Cross to be said every Friday at the altar of the Holy Cross[856]

Dedication of the chapel: unknown

Current denomination: the chapel is no longer used as a liturgical space; the parish church is now Lutheran.

Architectural context:

The so-called *Marienturm* is located south-east of the chancel of the Saint Margaret's church, as part of the fortification complex surrounding the church, alongside the inner fortification wall.

The tower is an austere looking defensive structure with four storeys on an approximately square ground plan, covered by a crenelated pent roof. The facade is articulated only by narrow rectangular windows and loopholes, and a western entrance on the ground floor.

The chapel decorated with wall paintings is a barrel-vaulted room on the ground floor, lit by a single deeply splayed narrow window in the southern wall. The western portal leading into the room has not preserved its original form, it was probably larger both in height and in width, as the brick walling around the portal (visible before the restoration) and the imitated ogee arch painted above it suggest.

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[850] *Urkundenbuch,* vol. 1, no. 579.
[851] Ibid., no. 203.
[852] Ibid., vol. 2, no. 751.
[853] Ibid., vol. 3, no. 1735.
[854] Ibid., vol. 4, no. 1923.
[855] Ibid., vol. 5, no. 2534.
[856] Ibid., vol. 7, no. 4206.

The entrance into the basement is possible through a trapdoor in the wooden floor. The find of bones in the basement and parallels with similar structures, including a chapel and a lower level used for the secondary burial of bones in churchyard cemeteries in Transylvania and Germany, have led to the hypothesis that the chapel functioned as a charnel chapel above an ossuary.

Architectural investigations show that the tower was built later on the already standing inner fortification wall. The exact chronology of the constructions is unclear. Existing research generally agrees that both the inner fortification wall and the tower already stood by the middle of the fifteenth century, while both constructions may well be earlier; the window in the southern wall of the chapel points to a Romanesque building phase. The upper part of the tower was reconstructed after 1500.

Location of the wall paintings: The wall painting decoration extends to all four walls and the vault of the chapel.

State of conservation:

The wall paintings were restored in 2005. As the technical investigation suggests, the room had probably been used as a chapel already before being decorated with murals, as below the layer of wall painting another layer of grey whitewash was found.

The degree of preservation of the wall paintings varies. Up to around one and a half meters, the painted surface is almost completely lost. Above this level the wall paintings are better preserved, although there are a number of damages, fissures and losses, most markedly on the northern and southern walls, affecting several apostle figures, and on the eastern wall, where the figure of the Virgin Mary is almost completely destroyed.

Bibliographical overview:

Vasile Drăguț (1979): brief description, discussion of stylistic traits, dating to the beginning of the sixteenth century.[857]

Dana Jenei (2000–2001): discussion of the iconographic program in the context of an overview of representations of the Creed in Transylvanian wall paintings; dating to the reign of king Vladislaus II (1490–1516).[858]

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[857] Drăguț, *Arta gotică,* 257–258.

[858] Dana Jenei, "Tema credo în pictura murală medievală din Transilvania" [The Creed in the medieval mural painting in Transilvania], *Ars Transsilvaniae* 10–11 (2000–2001): 14–15.

Helga Fabritius (2006): dates the ensemble to c. 1450–1465, comparing the illusionistic motifs to the ones seen in the Calvary scene in Sibiu (1445); transcribes the inscriptions held by the apostles.[859]

Dana Jenei (2012): iconographic and stylistic analysis of the wall paintings, suggests the use of graphic models by Master E.S. and Schongauer, dating to the end of the fifteenth century.[860]

Description:

The figural representations are embedded in a framework of illusionistically painted architectural elements. In the lower zone, now largely destroyed, traces of a painted curtain can be seen.

On the eastern wall, the representation of an open triptych is visible in a framework of imitated traceries (Fig. 2.28). In the central panel, the figure of God the Father can be seen, holding the inert body of Christ in front of him by his chest (Fig. 2.29). God the Father is depicted as an old man with long white hair and beard, and a halo of which now only the contours are visible, wearing a long dress and a green mantle with a white collar. He is slightly leaning to the right while holding his Son in his arms. Christ, naked of his clothes, his head framed by rays of light, is leaning forward, his hands being crossed in front of his lap. The two figures are framed by a red drapery hanging behind them, decorated with stencilled floral patterns.

In the right panel Saint John the Baptist is depicted (Fig. 2.33). He is barefoot, wearing a fur coat with a white belt and a red mantle, and is holding in his left hand a white disk on which fragments of a lamb with a flag can be discerned, while pointing at it with his right hand. The representation in the left panel is almost completely destroyed (Fig. 2.34). Only the lower part of the clothing is visible of what had probably been the figure of the Virgin Mary.

On the northern and southern walls, figures of sitting apostles appear in niches, holding scrolls that contain passages from the Creed (Figs. 2.38, 2.39). The apostles bear no other attribute besides the scrolls, but are to a large extent individualized in their physiognomy, gestures, hairstyles and beards, and the colour of their clothing. In some cases the names preserved on the inscriptions make their identification possible.

Out of the six apostles portrayed on the northern wall, the figures of the first three from the right are almost completely destroyed, and only fragments of the heads, clothing, and scrolls

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[859] Fabritius, *Die honigberger Kapelle*, 41–44.
[860] Jenei, Dana. "Picturi murale din jurul anului 1500 la Mediaş" [Mural painting from around 1500 in Mediaş]. *Ars Transsilvaniae* 22 (2012): 49–62.

survive, while the following three are much better preserved. The figures are set in round arched niches vaulted with cross rib vaults.

On the southern wall the row of apostles is interrupted by the window, whose splay is painted in green. To the left of the window, two apostles are visible in simpler, rectangular niches shown in perspective; their facial features and the style of their clothing are different as well. The row of apostles probably continued to the right of the window, but this part is now almost completely destroyed.

On the western wall, an ogee arch adorned with crockets and a finial on the top was painted in grisaille above the entrance portal before a row of round-arched blind traceries (Fig. 2.41). On the two sides of the portal, imitated red curtains are hanging.

On the vault, five medallions arranged in a cross-form are visible, the remaining space being filled by traceries (Fig. 2.40). In the middle, the Lamb of God appears; the surrounding four medallions contain the zoo-anthropomorphic evangelist symbols. The Lamb of God is represented with a halo and a flag, turning its head backwards, surrounded in a three-quarter circle by a scroll with an inscription (Fig. 2.44). The evangelist symbols are depicted as winged creatures with haloes, wearing long green, red, or white dresses. They are holding scrolls with inscriptions (John and Mark) or an open book with an inscription (Luke). Although the inscription held by the angel is destroyed, his holding gesture and the contours of the scroll suggest that initially he was also holding a similar inscription.

Inscriptions:

The inscriptions are written in black with Gothic minuscules; the first letter of the names of the apostles and the beginning of the Credo passages are marked with red initials.

Northern wall

3**.** Sanctus /qui conceptu[s]... /sp(irit)u sa(nct)o na[tus]...

4. S...passus sub ponti[o]/ ... us mortuus /et sepul[tus]

5. thomas D[esc]endit/ ad inferno

6. ...T[ert]ia die/ ...xit m[or]t[u]is

Southern wall

1. Iacob(u)s minor Sedet ad dexte(r)a(m) dei pat[ri]s o(mn)ipot(en)t[is]

2. Bartholomeus Inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos

Vault

Luke: S...angelis (?)…

Mark: ...s...dilis (?)

Agnus Dei: ... [to]llis p...a

Dating: There are several dates incised into the painted surface. Among these, the earliest is the date of 1465 under the left wing of the imitated altarpiece,[861] providing a *terminus ante quem* for the wall paintings. While the style of the ensemble seems unparalleled in the region, and relatively few features providing hints for dating survive, details such as the angular folds of the dress of the Virgin Mary suggest a date not much before 1465, probably around 1450–1460.

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Avram, Alexandru. *Topografia monumentelor din Transilvania. Municipiul Mediaş* [Monument topography of Transylvania]. Sibiu: Muzeul Naţional Brukenthal, 2006, 32–33, 35–36.

Drăguţ, *Arta gotică,* 257–258.

Fabini, *Atlas,* vol. 1, 466–469.

Fabritius, *Die honigberger Kapelle*, 41–44.

Jenei, Dana. "Picturi murale din jurul anului 1500 la Mediaş" [Mural painting from around 1500 in Mediaş]. *Ars Transsilvaniae* 22 (2012): 54–57.

_____. "Tema credo în pictura murală medievală din Transilvania" [The Creed in the medieval mural painting in Transylvania]. *Ars Transsilvaniae* 10–11 (2000–2001): 14–15.

Kiss, Lóránd and Péter Pál, "Marienturm", www.monumenta.ro*,* last accessed March 2015.

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[861] First published by Helga Fabritius in idem, *Die honigberger Kapelle*, 41–44.

Cat. No. 10. Râșnov (Barcarozsnyó, Rosenau), parish church

Historical data:

1331 first mention of the settlement (*Nicolaus magnus de Rosnou)*[862]

1388 notary's sign: *ego Sthephanus Heynczimanni in villa Rosarum plebanus diocesis Strigoniensis sacra imperiali auctoritate notarius publicus*[863]

1394 mention of the parish church and its priest: *Stephanus plebanus ecclesiae beati Mathiae apostoli de Roznaw, decanus Brassowyensis*[864]

1395 *Nicolaus plebanus de Roznaro*[865]

1413 donation to the lepers of Râșnov[866]

1442 *dominus Stephanus plebanus de Rosenaw*[867]

1500 the parish priest of Râșnov enrols in the Holy Spirit Confraternity in Rome: *Ego Laurentius plebanus in Rosnaw provinciae Vrcie Strigoniensis diocesis cum genitrice mea intravi*[868]

Dedication of the church: Saint Matthias

Current denomination: Lutheran

Architectural context:

The church was built as a three-aisled Romanesque basilica in the thirteenth century. The Gothic chancel covered by a sexpartite vault and ending in a polygonal apse dates from the second half of the fourteenth century. The aisles, separated from the nave by ogival arches, are covered with cross-rib vaults, with the exception of the two eastern bays, which are covered with star vaults. The nave has not preserved its Gothic vault. Two key-stones survive in a secondary position, one bearing the representation of a chalice and a host, the other the coat of arms of Râșnov (three roses under a crown).

Location of the scenes: northern wall of the chancel.

State of conservation: The scenes of the lower register and the middle register of the western section are partly under plaster. The surfaces that are visible today are not cleaned, and are generally in a poor state of conservation, with many cracks, larger and smaller, and surfaces, which are abraded or faded.

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[862] *Urkundenbuch,* vol. 1, no. 494.
[863] Ibid., vol. 2, no. 1230.
[864] Ibid., vol. 3, no. 97.
[865] Entz, *Erdély építészete a 14–16. században*, 233.
[866] *Urkundenbuch*, vol. 3, no. 586.
[867] Ibid., vol. 5, no. 102.
[868] *Monumenta Vaticana,* I. vol. 5, *133.*

Bibliographical overview:

Dana Jenei (2014): detailed description of the wall paintings, and an examination of analogies and possible models of the compositions; points to the influence of Hans Pleydenwurff and his followers and to the adaptation of motifs from Netherlandish painting.[869]

Zsombor Jékely (2014): draws attention to similarities with the Passion cycle in Nagyar (north-eastern Hungary), both in the models of the compositions and details such as the frame dividing the scenes.[870]

Description:

The central rib of the sexpartite vault divides the Passion cycle on the northern chancel wall into two sections. In both wall sections, a larger composition fills the lunette of the vault, followed below by four rectangular scenes in two registers, each half the width of the larger scene (Fig. 4.26).

The narrative starts with the Last Supper placed in the lunette-shaped upper register of the western section (Cat. Fig. 35). In the centre of the scene is Christ, surrounded by the haloed apostles sitting at a rectangular table covered with a white cloth. John, the beloved disciple is leaning on Christ's bosom. The apostle on Christ's left places his hand on his shoulder. A red drapery behind the figures of Christ, John, and the two apostles flanking them emphasizes the centre of the composition. The apostle on the right margin of the scene is pouring a drink from a jug into a glass.

Of the two compositions in the register below, large surfaces have not been recovered. In the scene of the *Agony in the Garden,* fragments of the kneeling figure of Christ are visible in the centre: his head and bust, with his left hand on his chest, and the lower part of his brownish red dress (Cat. Fig. 36). Above the brown rock towering in from of him, a small angel figure in a white dress, carrying a cross, can be seen in the top right corner of the composition. Behind Christ, the fragments of two apostle figures are discernible.

Of the next scene, only the upper part is revealed (Cat. Fig. 37). On the left side of the composition, several figures can be discerned before a light brown colour architectural structure opened with a segmental arch: the frontally shown head of a Christ, slightly leant to the left, depicted without a halo as in most other scenes of the cycle; a man wearing a yellowish pointed

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[869] Dana Jenei, "The Passion, Death and Resurrection Murals Painted inside St. Matthias Church in Râșnov (1500)," *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei. Artă plastică* 4 (2014): 9–27.

[870] Zsombor Jékely, "Középkori falfestészet a Felső-Tisza-vidéken" [Medieval wall painting in the Upper Tisza area], in: *Művészet és vallás a Felső-Tisza-vidéken: Középkori Templomok Útja* [Art and religion in the Upper Tisza area: The Route of Medieval Churches], ed. Tibor Kollár (Nagyvárad–Nyíregyháza: Királyhágómelléki Református Egyházkerület–Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Területfejlesztési és Környezetgazdálkodási Ügynökség, 2014), 63.

hat represented in profile, facing Christ, raising his hand towards him in a fig gesture, and the head of a frontally shown figure between them, wearing a red hat. A man standing behind Christ was depicted with one of his arms raised high, ready to strike down. To the right, the upper part of another architectural structure can be seen, positioned diagonally to the picture plane. It does not have a front wall; its two side walls ending in a segmental arched projection are red, the rear wall turquoise-green, the baldachin yellow.

Dana Jenei has identified this scene as an *Ecce Homo.*[871] Although a definite identification of the fragmentary scene is currently not possible, it is more likely that one of Christ's Judgements was represented here (the one before Pilate being the most common). The composition is followed by two scenes depicting Christ's torments, the Flagellation and the Crowning with thorns. The episode of the *Ecce Homo,* in which Christ is shown after having been tormented, dressed in a crimson cloak and wearing the crown of thorns, would not fit the chronology of the narrative. While his vestment is not visible in the fragment, he apparently does not wear the crown of thorns. The diagonally placed architectural structure on the right is most probably the upper part of the throne of the judge, before whom Christ is escorted by a crowd mocking him and threatening him with blows.

Only fragments of the two scenes in the lower register are visible (Cat. Fig. 38). On the first, Christ, stripped of his clothes, and a rope around his neck, is lying on a tiled floor shown in perspective, with one of his knees bent. Two of his tormentors wearing a red tight-fitting hose and yellow boots are standing astride behind him. The composition is a particular version of the Flagellation, where instead of standing, tied to a column, Christ is lying on the ground.[872]

In the next scene, identifiable as the *Crowning with thorns*, the figure of Christ appears on the left in a seated position, leaning forward with his upper body, his arms crossed in front of him, and one of his legs stretched out ahead. He is clad in the crimson cloak described in the Gospels (Mt 27, 28); his head is under whitewash. In front of him, to the right, the lower parts of two obliquely positioned brown oblong objects can be seen, which converge towards each other (possibly the legs of his tormenters).

In the eastern section, the Crucifixion was painted in the uppermost register (Cat. Fig. 39) In addition to several fissures, much of the painted surface is damaged or faded. In the centre is the cross, filling almost the entire height of the composition. Christ, leaning his head to his right, is wearing the crown of thorns and a loincloth, the end of which is floating in an undulating way. To the left of the cross, the damaged figure of the Virgin Mary clasping her

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[871] Jenei, *Râșnov*, 14.
[872] See ibid.

hands can be vaguely discerned. She is supported by a woman with long brown hair, dressed in a long yellow dress (probably Mary Magdalene) on her left, and Saint John the Evangelist standing behind her. To the right of the cross, three male figures can be discerned, with their upper bodies much faded (from the left to the right): a soldier wearing armour, holding the hilt of his sword with his left hand, and probably raising his right arm (the Good Centurion?), a man in a black gown and red shoes, and a third man wearing a green gown and yellow boots.

The first scene in the second register is the *Carrying of the Cross* (Cat. Fig. 40). The disproportionately large figure of Christ fills the lower part of the composition. He is kneeling on the ground, supporting himself with his right arm, while carrying the cross on his left shoulder. One of his tormentors is sitting astride the cross, holding onto the rope fastened around Christ's neck with his left, while holding a mace high in his right hand as if ready to strike down. Behind him, Simon of Cyrene bends down to help carrying the cross. To the right, another tormentor is pulling the hair of Christ with both hands. Behind Christ, a man wearing a red dress with a white collar and a red hat is blowing a horn. The bystanders in the background to the left can be identified based on their clothing recurrent in other scenes: the Virgin Mary is clasping her hands in front of her in sorrow; on her left, Saint John the Evangelist is turned towards her. Of the figure of Mary Magdalene standing behind the Virgin Mary, only a fragment of her diadem can be discerned.

The scene of the *Descent from the cross* is divided into two unequal parts by the vertical cross beam (Cat. Fig. 41). Two figures appear on the right of the composition: Nicodemus, who, standing on a ladder leant against the cross, is lowering the body of Christ with the help of a white cloth, and Mary Magdalene, leaning forward, wringing her hands lifted in front of her face. To the left, John of Arimathea is helping to get down the body, and a woman in a white coif standing behind him is holding the forearm of Christ close to her face. In front of them, the Virgin Mary is sitting with her head bowed and her hands clasped together in her lap. The clumsily portrayed figure of Saint John the Evangelist stretches out diagonally behind the cross, his red mantle undulating in decorative folds. He is embracing the Virgin Mary with both arms.

Only the right half of the depiction of the *Entombment* is revealed, in which three figures placing Christ in a diagonally positioned sarcophagus can be seen (Cat. Fig. 42). Streams of blood are flowing on his face, his upper body and arm. A man in a brown hat is holding him from behind, the Virgin Mary is leaning over him, embracing him, while Mary Magdalene draws his left hand close to her face. Behind the Virgin, a fragment of a clothing in red and green can be discerned, probably belonging to Saint John the Evangelist.

The last scene of the cycle is the *Resurrection,* with the lower right part of the composition unrevealed (Cat. Fig. 43)*.* On the left, Christ is standing on the edges of the tomb, wearing a loincloth and a red mantle. He is making a blessing gesture with his right hand, and holding a flag with a cross in his left. To the right, there is an angel in a white dress, holding the tomb slab in a vertical position, and a sleeping soldier. On the left, on the ground behind the tomb, a faded figure is discernible, probably another soldier with a helmet, holding a lance.

The scenes are divided by green frames painted in perspective, with a streak of foliage in the middle, adorned by brown notched disks resembling cones.

Other wall paintings:

On the north-eastern exterior wall of the apse a fragmentary composition depicting the Man of Sorrows with the *arma Christi* survives, dating probably from the second half of the fourteenth century.

Inscriptions: In the top right corner of the *Entombment* scene: 1500.

Dating: 1500 (based on the inscription).

Bibliography:

Entz, *Erdély építészete a 14-16. században*, 92, 233, image no. 226.

Fabini, *Atlas,* vol. 1, 616–620.

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Jenei, *Pictura*, 76, 98, 151, 154, 172.

_____. "The Passion, Death and Resurrection Murals Painted inside St. Matthias Church in Râșnov (1500)." *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei. Artă plastică* 4 (2014): 9–27.

Cat. Fig. 35. Last Supper.

Cat. Fig. 36. Christ on the Mount of Olives.

Cat. Fig. 37. The Judgement of Christ before Pilate or Caiaphas.

Cat. Fig. 38. Flagellation, Crowning with Thorns.

Cat. Fig. 39. Crucifixion.

Cat. Fig. 40. Carrying of the Cross.

Cat. Fig. 41. Descent from the Cross.

Cat. Fig. 42. Entombment.

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Cat. Fig. 43. Resurrection.

Cat. No. 11. Sântimbru (Marosszentimre, Emrichsdorf), parish church

Historical data:

1332: Mention of the settlement and its priest in the register of the papal tithes: *Thomas sacerdos de Sancto Emerico solvit XL. denarius*.[873]

1448: *Georgius,* son of the late *David,* ban of *Zantho,* and his son, *Nicolaus*, give their property *Zenthemereh*, together with the patronage right of the parish church dedicated to the blessed Emeric, to the chapter of Alba Iulia.[874]

Dedication of the church: Saint Emeric

Current denomination: Calvinist

Architectural context:

The church has a single nave and a chancel of one bay and a polygonal apse somewhat narrower than the nave. A tower is attached to the western facade of the nave. Of the sacristy attached to the northern wall of the chancel, only remains of its walls and vault, and the shouldered arched portal (now walled up) are visible today.

In the thirteenth century, a Romanesque church with a shorter nave and, probably, a western tower was built, with the incorporation of Roman period stone material. From this building phase survives the round arched southern portal of the nave, now walled up.

The extension of the nave to the east occurred in a subsequent building phase, dated to the end of the thirteenth century[875] or the first half of the fifteenth century.[876] In either case, it has been argued that the two segmental arched niches next to the triumphal arch on the northern and southern nave walls, possibly housing side altars, probably date from between 1425–1439, based on written evidence and analogies.

The construction of the Late Gothic chancel – separated from the nave by a pointed triumphal arch and covered with a cross-rib vault – along with the sacristy has been dated to the middle of the fifteenth century[877] or to around 1488.[878] The chancel is furnished with a segmental arched sitting niche and a small rectangular niche on the southern wall, as well as a simple rectangular sacrament niche on the northern wall. At this time, the nave was fortified with buttresses, and a wall was built around the churchyard, of which now only ruins survive.

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[873] *Monumenta Vaticana,* I. vol. 1, 91.
[874] Jakó, *A kolozsmonostori konvent,* no. 625; Entz, *Erdély építészete a 11-13. században*, 126.
[875] Attila Weisz, "Marosszentimréről és középkori templomáról" [On Marosszentimre and its medieval church], *Erdélyi Múzeum* 60, nos. 3–4 (1998): 246–247.
[876] Ileana Burnichioiu and Eva Mârza, ed., *Biserica medievală din Sântimbru* [The medieval church in Sântimbru] (Alba Iulia: Aeternitas, 2004), 46.
[877] Weisz, *Marosszentimréről*, 247–250.
[878] Burnichioiu and Mârza, ed., *Sântimbru*, 34, 47.

The nave was covered with a wooden ceiling in the late eighteenth century (no traces of a medieval vault are known). The upper part of the tower probably also dates from this time.

Location of the scenes: north-eastern wall of the apse; northern wall of the nave, close to the triumphal arch.

State of conservation: The composition in the chancel has survived in a very fragmentary, abraded state. It is not completely revealed; its lower part is still under whitewash. The composition in the nave is better preserved, still, it is affected by several cracks and lacunas. The eyes of Christ were probably intentionally destroyed.

Bibliographical overview:

Emese Nagy (1998): description of the two compositions, discussion of their iconographic types and stylistic qualities; dating of both compositions to after 1490.[879]

József Lángi (2006): presentation of the two scenes, technical observations, iconographic considerations, dating to after 1500.[880]

Dana Jenei (2014): concise description of the two scenes.[881]

Description:

Man of Sorrows with angels and the arma Christi

Christ is standing in the foreground of the composition, in the middle (Figs. 2.13, 2.14). He is represented frontally, slightly turning his head to his right. He is placing his left hand below his side wound, while stretching his right arm in front of him (his right hand is very fragmentary). His haloed head is framed by a red arch, the function of which is not clear.

The figure of Christ is flanked by two angels, who are holding a yellow drapery in front of him in hip height; below the upper part of this drapery the composition is not visible today. The angels are wearing white mantles and, below, a dress drawn with similar yellow lines as the textile they are holding (Fig. 2.16). Their wings adorned with decorative feathers are closing above their heads. Although this part of the composition is very fragmentary, the fingers of the left angel holding the upper arm of Christ are discernible.

In the upper part of the composition, the instruments of Christ's Passion are visible (Fig. 2.17). The cross standing in the centre is emphasized with several decorative elements: undulating parallel lines suggesting the wood grain, a cross-formed knot holding together the

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[879] Emese Nagy, "A marosszentimrei református templom falképeiről" [The wall paintings of the Calvinist church in Marosszentimre], *Erdélyi Múzeum* 60, nos. 3–4. (1998), 252–255.
[880] Lángi and Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek,* vol. 3, 104–106.
[881] Dana Jenei, "Thèmes iconographiques et images dévotionelles dans la peinture murale médiévale tardive de Transylvanie (deuxième parti du XVe siècle – premier quart du XVIe siècle)," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts*, 51 (2014): 24, 32.

two shafts, and the titulus scroll, wrapping around both ends of the horizontal crossbar, held in the middle by the bifurcated end of the cross. To the right of the cross, the column, the sponge soaked in vinegar on a reed, and the thirty coins in three columns are visible. On the left, the scourge can be seen wrapped around the horizontal crossbar, and the ladder leant against the cross. Three large-scale nails appear before the vertical bar of the cross, with the pincers used to pull them out depicted to the left.

The frame of the scene, consisting of a row of semicircles is discernible on the right.

Pensive Christ

In the foreground of the scene, Christ is sitting on a diagonally placed, elongated red object (possibly his Cross, Fig. 2.21). He is leaning his head on his right hand, supporting his right elbow on his knee, while his left forearm is resting on his left leg. He has light brown hair and a bifurcated beard (Fig. 2.22). He is haloed, and is wearing a green crown of thorns. The contours of his body, his chest, ribs, shoulders, and kneecaps are drawn with light red lines.

To the left, in the middle picture plane, two gambling soldiers are standing. The one to the left (his figure is only half recovered), is stepping forward with one leg, holding up a club with one arm, and reaching forward with his other arm, palms open, having just thrown a dice, which is falling down in front of him. The figure of the other soldier has survived more intact: he is wearing a white tunic, with a long-sleeved green shirt below. He is raising his right arm towards the first soldier.

Behind them, to the right, a town is depicted in the background, made up of elongated, gable-roofed houses with many windows and tall towers with red roofs, in several rows.

The upper part of the scene is framed by a decorative band of yellow, red, and green motifs.

Inscriptions: The first two letters on the cross titulus are preserved: *I n*

Fragmentary inscription above the left part of the cross titulus: *ann[?]*

Dating: around, or shortly after, 1500. The figure of Christ in the Angel Pietà follows an engraving by Israhel van Meckenem (Lehrs 172, c. 1490–1500, Figs. 2.14, 2.15).

Bibliography:

Burnichioiu, Ileana and Eva Mârza, ed. *Biserica medievală din Sântimbru* [The medieval church in Sântimbru]. Alba Iulia: Aeternitas, 2004, 1–77.

Entz, *Erdély építészete a 11-13. században*, 30–31, 126.

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Weisz, Attila. "Marosszentimréről és középkori templomáról" [On Marosszentimre and its medieval church]. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 60, nos. 3–4 (1998): 239–251.

Cat. No. 12. Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt), parish church

Historical data:

1351: Mention of the chancel of the parish church as a place of assembly of the chapter of Sibiu, and of the dedication of the main altar: *in Cybinio in ecclesia parochiali, quae est in laudem virginis gloriosae Mariae matris Christi constructa, in gradu ante summum altare in choro situm, didicatum in honore virginis intactae supra scriptae*[882]

1372: The Corpus Christi confraternity commits to pay twenty-two florins a year to the parish priest of Sibiu for the maintenance of a chaplain to celebrate masses at the Corpus Christi altar situated atop the choir screen: *in quodam lectorio in templo beatae virginis Mariae habito quoddam altare struere volentes, in quo singulis diebus praecipue una missa sacerdotali officio nosceretur legendo perpatrari exceptis quintis feriis, in quibus ipsa missa serie iocundi modulaminis a praefatis hominibus et ipsorum confratribus sonora voce caneretur mystica forma condigne*[883]

1384: Demetrius, archbishop of Esztergom issues a letter indulgence for the Corpus Christi confraternity and the clergy for the singing of the Salve Regina every Saturday at vespers[884] and for the Corpus Christi masses celebrated every Thursday in the parish church.[885]

1424: King Sigismund confers the revenues and properties of the St. Ladislaus Provostry to the town of Sibiu, and orders that fifteen priests should be employed to say altogether fifteen masses a day in the parish church (twelve) as well as the Church of Saint Ladislaus, the Hospital church, and the chapel of Saint James (one each).[886]

1432: An agreement between parish priest Nicolaus and the burghers of the town specifies the masses to be celebrated in the parish church, listing the dedication of the eleven masses to be read every day, and the dedication and the location of chanted masses (altering daily), as well as a number of special masses.[887]

1442: Inventory of the goods of the parish church.[888]

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[882] *Urkundenbuch,* vol. 2*,* no. 666.
[883] Ibid., no. 989.
[884] Ibid., no. 1194.
[885] Ibid., no. 1196.
[886] Ibid., vol. 4, no. 1956.
[887] Ibid., no. 2147; Gustav Seiwert, "Das älteste Hermannstädter Kirchenbuch," *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, 11 (1873): 352–353.
[888] Ibid., 353–361.

1443: *Anthonius decretorum doctor, plebanus Cybiniensis canonicusque ecclesiae Albensis Transsiluanae et sede vacante per venerabile capitulum eiusdem ecclesiae vicarius in spiritualibus generalis constitutus*[889]

1448: Cardinal and papal legate Johannes [Carvajal] grants an indulgence to the church for the building of a chapel: *ut nova capella ecclesiae parochialis beatae Mariae virginis in Cibinio a retro annexa et in honore eiusdem virginis Mariae nec non beatorum Laurencii, Wolfgangi, Anthonii, Francisci, Floriani, Stephani ac Ladislai regum et Emerici ducis ac Katherinae, Barbarae, Dorotheae, Ceciliae, Elisabeth et Clarae martirum construenda et aedificanda per elemosinas fidelium*[890]

1448: Mention of the procession on the feast of Corpus Christi[891]

1457: Dispute between the burghers of the town and parish priest Antonius on account of the neglect of liturgical duties[892]

1460: Description of the chanted Corpus Christi masses celebrated on Thursdays and of the accompanying procession[893]

Up to 1520, the dedication of fifteen altars standing in the church are mentioned in the sources: the high altar dedicated to the Virgin Mary (first mentioned in 1351) and side altars dedicated to the Corpus Christi (1372); the Holy Cross and Saint Michael (1376); All Saints, the Three Kings, Saint Nicholas, and Saint Catherine (1432); the two Saint Johns (1469/1484); the Virgin Mary of Loretto (1485), Saint Eligius (1494), Saint Wolfgang (1518), Saint Luke (1520), Saint Anna, as well as one dedicated to the Transfiguration, the blessed Virgin Mary and a number of saints.[894]

Dedication of the church: Virgin Mary

Current denomination of the church: Lutheran

Architectural context:

The three-aisled nave has a basilical structure on the northern side and a hall structure on the southern side, with a tribune over the southern aisle. A transept of three bays separates the nave from the chancel, which is made up of two bays and an apse formed of five sides of an octagon. The western tower is encompassed by a three-aisled extension of the nave to the

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[889] *Urkundenbuch,* vol. 5*,* nos. 2441, 2467.
[890] Ibid., no. 2634.
[891] Ibid., no. 2649.
[892] Ibid., nos. 3062, 3063.
[893] Ibid., vol. 6, 3234.
[894] Ciprian Firea, "Biserica Sf. Maria din Sibiu – Liturghie medievală şi arhitectură gotică (cca. 1350–1550)," *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 18 (2008): 56.

west known as the *Ferula.* The nave, the transept and the chancel are covered by cross-rib vaults.

The Gothic reconstruction of the thirteenth century Romanesque basilica proceeded from the east towards the west in the fourteenth century: based on dendrochronological research, the building of the roof structures was dated to 1339 (chancel), 1353 (transept) and 1363 (nave). The choir screen once standing in the transept was first mentioned in 1372.

As archaeological research has shown, an extension of the chancel into a hall structure began sometime around the middle decades of the fifteenth century, this project was however abandoned. The year 1471 marks the end of the reconstruction of the sacristy, which today is a four-bayed room with an upper floor. In a consecutive building phase, a tribune of the same height as the nave was built above the southern aisle.

Location of the scenes: Northern chancel wall (over the sacristy portal in the second bay from the west).

State of conservation:

The fifteenth-century state of the wall painting was significantly altered as a result of several post-medieval interventions. A refashioning of the composition in 1650 involved the overpainting of certain figures, the insertion of new figures and scenes,[895] and a retouching of details.[896]

In 1909, the presbytery of the parish church reported to the National Committee for Historic Monuments in Budapest that the mural was greatly damaged by dust during renovation works carried out in the church and asked for an expert to give instructions on the cleaning and restoration; the Committee entrusted with the task István Gróh, who had prepared a watercolour copy of the wall painting three years before.[897] According to a 1915 report, a „thorough cleaning" of the work was carried out by Budapest-based painter Franz Hackenberg.[898] It is

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[895] See the description below.

[896] For instance, of the face and the wounds of Christ, see Ágnes Bálint and Frank Ziegler, "„Wer hat das schöne Himmelszelt hoch über uns gesetzt?" A nagyszebeni evangélikus plébániatemplom Rosenauer-falképének átfestéseiről" [On the repaintings of the Rosenauer mural of the Lutheran parish church in Sibiu], in *Liber discipulorum. Tanulmányok Kovács András 65. születésnapjára*, eds. Zsolt Kovács, Emese Sarkadi Nagy, and Attila Weisz (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, Entz Géza Alapítvány, 2011), 56.

[897] Gábor Gaylhoffer-Kovács, "Egy freskó – két másolat. A nagyszebeni Kálvária-falkép és másolatai," [One fresco – two copies. The Crucifixion mural from Sibiu and its copies], *Műemlékvédelem* 55, no. 4. (2011): 236.

[898] Bálint and Ziegler, *Rosenauer-falkép*, 46; [Theodor Frimmel], "Rundschau," *Studien und Skizzen zur Gemäldekunde* 2, nos. 1–2 (1915): 130.

possible that four close-up photographs of details of the Calvary scene in the Photo Archive of the Hungarian Monument Protection date from this time (Cat. Fig. 43).[899]

In 1949 and 1957 painter-restorers Nikolaus Anton and Karl Nikolaus Voik clean the wall painting; in 1959 they prepare a documentation of repainted details discernible at that time under subsequent overpaintings.[900] During a restoration between 1987 and 1990, a part of the figure of the Madonna in the apex of the composition, overpainted in the seventeenth century, was revealed.[901]

While no documentation of the twentieth century interventions is available, some observations can be made through the comparison of the current state of the mural with archival photos. As evidence of the photos probably made around 1909–1915 suggests, a later gilding of some of the stars of the background and of the golden haloes of light emphasizing the wounds of Christ led to a disfigurement of their earlier shape (Cat. Figs. 43, 44). Based on a 1957 photo, Ágnes Bálint and Frank Ziegler infer that an additional intervention must have taken place between 1957 and 1987, when the wider stripes of beam radiating from the Tetragrammaton were removed. In addition, it can be noted that traces of overpainted details suggested in the watercolour copy by István Gróh (in the background of the Calvary composition) and documented by Nikolaus Anton and Karl Nikolaus Voik are largely undiscernible today.

Bibliographical overview:

Ciprian Firea (2007): an examination of the analogies of the composition and its Eucharistic layer of meaning.[902]

Ágnes Bálint and Frank Ziegler (2011): reconstruction of the medieval composition and its later repaintings based on a critical evaluation of a 1959 documentation; considerations on the mural's function in the medieval period; analysis of the seventeenth-century iconographic program.[903]

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[899] Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Center, Photo Archive, nos. 003.647PD, 003648PD, 003649PD, 003650PD. Their possible connection to this restoration was noted by Gábor Gaylhoffer-Kovács, *A nagyszebeni Kálvária-falkép*, 239.

[900] The documentation was published in Bálint and Ziegler, *Rosenauer-falkép*, 59–65, figs. 2–7.

[901] Ibid., 46.

[902] Ciprian Firea, "Pictura murală Crucificarea din biserica evanghelică din Sibiu" [The Crucifixion mural in the Lutheran Church in Sibiu], in: *Confluenţe. Repere europene în arta transilvăneană. Convergences. European Landmarks in Transylvanian Arts. Konfluenzen. Europäische Bezüge der Siebenbürgischen Kunst,* ed. Iulia Mesea and Daniela Dâmboiu (Sibiu: Muzeul Naţional Brukenthal, 2007), 29–32.

[903] Bálint and Ziegler, *Rosenauer-falkép*, 39–65.

Ciprian Firea (2011): hypothetic identification of the donor on the heraldic right as *magister Johannes de Rozenaw* based on the emblem of the painters' guild originally accompanying his figure.[904]

Gábor Gaylhoffer-Kovács (2011): study on the watercolour copies by Ferenc Storno (1872) and István Gróh (1906); overview of the twentieth-century restorations.[905]

Kinga German (2014): analyses the motif of the gridded niche with the Man of Sorrows, arguing that it functioned as a visual substitute of the sacrament niche with the Eucharist, which was located in the sacristy.[906]

Description:

The composition represents a many-figure Calvary[907] embedded in a painted architectural frame populated with secondary figures and adorned with coats of arms (Fig. 1.17). Motifs which are considered to have been part of the medieval composition (even though affected by later repainting) include the figure of the Man of Sorrows in the central niche of the lower part of the architectural frame; the two kneeling donors in the niches in the lower corners (originally accompanied by their coats of arms in the adjacent quatrefoil traceries); the figures of Saint Stephen and Saint Ladislaus in the niches above; the coats of arms on the upper part of the architectural frame (Hungarian coat of arms with the double cross, coat of arms of the Holy Roman Empire and of Bohemia) and below the canopied niches on the vertical sections of the frame (the Arpadian coat of arms and that of the Dutchy of Austria), and the figure of the Madonna in the apex of the lunette, of which today only a part is revealed.

The two figures of Christ labelled as *Humilitas* and *Gloria* in the upper canopied niches, the scenes of the Nativity, Ascension, and Baptism of Christ in the tympanum crowning the painted architectural structure, and the Hebrew letters of the Tetragrammaton painted over the figure of the Madonna are mid-seventeenth-century additions.

Inscriptions:

On the upper edge of the central niche in the lower register: *hoc opus fecit magister iohannes de Rozenaw Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo xlv.*

On the saddle of a brown horse in the right back row: *Georg.[ius] Herman pictor cib.[iniensis] 1650 fe.[cit]*

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[904] Ciprian Firea, "Blazonul breslei pictorilor şi urme ale folosirii sale în Transilvania (sec. XV-XVI)" [The coat of arms of the painters' guild and the evidence of its use in Transylvania (15th–16th centuries)], *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 21 (2011): 64–65.
[905] Gaylhoffer-Kovács, *A nagyszebeni Kálvária-falkép*, 228–239.
[906] German, *Sakramentsnischen*, 116–118, 196–197.
[907] For a detailed description, see Chapter 1.2.

Dating: 1445 (based on the inscription), with repaintings in 1650.

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German, *Sakramentsnischen*, 116–118, 196–197.

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Cat. Fig. 43. Detail of the Calvary scene (probably c. 1909–1915). Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Center, Photo Archive, no. 003650PD.

Cat. Fig. 44. Detail of the Calvary scene, 2010. Photo: Frank-Thomas Ziegler.

Cat. No. 13. Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt), former church of the Dominican nunnery

Historical data:

1241: According to the Annals of the Dominicans in Erfurt, the Tartars burned down in this year the Dominican convent in Sibiu.[908]

1474: The provincial chapter of the Dominicans in Székesfehérvár approves the terms set by the town of Sibiu for the relocation of the Dominican convent of the Holy Cross inside the town's walls.[909]

1502: first mention of the Dominican nuns in Sibiu in the last will of *Matheus de Rupe*, parish priest in Dealu Frumos (Lesses, Schönberg): *Item monialibus de ordine predicatorum 40 cubulos annone.*[910]

1506: Donation to the Dominican nuns in the account book of the town: *Sanctimonialibus sancti Dominici Cibiniensibus flor. 5 den. 0.*[911]

1510: According to a decision of the general chapter, the nunnery was allowed to accommodate a maximum of twenty-four nuns.[912]

1523: In her last will, Clara Thabyassy, wife of Marcus Pempflinger leaves a donation to all male and female convents in Sibiu: *Ad singula monasteria tum monachorum quam monialium in eodem ciuitate Cibiniensi fundata... florenos centum distribuantur.*[913]

1524: Mention of the nuns' confessor among the members of the Dominican convent in Sibiu: *Fr. Gaspar de Ruppe confessor monialium.*[914]

1549: Payment in the register of the town's expenses for the dismantling of an image in the convent of the Dominican nuns. The next entry may allude to its replacement with a representation of the Crucifixion, for which nails were purchased with which it was affixed: Benedicto Moler et Seruacio Schnyczer quod imaginem apud nigras moniales defregerunt dati ff. 0, d. 32.

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[908] *Erdélyi okmánytár*, vol. 2, no. 192.
[909] Urkundenbuch, vol. 7, 4022.
[910] MOL Dl. 21091, https://archives.hungaricana.hu/hu/charters/249983/, accessed April 2020.
[911] Ausschuss des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, ed., *Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Hermannstadt und der Sächsischen Nation*. Quellen zur Geschichte Siebenbürgens aus Sächsischen Archiven, no. I/1 (Hermannstadt: Michaelis, 1880), 483.
[912] Béla Iványi, "A Szent Domonkos-rend római központi levéltára: részletek a magyar dominikánus provincia múltjából" [The Central Archives of the Dominican Order in Rome: Data from the History of the Hungarian Dominican Province], *Levéltári Közlemények* 7, nos. 1–2 (1929): 18.
[913] Entz, *Erdély építészete a 14–16. században,* 406–407.
[914] K[arl] Fabritius, "Zwei Funde in der ehemaligen Dominikanerkirche zu Schässburg," *Archiv des Vereines für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 5 (1861): 30.

Emptis keffernegel, quibus imago crucifixi est affixa pro, ff. 0. d. 3.[915]

1716 The convent is given to the Franciscans.[916]

Dedication of the church: Mary Magdalene (current dedication: Saint Francis)

Current denomination: Catholic

Architectural context:

The church has a single nave and a chancel narrower than the nave with a polygonal apse. The buttresses supporting the chancel walls and the northern wall of the nave suggest that both spaces were vaulted in the medieval period.

There is no written evidence on the date of foundation of the Dominican nunnery or of the building of their convent. While the surviving architectural features do not provide enough evidence for a precise dating of the first building phase either, they seem to be in concordance with the assumption that the Dominican nunnery was founded sometime in the fifteenth century.[917]

The pointed-arched windows of the nave and the chancel were later walled up, some of them being transformed into smaller, round or segmental arched windows. The walling up occurred before the execution of the wall paintings (c. 1520) at least in the case of the easternmost window on the northern chancel wall, where the painted layer extends over the walling up of the window.

During a Baroque reconstruction of the church (possibly connected to a 1776 donation by Maria Theresa), both the nave and the chancel were covered with a lunette vault with transverse arches, two side chapels were attached to the northern nave wall, the western façade was remodelled, and a bell tower was attached to it on the southern side. The interior was refurbished in Baroque style.

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[915] Roman Toma Cosmin, *Sibiul între siguranţă şi incertitudine, în zorii epocii moderne (1528–1549)* [Sibiu between safety and uncertainty at the dawn of the Modern Era] (Sibiu: Altip, 2007), 346. On this source, see also Ciprian Firea, *Polipticele medievale din Transilvania: Artă, liturghie, patronaj* [Medieval polyptychs from Transylvania: Art, liturgy, patronage], (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2016),
109–110, 126, suggesting that the *imago* in question was most probably the altarpiece decorating the high altar of the church.

[916] Fortunát Boros, *Az erdélyi ferencrendiek* [The Franciscans in Transylvania] (Cluj–Kolozsvár: Szent Bonaventura, 1927), 108.

[917] Mária Lupescuné Makó, "A Domonkos Rend középkori erdélyi kolostorainak adattára" [Repertory of the Medieval Convents of the Dominican Order in Transylvania], *Történelmi Szemle* 46, no. 3–4 (2004): 381; Carmen Florea, "Women and Mendicant Orders in Late Medieval Transylvania," *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai. Historia* 56, no. 1 (2011): 72; Mihaela Sanda Salontai, *Mănăstiri dominicane din Transilvania* [Dominican Monasteries from Transylvania] (Cluj-Napoca: Nereamia Napocae, 2002), 227 (allowing for a broader chronological span based on the architectural features).

Location of the scenes: The southern chancel wall is entirely painted in two registers. A further fragment dating from the same period[918] survives in the easternmost section of the northern chancel wall.

State of conservation:

The wall painting ensemble was revealed during the latest renovation of the church in 2016, by a group of restorers led by Lóránd Kiss.

Most losses of painted surfaces occurred during the eighteenth-century reconstruction, with the insertion of pilasters surmounted by a cornice and a throne baldachin on the southern wall, and the opening of a window above the southern portal. An additional lacuna is visible in the upper left part of the Crucifixion scene. Smaller lacunae were chromatically reintegrated during the conservation in 2016. The surviving surfaces are in a varying state of conservation, with details such as the faces of the figures having been lost in most cases.

Bibliographical overview:

Dana Jenei (2016): iconographic identification of the compositions, hypothetical attribution of the ensemble to a certain *Henricus pictor*.[919]

Description:

The decoration of the southern chancel wall has survived in two registers (Fig. 1.60). The first scene from the left in the upper tier depicts the *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand* (Fig. 5.12)*. In the upper left part of the composition, the executioners are tossing down the martyrs with the help of a long stick from a steep rock of Mount Ararat into a valley inhabited by spiky-branched bushes. Two martyrs are captured in different stages of the movement of falling down, while eight of their companions are suffering in the valley below, their torsos impaled on the spikes, blood flowing from their wounds in streams. The top of the cliff overgrown with grass on the right of the scene is the site of another episode: in the foreground, the martyrs are being stripped of their clothes; behind, the figures of seven martyrs crucified on crosses are discernible (Fig. 5.13).

In the second scene of the uppermost register, four standing saints clad in a bishop's attire, equipped with a mitre and a staff, can be seen (Cat. Fig. 45). An eighteenth-century pilaster cuts across the middle of the composition. Based on the distance between the two middle figures partially destroyed by the pilaster, it is possible that the composition originally featured a row of five bishop saints, although nothing of the presumable middle figure can now

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[918] Lóránd Kiss, personal communication.

[919] Dana Jenei, *Goticul în Transilvania. Pictura* [The Gothic in Transylvania. Painting] (Bucharest: Oscar Print, 2016), 77, 98, 100, 118, 136–137.

be seen. The lying figure at the feet of the first saint identifies him as Saint Valentine (Fig. 5.14). He is pointing towards the epileptic with his right hand held in a blessing gesture, while holding a golden monstrance by the knop of the shaft in his left hand.[920] Only fragments of the second bishop figure survive, based on which he cannot be identified anymore. The third surviving figure is Saint Nicholas, holding in his hands a book with gold balls placed on it. The fourth bishop has a quadruped with brown fur – possibly a dog – standing at his feet as his attribute, while he is holding an open book in his hands (Cat. Fig. 46). Dana Jenei has identified the animal as an otter, and the bishop as Saint Cuthbert, and has brought as an analogy a so-far unidentified bishop saint in the altarpiece from Bruiu, paired with Saint Valentine (Fig. 5.15).[921] While it is plausible that the saint in the altarpiece, similarly depicted with a book and a four-legged animal[922] at his feet, is identical with the bishop in the wall painting, their identification as Saint Cuthbert seems less convincing. The veneration of the Northumbrian saint (d. 687) buried in Durham Cathedral was limited to England; there seems to be no evidence of the dissemination of his iconography on the European continent either.[923]

In the next scene, *the Martyrdom of Saint Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins* is depicted (Cat. Fig. 47). The right third of the composition is destroyed by a pilaster. The ship of Saint Ursula appears in the upper right part of the composition, with the figures of a pope, a bishop, a cardinal, and probably a tonsured monk in the front standing in it, and with one of the virgins falling forward across the railing of the ship, her head shot through by an arrow.

On the left side, various groups of people can be seen standing on the shore: in the upper left corner, a group of men, among whom a bishop holding an aspergillum can be discerned; along the riverbank two archers are aiming to shoot at the passengers of the boat. In the left foreground, a haloed virgin – probably Saint Ursula herself – is kneeling on the ground, leaning forward, her hands folded in prayer, accompanied by three of her companions. Behind her, a man fashionably dressed in a tunic and a hose is turned towards her, raising his arms as if ready to strike down on her, although his weapon is not discernible. To the right, several figures lying on the ground – probably victims of the Huns' attacks – can be seen, and a fragment of an upright figure in a red dress holding an arrow.

The Crucifixion is painted as the first scene from the left in the lower register (Fig. 1.61): the figures of Christ on the Cross, the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist are

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[920] On this attribute, unusual in Saint Valentine's iconography, see Chapter 5.2.
[921] Jenei, *Pictura*, 136, 144.
[922] This time white-furred, and with a more pointed nose.
[923] LCI, vol. 6, 8–9.

shown in a close-up against a landscape background. Mary, wearing a green mantle over a white dress and a white veil over her head, is turned towards her Son with her hands folded in prayer, while John – clad in a green dress and a red robe – demonstratively gestures towards Christ with his right hand.

Behind the Virgin Mary, to the left, a saint is standing, wearing a dress of similar green and white colours as the Virgin (Fig. 1.63). The frontally represented figure is of a slightly larger proportion compared to the two figures standing below the cross. His or her head is destroyed; no attribute enabling an identification is visible. Based on a light brown patch of colour along her left shoulders – probably her wavy blond hair falling on her shoulders – most likely a female saint was depicted here. Before her, a kneeling donor figure can be seen, turned towards the Calvary scene (Fig. 1.64). He is wearing a sleeveless red dress above a white shirt, with a white collar.

Most of the next scene is destroyed. Due to the extent of losses, none of the four saints, who were probably represented here, can now be identified with certainty. To the left, the fragment of a figure clad in an alb, a yellow dalmatic and a red mantle can be seen, holding an open book in his right hand (Cat. Fig. 48). Only a small detail of the second figure survives: the fragment of a light brown surface perpendicular to the ground, contoured on the left by a straight black line, and patterned with a darker brown zig-zag-like texture. The figures of the third and fourth saints have been preserved up to about knee-level. The third saint is clad in a long red dress and a white mantle with a yellow lining spread on the ground in front of him. The fourth saint is depicted in a pilgrim's outfit, with long-stemmed grey boots, a blue cloak with red lining, and a staff. The background is made up of alternating patches of green grass and red soil (Cat. Fig. 49).

There was a limited group of saints represented as pilgrims, the most popular being Saint James the Great, followed by Saint Roch and further saints, whose cult was less widespread in medieval Hungary, such as Saint Judoc or Saint Coloman. Saint James and Saint Roch are depicted side by side in a panel of the altarpiece from Bruiu, which shows similarities with the wall paintings in style, as well as in the figure of Saint Valentine having as its source the same print. In the altarpiece, Saint James is wearing a long dress reaching the ground, while Saint Roch – similarly to the figure in the wall painting – is equipped with long black boots, a knee-length cloak, and a staff held in his left hand. A similar attire, instead of a dress reaching the ground, is generally more characteristic of Saint Roch, as it allows the display of the wound on his thigh. An altarpiece panel from Saint Peter's Abbey in Salzburg depicting Saint Roch (c. 1498), attributed to the workshop of Marx Reichlich, shows an even closer resemblance in the

posture and form of the legs and feet, as well as the folds on the leg of the boot (Cat. Fig. 50).[924] The figure can thus be hypothetically identified as Saint Roch, even though the fragmentary survival of the image does not allow a definite identification.

It is tempting to assume that in case Saint Roch was depicted here, he was associated with other plague saints, as it was often the case in visual representations. The unswerving straight black outline of the brown surface discernible of the representation of the second saint suggests a different type of material than the draperies of the vestments worn by the surrounding figures. It might instead be a piece of wood with the darker, rhomboid patterns suggesting the wood-grain. One possibility is that Saint Sebastian was represented here tied to a tree, receiving the arrows of his martyrdom. The figure on his right holding a book might have been Saint Fabian, whose attribute is a book besides the sword, and who was often paired with Saint Sebastian, based on their shared feast-day.[925] The two saints appear as a pair in the altarpiece from Bruiu as well. While the association of saints Roch, Sebastian and Fabian as protectors against the plague would count as fairly common,[926] due to the low degree of preservation of the composition, this identification remains a hypothesis.

The next panel to the right originally probably contained the representations of three saints, the rightmost being destroyed by a pilaster (Cat. Fig. 51). The upper part of the first figure was mostly destroyed through the installation of a Baroque throne baldachin. He is wearing a brocade patterned brown dalmatic over an alb, and can be identified as Saint Laurence, based on the gridiron he is holding. Next to him the figure of Apostle Andrew can be seen, clad in a grey dress and a red robe, holding an X-shaped cross in front of him, and pointing towards it with his right hand.

The rightmost composition of the ensemble extends to both wall painting registers, being more than one and a half times higher than the other scenes (Fig. 1.66). The middle part was largely destroyed by the opening of a window, the lower left part is also to a great extent damaged. In the upper part, to the left, the head of Christ can be seen, haloed and wearing the crown of thorns, turned towards God the Father, who appears as a half-figure in a cloud, holding an orb in his left hand, and blessing with his right (Fig. 1.67). Above the orb, the haloed head of the dove of the Holy Spirit can be discerned (Cat. Fig. 52). On both sides a pair of angels

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[924] Vienna, Belvedere, inv. no. 4366b, https://digital.belvedere.at/objects/9660/hl-rochus?ctx=51756969-467c-42a9-8b2a-f5d409e9c819&idx=3.
[925] See chapter 5.3.
[926] See ibid.

can be seen, holding the *arma Christi:* the sponge on a reed, the lance, the column, and probably the scourge.[927]

In the middle register of the scene, on the right, the figures of two haloed women are preserved, wearing white headscarves, and long mantles over their dresses of green and red colours (Fig. 53). Their hands are put together in prayer. Fragments of white and grey draperies in the bottom left part of the composition suggest that further figures were depicted here, standing on the ground, probably people whose salvation the intercession was meant to secure. The fragmentary inscription band stretching over the composition is not anymore legible.

Due to the extent of losses, the composition cannot be reconstructed with certainty. It is possible that the Virgin Mary too appeared here as a mediator, as in most comparable images of intercession, for instance in a Lower Rhenish panel from 1506, providing a close iconographic analogy for the upper part of the composition (Fig. 1.68). From the extant fragment it seems that in case her figure was part of the composition, it was positioned lower than the figure of Christ, possibly in front of the women saints on the right margin. It can thus be presumed that the composition represented a chain of intercession, with the believers standing in the lower left corner of the scene addressing a group of women saints (possibly headed by the Virgin Mary), who then transmitted their plea to Christ, the most potent intercessor before God the Father, who appears at the top in a cloud.

Opposite the Crucifixion scene, on the easternmost section of the northern wall, there is a fragment depicting the crowning part of a painted microarchitecture, with an elongated central spire flanked by four pinnacles, all adorned with crockets and finials (Figs. 1.69, 1.70). The structure painted in golden-yellow before a monochrome grey background conjures associations of a goldsmith's work; it is possible that it was part of the painted decoration of a sacrament niche, often placed in this part of the chancel.

Inscriptions: The inscription band over the intercessory image is not readable anymore.

Dating:

The use of a woodcut by Lucas Cranach prepared for the *Wittenberger Heiltumsbuch,* first published in 1509, for the figure of Saint Valentine provides a *terminus post quem* for the dating of the wall painting ensemble. Although the ensemble seems unparalleled within the

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[927] The *arma* held by the lower left angel is scarcely visible. In a 1516 print by Dürer (Bartsch 56), a similar distribution of the Passion instruments between the four angels flanking a Crucifixion scene can be seen, with the vinegar sponge, the lance and the column held by one angel each, and the fourth angel holding the scourge and a birch made of branches (https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/RP-P-OB-1369). A similar arrangement can be presumed here, too.

surviving wall painting material, connections to the altarpiece from Bruiu (1520)[928] can be observed in the use of the same model for the figure of Saint Valentine, the selection of saints, as well as in style. A dating around, or shortly before, 1520 seems thus plausible.

Based on a sign carved into the frame of the Crucifixion scene she deciphers as a monogram HP, Dana Jenei hypothetically attributes the wall paintings to a certain Henricus pictor based in Sibiu and mentioned in written sources between 1478 and 1500.[929] A later dating to c. 1515–1520 proposed here renders this attribution less likely.

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[928] Firea, *Polipticele medievale,* 156–158, and Sarkadi Nagy, *Altarpieces,* 154–155.
[929] Firea, *Polipticele medievale,* 331–332.

Cat. Fig. 45. Bishop saints.

Cat. Fig. 46. Saint Nicholas and an unidentified bishop saint.

Cat. Fig. 47. The Martyrdom of Saint Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins.

Cat. Fig. 48. Figure of a saint.

Cat. Fig. 49. Figures of saints.

Cat. Fig. 50. Marx Reichlich (workshop): Saint Roch, from the former altarpiece of the Virgin Mary from the Saint Peter's Abbey in Salzburg, c. 1498. Vienna, Belvedere, inv. no. 4366b. Image source: https://digital.belvedere.at/objects/9660/hl-rochus?ctx=51756969-467c-42a9-8b2a-f5d409e9c819&idx=3.

Cat. Fig. 51. Saint Laurence, Saint Andrew.

Cat. Fig. 52. Intercessory image, detail: God the Father with an orb and the dove of the Holy Spirit. Photo: Lóránd Kiss.

Cat. Fig. 53. Intercessory image, detail: women saints. Photo: Lóránd Kiss.

Cat. No. 14. Sighişoara (Segesvár, Schäßburg), parish church

Historical data:

1345: first documentary mention of the church in a charter issued by King Louis the Great: *Schaessburgensibus etiam in fide permanentibus et templum S. Nicolai aedificantibus, tulit opem collandatque ipsorum virtute, privilegia et immunitas contulit.*[930]

1394: *dominus Petrus plebanus de Segeswar*[931]

1483: *Thomas Altenberger Cibiniensis et Michael Polner de Segeswar civitatum nostrarum magistri civium.*[932] Michael Polner (Polnar) is mentioned in the sources as mayor of the town in 1486,[933] 1491,[934] 1492,[935] and 1494.[936]

1484: the regulation of the furriers' guild stipulates the lightning of candles on the altar of Saint Michael: *Dy kerzen auf Sanct Michels elter sal man anzünden zu yren Zeiten, zu der vesper und zu der metten und och sunst alle feirtag zu dem syngen welcher dasselbig versäumpt der verpust eyn pfund wax.*[937]

1484: the mention of *Mathias pictor* among other inhabitants of Sighișoara.[938] He is mentioned in 1489 and 1491 as *iuratus civis,*[939] in 1494 as *iudex sedis.*[940]

1486: Valentinus Pictor appears in a document among the *iurati cives civitatis Zegeswanensis.*[941] In 1489 he is mentioned as *terrestris iudex*[942], in 1490 as *Segesswariensis magister civium,*[943] in 1491 and 1494 as *iudex regius.*[944]

1490: The mayor, judges, and councillors of the town testify to the virtuous character of former mayor Michael Polner, emphasizing his merits in the reconstruction works of the church: *Item proprio ingenio attinctis quoque manibus propriis certa edificia structurarum pro usibus ecclesiarum turrium menium in muro nostre civitatis praefulgendo pro decore et tuitione*

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[930] Christoph Machat, *Die Bergkirche zu Schäßburg und die mittelalterliche Baukunst in Siebenbürgen*, (München: Verlag des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerks, 1977), 101.

[931] *Urkundenbuch,* vol. 3, no. 1315.

[932] Ibid., vol. 7, no. 4536.

[933] Ibid., nos. 4668, 4671, 4676, 4680.

[934] Ibid., vol. 8, no. 5162.

[935] Ibid., vol. 8, no. 5261 D.

[936] Ibid., vol. 8, no. 5471.

[937] Friedrich Müller, ed. *Deutsche Sprachdenkmäler aus Siebenbürgen: aus schriftlichen Quellen des zwölften bis sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Hermannstadt: Steinhausen, 1864), 99.

[938] *Urkundenbuch*, vol. 7, no. 4566.

[939] Ibid., vol. 8, nos. 4826 and 5162.

[940] *Rechnungen* vol. 1, 176.

[941] Urkundenbuch, vol. 7., no. 4668.

[942] Ibid., vol. 8, no. 4826.

[943] Ibid., vol. 8, no. 5026.

[944] Ibid., vol. 8, nos. 5162 and 5471, and Jakab, *Oklevéltár*, no. 182. On Valentinus Pictor, see also Firea, *Polipticele medievale*, 357–358.

conservationeque incolarum nostrorum etiam precique testudinem lucidissimam in ecclesia beatissimi patris Nicolai patroni huiusmodi urbis construi perswasit.[945]

1491: *venerabilis dominus Clemens plebanus ecclesie decanatusque Kysd decanus*[946]

1494: *magister Clemens… plebanus civitatis Segesvariensis*[947]

1496, 6 June: *Valentinus pictor … diocesis Albensis Transilvanensis*, probably identical with the painter from Sighișoara, enrols in the Holy Spirit Confraternity in Rome, along with his wife and children.[948]

1496, 9 June: *Dominus Clemens Kolmas plebanus in Schegeswar et Franciscus Kolmas frater suus unacum filio suo magistro suo Albensis diocesis Transilvaniensis* enrol in the same confraternity.[949]

1776, 17 December: Decision of the church consistory to whitewash the wall paintings: *die gemalten Gegenstände selbst beinahe von keiner Erheblichkeit sind, indem sie meistenteils jene Handwerker und Künstler, welche einst an der Kirche gearbeitet, nebst ihren Tauf- und Zunamen darstellen (...) bei Reparirung der Kirchengewölbe die Malerei durchaus cassirt und das ganze Kirchengebäude inwendig ausgeweisst, vorher aber dennoch zum etwaigen Andenken besagte Malerei copirt und die Inschriften in Abschrift genommen werden solle.*[950]

Dedication of the church: Saint Nicholas

Current denomination of the church: Lutheran

Architectural context:

The church is a three-aisled hall covered by a net vault supported by three pairs of octagonal piers. The single-aisled chancel made up of two bays and an apse formed of five sides of an octagon is covered by a star vault, and has a crypt underneath.

The direct precursor of the current church was a three-aisled basilica built in the thirteenth century. The Gothic reconstruction of the chancel was carried out in the second half of the fourteenth century. The reconstruction of the nave into a hall church, with the extension of the side-aisles to incorporate the western tower, followed in the fifteenth century, the date of 1483 on the representation of Saint Matthew on the nave vault marking the time of the vault's completion.

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[945] *Urkundenbuch*, vol. 8, no. 5039.
[946] Ibid., no. 5162.
[947] Ibid., no. 5471.
[948] *Monumenta Vaticana,* I. 5, 56.
[949] Ibid., 56.
[950] Friedrich Müller, "Die Schässburger Bergkirche in Siebenbürgen", *Mittheilungen der K.K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*, 1 (1856): 171.

Location of the wall paintings: the lower registers of the chancel walls; the lunette of the vault on the northern chancel wall in the eastern bay; on the western side of the chancel arch and the eastern wall of the northern aisle; on the nave vault between the first two northern piers counted from the east.

State of conservation:

According to a protocol of the church consistory from 1776, a decision was made that with the occasion of the renovation of the vault, the wall paintings would be removed and the entire church interior whitewashed, after copies of the wall paintings and the inscriptions were made. It is unsure whether these copies were actually executed.

Most of the wall paintings were revealed during the renovation of the church in 1934. During the most recent renovation of the church between 1992 and 2004, the late fourteenth century murals of the tower base were recovered, and all the wall paintings were restored.

The wall paintings are in a varying but generally fragmentary state of preservation. The representations in the chancel and on the chancel arch under study in this thesis are particularly affected by losses partially caused by later interventions, such as the installation of the sacrament house on the northern chancel wall around 1490–1500.

Bibliographical overview:

Virgil Vătășianu (1959): overview of the wall paintings with a focus on stylistic traits.[951]

Christoph Machat (1977): detailed description of the wall paintings, dating.[952]

Corina Popa (1998–1999): discussion of the possible patrons, hypothetical identification of the donor figure kneeling before Mary Magdalene on the northern chancel wall as Michael Polner; dating of the Last Judgement scene to around 1500.[953]

Dana Jenei (2004–2005): the most comprehensive study of the wall paintings to date, including an analysis of the iconographic and stylistic features, the suggestion of visual models, and dating.[954]

Ciprian Firea (2011): analysis of the representations of the two donor figures and the accompanying heraldic elements on the chancel arch; suggests that instead of the painter's wife,

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[951] Virgil Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Țările Romîne* [The history of feudal art in the Romanian lands], (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, 1959), 412–413, 429–430, 764, 767–773.

[952] Machat, *Die Bergkirche*, 93–98.

[953] Corina Popa, "Pictura murală a 'Bisericii din Deal' Sf. Nicolae și istoria orașului Sighișoara" [The Wall Painting of the Saint Nicholas Church and the History of the Town of Sighișoara], *Ars Transsilvaniae* 8–9 (1998–1999): 175–186.

[954] Dana Jenei, "Pictura murală a bisericii „din Deal" din Sighișoara" [The wall painting of the Church "on the Hill" in Sighișoara], *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 14–15 (2004–2005): 107–120.

as previously proposed, the donor on the heraldical left is a male figure, possibly parish priest Clemens Colmas.[955]

Kinga German (2014): analysis of the fragmentary wall paintings around the sacrament house; proposes that they were intended as the decoration of an earlier sacrament niche located in the same place.[956]

Description:

On the northern chancel wall in the eastern bay, Mary Magdalene is depicted with a donor figure in the lunette of the vault (Fig. 5.29). The saint represented in a standing posture can be recognised based on the ointment jar held in her hands. The donor figure kneeling before her has been hypothetically identified by Corina Popa as Michael Polner, mayor of the town, who had played an important role in the Late Gothic reconstruction of the church. Between the two figures a plant pot can be seen. An unusually long inscription scroll (now unreadable) starts from above the figure of the donor and continues in a meandering pattern, filling the right third of the composition.

Further figural fragments survive around the sacrament house placed against the three-quarter column between the eastern bay of the chancel and the apse. In the upper register, to the left of the sacrament house, there is a partially surviving composition framed by a red border, depicting an angel holding the scourge and standing before the cross, around which other items of the *arma* – the rooster, ladder, crown of thorns, lance and sponge on a reed – are arranged (Fig. 1.73).

In the lower register, to the right of the sacrament house, the fragmentary figure of the mourning Saint John the Evangelist can be seen, placed on the right edge of a composition framed by a border painted in perspective (Fig. 1.71). This central composition, now largely destroyed, is flanked by two separately framed, narrower fields with the standing figures of two crowned female saints: on the right, the fragmentary figure of Saint Barbara can be seen, holding a tower and a chalice; the saint on the left holding a stick, whose upper end is destroyed, is most probably Saint Ursula with an arrow as her attribute (Fig. 1.72).

The rest of the lower wall painting register along the chancel walls is filled by a repeating decorative motif of painted curtains below an imitated moulding supported by corbels (Fig. 1.75). The sitting niche on the southern wall is emphasized through a decorative frame

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[955] Ciprian Firea, "Blazonul breslei pictorilor şi urme ale folosirii sale în Transilvania (sec. XV-XVI)," *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 21 (2011): 63–64.
[956] German, *Sakramentsnischen*, 248–250.

including a red stripe edged by yellow borders and a vegetal motif filling the spandrels of the arch, and an imitated curtain painted on the back of the niche.

The western side of the chancel arch was decorated with a representation of Veronica's veil. The veil bearing the Holy Face is placed in the apex of the arch, and is held by two angels (Fig. 3.15). The figures of two kneeling donors, with a short inscription (now undecipherable) in front of each flank this central motif. The kneeling figure on the heraldic right holding an open book in his hands is accompanied by the coat of arm of the painters' guild, and was hypothetically identified as Valentinus pictor, who is known to have been a member of the town's magistrate around the time the composition was painted (Fig. 3.16).[957] The coat of arm of the opposite figure, including a bear emerging from a tower has not been identified. He is depicted wearing a purple mantle with a golden-colour hem, with his hands folded in prayer, and probably wearing a tonsure (Fig. 3.17). This clerical figure is possibly parish priest Clemens Colmas.[958] Of the inscription scroll running along the chancel arch, with its curling ends providing a decorative frame for the composition, the date (14)83 below the coat of arm of the donor on the heraldic left can be deciphered (Fig. 3.19).

A monumental Last Judgement scene fills the upper part of the eastern wall of the northern aisle, to the left of the chancel arch (Cat. Fig. 54). At the top of the composition, Christ appears as Judge in a mandorla, flanked by two angels bearing the *arma Christi*, and two groups of saints (the group on Christ's right is comprised of holy virgins, the one on his left of male saints). Below, the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Baptist were depicted as intercessors in a praying posture, as well as four angels blowing trumpets and bearing further instruments of the Passion. In the middle of the lower register, the figure of Saint Michael can be seen, raising his sword above his head. On his right, Saint Peter is leading the procession of the Blessed through the gate of Heaven, depicted as an enclosed area with palace-like buildings. On his left, the damned can be seen, entering the gaping mouth of Hell, accompanied by figures of devils. Above the Hellmouth, the children's limbo is depicted.

In a rhomboid vault compartment between the first two northern piers counted from the east, the representations of Saint Michael and apostle Matthew[959] were painted, with the emblem of the furriers' guild in two versions below each figure (Fig. 5.30). The two compositions are dated to 1483 by the inscription encompassing the figure of Saint Matthew.

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[957] Jenei, *Sighişoara,* 111; Firea, *Blazonul breslei pictorilor,* 63, with references to earlier literature.
[958] Ibid., 64.
[959] The figure follows a composition by Schongauer depicting apostle Philip (B. 38.), taking over the attribute of Philip (the cross) as well. The saint can be identified as Matthew based on the accompanying inscription, cf. the "Inscriptions" below. For the identification of its model, see Firea, *Polipticele medievale,* 93–94.

The regulation of the furriers' guild from 1484 prescribed the lightning of candles on the altar of Saint Michael.[960] It seems a likely possibility that this altar had stood against the easternmost northern pier below the wall painting representing the saint, which may have been commissioned as the visual enhancement of the altar.

Other wall paintings:

Wall paintings dating from several periods survive in the church:

1. On the inner side of the southern arch of the tower base, the vertically juxtaposed representations of the Crucifixion, the Holy Trinity flanked by the figures of Abraham and prophet Jeremiah, and an episode from the life of Saint Nicholas, dating probably from the end of the fourteenth century.

2. From the Late Gothic period:

On the northern wall of the northern aisle: two female saints, Saint Christopher, a two-episode, and a single episode representation of the legend of Saint George.

On the southern wall of the southern aisle: the martyrdom of Saint Erasmus.

In the tower base, three pairs of imitated panels: on the western wall, the episodes of the Flagellation, Crowning with thorns, the Ecce Homo and Christ being stripped of his clothes, with the representation of Veronica's veil between the two pairs of panels. On the northern wall, the stigmatisation of Saint Francis and the *Noli me tangere*.

The now mostly unintelligible wall painting fragments on the exterior of the chancel probably also date from the Late Gothic period.

Inscriptions:

The inscriptions accompanying the representations of Mary Magdalene with a donor[961] and Veronica's veil are not readable.

A meandering inscription scroll accompanies the figure of apostle Matthew on the nave vault, bearing a text written with black minuscule letters, the first and the third words being emphasized with red initials: *Nos q[ui] Math/eu[m] ve[r]tit[ur] co[r]d[e] quod voc/e ad superos vehat/ ac donet gaudia / 483.*[962]

Dating:

The representation of Veronica's veil flanked by two donor figures on the chancel arch, and the depictions of Apostle Matthew and Saint Michael on the nave vault are dated to 1483 by inscriptions. The representation of Mary Magdalene with a donor on the northern chancel

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[960] See "Historical data", above.

[961] Dana Jenei has read a part of the inscription as *S. MARIA MAGDALENA. 1484,* see idem, *Sighișoara,* 112.

[962] Transcription after Sarkadi Nagy, *Altarpieces*, 265.

wall displays similar stylistic features as these, and was convincingly attributed to the same workshop, possibly led by *Valentinus pictor*.[963] Machat has read the date on the inscription scroll in this latter scene (now undecipherable) as 1483,[964] Vătășianu, Popa, and Jenei as 1484.[965] The illusionistic panels on the northern and eastern walls of the tower base are dated to 1488 by the overlying inscription.[966]

The relative and absolute dating of the rest of the Late Gothic wall paintings in the church has not been entirely clarified. Machat dates the row of painted curtains and the representations around the sacrament house in the chancel to the end of the fifteenth century.[967] Drăguț enumerates the wall paintings around the sacrament house among the works attributed to *Valentinus pictor* dating from 1483;[968] German considers them approximately contemporary with the representation of Mary Magdalene and the donor above, albeit of different style.[969] In contrast, Jenei suggests that they may be datable to the middle of the fifteenth century, while the illusionistic curtains were painted by the same workshop as the hagiographic scenes in the northern and southern aisle (save for the single episode Saint George scene). She dates this latter group to 1483–1484 and hypothetically attributes it to a certain *Matthias pictor*.[970]

Although the fragmentary state of the representations around the sacrament house renders their stylistic analysis difficult, it can be noted that their colour scheme (especially of the composition with the *arma Christi* in the upper register) shows a resemblance with that of the row of painted curtains and the decoration of the sitting niche, and it seems likely that they belong to the same phase of the chancel decoration. While there seems to be no evidence based on which to conclude that this was carried out at the very same time as the stylistically different group of murals attributed to Valentinus, the years 1483–1484 seem to provide a plausible approximate dating. The installation of the sacrament house partially destroying the surrounding wall paintings can be regarded as a *terminus ante quem*; it has most recently been dated to around 1491–1495.[971]

Bibliography:

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[963] Vătășianu, *Istoria artei*, 764; Jenei, *Sighişoara*, 111–112.
[964] Machat, *Bergkirche*, 96.
[965] Vătășianu, *Istoria artei,* 764; Popa, *Sighişoara,* 176; Jenei, *Sighişoara,* 112.
[966] For a transcription and translation of the inscription, see Sarkadi Nagy, *Altarpieces*, 81–82.
[967] Machat, *Bergkirche*, 94–95.
[968] Drăguț, *Arta gotică*, 246.
[969] German, *Sakramentsnischen,* 249–250.
[970] Jenei, *Sighişoara,* 109, 113–115.
[971] German, *Sakramentsnischen*, 248. Machat dates the sacrament house to around 1500, Machat, *Bergkirche*, 98.

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Cat. Fig. 54. Last Judgement on the eastern wall of the northern aisle. Photo: Ciprian Firea.