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Reconstruction of the Church of Deáki/Diakovce: a Change of Generations in Monument Conservation

Lilla FARBAKY-DEKLAVA

This paper aims to present the reconstruction of the medieval Deáki/Diakovce church with a westward extension of a nave and aisles in 1872–1875, together with the explored antecedents to the rebuilding.¹ The medieval building history and the questions it raises are not touched upon here, being well documented by the researchers of the period.² The first piece of information on the church is found in a document by Pope Paschal II dated 1102, the consecration of the church of the Virgin Mary is mentioned by two sources in 1228: a letter by Pope Gregory IX, and a gloss on a page of the Pray Codex kept there at that time.

I have managed to explore the circumstances of the enlargement of the church. The final solution took years to mature and in its realization the process of the institutionalization of monument protection in Hungary in general, and the emergence of a new generation of specialists in particular, can be traced with a central role played by Frigyes Schulek.

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The church in the scholarship of the studied period

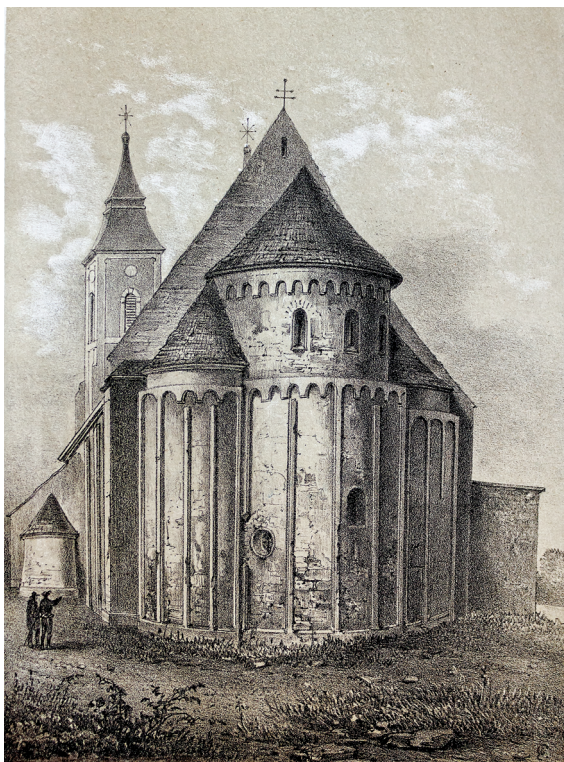
The history of the medieval church of Deáki was presented by Arnold Ipolyi (1823–1886) in his academic inaugural lecture delivered in 1860, introducing it into the nineteenth-century canon of scholarship as a constant basis of reference.³ Imre Henszlmann dealt with it in his summary of medieval architecture in Hungary, in 1876, pointing out its connections with the church of Lébény.⁴ Flóris Rómer included it in his corpus of frescoes, Péter Gereczke wrote about

¹ The sources about the extension of the church: Archives of the Pannonhalma Archabbey, Archives of Archbishops, unregistered documents of Kelemen Krizosztom, *A deáki templom és plébánia restaurálása 1872–1875* [Restoration of the Deáki church and parish 1872–1875].

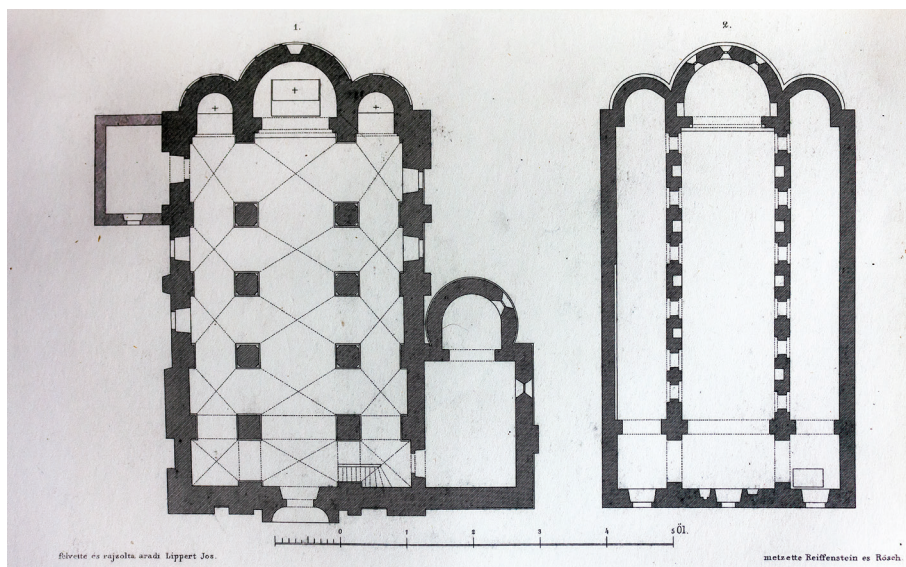
² Václav Mencl, *Středověká architektúra na Slovensku* [Medieval architecture in Slovakia], Prague-Prešov 1937, 77–79, photos no. 23, 26–29; – Dezső Dercsényi, *Romanesque Architecture in Hungary*, Budapest 1975, plates 123–128, 203; – *Mons Sacer 996–1996*, exhibition catalogue, ed. Imre Takács, Pannonhalma 1996, vol. I, 302–306, cat. no. II.23 (Géza Érszegi), II.24 (Tünde Wehli); – *Paradisum Plantavit. Bencés monostorok a középkori Magyarországon* [Benedictine monasteries in medieval Hungary], exhibition catalogue, ed. Imre Takács, Pannonhalma 2001, 44, 202, 245, 247; – Imre Molnár, *Deáki*. Budapest 2002; – Pál Paterka, “Modern technológiával az Árpád-kori szakrális emlékek nyomában”, *Új Szó online*, 3 March 2019, https://ujso.com/panorama/modern-technologiaival-az-arpad-kori-szakralis-emlekek-nyomaban?fbclid=IwAR2QUGrbfzttD9iN3J1JCS_umWlo20E5bNY4yD74IzIKMxkgMXjc9cbnCU (accessed 12 February 2020).

³ Arnold Ipolyi, *A deákmonostori XIII. századi román basilika. Hely- és műtörténeti monographia* [The thirteenth-century Romanesque basilica of Deákmonostor. A monography of local and art history], Inaugural address at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 5 March 1860. Published: *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Évkönyvei* 10, no. 3 (1860), 1–128.

⁴ Imre Henszlmann, *Magyarország ó-keresztény, román és átmenet stíliú mű-emlékeinek rövid ismertetése* [A brief survey of the early Christian, Romanesque and transitional style monuments of Hungary], Budapest 1876, 114.



Deáki/Diakovce, the view of the church. Drawing of József Aradi Lippert. Source: Ipolyi 1860, ref. 3, plate I.



The ground plan of both levels of the church. Drawing of József Aradi Lippert. Source: Ipolyi 1860, ref. 3, Plate II.

it in 1896 and 1905, and Ottó Szőnyi in 1928.⁵ The most important guide is Ipolyi's work, his research having been the main source for the whole 19th century—and subsequent—scholars. He informs posterity of the state in which the church survived, with minor alterations, into the 19th century and which became the starting point for the transformation.

What the posterity inherited was a three-aisled hall church with two towers on the western side and three semi-circular apses on the east, with cross-vaulted aisles and quarter-domes above the apses. At ground level the towers were open toward the side aisles. On the southern side a single-aisle chapel ending in a semi-circular apse and covered with a half saddle roof was attached. Upstairs under the roof the rising walls also created a three-aisled space, with door-like openings and niches articulating the walls. The space ended in three apses on the east. At this level, too, the side aisles were open toward the towers. The towers had newer spires and the western façade was unadorned, lacking a survived Romanesque portal, cornices and mouldings. The two towers were also devoid of details; neither the windows nor the cornices had survived by then, as Ipolyi also emphasized.⁶ Ipolyi's work made its image well known, presenting the ground plans, longitudinal and cross sections of both levels as surveyed by József Lippert, together with an exterior view from southeast and an interior view of the upstairs apse.⁷ The south-eastern elevation drawing preserves a round window on the south-eastern side of the main apse.⁸ The drawings reveal that the windows of the southern side apse were changed. Only the two lower windows of the main apse and three windows of the middle apse of the upper space appear to have survived from the Middle Ages.

In 1915, Ottó Sztelhó surveyed the medieval building and proposed a reconstruction plan.⁹ His ground plan and two sections adapted the Lippert drawings, but his interest being concentrated on the medieval building, the western gallery added in the Baroque period was omitted. Instead, he reconstructed a vestibule with equal height to the nave between the two towers, unlike Lippert. The chorus gallery between the towers was a later addition, and that is why Ipolyi ignored it. Its description is known from the parish priest's letter of 12 July 1874. "*The masons cleared the front wall of the old church and removed the chorus vaults which, as it turned out, had been attached to the inside of the front wall and the nearest two pillars (perhaps when the church was taken back from the Calvinists for the second or third time during archabbot Placid),¹⁰ that is why these last two pillars were much thicker, with the addition sensu stricto of the newer and much smaller PAX marked bricks.*" This casing explains why the western pair of pillars is more massive also in Lippert's drawing.¹¹ The cited letter was addressed to the archabbot of Pannonhalma, Krizosztom Kruesz (1819–1885, archabbot in 1865–1885) who was the holder of the

⁵ Ferencz Flóris Rómer, *Régi falképek Magyarországon* [Old frescoes in Hungary], Budapest 1874, 103–104; – Péter Gerecze, "Néhány árpádkori templomunk (Aracs, Ócsa, Ó-Bars, Börzsöny, Deák-monostor, Gyulafehérvár, Harina)" [Some churches in Hungary from the Árpád Age], *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 16, no. 4 (1896), 310–316, 315; – Péter Gerecze, *Magyarország Régi Falképeinek Jegyzéke és Irodalma* [List and bibliography of the old frescoes in Hungary], Budapest 1905, 517; – Ottó Szőnyi, "A deákmonostori bazilika" ["The basilica of Deákmonostor"], *Prímás-album. Serédi Jusztinián Magyarország bíbornok hercegprímása tiszteletére*, Budapest 1928, 33–41. – Gerecze and Szőnyi expressed their opinion as they reviewed the recent extension, see later.

⁶ Ipolyi, *A deákmonostori* (n. 3), 56–57.

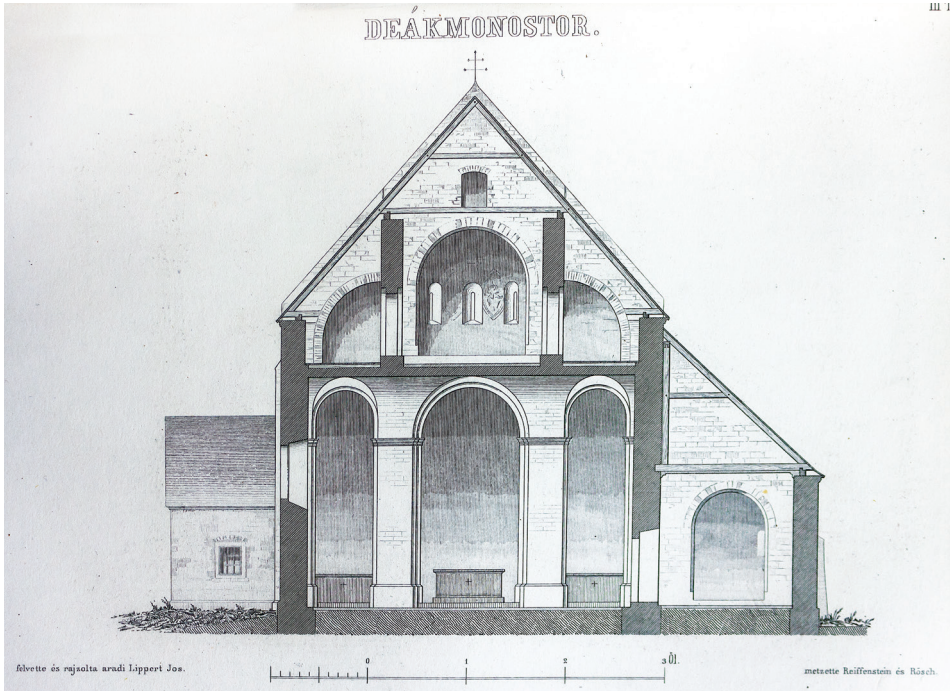
⁷ Ipolyi, *A deákmonostori* (n. 3), pl. I–V, engravings by József Aradi Lippert. – Henszlmann, *Magyarország* (n. 4), 114, published the plans of the two levels.

⁸ Ipolyi, *A deákmonostori* (n. 3), 57, pl. I.

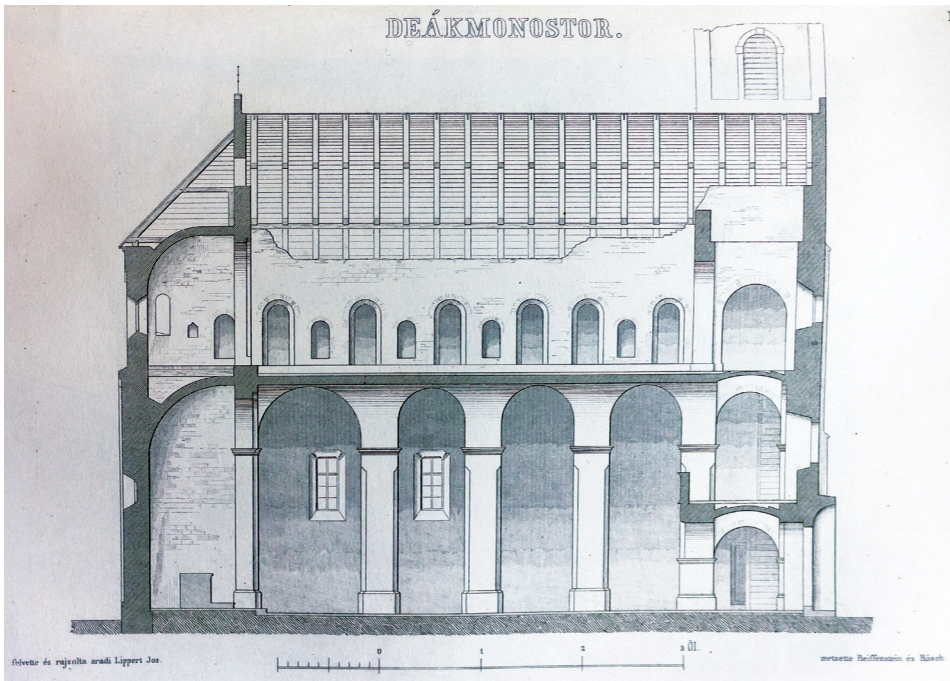
⁹ Magyar Építészeti Múzeum és Műemlékvédelmi Dokumentációs Központ, Budapest (Hungarian Architectural Museum and Monuments Conservation Documentation Centre – further MÉM MDK), Collection of plans, inv. no. K311, K317.

¹⁰ Abbot Placid served in 1647–1667, cf. *Mons Sacer* (n. 2), vol. II, cat. VII.11 (Ferenc Szakály).

¹¹ Ipolyi, *A deákmonostori* (n. 3), pl. II.



The cross-section of the church. Drawing of József Aradi Lippert. Source: Ipolyi 1860, ref. 3, Plate III.



The longitudinal-section of the church. Drawing of József Aradi Lippert. Source: Ipolyi 1860, ref. 3, Plate IV.

adwoson as the property belonged to Pannonhalma in the 19th century. The parish priest of the village turned to him in 1867 with the complaint that the old church was too small for the congregation. It was proposed that by enlarging the church westward, the old building could be the chancel with the pair of towers flanking the church at midline. The archabbot commissioned Ferenc Schulcz with the examination of the church and elaboration of the plans.¹²

Commissioning Ferenc Schulcz (1838–1870)

Ferenc Schulcz was a member of the triad of Hungarian architects, also including Frigyes Schulek (1841–1919) and Imre Steindl (1839–1902), who enrolled at the Viennese Art Academy in 1862 to study in the course of the Dombaumeister of the Stephansdom in Vienna, Friedrich Schmidt. They were zealous members of the Wiener Bauhütte of young architects who were eager to dig into medieval architecture as deep as possible, holding self-training meetings with papers presented by them and by invited lecturers. Their most important activity was touring Central Europe, Southern Germany and Northern Italy to survey the medieval, rarely Renaissance buildings. They published their drawings in highly popular albums which have great source value today. From 1867, Schmidt also employed in his architectural office Schulcz and Schulek he deemed the most talented among his students. Schulcz's soaring career was broken off tragically by his untimely death on 22 October 1870, and that is why only few works are known by him. Among other tasks, he prepared plans for the reconstruction of the Castle of Vajdahunyad as a royal hunting seat after Friedrich Schmidt, who had been sought out with the commission and passed it on to his favourite student in 1868. The plan of the Galgamácsa castle in revival Gothic style (1869–1870) upon commission from the Hungarian government was also his work.¹³ At the start of his career, he was interested in the reconstruction of the St. Stephen Tower in Nagybánya and the Salamon Tower in Visegrád, but he could not even begin the actual work.¹⁴

Schulcz was still in Schmidt's Vienna office when the commission concerning the Deáki church arrived. He spent two days in Deáki with his good friend, Flóris Rómer on 7–8 March 1868 to be able to comply with the commission. The report he wrote back in Vienna to the archabbot shortly afterwards, on 10 March, can be read as the summary of his and Rómer's jointly drawn conclusions.¹⁵ *"The aforementioned little Romanesque church—though lacking artistic value—has such great archaeological importance that its retention is highly desirable in our country which is so very poor in monuments."* This is how Schulcz's report begins. It was an up-to-date thought in the late 1860s—attributable to Schmidt's influence—to point out and empha-

¹² Pongrácz Sörös, "A Pannonhalmi főapátság története" ["A history of the Archabbey of Pannonhalma"], in: László Erdélyi, Pongrácz Sörös, eds., *A Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek Rend története*, vol. 6, Budapest 1916, 315; – Szőnyi, "A deákmonostori bazilika" (n. 5), 34.

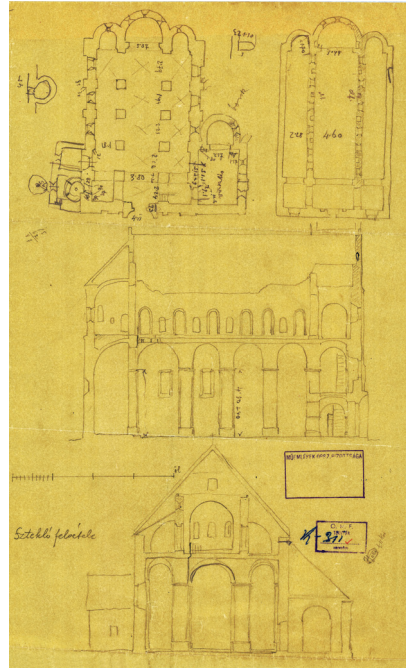
¹³ József Sisa, "Steindl, Schulek und Schulcz – drei ungarische Schüler des Wiener Dombaumeisters Friedrich von Schmidt", *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vergleichende Kunstforschung in Wien* 37, no. 3 (1985), 1–8; – József Sisa, "Magyar építészek külföldi tanulmányai a 19. század második felében" ["Foreign studies of Hungarian architects in the second half of the 19th century"], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 45, no. 3–4 (1996), 171; József Sisa, ed., *A magyar művészet a 19. században. Építészet és iparművészet* [Hungarian art in the 19th century. Architecture and design], Budapest 2013, 306–307, 336, 341, 344, 431, 537.

¹⁴ "Tárca, benne Ipolyi Arnold nekrológja Schulcz Ferencről" ["Special article including Arnold Ipolyi's obituary of Ferenc Schulcz"] *Századok* 4 (1870), 642–644, 655; – Lilla Farbaky-Deklava, *Schulek Frigyes*, Budapest 2017, 13, 31–33, 35, 36, 160.

¹⁵ Archives of the Pannonhalma Archabbey, Constructions documents, Deáki church, 130/3. Architect Schulcz about the Deáki church.



The chancel of the upper level. Drawing of József Aradi Lippert.
Source: Ipolyi 1860, ref. 3, Plate V.



The survey sketch by Ottó Szehtlo, 1915.
Source: Magyar Építészeti Múzeum és
Műemlékvédelmi Dokumentációs Központ,
Tervtár, inv. no. K311.

size historical importance irrespective of stylistic qualities.¹⁶ Schulcz designed two solutions to satisfy the growing requirements, putting them to the chapter to decide: either to enlarge the existing church, or to build a brand new church elsewhere. The only extension he thought of was to be westward with the retention of the two towers, so that the wall of the western façade to be demolished should give way to the triumphal arch, the high altar should be in the old church but the steps leading to it should be in the new part. In this way, the believers could attend the service in both the old and the new parts of the church. It was easier to agree upon the western side as the direction for extension because by that time it had lost its medieval characteristics. The extension would also have three aisles, the width of the nave would be identical with the width of the three aisles of the old church, and the length would be adjusted to the size of the congregation. Owing to their old age and in order to spare money (!), the towers should be kept, but between them a new belfry should be erected for heavier bells. The new sacristy would be on the northern side symmetrically to the medieval—then Holy Sepulchre—chapel on the southern side. Schulcz went so far as to declare that this ground plan of the extended church showed

¹⁶ This was what Schmidt pointed out to another of his students, Frigyes Schulek, when in 1876 he visited the Church of Our Lady in Buda Castle, researched and planned by Schulek. In more detail see: Lilla Farbaky-Deklava, "A templom Schulek Frigyes-féle 'restaurációja' a 19. században" ["The 'restoration' of the church by Frigyes Schulek in the 19th century"], in: Péter Farbaky, Lilla Farbakyné-Deklava, Balázs Mátéffy, Enikő Róka, András Végh, eds., *Mátyás-templom. A budavári Nagyboldogasszony-templom évszázadai (1246–2013)* [Matthias Church. The Church of Our Lady in Buda Castle through the Centuries (1246–2013)], exhibition catalogue, Budapest 2015, 266–315.

similarity to the layout of Vienna's Stephansdom, which is obviously a bit far-fetched, but was probably meant for the archabbot as a weighty reference.

Reading the subsequent parts of the report one realizes that the previous reference to historical value wasn't so important anymore. *"The forms in the Deáki church are rough and irregular, the proportions are imperfect, the architectural execution is perfunctory, the outside is rough-cast,"* as his devastating opinion reads. *"When the forms of this old church are combined with the new, the entire construction will suffer and lose much of its artistic value, yet, it will never be possible to create a perfect whole, an impeccable homogeneous monument. The upper church (or convent as many believe) above the old one—ever a useless dead space—would mar the impression made by the sight of the reconstructed church on account of the large roof. The redesigned church which is to be monumental and therefore to be built of bare bricks, would be disturbed by the plaster of the old church, for the sloppily applied plaster would not allow its removal from the old walls."* At the end of his report Schulcz concludes that it would be more economical to build a new church on the site next to the castle, and the chapter could rest assured by the thought that *"they will have created a monument that has improved Hungarian art for posterity."*

As the text reveals, Schulcz did not regard the little Romanesque church suitable to satisfy the requirements which his age set on "monument-like" buildings (to use a contemporaneous phrase). The words "monument" and "monumental" do not allude to a historic building or physical magnitude, but they refer to an architectural value the attainment of which can only be ensured by the means of the Gothic. Aversion to the plastered surface, the discarding of the upper space even though it had historical value and was built in the Middle Ages, the preference of a regular walling technique—even if it uses bricks—all add up to suggest the thesis also put down by Henszlmann later that our churches in Romanesque style could only be described with phrases like *"decaying"* and *"out of necessity"*. The only exception was the provost church of the Blessed Virgin in Székesfehérvár.¹⁷ A truly "monument-like" building also deserving a place in the rubric of Grand Art is Gothic, be it built in the Middle Ages, or in the period of historicism.¹⁸ Schulcz elaborated his plans for the enlargement in line with this principle in 1868 and submitted them to archabbot Krizosztom Kruesz. Ottó Szőnyi's later evaluation of the plan states: *"He retained as much of the basilica as possible, putting the new aisles in front of its west front and thus only sacrificing the western wall of the basilica. However, he connected the towers with a vaulted bridge upon German models and inserted so many Gothic elements that the transformed church would have become quite alien to the spirit of the thirteenth-century Hungarian Romanesque churches."*¹⁹

In addition to the enlargement, Schulcz also produced a set of plans for the construction of a brand new church.²⁰ The series included constructed, coloured drawings in pencil not yet redrawn in ink of the ground plan, the western, eastern and southern façades as well as a cross section and longitudinal section. Although a medieval church was to be replaced, the position of the planned church is not made explicit.

The single-aisle church with a transept was to have a central tower in the middle of the façade with a vestibule topped by a stepped gable on either side of the tower. The gallery should

¹⁷ Imre Henszlmann, "Lajos Némethy, Nagyboldogasszonyról nevezett Budapest városi főtemplom történelme" ["The history of the main church of Budapest dedicated to Our Lady" (Review)], *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 10 (1876), 330–331.

¹⁸ On the use of the term "monument-like" see: Farbaky-Deklava, "A templom" (n. 16), 309; – Farbaky-Deklava, *Schulek Frigyes* (n. 14), 44–45.

¹⁹ Szőnyi, "A deákmonostori bazilika" (n. 5), 34–35. Szőnyi mentions the church as basilica, but it is a hall church!

²⁰ Archives of the Pannonhalma Archabbey, Collection of plans, Deáki church, Schulcz Ferenc, 1868. (On the pallium: "Schulek.")

have been housed in the first of the four vault bays of the nave. The chancel was attached to the transept in a fairly peculiar manner, with the linkage of the vault bay on a trapezoid plan. The drawings indicate subsidiary spaces on either side of the chancel of one vault bay, ending in a polygonal apse, one for the sacristy. The groin vaulted church should have been built of raw brick, definitely indicated on the façade drawings with fine lines, by the masonry of the window heads and Schulcz's worry about the use of plaster. The pulpit should have been at the pillar of the transept, the high altar was planned for the back of the chancel, with a sculpted scene of Christ in Majesty (Deesis) high on the Triumphal arch.

The finely wrought design, perhaps a bit overcomplicated on the western façade did not get the green light in Pannonhalma, and Schulcz, allegedly the most talented student of Friedrich Schmidt, died in 1870.²¹

Designing the Deáki church under the aegis of the Provisory Committee of Monuments: Ferenc Storno (1821–1907) and Frigyes Schulek

When it was founded in 1872, the Provisory Committee of Monuments/MIB relied heavily on the up-to-date knowledge and experience of monument conservation by Schmidt's former disciples. At home, a starting architect, 31-year-old Schulek, had the role of an official for architecture from the beginning, and his fellow student and friend Imre Steindl was a member of the committee, too. Already aged 51, Ferenc Storno, a resident of Sopron, had a role as an external member.²²

The issue of the Deáki church was on the agenda of Pannonhalma again in 1872. Krizosztom Kruesz engaged Ferenc Storno of Sopron, who distinguished himself on the renovation of the basilica of Pannonhalma, to extend the old smaller medieval church instead of building a new one.²³ Storno's letter of 27 June 1872 to the archabbot sheds some light on another aspect of the commission. Storno enumerates several reasons why a dome on the church would not be appropriate. This suggests that in the preparatory phase for the enlargement of the Deáki church a new architectural feature—a cupola—was seriously considered. That would have influenced the overall view of the church massively. In support of his objections, Storno attached a sketchy ground plan which only deviated from the detailed plans in the shaping of the apses.²⁴ Official Candid Hegedűs of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education—himself a member of the Monuments Committee—wrote a letter to the archabbot and asked him to send the completed Storno plans to the ministry as soon as possible for the Committee to review.²⁵ The archabbot complied with the request, but let the committee know that should they leave the medieval church as it was and should they recommend the construction of a new one, he—as two churches were beyond his means to maintain—would follow the interests of the parishioners and pastoral work. There is another later plan signed Eszlinger and dated 1872 which shows the side elevation of a very simple neo-Gothic church.²⁶ Mentioned as architect, master

²¹ See n. 14.

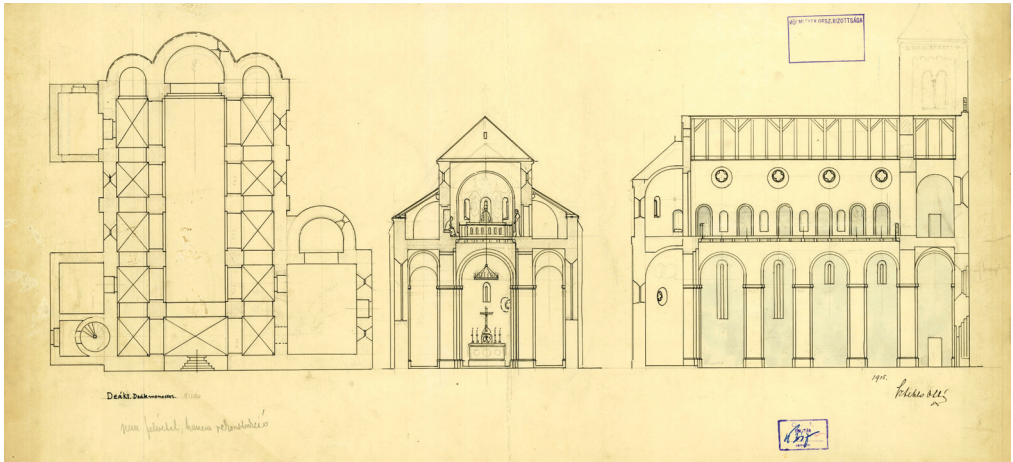
²² István Bardoly, Andrea Haris, eds., *A magyar műemlékvédelem korszakai* [Periods of monument conservation in Hungary], Budapest 1996, 89–90, 267; – MÉM MDK, MOB archives, MOB 1872/3; see: Farbaky-Deklava, *Schulek Frigyes* (n. 14), 38.

²³ Éva Askercz, “Storno Ferenc Pannonhalmán” [“Ferenc Storno in Pannonhalma”], *Mons Sacer* (n. 2), vol. II, 182–192.

²⁴ Archives of the Pannonhalma Archabbey, Archives of Archabbots, unregistered documents of Krizosztom Kelemen, Restoration of the Deáki church and parish 1872–1875, 27.d.

²⁵ Archives of the Pannonhalma Archabbey, *ibid.*, 27.a.

²⁶ Archives of the Pannonhalma Archabbey, Collection of plans, Deáki church, side elevation, János Eszlinger, 1872.



The reconstruction by Ottó Sztéhló, 1915. Source: Magyar Építészeti Múzeum és Műemlékvédelmi Dokumentációs Központ, Tervtár, inv. no. K317.

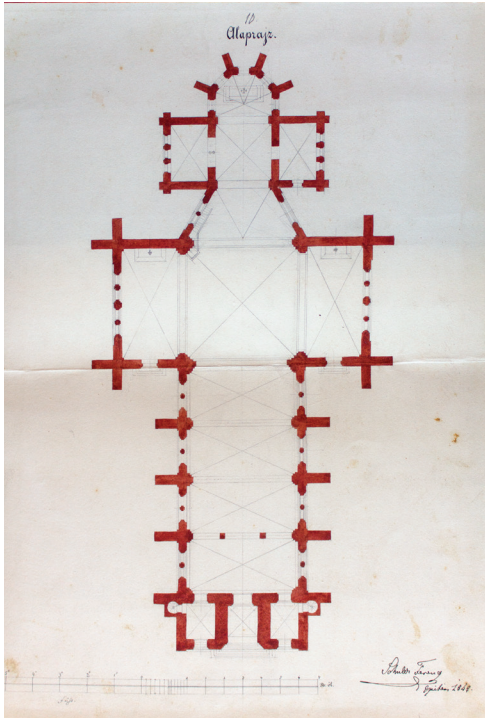


Excursion of the members of the Wiener Bauhütte in Kolin, 1864. Source: Budapesti Műszaki és Gazdaságtudományi Egyetem, Építésmérnöki kar, Építészettörténeti és Műemléki Tanszék, inv. no. 800745.

builder, also in the documents of the extension of the church, Eszlinger is identical with the Zirc-based builder János Eszlinger who erected the second level of the theological academy founded in Zirc in 1866.²⁷ In 1871, the new church in Nyalka was built by him and he restored the tower of the church of Varsány in Veszprém County in 1882–1883. Both villages were estates of Pannonhalma.²⁸ Eszlinger's plan was probably made to see whether the old church could be retained without reconstruction, if such a very simple and cheap new church were constructed.

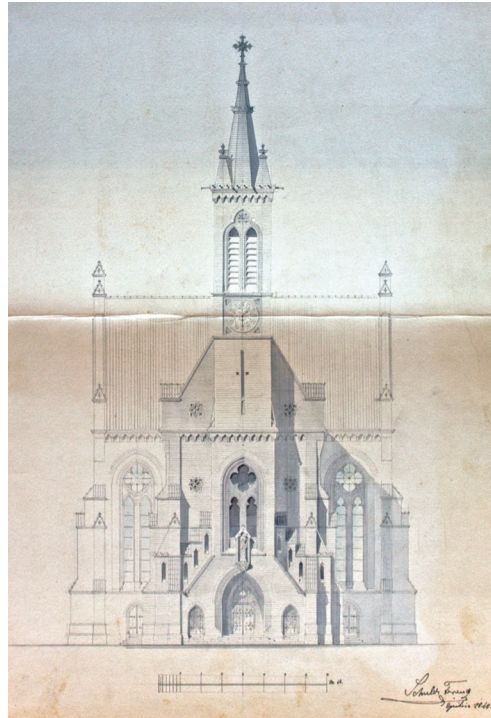
²⁷ http://www.talmakiado.hu/ujsag/vkt53/vkt_2013_oktober_nka.pdf.

²⁸ Sörös, "A Pannonhalmi főapátság" (n. 12), 253, 294.



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The ground plan of the new church, design by Ferenc Schulcz, 1868. Source: Pannonhalmi Főapátsági Levéltár, Deáki pallium.



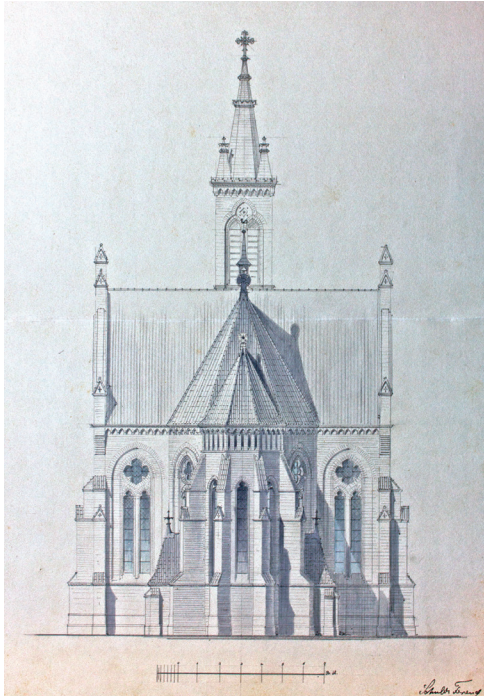
The main facade of the new church, design by Ferenc Schulcz, 1868. Source: Pannonhalmi Főapátsági Levéltár, Deáki pallium.

However, Storno's plans forwarded to the Monuments Committee proposed an enlargement of the medieval building eastwards.²⁹ As the surviving ground plan and sections reveal, Storno would have left the western façade unchanged, while on the east he would have pulled down the three semi-circular apses and the triumphal arch. After the fifth vault bay he planned a two-aisle transept enlarged with a semi-circular apse on the north and south. In the middle, the chancel would have comprised a square sanctuary and a semi-circular apse. The angle of incidence of the roof suggests that he wanted to pull down a considerable part of the upper level. The plan kept the Holy Sepulchre chapel south of the old church, with a new room indicated along the southern wall of the transept. The latter was crossed in pencil and a square room labelled sacristy was drawn on the southern side, at the intersection of the nave and the transept.

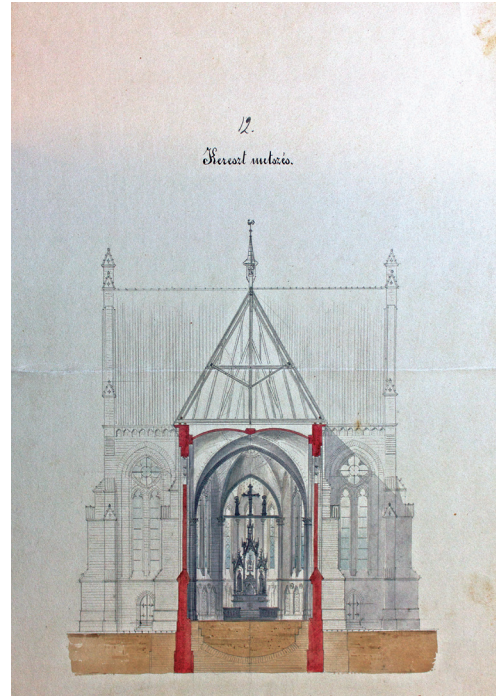
The Committee asked its member Frigyes Schulek, the "*referee general of architecture*", to study the possibility of enlargement on the spot and give his opinion on Storno's plan. For the deliberation of the case, the Monuments Committee held two extraordinary meetings on 16 and 22 July 1872.³⁰ The idea of an eastward extension was discarded at the first meeting, exactly on

²⁹ Sopron Museum, Storno estate, inv. no. S.84.23/1, S.84.23/2, S.84.23/3; sketch: Archives of the Pannonhalma Archabbey, Archives of Archbishops, unregistered documents of Kelemen Krizosztov, Restoration of the Deáki church and parish 1872–1875, 27.d.

³⁰ MÉM MDK, MOB archives, MOB 1872/28, 32. – I received copies of the documents from the courtesy of the Archives of the Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic, Bratislava; the help was provided by Tomáš Kowalski, herewith I express him my gratitude.



The east facade of the new church, design by Ferenc Schulcz, 1868. Source: Pannonhalmi Főapátsági levéltár, Deáki pallium.

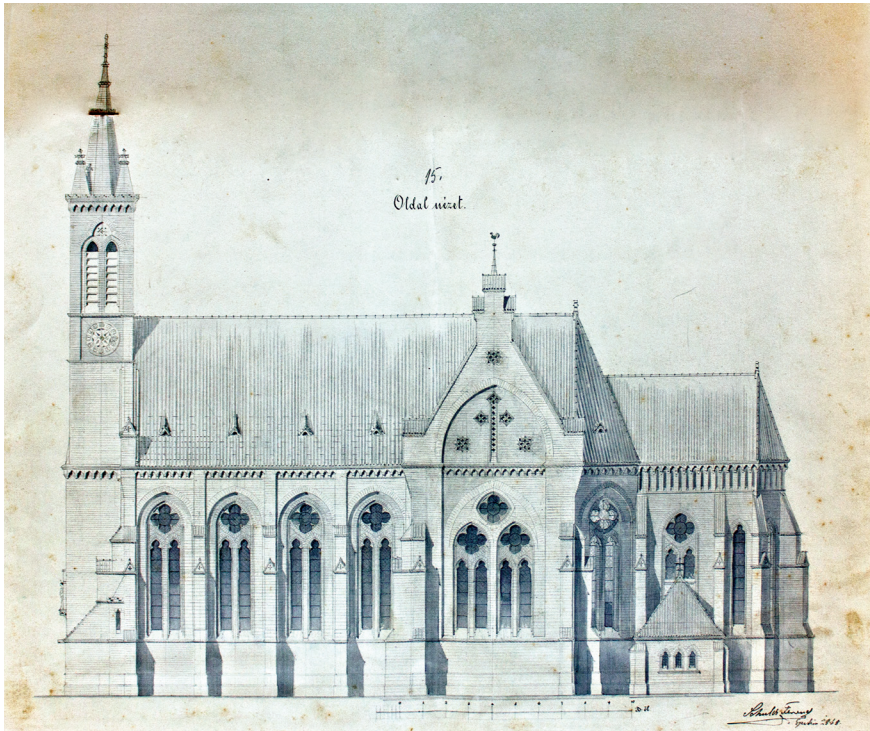


The cross-section of the new church, design by Ferenc Schulcz, 1868. Source: Pannonhalmi Főapátsági Levéltár, Deáki pallium.

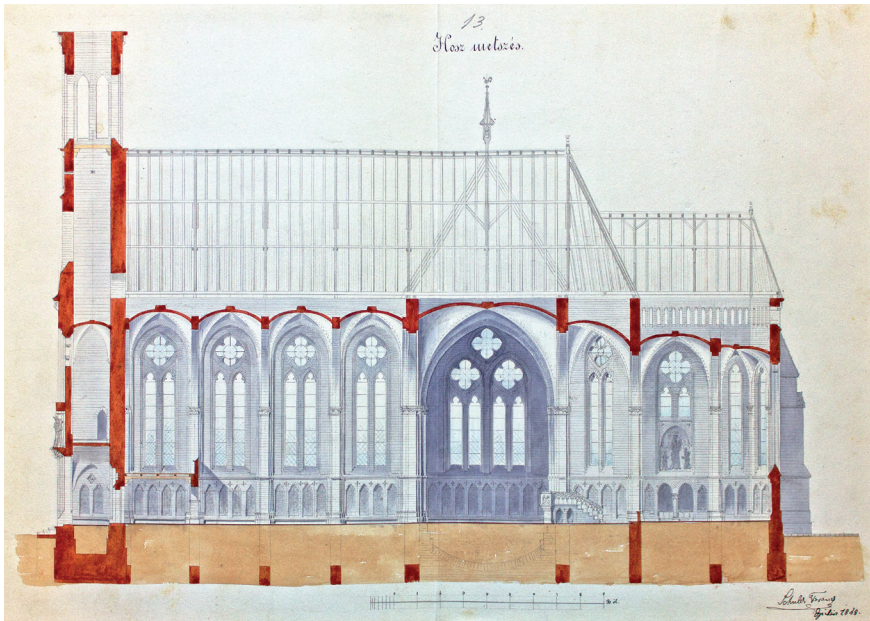
the basis of the conclusions of Ipolyi's study who emphasized the significance of the two-storied church apse. The decision on the westward enlargement could only be decided after an inspection of the site. The Committee delegated MOB architect Frigyes Schulek to ascertain whether breaking through the western wall would not cause grave damage to the static conditions of the towers. Schulek complied on 18 July and thus the decision could be made a week later, on the 22 July meeting.³¹ Having thrashed out Ferenc Storno's report and that of Frigyes Schulek already completed by then, the Committee concluded that the westward extension would be recommended to the archabbot, thus keeping the eastern part—deemed most valuable—intact. Schulek's opinion about the church is preserved by the minutes of the meeting: "*though built rather plainly with little decoration, the building survives firm and in good condition (...) as it stands today, except for the upper spires of the twin towers, it is original in all its details, without any alterations on the pillars or in the upper church*". Schulek pointed out that despite the aesthetic deficiencies, the originality and historic value of the building implied enough significance to justify its protection. The on-the-spot investigation also revealed that the western wall and the towers were strong enough to bear the opening of the wall westward and adding the extension there. The Committee decided on Schulek's conception and discarded Storno's plans forwarded to them by the archabbot.³² In the written recommendation they also informed the archabbot

³¹ MÉM MDK, MOB archives, MOB 1872/32.

³² See n. 29.



The south facade of the new church, design by Ferenc Schulcz, 1868. Source: Pannonhalmi Főapátsági Levéltár, Deáki pallium.



The longitudinal-section of the new church, design by Ferenc Schulcz, 1868. Source: Pannonhalmi Főapátsági Levéltár, Deáki pallium.

that the differences between the two conceptions in terms of expenses and acquired space were negligible, anyway.

Schulek elaborated the drawing and textual explanation on the basis of this conception. Both are preserved in the Benedictine archives in Pannonhalma, the latter in the authentic copy by ministry official Candid Hegedűs.³³ During the meeting convened to discuss Storno's plans and those of Schulek completed by then, the committee concluded that they would recommend the archabbot to enlarge the church westward so as to preserve the eastern part deemed most valuable. In the justification of his proposal Schulek pointed out that in Deáki a cost-effective extension and the enhanced care for the historical value of the church both pointed in one direction, the extension westward. Though acknowledging the assets of Storno's plan, he did not support it because both the apses and the vault of the nave would have been destroyed. At first he thought that without the support of the western wall the towers would have weakened so much that both statically and proportionally—reflecting upon Storno's idea—the insertion of a transept would have been necessary. That would provide further room for the church, the transept would articulate the excessively long church thus rendering the façade more varied and as a demarcation line, it would allow more freedom in the designing of the enlargement. The ends of the transept would have new gates making the movement of the flock easier, while the eastern wall could receive wall pictures and sculptural ornaments. The tower should have been accessed along a small neo-Romanesque winding staircase, and the small vestry was to have been demolished and enlarged. This phase of his planning is indicated by a ground plan and a sketch from 1872.³⁴ They show that the width of the extension was the same here as that of the old church. With accurate calculation Schulek proved that as against 764 persons housed by Storno's plan, his would provide room for 830. Schulek proved item by item that his plan was more economical and what is more, the old church could be used for quite some time simultaneously with the construction of the new church section. That would be impossible in the case of Storno's plan owing to the demolition of the sanctuaries. On behalf of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education Candid Hegedűs informed Krizosztom Kruesz of the MOB decision and pointed out in his letter that this solution would entail the least demolition.³⁵

The process of the construction

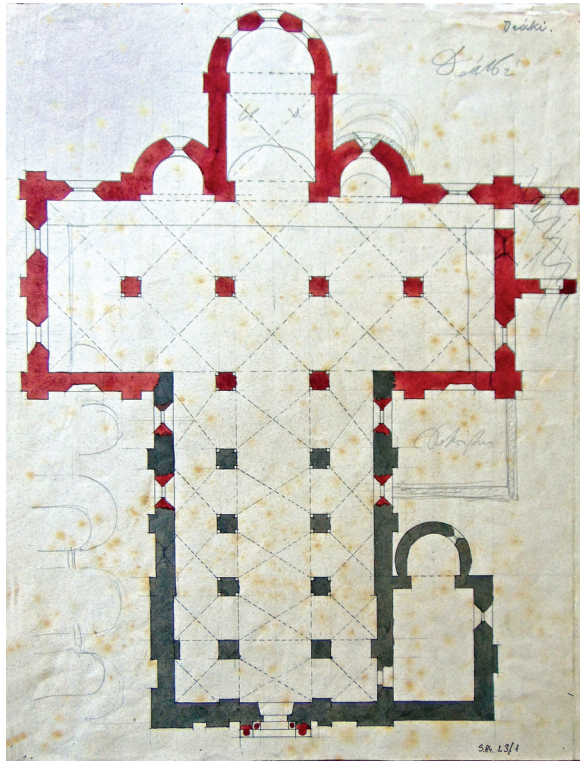
After the MOB decision, construction took place upon Schulek's plan aligned with the Rómer and Schultz conception during 1873–1875. Its process is well documented; the reports to the archabbot of Pannonhalma as the advowee and the related accounts reveal the circle of those involved in the manorial construction and its economy. Of relevance to our topic is what inferences can be gleaned about the architectural work and about the participating artists. The construction was locally supervised by the estate overseer Gábor Szinek, but most decisions were taken in Pannonhalma. Continuous work was ensured by Szinek's letters—often more than one a week—to the archabbot and by the instructions he received.³⁶

³³ Archives of the Pannonhalma Archabbey, Collection of plans, Deáki church, groundplan, Frigyes Schulek, 1872; explanation: *ibid.*, Archives of Archabbots, unregistered documents of Krizosztom Kelemen, Restoration of the Deáki church and parish 1872–1875, 28.e.

³⁴ Sketch: private property.

³⁵ Archives of the Pannonhalma Archabbey, Archives of Archabbots, unregistered documents of Krizosztom Kelemen, Restoration of the Deáki church and parish 1872–1875, 27.c.

³⁶ The sources about the extension of the church are found in a single file of documents, see n. 1. Parallel with the extension of the church the parish office building was also transformed, with bricklayers brought from another estate of



The ground plan of the extension, design by Ferenc Storno, 1872.
Source: Soproni Múzeum, Storno-gyűjtemény, inv. no. S.84.23/1.

The sources are also important because in the 20th century the church underwent massive interior refurbishing. The nineteenth-century interior was largely modified by the modern furnishing to fit Béla Kontuly's frescoes painted in 1941, with unadorned wall sections and new flooring.³⁷ The sources, together with the large framed photographs of the church interior on the wall of the sacristy and Péter Gerecze's photos inform posterity of the missing elements. Published in 1875 on the pages of *Magyar Sion*, a festive account by Elek Gulyás about the church extension also contains some data, but the stress is again on the medieval building history.³⁸

The first task was to extend the building site, which was solved by land exchange in 1872.³⁹ János Eszlinger of Zirc is mentioned as an architect and master builder, who must have taken part in elaborating the details after Schulek's proposed design. He was not permanently present on the site, but his invoice of 2 August 1875 proves that he was involved in the construction,

Pannonhalma, Füssi. The church construction file also contains documents of this reconstruction. Data without separate marks are from this file, and locations only of sources found elsewhere are given hereafter.

³⁷ Mikuláš Bašo, Ján Štibrányi, *Deáki Szűz Mária templom* [The Church of the Virgin Mary in Deáki]. Komárom 1995, 15.

³⁸ Zsuzsanna Ildikó Bakó, *Gerecze Péter fényképhagyatéka* [Péter Gerecze's photo estate]. Budapest 1993, no. 102, 105–106; – Elek Gulyás, "Deáki temploma hajdan és most" ["The Deáki church then and now"], *Magyar Sion* 6, no. 12 (1875), 881–898.

³⁹ The site layout with the plots and buildings in front of the west front of the church was made for this purpose. Archives of the Pannonhalma Archabbey, Restoration of the Deáki church and parish 1872–1875.

and mentioning him as master builder is also an indicator of his presence. He brought the masons and carpenter Johann Wolf from Zirc, who were probably directly controlled by the foreman-builder Johann Mates.⁴⁰ Eszlinger's invoice includes soil excavation, construction of the new church and vestry, façades, the opening of the west wall, renovation of old windows, forming of doors, removal of old gallery, walling up and buttressing of the tower pillars, building and vaulting of the new gallery, as well as preparing the wall surface for the painters. This—in addition to the planning work—is a sequence of chores for a master building and construction overseer. He received by far the largest amount of money, 8129 florins. It is also clear that apart from giving the commission, the archabbot was frequently obliged to decide on diverse, often clearly technical questions, too.⁴¹ The local representative of the client, Gábor Szinek, also contributed to the technical questions several times, and the archabbot appointed him bailiff in 1875.

First, the extension was built also of bricks, with some parts—portals and façade cornices—carved from stone. Stone was used for the pillars, but it is not clear whether the external buttresses or the internal pillars were meant. Bricks and timber were supplied by the estate, the other material and tools were purchased from local or nearby merchants. Lippert's engraving shows that the tower was only mended. Even the form of the spire was left unchanged and only renovated, although Schulek's sketch shows a more mediievally adequate form with gables. Only the façades of the towers display some change: the typical Baroque frames of the windows were removed to give stronger accent to the mediieval origin of the towers.⁴²

New bevelled windows were cut in the apses of the old building with semi-circular headings to homogenize the façades of the apses. Upon the archabbot's order the round window was walled in, which is still visible in Lippert's print. The lower semi-circular window in the central axis, also shown in the print, disappeared and was replaced by a window identical with the rest. Studying Ottó Sztelho's drawings from 1915, we can find out, that the construction survey based on the sketch is more like a reconstruction than an authentic representation of the real state in 1915. For the sketch shows the new set of windows, while in the construction drawing an earlier state as in Lippert's print can be seen.

The northern sacristy received two windows. Most of the carpentry work was performed by Franz Blazsek, some by Vencel Kadlec from Füssi and by József Ruzsovits also employed in Pannonhalma, both probably joiners. Since the old church was only accessible from the new part, it was difficult to put the church partially in operation, because the altar could not be placed in the central axis. The altar was therefore temporarily erected in a side aisle to ensure the functioning of the church. Even so, masses were started earlier in the still roofless building to avoid the scorching summer sun.

⁴⁰ With minor timber-work the name of Vencel Kadlec also occurs.

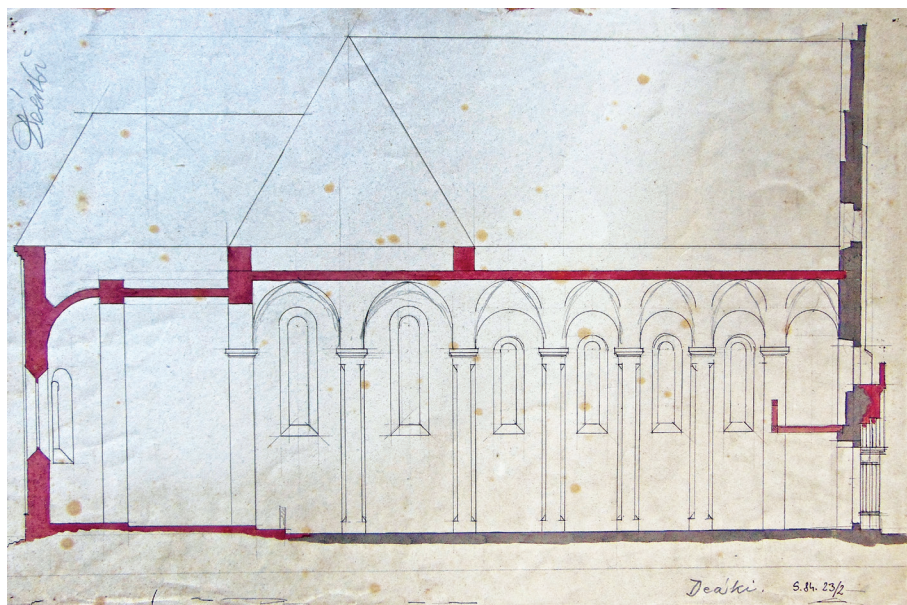
⁴¹ *"The foreman-builder is begging for Your Excellency to come, which he waits eagerly day by day, for the building of the Chorus has begun but he has no idea where the stairs leading to it will be, nor could Eszlinger offer a clue, for he could not convey Your Excellency's intention, so he was here last week having been told by the foreman that Your Excellency would come after the 18th, so as to meet You on the site, but he can't even start the vaulting of the small building attached to the north of the old church, because first he must know Your Excellency's wish and order where the wall should be that separates it from the stairs leading to the tower. And there are other matters as well about which Your Excellency's decision is necessary (...)"* The stairs to the gallery was transformed in the spring of 1875. Even odder is that the archabbot also intervened concerning the lightning-conductor, though bailiff Szinek remarked that he was worried about *"the frisky nature of the lightning"*. That's why they decided to lead lightning conductors down on both sides, and Kraxler (?) in charge of the work did so.

⁴² On the towers Victor Freiberg as *"Thurmbauer"* and tinsmith Jacob Seidler also worked. Apart from repairs, Freiberg fixed the lightning rod, Seidler saw to the draining of water, the top crosses were found in good shape. Seidler's name was found in connection with the tinwork on the church roof and the metal fixtures of the windows.



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The cross-section of the extension, design by Ferenc Storno, 1872. Source: Soproni Múzeum, Storno-gyűjtemény, inv. no. S.84.23/3.



The longitudinal-section of the extension, design by Ferenc Storno, 1872. Source: Soproni Múzeum, Storno-gyűjtemény, inv. no. S.84.23/2.

When clearing the old church, the parish priest tried to peel off the old coats of whitewash to find the earlier crosses of consecration, but he failed: “no sign was found, there are not so many coats of whitewash as I thought, we reached the plaster quickly. I searched for more layers of plaster, but then we reached the bricks.” They attributed this to the earlier „*vicissitudes*” that the church had suffered. The church was often in the hands of Protestants, the paint layers must have been removed at that time.

In the autumn of 1874, cracks appeared on two pillars. They were reinforced with iron bands and plastered, thus stabilizing them. Later overseer Gábor Szinek did not mention them, so the solution was probably final. Floor levels were defined—probably by Eszlinger—so that the old church functioning as the sanctuary should be a step higher than the extension, and the high altar should be another two steps higher. The floor was covered with hexagonal mosaic tiles, and in the apses a star was formed of the tiles in front of each altar. Szinek asked the Vienna-based manufacturer Joseph Neumüller to send specialists from the tilery as he did not trust in the expertise of his craftsmen.

The precipitation of moisture caused a serious problem in both parts of the church, for in spring “*finger-thick slabs of ice kept falling from the vaulting*” as a result. Eszlinger thought two vents were enough, but Szinek decided on three in the new part and one star-shaped gilded louver in the vaulting of the old part, as well as ventilation wheels in the windows. Instead of the wooden stairs planned by Eszlinger, Szinek decided to order cast iron stairs from the Schlick factory in Budapest.

Stone carving was the job of Karl Kern of Pozsony/Prefßburg/Bratislava. Concerning the structure of the portal, the question was raised whether the tympanum width should include the door frames as well. Oddly enough, this view was represented by Eszlinger. At any rate, the posing of the question reveals his unfamiliarity with medieval building structure. Unlike Eszlinger, the bailiff Szinek thought the pediment should be as wide as the door aperture. The bailiff turned to the archabbot, who was of Szinek’s position, and thus the door jambs continue in the arched jambs of the tympanum. A coat of arms was planned for the central tympanum, but eventually “only” the carved inscription was completed: *Deo Optimo Maximo / Et / Virgini Deiparae Assuntae / 1875*. The text was the archabbot’s decision.⁴³

The stones were carved by Kern for all three portals, together with the capping stones for buttresses, cornices, and bases. In addition to façade elements he carved a new mensa for the high altar and stone columns for the stipes, a new slab for the tabernacle, and the steps to the altar were also ordered from him. Among the Pannonhalma documents there is a drawing by him he had sent to Deáki with the note “*Lesenenkapitel im innern der Kirche in Deák*”. The proportions of the depicted capital suggest that it was meant for internal pillars, but there is no trace of this kind in the church. The drawing was sent for approval to the archabbot, which presumably failed to arrive. In the archive photos, too, only some painted decoration can be seen on the capitals.

The painted decoration of the church

The whole church received mirrored faux marble finish painting; the pillars were decorated with further “illusory” columns with painted neo-Romanesque capitals. Richer decoration was reserved for the walls of the apses, with figural scenes in the quarter-dome vaults. In the archive

⁴³ At present, the coat of arms of the eighteenth-century archabbot Celesztin Göncz can be seen on the western façade. I received help from the leader of the Archives of the Pannonhalma Archabbey Tamás Dénesi with identifying the coat of arms. I herewith thank for his assistance.

photo only the central scene of the nave apse can be distinguished: the coronation of the Virgin. The Son and the Father are sitting on a common throne, with the dove of the Holy Spirit hovering above them. The Virgin kneeling sideways in front of the throne is crowned by Christ. On either side of the central scene there is a fresco but the theme cannot be interpreted on the basis of the photo. Neo-Romanesque ornamentation adorns the apse walls. The west side of the triumphal arch, formed from the wall separating the old and new church parts, carries a Holy Sacrament depiction: the monstrance representing the Eucharist is shown in the middle with adoring angels on both sides.

The documents include two names of painters: *Johann Römänn, akadem. Mahler* and *Károly Stupárovits, painter*. The former always put down his name in the German form on his letters and itemized bills written in Gothic script in German, the latter wrote in Hungarian and German and used his signature in both forms.⁴⁴ Both are referred to as painters, but Römänn's bills include the painting of furniture and equipment as well as gilding in addition to wall painting, and he made the different inscriptions, coats of arms and painted the wooden doors. A letter, his bills and financial accounts reveal that his job was the decoration of the old church. Since problems arose about his performance—sometimes he left the construction without notice—this is probably why Szinec began looking for another painter and found Károly Stupárovits recommended to him by a Pozsony/Bratislava-based merchant. He took over the task in 1875, but could only finish when the bricklayers had finished the last repairs. Stupárovits was to decorate the entire new church section, too. He did not write an itemized bill, but the tender for 650 florins, which includes the remark that the appearance of the church would fit the architectural style, makes it clear that his job was the decorative and figural painting of the wall surfaces. Engaging painter János Mandausz of Győr was also considered, but eventually he was not needed: “*Since Stupárovits has agreed to do the large picture, painter Mandaus will hardly come to Deáki (...)*.” The large picture must have referred to a wall-painting, perhaps the Eucharist on the west side of the wall separating the two churches. Stupárovits painted the consecration crosses, after he painted the same in Csorna, too.

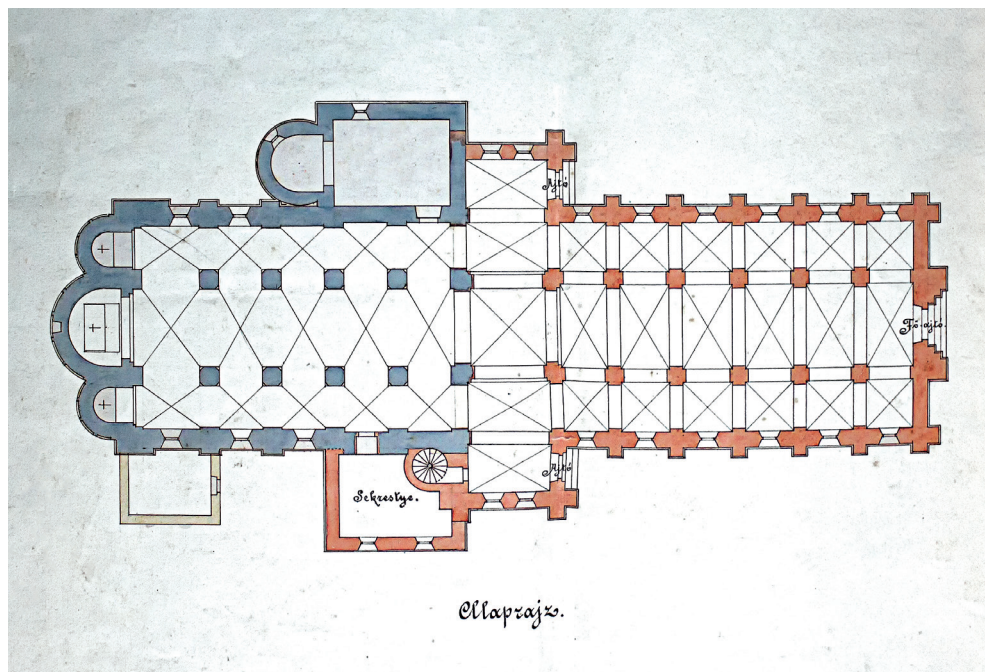
Stained glass windows in the apses

Five stained glass windows with figural scenes were ordered for the church from Leo Woerl's firm in Würzburg. The firm was best known for its travel guides, but also went in publishing and selling other books, and trading in ecclesiastic goods, statues, paraments, textiles. The five windows were adorned with scenes from the Virgin's life, all for the three apses of the old church. To the axes of the main apse was located the Coronation of Mary, while the two figures of the Annunciation can be seen on the side windows of the main apse. The window of the northern apse was decorated with the composition of the Virgin and Child, the window of the south apse shows Jesus' Heart.

Addenda to the furnishing and equipment of the church

Before seeing to the furnishing, first they inventoried the altars and the statues on them. This catalogue is an important source of the earlier furniture. On the high altar—“*the old altar*”—the statues of St. Stephen and St. Emeric, on the St. Benedict altar that of the titular saint and that of

⁴⁴ He sent one of his letters from Érsekújvár/Nové Zámky.



The first ground plan by Frigyes Schulek, 1872. Source: Pannonhalmi Főapátsági Levéltár, Deáki pallium.



The sketch by Frigyes Schulek to his first plan, 1872. Private property.



Deáki/Diakovce, Church of the Assumption of Mary, the interior of the Romanesque part of the church after reconstruction. Photo: circa 1900, source: Magyar Építészeti Múzeum és Műemlékvédelmi Dokumentációs Központ, Fotótár, Plate no. 3.484N.



Deáki/Diakovce, Church of the Assumption of Mary, the main chancel of the enlarged church. Photo: circa 1900, source: Magyar Építészeti Múzeum és Műemlékvédelmi Dokumentációs Központ, Fotótár, Plate no. 10.500N.

St. Scholastica were found.⁴⁵ The St. Michael statue on the third altar probably also indicates the dedication of the altar. There is also information of two smaller and two larger statues of angels on one knee. The list of the parish priest included two evangelists sitting on either side of the pulpit and a figure of the Good Shepherd on the sounding board. At that time the displacement of the pulpit was still in plan, so the pillar chosen for it was also assessed. An important consideration for the placing of the pulpit was that the sermon should be audible in both church sections. The plan chose the first pillar on the north, but Szinek argued that the preacher would not be heard in the old church, so he proposed the triumphal arch between the two church parts. They waited for the archabbot's visit to make the final decision, and eventually the pulpit was attached to the pillar. It was also considered that an earlier used pulpit would be transported from Pannonhalma, for the bailiff did not find the available personnel in Deáki suitable for the difficult job of constructing the pulpit. At the end, they ordered one from Woerl in Würzburg, together with the statue of St. John the Baptist, both were painted in Deáki. According to an interior photo, the statue was put on top of the pulpit.

The plan was to reuse the existing statues, but it could only be partially realized. A letter reveals that the altars should have been kept although the wood was decayed. Eventually only parts of the high altar and the "tumba" could be saved; the archive photos still shows the Baroque superstructure above the altar table with the tabernacle. The first idea was to decorate the

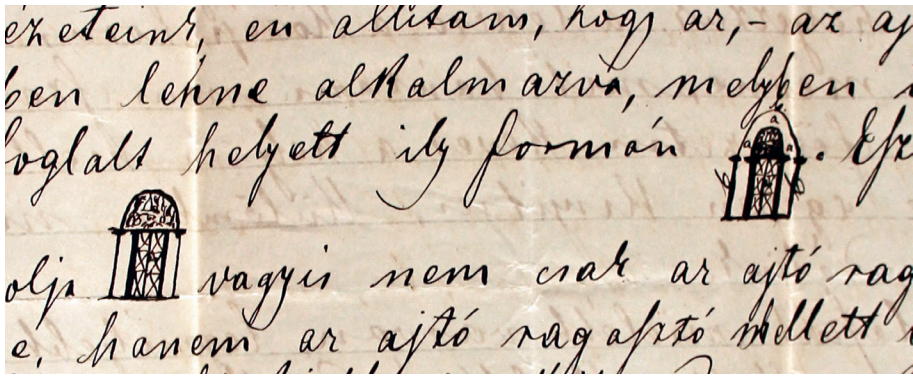
⁴⁵ The Baroque statues of St. Emeric and St. Stephen at the south and north wall, resp. in the extension, are probably identical with those mentioned in the account.



The enlarged church from east. Photo: Péter Gerecze, circa 1900(?), Source: Magyar Építészeti Múzeum és Műemlékvédelmi Dokumentációs Központ, Fotótár, Plate no. 3482.

brick stipes of the high altar by Eszlinger's staff. Szinek recommended painted decoration, for "*it would be considerably cheaper and would serve the purpose just as well. The deterioration of the paint need not be feared, nor would the plaster peel off, for the brick structure is first thickly coated with hydraulic lime and the outermost layer is gypsum, which—when dried out—is hard like bone and the paint remains on it for ever.*" The two side altars and their carvings were made in Pannonhalma by master joiner József Ruzsovits. The statues for them were purchased from Leo Woerl. One features St. Benedict, the other St. Anne with the Virgin as a child in the niche above the tabernacle.⁴⁶ The high altar and the side altars were in place by mid of July 1875, but their colouring, material, technique were still unsettled, although the planned date of consecration, 8 August, was nearing. In vain did Szinek urge the archabbot to give instructions as to the altars, as well as the organ and the pews, which were to be decorated as required by the archabbot. That is why the colouring of the altars was protracted and Römänn could not be present to finish the painting. Szinek tried to call a master from Pozsony/Bratislava, but failed to agree on the terms. Only when the archabbot's decision about the painting was known were the altars finally painted. The two preserved Baroque statues, of SS. Benedict and Scholastica, were renovated by Römänn. The gilding of the altar—probably the high altar—and the rest of the decorative objects was performed by Josep Streicher, the gilder active in the Benedictine monastery in Győr. His contribution is the gilding of the statues and their bases, the volutes, vases, altar cards and the lining of the tabernacle.

⁴⁶ On the connection of the side altars with Pannonhalma and their iconography: Gulyás, "Deáki temploma" (n. 38), 893.



The letter from estate overseer, Gábor Szinek, with interpretations of the structure of the main/portal, 17 April, 1875. Source: Pannonhalmi Főapátsági Levéltár, unregistered documents of Krizosztom Kelemen, Restoration of the Deáki church and parish 1872–1875, 30.f.



The drawing by stone-cutter Karl Kern to the capitals of the pillars. Source: Pannonhalmi Főapátsági Levéltár, unregistered documents of Kelemen Krizosztom, Restoration of the Deáki church and parish 1872–1875, 28.c.

Szinek wanted to engage a joiner from Pozsony/Bratislava to make the pews, as he ranked him higher than the local masters and from whom he owned a sample piece—“*I have no intention to get the miserable village craftsmen to make them*”—he wrote to the archabbot. “*A lateral pew measuring 10 feet*” is known from a bill dated in Pannonhalma, made by master joiner József Ruzsovits. That was probably mentioned by Szinek as a sample piece. Finally he had to rest content with employing the cabinet-maker János Tóth from nearby Pered/Tomášikovo, and János Kadlec who also took part in carpentering for the making of the new pews and the renovation of the surviving ones.

The organ of the church was in very bad shape. Szinek wanted to call an organ maker from Pozsony/Bratislava, but an organ earlier used in Pannonhalma was transferred to the Deáki

church and restored by an organ builder from Salzburg, Matthäus Mauracher (1818–1884), invited by the archabbot. He and his son, Josef (1845–1907), were halfway with the work by mid of August 1875, the whole organ being only repaired after the consecration.⁴⁷

As regards the candlesticks, these were bought from Carl Giani's in Vienna, supplier of textile and ecclesiastic goods, the crosses were ordered from Paris. A chandelier for twelve candles was ordered from Vienna, "a luxurious piece" in Szinek's view. It took place after the consecration that Rómann covered the gilded objects and chandelier with dammar varnish, restored the picture of the former high altar and the statues of the two Benedictine saints.

Consecration

At first, the festive event was to take place on 8 August 1875, but part of the furnishing (organ, pulpit, pews) and the painting of the doors were not yet ready. At last, on 5 September, the church was consecrated with the participation of archabbot Krizosztom Kruesz and János Zelka, bishop of Győr, in the presence of Pál Bacská, deputy county head of Pozsony/Bratislava. The ceremony was enhanced by musicians and singers invited from Dénesd/Dunajská Lužná. The festive inscription about the enlargement/renovation of the church was placed in a golden frame in the church.

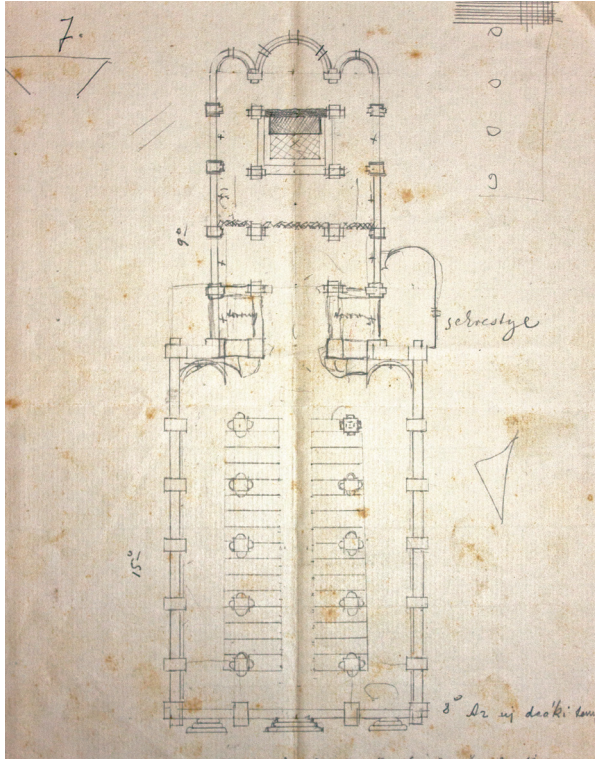
Hallmarked by the names of Arnold Ipolyi, Flóris Rómer and Béla Czobor in the first place, the movement of ecclesiastic art launched by Arnold Ipolyi's speech in the Saint Stephen Society in 1867 set as its main goal the revival of the art of medieval churches in terms of architecture and interior decoration, as a response to the growing laicization of the period.⁴⁸ This goal could not be attained without fail in Deáki, in spite of the fact that the grand "restoration" of the Pannonhalma basilica was also commissioned by the same client in the mid of the 19th century. This time, practicality and economy had the upper hand over artistic considerations, the spectacular medieval spires of the towers were not reconstructed, only the extant ones renovated. No stone carvings were inserted into the pediment, though a carved coat of arms was planned for it. Nor did the pilasters get carved stone capitals as planned by Kern. Regarding the furniture, they reused elements of the Baroque high altar and the statues of the side altars.

The explicitly promulgated intention of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education to promote the development of art in Hungary by commissioning Hungarian artists was not a priority here.⁴⁹ And this, in spite of the fact that the client was the archabbot of Pannonhalma, who, as an external member of the Monuments Committee, could be well informed of these intentions. The renovation went on amidst the conditions of manorial constructions and the involved labour was also determined by geographic vicinity or acquaintance rather than the aim to promote Hungarian art. That is why the organ repairer Mauracher came from Salzburg,

⁴⁷ On the transfer of the organ from Pannonhalma see Gulyás, "Deáki temploma" (n. 38), 894. Later it did not prove sufficient. Little after the consecration in 1880 the Budapest-based organ builder Sándor Országh said a devastating opinion about the organ, but this topic is outside the purview of this research.

⁴⁸ Ernő Marosi, "Lippert József pozsonyi főoltára" ["The high altar of József Lippert in Pozsony"], *Ars Hungarica* 22, no. 1 (1994), 127.

⁴⁹ This aim was clearly a guiding principle in the restoration of the Matthias Church of Buda, see: Lilla Farbaky-Deklava, "Adalékok a Mátyás-templom berendezéséhez" ["Addenda to the furnishing of the Matthias Church"], *Mátyás-templom* (n. 16), 475 and cat. no. 112. In 1878, Ágoston Trefort contracted glass painter Ede Kratzmann on the condition that in his workshop he would employ Hungarian apprentices so that they could learn the art of glass painting. On Kratzmann's contract see: Lilla Farbaky-Deklava, "A Mátyás-templom üveglablakai" ["The glass windows of the Matthias Church"], *Mátyás-templom* (n. 16), 405, ref. 9.



Ground plan sketch by Frigyes Schulek, 1872–1873(?). Source: Pannonhalmi Főapátság Levéltár, Deáki pallium.

equipment was ordered from Giani's in Vienna and from Paris, stained glass windows, pulpit, statues from Leo Woerl in Würzburg, floor tiles and tilers from Vienna. It was not at all unique in the age, in which ordinary devotional objects galore could be easily purchased or ordered from the traders.

The final version of the church was further simplified: the transept proposed by Schulek was omitted. As a counterpart to the earlier chapel on the south, the vestry was built on the northern side, also included in Schulcz's plan. Schulek must have known Schulcz's idea to enlarge the church westward, because at the time of the planning they were both employed by Friedrich Schmidt in his bureau. Though in 1868 Schulcz sent his design and drawings directly to Pannonhalma, he might have told about Deáki to Schulek in Vienna where they worked together. Also Rómer—who might safely be called the other initiator of the plan—might have informed Schulek as a member of the recently founded Committee. Anyway, the final solution, which can only be known from a sketch⁵⁰ since the collections of the National Committee of Monuments (MOB) are inaccessible for the time being, indicates that Schulek started along the trail signposted by Schulcz: both the extension westward and the difference in the width of the old and new church sections prove the knowledge of the Schulcz and Rómer conception.

⁵⁰ Northern façade: private property; Groundplan: Archives of the Pannonhalma Archabbey, Coll. of plans, Deáki church, groundplan, Frigyes Schulek, 1872.



Deáki/Diakovce, Church of the Assumption of Mary, west façade. Photo: Archív Pamiatkového úradu SR, 1959.



Deáki/Diakovce, Church of the Assumption of Mary, interior to the east. Photo: Archív Pamiatkového úradu SR, 1959.



Deáki/Diakovce, Church of the Assumption of Mary, Romanesque basilica and triple apses. Photo: Péter Farbaky.



Deáki/Diakovce, Church of the Assumption of Mary, interior to the west. Photo: Péter Farbaky.

Planning the Deáki church was the first occasion on which Schulek got into conflict with Storno. With academy studies and Viennese training behind him, professional Schulek began his career on a different base, than self-taught Storno who was adhering to earlier traditions. Their antagonism culminated in the dispute about the stained glass windows of the Matthias Church in Buda later in 1884.⁵¹

The enlargement of the Deáki church is not among Schulek's most successful works, being schematic and stylistically far less appropriate than he had so often expected of architects. Though it satisfied the client's need, it lacks the subtle solutions he is known for. The main explanatory reason is that from 1873 it was already a daily occupation for him to research and work on the reconstruction of the Matthias Church, and therefore it was not he who controlled the work on the site and supervised the masons from Zirc but Eszlinger, and probably Schulek had a lesser role in the elaboration of details.

Contemporaries did not have a different opinion about the enlargement, either. In 1896, Péter Gerecze gravely criticized it, the piquancy of his fuming being that it was addressed to Storno: The church *"has long been completed—if we are not mistaken—on the basis of Storno's plans; the old basilica tuned into the chancel, [the change] consuming an immense amount of building material, perhaps more than the artistic value of the new building deserves. What is certain is that the most interesting part of the church, the tiny three-aisled church upstairs did not gain anything through this reconstruction (...) Most regrettably the whole transformation has not been to the advantage of this historic monument, but conversely, in terms of both architecture and ornamentation it demonstrates the backwardness of our art of restoration which cannot be blamed on sparse resources. The old Baroque spires have just been tinplated, which further impairs the style of the fine thirteenth-century brick building."*⁵²

Some fifty years later, in 1928, Ottó Szőnyi evaluated Schulek's work more subtly, in view of the new principles of monument conservation, and more positively than Gerecze, acknowledging it as the best among the three reviewed—Schulcz, Storno and Schulek—variants. He reproached Schulcz for the excessively ornamented Gothic style which was alien to the surviving medieval church, and condemned Storno for the destruction of the three apses. His appreciative lines about Schulek's plan point out that his was the best solution, as it was reserved and differentiable and because it caused the least damage to the medieval church. *"One of the riskiest points of handling historic monuments is their potential enlargement. It is a fundamental principle of monument protection to ward off any transformation that would affect the essence. Very often the requirements of practical necessity run counter to that."* And although the history of planning is a model example of "dangers" looming large over historic monuments, the Deáki *"old basilica was spared of all essential damage and the delicate question could not have been solved better under the given circumstances."* Arguing with Gerecze he contends that although *"now the two towers are around the middle of the church and thus this important feature of medieval Hungarian basilicas is demoted in significance, but the artistic sense of Schulek who planned the transformation resulted in such differentiating specificities that help even the eyes of the laity to mark the new off from the old parts. And indeed, the important thing is that despite the extension the historic monument itself could assert itself"*.⁵³ This principle of monument protection was brand new and up-to-date not only in the 1870s but also in 1928, which multiply underlines the significance of Frigyes Schulek's work.

⁵¹ Farbaký-Deklava, "A Mátyás-templom üvegablakai" (n. 49), 389–394.

⁵² Gerecze, "Néhány árpád kori templomunk" (n. 5), 315.

⁵³ Szőnyi, "A deákmonostori bazilika" (n. 5), 34–36.

Obnova kostola v Diakovciach na pozadí zmeny generácií v ochrane pamiatok

Niekdajší benediktínsky Kostol Panny Márie Nanebovzatej v Diakovciach (okr. Šaľa) – prvýkrát zmieňovaný k roku 1102 a vysvätený 1. a 2. decembra 1228 – podstúpil medzi rokmi 1872 a 1875 veľkú stavebnú obnovu; jej dôsledkom sa kostol zväčšil o mohutnú trojlodovú baziliku, pristavanú k pôvodnej západnej fasáde. Zámer sa dotkol pamiatky, na ktorú predtým upriamila osobitnú pozornosť významná autorita dejepisu umenia: Arnold Ipolyi-Stummer vydal o kostole monografickú prácu z roku 1860.

Riešenie obnovy vcelku dokumentuje prístup a náhľady v ochrane pamiatok práve počas jej inštitucionálneho etablovania (Dočasná uhorská pamiatková komisia, zriadená 1872). Doteraz neznáme dokumenty a plány na zväčšenie kostola sa zachovali v archíve Benediktínskeho arciepátstva na Panónskej Hore (Pannonhalma) a osvetľujú podrobnosti rozhodovacieho procesu. Východiskovú myšlienku vybudovať nový, samostatný kostol (proj. Ferenc Schulcz, 1868) odmietol stavebník kvôli výške finančných nákladov; preferoval skôr rozšírenie existujúceho kostola. Návrh, ktorý podal šopronský staviteľ a reštaurátor Franz Storno st. (1872), uvažoval so zväčšením kostola na východnej strane: ponechával románske priečelie s dvojicou veží, ale búral trojicu apsid; na ich mieste mala pribudnúť mohutná priečna loď, potom opakujúca apsidy s predĺženým ústrednej. Tento variant zamietla uhorská pamiatková komisia, prihliadajúc dôležitosť východného záveru kostola. Jej súhlas napokon získala alternatíva, ktorú na vyžiadanie pripravil architekt Fridrich Schulek: kostol rozširoval západným smerom, prístavbou trojlodia nepresahujúceho šírku pôvodnej stavby.

Archívne pramene vypovedajú taktiež o zariaďovaní kostola po ukončení prestavby a jeho slávnostnej posviacke dňa 8. augusta 1875.

Zväčšenie kostola so zreteľom na zachovanie jeho románskej časti hodnotili nasledujúce generácie pamiatkarov od záveru 19. storočia. Počiatočnú príkosť (Péter Gerecze, 1896) vystriedal zmierlivejší postoj, zohľadňujúci háklivosť balansovania medzi požiadavkami stavebníka a nárokmi uchovania pamiatky v autentickom stave (Ottó Szóny, 1928).

Nasledujúca rozsiahlejšia obnova kostola v Diakovciach z rokov 1938 – 1941 sa dotkla najmä liturgického vybavenia. Čelo pristavanej hlavnej lode pokrýla nástenná maľba so scénami zo života sv. Štefana kráľa, ktorú vytvoril maďarský umelec Béla Kontuly (1904 – 1983).