

ANNALES
UNIVERSITATIS
APULENSIS

SERIES HISTORICA

18/I

*Sacred Space in Central and Eastern Europe from Middle Ages
to the Late Modernity: Birth, Function, and Changes*

Edited by
Daniel Dumitran
Ileana Burnichioiu

Editura Mega

2014

EDITORIAL BOARD

Radu Ardevan ("Babeș-Bolyai" University Cluj-Napoca)	Keith Hitchins (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)
Barbara Deppert-Lippitz (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Frankfurt am Main)	Eva Mârza ("1 Decembrie 1918" University of Alba Iulia)
Alex Rubel (Institute of Archaeology Iași)	Bogdan Murgescu (University of Bucharest)
Michael Vickers (Jesus College Oxford)	Ernst Christoph Suttner (Universität Wien)
	Acad. Alexandru Zub ("A.D. Xenopol" Institute of History Iași)

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

Daniel Dumitran (Chief-editor)
Sorin Arhire (Secretary)
Ileana Burnichioiu, Mihai Gligor, Valer Moga
Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu, Marius Rotar

Linguistic revision by
Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu

Cover I: Ileana Burnichioiu
Cross consecration from Drăușeni (Brașov County)

Copyright © 2014, "1 Decembrie 1918" University
ALBA IULIA
Unirii Street, no. 15-17
Tel.: +40-258-811412; Fax: +40-258-806260
E-mail: aua_historia@uab.ro
Web: <http://diam.uab.ro/index.php?s=2&p=4>
ISSN 1453-9306

CONTENTS

Why Sacred Space in Central and Eastern Europe?	7
-------------------------------------------------	---

STUDIES AND ARTICLES

SACRALISATION OF SPACE

KAREN STARK	
From the Martyr's Mountain to the Hermit's Cave: Hagiography and the Sacralisation of the East-Central European Landscape, 11 th -15 th Centuries	23
ILEANA BURNICHIOIU	
Cruci de consacratie medievale din Transilvania și din vestul României	41
SZILVESZTER TERDIK	
Coexisting Traditions: The Conversion of the Jesuit Church of Uzhgorod into a Greek Catholic Cathedral	95

INSIDE AND OUTSIDE OF THE HOLY PLACES: IMAGES AND PILGRIMAGE PATHS

ANA DUMITRAN	
Între <i>logos</i> și <i>eikon</i> . Un eseu despre icoană, români și protestantism în Transilvania secolului al XVII-lea	115
ANNA TÜSKÉS	
Representations of the Mary-Icon of Máriapócs in Engravings	153
MÁRTA NAGY	
Depiction of a Church in the St. Naum's Engraving Made by Hristofor Zefar	183
VLADIMIR SIMIĆ	
Image - Body - Space: Serbian Orthodox Monasteries and the Creation of Patriotic Memory in the 18 th Century	195
MIHAI-CRISTIAN AMĂRIUȚEI, LIDIA COTOVANU, OVIDIU-VICTOR OLAR	
Phanariot Donations to the <i>Mega Spileon</i> Monastery (18 th Century)	219

THE RENEWAL OF SACRED TOPOGRAPHY

LEHEL MOLNÁR	
Unitarians in Háromszék Seat (Trei Scaune) in the 17 th Century. Between Conventional Rhetoric and Reality	251

CONTENTS

RADU NEDICI

Rebuilding a Sacred Landscape: Churches and Founders in the Greek Catholic Diocese of Oradea (c. 1775-1785)

267

KÁLMÁN ÁRPÁD KOVÁCS

Die historischen Wurzeln des Systemgedankens in der siebenbürgischen rumänischen Religionssache. Teil I. Siebenbürgen und die Biharer (Bihorer) Union

285

TO A NEW TYPE OF SACRALITY? THE ISSUE OF HERITAGE

CRISTINA BOGDAN

How Sacred Is the Sacred Space? Interventions, Icon Damages, Fresco Destructions in Churches of Wallachia

305

LILIANA CONDRATICOVA

Piese metalice de inventar bisericesc din Basarabia (secolul XIX - începutul secolului XX)

323

MISCELLANEA

SORIN ARHIRE

Baptiștii din România în decursul anului 1937. Decizia nr. 4781 din 21 aprilie reflectată în documente britanice

343

JÓZSEF MARTON

Áron Márton und das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil

353

REVIEWS

Silvia Marin-Barutcieff, *Hristofor: chipurile unui sfânt fără chip. Reprezentările din cultura românească veche și sursele lor.* Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2014 (ANA DUMITRAN)

369

Szilveszter Terdik, *Görögkatolikus püspöki központok Magyarországon a 18. században. Művészet és reprezentáció* [Collectanea Athanasiana VI. Ars Sacra Byzantino-Carpathiensis, vol. 1]. Nyíregyháza: Szent Atanáz Görögkatolikus Hittudományi Főiskola, 2014 (ANA DUMITRAN)

371

Luiza Zamora, *Zid. Ctitorii mărunte din nordul Olteniei / Walls. Small Churches of Northern Oltenia.* București, 2013 (ANA DUMITRAN)

374

Radu Nedici, *Formarea identității confesionale greco-catolice în Transilvania veacului al XVIII-lea. Biserică și comunitate.* București: Editura Universității din București, 2013 (DANIEL DUMITRAN)

376

Ortodoxi și greco-catolici în Transilvania (1867-1916). Contribuții

CONTENTS

<i>documentare</i> . Vol. I/1-I/4. Ediție, studiu introductiv și note de Macarie Drăgoi. Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2013 (DANIEL DUMITRAN)	384
Sergiu Soica, <i>Clerici ai Eparhiei Greco-Catolice de Oradea în detenție sub regimul comunist</i> . Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2014 (SILVIU-IULIAN SANA)	387
Abstracts	393
List of abbreviations	405
List of authors	409

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE MARY-ICON OF MÁRIAPÓCS IN ENGRAVINGS

ANNA TÜSKÉS*

This study aims at analysing the representations of one of the most famous icons of Hungary, the Greek Catholic Mary-icon of Máriapócs in engravings dating from the end of the 17th century to the beginning of the 20th century. Sources are manifold and varied with regards to their genre, form and use, and range from leaflets and thesis pages, through covers and illustrations to devotional pictures and prayer cards. Ten engravings presented here are still unknown to the research.¹ Four exhibitions on Mary-icons and devotional objects organised in Austria, Slovakia and Romania in the last ten years show that we can still expect many results from the exploration of the collections in connection with the engravings representing shrines, icons and pilgrimage sites of 18th century Hungary.² It is worth also to pay attention to the auctions abroad: an album containing engravings of Hungarian relevance appeared on an auction in Munich in 2012. Ancient and new private collections also deserve our attention. I study the engravers, the principal types, the different forms and the use of the representations.

Historical Connections

It is justified to provide a brief summary of the historical events related to the images, as these events are closely connected to the print depictions or are represented on them.³ The icon of Máriapócs was painted by István Pap in

* Anna Tüskés, PhD in Art History, junior research fellow of the Institute of Literary Studies, Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest.

¹ Cf. Zoltán Szilárdfy et al., *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások magyarországi búcsújáróhelyekről* [Baroque Small Graphical Representations of Hungarian Pilgrimage Sites] (Budapest: Egyetemi Könyvtár, 1987); Anna Tüskés, "A pócsi Mária-kegykép kisgrafikai ábrázolásai" [Representations of the Mary-Icon of Pócs in Engravings], in *Ars perennis. Fiatal Művészettörténészek II. Konferenciája* [2nd Conference of Young Art Historians Budapest, 2009], ed. Anna Tüskés (Budapest: Centrart Association, 2010), 267-284.

² Clemens A. Lashofer et al., eds., "*Unter deinen Schutz ...*" *Das Marienbild in Göttweig* (Göttweig: Stift Göttweig, 2005), 201-206; Peter Keller, ed., *Glaube & Aberglaube. Amulette, Medaillen & Andachtsbildchen. Dommuseum zu Salzburg* (Salzburg: Dommuseum zu Salzburg, 2010); Ferenc Mihály, ed., *Mária-tisztelet Erdélyben. Mária-ábrázolások az erdélyi templomokban, Haáz Rezső Múzeum* [Veneration of Mary in Transylvania. Depictions of the Virgin Mary in Transylvanian Churches, Rezső Haáz Museum] (Székelyudvarhely: Rezső Haáz Museum, 2010); Jana Luková and Martina Vyskovová, *Ave Mária. Mariánska ikonografia v zbierkach Galérie mesta Bratislavu, 3. 9. 2013-3. 11. 2013* [Marian Iconography in the Collection of the Bratislava City Gallery] (Bratislava: Galéria mesta Bratislav, 2013).

³ For historical analysis, see: Zoltán Szilárdfy, *A magyarországi kegyképek és -szobrok tipológiája és jelentése* [Typology and Meaning of the Hungarian Shrine Icons and Statues] (Budapest: Szent

1675. Lőrinc Hurta bought it from him for the price of 6 Hungarian forints. The painting, which was placed on the iconostasis of the wooden church in Pócs, and which wept between 4 November and 8 December 1696, remained in the church under constant military supervision until March 1697, when the investigations were concluded. After this, Leopold I had it transported to Vienna to grant the request of Empress Eleonora. In the meantime, a number of copies of the painting were prepared.

The original painting arrived in Vienna on 4 July 1697, when its public Viennese cult began. It was first placed on the altar established in the Maria Steigen Church. On 7 July 1697 it was taken from the chapel of the summer castle called Favorita to the court church of the Augustinians. It was later transported back to Favorita. Due to the impact of the sermons of Abraham a Santa Clara, the victory over Turkish troops at the battle of Zenta on 11 September 1697 was attributed to the weeping Mary of Pócs. On 1 December 1697, the icon was placed on the main altar of Stephansdom.

In 1699, the bishop of Eger, István Telekessy commissioned a copy by Péter Imre Szky, the court painter of Leopold I. On 9 January 1701 Leopold I gave an assignment letter to Mátyás Mészáros regarding the authorisation and support of the Empire-wide fundraising for the refurbishment of the ruined church of Pócs. In 1705, István Telekessy had the copy of the icon of Pócs placed in the newly finished Mary Chapel of the Cathedral of Eger.

In 1707, the original painting was also replaced with a copy in Pócs. The second icon of Pócs wept in 1715. This incident was also investigated. In 1731, the construction of the pilgrimage church began. Although it was used already from 1749, it was consecrated only in 1752. The construction of the Basilitan monastery lasted from 1749 to 1756. In 1747, 1772 and 1797 the 50th, 75th and 100th anniversaries of the Mary icon of Pócs arriving in Vienna were celebrated.

Several painted copies of the icon were made in Hungary in the 18th-19th centuries, for example: St. Florian church, Budapest (18th century); side altar in the apsis of the Minorite church, Nyírbátor (1729) (fig. 1)⁴; Maramureş (Máramaros) (19th century) (fig. 2).⁵ Copies are widespread not only in Hungary, but also in Austria, Germany, Italy, Switzerland and Transylvania, for example: Verdasio (1698); Rastenfeld (1701); St. Paul, Passau (after 1700); Camp (1707);

István Társulat, 1994); Bernadett Puskás, "A Máriapócsi kegytemplom és bazilita kolostor" [The Pilgrimage Church and Basiliian Monastery of Máriapócs], *MÉ* 44, no. 3-4 (1995): 169-191; *Máriapócs 1696 – Nyíregyháza 1996. Történelmi konferencia a máriapócsi Istenszülő-ikon első könnyezésének 300. évfordulójára 1996. november 4-6.* [Historic Conference on Occasion of the 300th Anniversary of the First Tearing of the Mother of God Icon of Máriapócs] (Nyíregyháza: Görög Katolikus Hittudományi Főiskola, 1996).

⁴ Archive photos taken by István Petrás between 1930 and 1940, and conserved in the Gyula Forster Centre, inv. no. 5007 ND, 111175ND.

⁵ Nagyházi Auction, Budapest, April 4, 2008, 58, cat. no. 349.

Siebeneich (1722).⁶ Many of them are decorated by crowns and devotional objects. Literature, so far, has not known, for example, the image decorated with crowns on the northern side altar of the Worship of the Holy Cross church in Tata (fig. 3), and on the southern wall of the King St. Stephen church in Tápiósáp (fig. 4). Both of them are decorated by crowns and that of Tata also by other devotional objects: necklaces, rosary, coins and votive offerings (eyes, legs, and hearts). Three copies, presumably from the 19th century, are conserved in the Ecclesiastical Collection of the Hungarian Ethnographical Museum (fig. 5-7), one of them represents the icon side-mirrored.⁷ One copy can be found in the Gyula Meszlényi Ecclesiastical Collection, Satu Mare (fig. 8), the attribute of Jesus is curiously missing in this.

In 2005, the covering that had been on the icon for almost 150 years was removed in Máriapócs, revealing the copy of the original icon that had been transported to Vienna. Research had assumed for a long time that in this picture the Child was actually holding a book, differently from the icon transported to Vienna, which depicts the Child Jesus holding flowers in his left hand. However, it became apparent that Jesus is also holding flowers in the copy of Pócs. Furthermore, the question arises, what is the explanation for copies that differ from the original?

The source material has close connections with the European traditions of the genre concerning historical correlations, the engravers and preserved copies.⁸ Most of the depictions were made by masters of either Hungarian or foreign origin, but working to Hungarian commissions. A part of the pictures was preserved owing to various European collections. At the same time, the source material reveals the visual culture of different ethnic groups, religious and social classes.

The most important iconographic property of print depictions connected to Máriapócs is that they portray the icon, which the cult centres on. Occasionally, the narrow or broader environment of the icon is shown, and more rarely motifs of historical events or miracles linked to the icon.⁹ The iconography or the captions show without doubt that the creation, dissemination and usage of the engraving is closely connected to the given pilgrimage site.

Research History Overview

Origins of academic interest regarding the icon of Máriapócs are related to various genres of printmaking. The beginnings go back to the first half of the 19th century. In this period, Count Ferenc Széchényi compiled his album of

⁶ Mihály, *Mária-tisztelet Erdélyben*, 26-27.

⁷ Inv. no. 64.91.37, 71.102.2, 71.102.3. I would like to thank Gyöngyi Bozsik for the help in my research in the Ecclesiastical Collection of the Hungarian Ethnographical Museum, Budapest.

⁸ Szilárdy et al., *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások*, 7.

⁹ Ibid.

devotional pictures¹⁰ and Elek Jordánszky, the prebend of Esztergom published a book in 1836 about the icons of Mary in Hungary in which he included a full page copper engraving illustration of the icon of Pócs.¹¹

More recent research, from the 1980s, has studied the small print representations of the icon from a historical, ethnographical, literary and art historical point of view. Among this body of research, the significant ones are centred on Baroque era pilgrimage, the history of cults and folk religiosity by Sándor Bálint, Éva Knapp, Zoltán Szilárdfy, Gábor Tüskés, Géza Galavics, Bernadett Puskás, Gábor Barna and Szabolcs Serfőző.¹² The study of how small print sheet portrayal types are transferred over centuries justifies the extension of the time frame, which has so far been limited to the 17th-18th centuries. In the course of my research the previously known, approximately forty small graphic portrayals have expanded to sixty-five. In my study, I present the small print masters of the icon of Máriapócs, as well as the types of portrayal and the various forms of its use.

Engravers

Studying the technique of the portrayals, most of the images are copper engravings and among about sixty small prints there are only five woodcuts. There are steel engravings and colourful lithographies in the 19th century, and colour prints at the beginning of the 20th century.

¹⁰ Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 600926. See: Éva Knapp, "Egy Szent Lászlót ábrázoló 18. századi tézislap ikonográfiai meghatározásához" [On the Iconographic Analysis of a 18th Century Thesis Page Depicting St. Ladislaus], in *Summa. Tanulmányok Szelestei N. László tiszteletére* [Summa: Studies in Honour of László Szelestei N.] (Piliscsaba: PPKE BTK, 2007), 163, n. 3; Éva Knapp, "Szent Imre? Szent László? II. Lajos? IV. Ferdinánd? Egy „befejezetlen” tézislap ikonográfiai meghatározásához" [St. Emeric? St. Ladislaus? Louis II? Ferdinand IV? On the Iconographic Analysis of an "Unfinished" Thesis Page], *MÉ*56 (2007): 289, n. 3.

¹¹ Elek Jordánszky, *Magyar Országban, 's az ahoz tartozó Részekben lévő bólogságos Szűz Mária kegyelem' Képeinek rövid leírása* [Brief Description of the Images of Blessed Virgin Mary in Hungary and in the Corresponding Areas] (Posonban, 1836).

¹² Gustav Gugitz, *Das kleine Andachtsbild in den österreichischen Gnadenstätten in Darstellung, Verbreitung und Brauchthum: nebst einer Ikonographie; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Graphik* (Wien: Brüder Hollinek, 1950); Zoltán Szilárdfy, "Magyar barokk szentképek" [Hungarian Baroque Devotional Images], *MÉ*30, no. 2 (1981): 114-135; Zoltán Szilárdfy, *Barokk szentképek Magyarországon* [Baroque Devotional Images in Hungary] (Budapest: Corvina, 1984); Szilárdfy et al., *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások*; Gábor Tüskés, *Búcsújárás a barokk kori Magyarországon* [Pilgrimage in Baroque Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993), 28, 78-80, 95, 171, 222-223, 302, 382; Sándor Bálint and Gábor Barna, *Búcsújáró magyarok* [Hungarians Pilgrimage] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1994); Szilárdfy, *A magyarországi kegyképek*; Puskás, "A Máriapócsi kegytemplom," 169-191; Éva Knapp, „Abgetrocknete Thränen" A pócsi Mária-ikon bécsi kultuszának elemei 1698-ban" [Elements of the Cult of the Virgin Mary Icon of Máriapócs in Vienna in 1698], in *Máriapócs 1696 – Nyíregyháza 1996*, 61-77; Zoltán Szilárdfy, *Ikonográfia - kultusztörténet* [Iconography - History of Cult] (Budapest: Balassi, 2003), 124-127; Éva Knapp and Gábor Tüskés, *Populáris grafika a 17-18. században* [Popular Graphics in the 17-18th Centuries] (Budapest: Balassi, 2004), 83-100.

In determining the masters, their signatures it is immensely helpful that approximately half of the engravings are signed. Masters known by their names are represented by one sheet each on average. It is a rare occurrence that one master created several engravings of the same subject. One such case is that of Gottfried Prixner, who created two etchings around 1800, which are identical in their iconography, but significantly different in size (cat. 44-45). They depict the icon of Máriapócs with the pilgrimage church. It also occurred that the same copper sheet was used in different prints. An example is the engraving of Johann Frank von Langgrafen, which first appeared in the 1701 *Prayer Book* of Péter Pázmány, and then in the compilation published in 1738, titled *Magna Hungarorum Domina* (cat. 13).

Padre Vincenzo Maria Coronelli (1650–1718) and Giovanni Paolo Finazzi, Italian engravers, prepared the earliest portrayal known today, as a pamphlet.¹³ The engraving was also used by Coronelli, the cartographer of the Venetian Republic, in his 1697 study entitled *Teatro delle città e porti principali dell'Europa* (cat. 1). Coronelli was famous in all of Europe for his Earth and Sky globes.

Among the foreign engravers portraying the icon in the 17th century, the next is the German-born Dutch etcher mezzotint engraver, cartographer and publisher Peter Schenck the Elder (Elberfeld, 1660 - Amsterdam, 1711).¹⁴ He moved to Amsterdam while young. He represented the icon itself, without frame, angels and other motifs but side-mirrored on a big mezzotinto (cat. 4). This error was corrected on an engraving of the same composition (cat. 5) (fig. 9-10).

Johann Andreas Pfeffel senior (1674-1748) from Augsburg was an art trader, publisher and later court engraver for the emperor in Vienna.¹⁵ The master, who also catered for Hungarian commissions, represented the icon of Pócs on the thesis sheet of Count Boldizsár Batthyány in connection with the battle of Zenta in 1698 (cat. 8).

Among 18th century engravers, the Viennese copper engraver preparing cover pages and allegorical scenes, the aforementioned Johann Frank von

¹³ On Vincenzo Maria Coronelli: Thieme and Becker, VII, 449; Maria Gioia Tavoni, ed., *Un intellettuale europeo e il suo universo: Vincenzo Coronelli (1650-1718)* (Bologna: Costa Editore, 1999). On Giovanni Paolo Finazzi: Thieme and Becker, XI, 572.

¹⁴ On Peter Schenck: Anne-Katrin Sors, ed., *Die Englische Manier. Mezzotinto als Medium druckgrafischer Reproduktion und Innovation* (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag, 2014), 158.

¹⁵ On Johann Andrea Pfeffel: Thieme and Becker, XXVI, 525; Dietrich Erben, *Augsburg als Verlagsort von Architekturpublikationen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997); Éva Knapp, „Gyönyörű volt szál alakja,” *Szent István király ikonográfiája a sokszorosított grafikában a XV. századtól a XIX. század közepéig* [Iconography of King St. Stephen in Printed Graphics from the 15th Century to the Mid 19th Century] (Budapest: Borda, 2001), cat. 77-80; Knapp and Tüskés, *Populáris grafika*, 163.

Langgraffen¹⁶ represented the image on two sheets in Péter Pázmány's *Prayer Book* published in 1701. Firstly, on folio 143, with the coat of arms of János Altorjai Apor, and secondly bound after the last numbered page together with the icon of Cluj-Napoca (cat. 13-14).

In Joannes Florianus Koller's historical book titled *Historia universalis ab origine mundi*, which was published in Trnava (Nagyszombat) in 1702, the portrayal of the icon of Máriapócs is present on the flyleaf of the Viennese masters Johann Jacob Hoffman and Johann Jacob Hermundt,¹⁷ who mostly engraved views of buildings, maps and portraits (cat. 3).

Among Viennese engravers, Franz Ambros Dietel (1682–1730/37)¹⁸ also engraved the icon around 1720 as a prayer card. Dietel also cooperated with Johann Andreas Pfeiffel and was known for numerous book illustrations, portrayals of saints and confraternity sheets (cat. 16).

Elias Schaffhauser (1684–1738),¹⁹ who was born in Augsburg but engraved in the court of Vienna from 1720, also depicted the icon of Máriapócs together with the icon of Cluj. The master who engraved several portraits, cityscapes and book illustrations, depicted St. Francis of Xavier on the back side of the print that was published by the university press of Nagyszombat. However, there are surviving issues of the publication with empty back sides as well (cat. 18).

Dietel's student, the Viennese Johann Asner (?-1748)²⁰ prepared several devotional pictures. His engraving representing the icon of Máriapócs can be dated around 1730 (cat. 19). In the material there are several sheets by Franz Leopold Schmit(t)ner (1703-1761),²¹ who delivered several Hungarian commissions and mostly depicted portraits, and biblical scenes or events from the lives of saints. He represented the icon of Máriapócs around 1740, following Joseph Neckh, portraying a group of persons in lethal danger underneath and the veduta of Vienna in the background (cat. 22). The master engraved the icon again as the flyleaf of the 1746 book published in Vienna, entitled *Gründliche und Ausführliche Beschreibung der wundertätigen Bildnis des weinenden*

¹⁶ On Johann Frank von Langgraffen: Thieme and Becker, XII, 351; Knapp, „Gyönyörű volt szál alakja,” cat. 72-73.

¹⁷ On Johann Jacob Hoffman: Knapp and Tüskés, *Populáris grafika*, 97, 219. On Johann Jacob Hermundt: Thieme and Becker, XVI, 515; Knapp and Tüskés, *Populáris grafika*, 97.

¹⁸ On Franz Ambros Dieltel: Thieme and Becker, IX, 253; Knapp and Tüskés, *Populáris grafika*, 162.

¹⁹ On Elias Schaffhauser: Thieme and Becker, XXIX, 562; Tüskés, *Búcsújárás*, 382; Knapp and Tüskés, *Populáris grafika*, 162.

²⁰ On Johann Asner: Thieme and Becker, II, 184.

²¹ On Franz Leopold Schmittner: Thieme and Becker, XXX, 174; Knapp, „Gyönyörű volt szál alakja,” cat. 103; Gábor Tüskés and Éva Knapp, *Népi vallásosság Magyarországon a 17-18. században* [Popular Religion in Hungary in the 17th-18th Centuries] (Budapest: Osiris, 2001), 99; Knapp and Tüskés, *Populáris grafika*, 160, 162-163, 176.

Muttergottes von Pötsch (cat. 25). The engraving of masters Joseph Sebastian and Johann Baptist Klauber, who painted several Biblical scenes and devotional images intended for private reverence, can also be dated around 1740 (cat. 23).

In the second half of the 18th century Sebestyén Zeller,²² who worked in Pozsony and engraved portraits, maps and cityscapes, depicted the icon of Máriapócs with the cityscape of Vienna as an illustration of the prayer book *Scala Jacobi, sive Liber Precum Piarum*, which was published in Pozsony in 1748 (cat. 28).

Joseph Jäger,²³ who was active in Prague and Nagyszombat between 1728 and 1744, depicted the allegory of *Regnum Marianum* (the Kingdom of Our Lady) with the coats of arms of Hungary and Transylvania, together with the icons of Máriapócs and Cluj (cat. 29). The master, who mostly engraved depictions of saints, family coats of arms, portraits and prayer cards, followed diligently the aforementioned compositions of Johann Frank von Langgrafen and Elias Schaffhausen. Anton or Karl Birckart,²⁴ engraver from Prague, depicted the icon in 1765 in a copper engraving bound into a manuscripted prayer book, with the view of Vienna (cat. 30).

From the masters of Hungary, János Fülöp Binder (1735/36–1811),²⁵ who was born in Bratislava (Pozsony) but worked in Buda, depicted the icon of Máriapócs and its copy in Esztergom in two consecutive years on copper engravings. One engraving prepared in 1765 and used as a flyleaf differs in both size and iconographic detail from the other engraving, published in 1766, also as a flyleaf (cat. 31–32). Binder made also a third copper engraving, undated, representing the icon framed with a canopy frame and surrounded by angels and puttos, with the veduta of the church of Máriapócs underneath (cat. 34). The only copy of this engraving became known through the exhibition in Bratislava.

Among the Viennese engravers of the second half of the 18th century, Franz Feninger and Franz As(s)ner (1742–1810)²⁶ engraved the image (cat. 35, 38). The Austrian drawer and engraver Anton Tischler (1721–1780),²⁷ who

²² On Zeller Sebestyén: György Rózsa, *Grafikatörténeti tanulmányok. Fejezetek a magyar vonatkozású grafikai ábrázolások múltjából* [Graphic History Studies. Chapters from the Past of Graphic Representations of Hungarian Relevance] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1998), 25–59; Knapp, „Gyönyörű volt szál alakja,” cat. 97; Tüskés and Knapp, *Népi vallásosság*, 34, 246; Knapp and Tüskés, *Populáris grafika*, 162.

²³ On Joseph Jäger: Thieme and Becker, XVIII, 333; Tüskés, *Búcsújárás*, 382; Knapp, „Gyönyörű volt szál alakja,” cat. 94; Knapp and Tüskés, *Populáris grafika*, 135, 192.

²⁴ On Birckart: Thieme and Becker, IV, 50–51.

²⁵ On Binder János Fülöp: Tüskés, *Búcsújárás*, 137; Rózsa, *Grafikatörténeti*, 61–135; Knapp, „Gyönyörű volt szál alakja,” cat. 107, 109–110, 116, 122, 124, 135, 141, 148, 150–151; Tüskés and Knapp, *Népi vallásosság*, 33, 246; Knapp and Tüskés, *Populáris grafika*, 136, 138, 162, 193.

²⁶ On Franz Feninger: Thieme and Becker, XI, 387. On Franz Asner: Thieme and Becker, II, 184.

²⁷ On Anton Tysler: Thieme and Becker, XXXIII, 215; Knapp, „Gyönyörű volt szál alakja,” cat.

worked as a drawing teacher in Eger from 1781 and in Buda between 1787 and 1793, engraved his four-page prayer card in 1777 in Eger (cat. 39). It portrays the copy of the icon in Eger.

Gottfried Prixner (around 1746–1819),²⁸ an engraver of Polish origin who worked in Vienna in 1790, Bratislava in 1796 and Pest in 1802, prepared the two engravings mentioned above in Pest (cat. 44–45). They depict the icon of Máriapócs with the pilgrimage church.

The work of Elek Jordánszky titled *A Short Description of the Blessed Virgin Mary's Icons in Hungary and the areas belonging Thereto* and published in Bratislava, in 1836, was illustrated by the Viennese copper engraver Dorneck. She depicted both the icon of Máriapócs and its copy in Tótkisfalú (cat. 55–56).²⁹

From among the 19th century sheets, we know the publishers, rather than the engravers of several. The bookbinder and publisher of Bratislava, Alajos Bucsánszky (1802–1883), published an engraving that depicted the icon in a similar manner to the copper engraving of Dorneck, with Hungarian and German inscription (cat. 52–53, 61–62).³⁰ Márton Bagó, a printer in Buda, who published several weekly periodicals for the Greek Catholic Rusyns in Hungary, published in 1863 a prayer card depicting the icon of Máriapócs with the pilgrimage church (cat. 64).³¹

A review of the engravers known by name shows that around 50% of the graphic art depictions of the icon of Máriapócs in the 17th–19th centuries were prepared by famous local and international masters. The study has enriched the known activities of these engravers by a number of new and previously unknown depictions. It can also be concluded that the signed engravings constitute the highest quality in this material. Secondary usage and the re-engraved versions justify their long afterlife.

Iconography

During the iconographic analysis, I have arranged the engravings based on their main motifs. This grouping not only enables the joint presentation of types of depictions that belong together, but also allows a survey of either

112.

²⁸ On Gottfried Prixner: Thieme and Becker, XXVII, 409; Knapp, „Gyönyörű volt szál alakja,” cat. 169, 171.

²⁹ On Dorneck: Knapp, „Gyönyörű volt szál alakja,” kat. 189, 194, 196–197; Tüskés and Knapp, *Népi vallásosság*, 373–376.

³⁰ On Alajos Bucsánszky: I. Gábor Kovács, “Bucsánszky Alajos útja a kalendárium- és ponyvatömegtermeléshez” [Bucsánszky Alajos’ Way to the Calendar and Tilt-Mass Production], *Magyar könyvszemle* 1 (1985): 1–17; Tüskés, *Búcsújárás*, 82; Knapp, „Gyönyörű volt szál alakja,” cat. 232–234; Tüskés and Knapp, *Népi vallásosság*, 378–379; I. Gábor Kovács, *Kis magyar kalendáriumtörténet 1880-ig* [Brief History of the Hungarian Calendar until 1880] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989); Knapp and Tüskés, *Populáris grafika*, 224.

³¹ On Márton Bagó: Gedeon Borsa, “A csízió kiadástörténete” [Publishing History of the Perpetual Calendar “csízió”], in *Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Évkönyve* (1976–1977): 307–378.

changes of iconography from era to era, or the properties of it remaining constant over a succession of eras.

The earliest engravings containing the icon are linked to the battle of Zenta. On the 1697 Italian pamphlet, two angels are holding it in the top left corner of the sheet, above the siege camp depicted from bird's eye view. Above the icon, there is a script on a ribbon, which reads „AVXILVM CHRISTIANORVM” (cat. 1). On the 1698 thesis sheet of Earl Boldizsár Batthyány, there are clouds above the destroyed Turkish tent and the battlefield of Zenta. On the clouds, a chariot of triumph is pulled by four horses, led by female figures who represent virtues, and two eagles are holding the icon (cat. 8). On a copper engraving also dated from 1698, the icon appears in a wreath of laurel between Turkish flags and weapons captured from enemy (cat. 9). The wreath is above the battlefield of Zenta depicted from bird's eye view on a sheet, held in the claws of an eagle with a victory palm branch in its beak. Icons of Mary depicted in connection with military events has been a widespread practice from the beginning of the 15th century.³²

Also still in 1698, four further types of depiction were born. In the first, the icon is placed on the altar in front of the “Maria Stiegen” church in Vienna, with God looking upon it from heaven (cat. 2). In the second, the icon appears by itself, without frame, angels and other motifs (cat. 4-5). In the third, it is seen in an oval frame on an altar decorated with flowers, flanked by an angel on each side (cat. 10). The fourth was placed in an oval frame decorated by laurel leaves (cat. 12). These types are unique as they did not find later any followers.

One engraving merits special attention. It first appeared as a flyleaf in the *Liber gradualis* of Gábor Szerdahelyi titled *Laureatae Lacrymae*, published in Graz in 1698, and later in *Historia Universalis* of Joannes Florianus Koller and Sámuel Timon's book, *Celebrionem Hungariae*, published in Nagyszombat in 1702. In this, the icon appears surrounded by military trophies, Turkish and Hungarian flags and weapons in a laurel wreath (cat. 3). The depiction is special due to the four Mary emblems placed in the four oval medallions on the laurel wreath. The top left depicts an oyster, the top right a fountain, the bottom left a landscape in rain and the bottom right a putto watering a garden. All four emblems also appeared among the emblems of Abgetrocknete Thränen.³³ A further common trait with the thirty-six emblems of Abgetrocknete Thränen is the fact that the wreath framing the emblems also carries meaning. The emblems of Abgetrocknete Thränen appear in an oak wreath. The framing of the four emblems of the flyleaf is connected to the given emblem: the emblem with the oyster symbolising the virginity of Mary is surrounded by a wreath

³² Klaus Schreiner, “Maria – Schild und Schutz der Christenheit,” in *Am Anfang war das Auge, kunsthistorische Tagung anlässlich des 100 Jährigen Bestehens des Diözesanmuseums Hofburg Brixen*, ed. Leo Andergassen (Brixen: Diözesanmuseum Hofburg, 2004), 13-54.

³³ Knapp, “Abgetrocknete Thränen,” 72; Knapp and Tüskés, *Populáris grafika*, 96-97.

with pearls; the one symbolising Mary as a fountain of living water is framed by a laurel wreath; the image of the landscape with rain symbolising the fertility of Mary is surrounded by a wreath of wheat spikes; and the one symbolising Mary as a garden, the putto watering the garden is framed by a wreath of flowers. In the case of the engraving that appears in three different publications over the course of four years, we need to consider the transfer of either the copper sheet or the prints by way of Jesuit connections. It can be assumed that the copper sheet was taken from Graz to Nagyszombat due to Gábor Szerdahelyi, who lectured philosophy in Graz in 1697 and later taught polemics in Nagyszombat and Vienna.³⁴

The origins of the type of depiction that represents the icon in a rectangular frame with a semi-circular closure at the top can be dated around 1700. Between the semi-circular closure and the upper corners of the rectangle there is one putto on each side. This embellishment was reduced to a flower in the second half of the 18th century, or in other cases disappeared completely. This type had continuous prominence for one and a half centuries, up until around 1850 (cat. 6, 11, 14, 16-17, 31-32, 39-42, 57-59). To this type belongs the engraving of the Dommuseum of Salzburg exhibited in 2010 (cat. 7).³⁵

It is in Péter Pázmány's *Prayer Book*, dated 1701 that the first engraving appears. This engraving depicts the allegory of *Regnum Marianum* together with the coats of arms of Hungary and Transylvania, as well as the icons of Máriapócs and Kolozsvár, decorated by the crown held by angels (cat. 13, 18, 29). This type of depiction could be traced for about half a century on the engravings of three well-known masters, and served as a pre-image to an oil painting dated to the mid-18th century, which is held by the Hungarian National Gallery today.³⁶

On a map of Hungary published in an atlas around 1715, the icon can be seen in the top right corner with the figure of a nobleman venerating it (cat. 15). There are no further known depictions of the icon featuring on a map.

From 1730 onwards for about fifty years, several engravings represented the type of depiction in which the framed icon is either held or surrounded by angels and puttos (cat. 19, 23, 25-26, 38). Next to the image, in some cases, there are elements enriching the composition, such as horns of plenty, wreaths of flowers or a crown held above the icon. The rectangular frame is replaced by a rococo and an oval frame in two respective cases (cat. 23, 26). This latter engraving was made for the 1747 jubilee celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of transferring the icon of Máriapócs to Vienna: two kneeling angels hold the

³⁴ *Scriptores Provinciae Austriacae Societatis Jesu. Collectionis Scriptorum ejusdem Societatis Universae*, Vol. 1 (Viennae, 1855), 353-354.

³⁵ Keller, *Glaube & Aberglaube*, 290, Cat. No. 8.97.

³⁶ Old Hungarian Collection, inv. no. 86.15.M.

icon decorated by a wreath of flowers, above the icon a medallion with the inscription “Rosa Mystica” (mystical rose) is surrounded by two eagles and four puttos, and a schematic Habsburg crown tops off the composition (fig. 11). The inscription “Rosa Mystica,” quotation from the Litany of Loreto, alludes also to the fact that the Empress adorned the icon transferred to the St. Stephen’s Cathedral with a diamond rose and called them “Rosa Mystica.” The composition of the commemorative engraving has a simplified version, unpublished till now, without angels and puttos, a copy of which came out on an auction in Munich in 2012 (cat. 27) (fig. 12).

On the flyleaf of *Austria Mariana*, Thomas Ertl’s 1735 work, eagles are holding the various Viennese icons above the churches of Vienna (cat. 20) (fig. 13). Among these, the one of Máriapócs is striking due to its size as well. The engraving from around 1740 has an oval frame, in which the icon is depicted under a canopy, held on the back of an eagle. At the bottom of the engraving, a group of distressed people is praying to the icon with the veduta (cityscape) of Vienna in the background (cat. 22). The two latter types of depictions did not have followers among engravers.

Presumably, the woodcut applied as cover decoration of the book *Marianischer Pilgram*, published in 1737 in Bratislava and presenting pilgrimage sites of Mary in Hungary, also depicts the icon of Máriapócs. On this, the Hodigitria type Madonna can be seen with the child Jesus in a beaming wreath among clouds (cat. 21). It can only be assumed that the woodcut depicts the icon of Máriapócs, since – although the characteristic spiral decoration appears in Mary’s halo – the flower in the hands of the child Jesus cannot be identified without a doubt.

Between 1740 and 1765, the icon of Máriapócs appears on three engravings with the vista of Vienna (cat. 24, 28, 30). In the earliest, angels hold the icon in a rectangular frame and below it, in the foreground of the veduta, a couple of noble origins are kneeling and praying to the icon. In the 1748 engraving of Sebestyén Zeller, two puttos are holding the icon in an oval frame above the vista of Vienna. This depiction is followed by the 1765 engraving of Birckhart, in which the motif of the icon is even more emphasized and the veduta almost disappears.

The copper engraving made in the first half of the 18th century demonstrates an individual depiction, surrounding the icon within an oval frame with micrographic and ornamental letters (cat. 33).

The series of engravings constitutes an individual group in which the icon framed with a canopy frame and surrounded by angels and puttos also portrays the church of Máriapócs (cat. 34-37, 43-48, 61, 63-64). It was already built around 1750, and the series depicted it with the pilgrims arriving. The prototype was presumably the engraving of Binder, created around 1750, whose composition was taken over by Franz Feninger, who completed it with an

inscription (quotation from the Genesis) and the stranded ark of Noah on the right side of the hill behind the church. The work of an anonymous engraver follows this scheme, in which the rectangular building of the monastery linked to the church also appears, besides the ark. In the subsequent engravings, the ark and the inscription disappear, and the church is depicted either by itself, or together with the monastery. This type was prominent from the mid-18th century to the second half of the 19th century. Its last known example came out of the press of Márton Bagó in 1863 in Buda.

In the first half of the 19th century two new types appear, which can probably be attributed to the cover of the icon or to a simple error. In one engraving, below the depiction of the Santa Maria Maggiore icon of Rome, it reads 'the Blessed Virgin of Pócs' (cat. 50). In the second, the script pertaining to the icon of Pócs appears under the Hodigritia type Mary image (cat. 52-55). This type was disseminated through the devotional pictures printed in the press of Alajos Bucsánszky around 1828, as well as the depictions in Elek Jordánszky's book published in 1836. Both on the engravings of Bucsánszky and Dorneck there is an old Slavic script above the right shoulder of Mary, the reading of which has so far been unclear:

СЛОВО ИКОНОУ НАПИСА МИХАИЛЪ ИЕРОМОНАХ ВЪ МОНАСТИРѢ ГРАБОВЦѢ ВЪ ЛѢТА:
1742.

According to the previous interpretation of Bernadett Puskás, the icon was painted by Michail priestmonk in the cloister of Pócs in 1742.³⁷ According to a more precise reading of the script, it says that the engraving was made based on one of the icons of the Serbian Orthodox monastery in Grábóc, painted by Michail priestmonk in 1742.³⁸ The depiction is made even more mysterious by the fact that the Tótkisfalu copy of the icon of Pócs was depicted by Dorneck correctly in the work of Jordánszky (cat. 56).

Amongst the documents of the monastery of Grábóc, there are two mentions of a priest by the name of Michail in the first half of the 18th century.³⁹ The yearbook first mentions a hieromonk by the name of Michail in 1711, when the monks relocated from the monastery of Sistovác to Grábóc.⁴⁰ The next year, under the leadership of Prokopie igumen and Michail hieromonk, restoration of the old church burnt down by the Kurucz began.

"This year they prepared two priestly dwellings of their own resources. They built two wooden houses and also planted grapevines on the Eastern side. In

³⁷ Puskás, "A Máriapócsi kegytemplom," 187, n. 13.

³⁸ I would like to thank Péter Tóth for the help with the translation of the inscription in Old Church Slavonic.

³⁹ I would like to thank Koszta Vukovits for the help with the translation of the documents on the icons of Grábóc.

⁴⁰ В. Красић, *Манастир Грабовац у Будимској епархији, Летопис Матице српске*, 126 [The Grábóc Monastery in the Diocese of Buda] (Нови Сад, 1881), 25.

1744, Prokopie igumen died and Michail hieromonk followed him as provost.⁴¹

A letter of the igumen from 1738 brings us closer to identifying Michail priestmonk:

"They have ordered new icons and agreed with the painter in a year's work. This, however, was only an assistant. The bishop understood this and did not make him paint the iconostasis. The people of Grábóc understood this, but kept him there nevertheless to make him paint smaller icons for them and to teach a priest by the name of Michail to paint icons."⁴²

The model of Dorneck's engraving, the icon of Grábóc, which has been lost since, was presumably painted by Michail priestmonk in 1742, who was mentioned in the 1738 letter.

The icon of Grábóc is depicted as the icon of Máriapócs on the two prayer cards made in Márton Bagó's press in 1836. In these, the church of Máriapócs with the arriving pilgrims appears under the icon (cat. 61, 64).

An 1849 German prayer card depicts the icon in a manner different from all previous portrayals (cat. 60). It appears among clouds, without a frame, under a pointed arch, resting on lean pillars. Below it, pilgrims are entering a stylised three-aisled church and there is a forest of fir trees in the background. The engraving, dating from Romanticism, was printed in the Glaser Press of Linz. It does not attempt a faithful depiction of the church of Pócs and has not found followers either.

Our knowledge of 19th century representations of the Máriapócs icon is considerably increased due to the five items in the collection of Lajos Borda (cat. 51, 65-68) (fig. 14-15). These represent the icon by itself, or follow the type of icon under canopy with the church and the monastery underneath. Appearing as devotional picture, or illustration of prayer cards and hymn booklets, these are mainly printed by Alajos Bucsánszky and Márton Bagó.

The scheme of the devotional images made in the first half of the 20th century is mostly the same: under the icon, framed in a rectangular way and appearing in a canopied tent held up by angels, the pilgrimage church and the monastery can be seen (cat. 69-75).

In the course of surveying the small print depictions of the icon, there have been nine different types in total. The majority of these was represented on two or three engravings and had developed no iconographic tradition, while a smaller proportion remained in use over half or even one and a half centuries.

In summary of the changes of meaning and function of the iconography, it can be concluded that the icon served the role of anti-Turkish palladium in protection of Vienna and the Habsburg dynasty at the end of the 17th century. It came into an allegorical-emblematic context, also confirmed by the emblems of

⁴¹ Ibid., 29.

⁴² Д. Давидов, *Иконе српских цркава у Мађарској* (Нови Сад, 1973), 33.

Abgetrocknete Thränen. In the first half of the century, political changes also appear in the small print depictions in relation to the unification of Hungary and Transylvania. In the second half of the 18th century, it can be observed that Máriapócs has become a national pilgrimage site, given the appearance of local motifs (the church and the monastery). The two different iconographic types, in the first half of the 19th century, call attention to the variability. A constant characteristic of depictions is their devotional role and supranationality.

Use

As seen earlier, the small print depictions of the icon of Máriapócs have fulfilled several functions. In publications, the images were most commonly used as flyleaves or front page pictures and seldom as internal illustrations. One page depictions constitute a separate group, which fill an entire side of pamphlets, devotional pictures, thesis sheets, prayer cards and association cards. One page depictions can also be placed in the middle of the sheet, surrounded by longer text.

We can make assumptions about the distribution and users of engravings from the functions, quality and script language of the depictions. At the end of the 17th century, there were one Italian, four German, three Latin and one trilingual (German, Hungarian, Slovakian) known engravings. In the first half of the 18th century, German language small print depictions were dominant. From this time, besides ten German pictures, five images with Latin scripts also survived and no engraving with Hungarian script is known. From the second half of the 18th century, Latin engravings survived in greatest number, but three German, two Hungarian and one bilingual (Hungarian-Latin) pictures are also known. In the first half of the 19th century, depictions with Hungarian script are dominant with the seven surviving specimens, as opposed to five German and one Latin script. In the second half of the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries, we only know engravings with Hungarian scripts. The high quality book illustrations representing more complex iconography, and the one sheet prints were made for privileged classes, while the wood prints and the devotional pictures only depicting the icon, as well as the prayer cards were surely meant to serve the devotional needs of a wider group primarily. The depictions confirm that the veneration of the icon was widespread not only among Greek and Roman Catholics, but also in the Serb Orthodox denomination.⁴³

⁴³ See on the processional flag of the tanner guild of Szentendre from 1766, repaired in 1906, today in the Serb Orthodox Museum in Szentendre: Zoltán Szilárdfy, "Adatok a máriapócsi kegykép kultuszához és ikonográfiájához," [Addenda to the Cult and Iconography of the Máriapócs Icon], in *Máriapócs 1696 – Nyíregyháza 1996*, 157, fig. 7; Мирољуб Тимотијевић, "Сузе и звезде: О плачу Богородичиних чудотворных икона у бароку" [Tears and Stars: Weeping Icons of the Virgin in the Baroque Era], in *Чудо у словенском свету, Зборник радова*

Conclusions

In summary, we can conclude that on the spectrum of icons of Mary in Hungary, the iconography of the depictions of the Máriapócs icon is one of the most varied. The gradually more and more shallow and uninventive iconography can be traced as a trend running parallel with the popularisation of the use of the images. This is also confirmed by how the language of the scripts develops in time. The two iconographic types that appeared in the first half of the 19th century are presumably due to the cover of the icon, or a simple error.

ANNEXE

Catalogue of the representations in chronological order

1. Vicenzo Maria Coronelli and Giovanni Paolo Finanzi: The battle of Zenta with the icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Vero Disegno et / rappresentazione / della battaglia segui- / ta in Ungharia / Venuto da Vienna." Pamphlet. 1697. Copper engraving. "Si vende dal Finazzi a S. Gio. / Grisostino" 237 x 317 mm. Lit.: Géza Galavics, *Kössünk kardot az pogány ellen. Török háborúk és képzőművészet* [Let's Make a Sword against the Pagans. Turkish Wars and Art] (Budapest: Képzőművészeti, 1986), 121, fig. 60; Béla Szalai and Lajos Szántai, *Magyar várak, városok, falvak metszeteken 1515-1800*, II. *A történelmi Magyarország* [Hungarian Castles, Towns, Villages in Engravings 1515-1800, II. The Historical Hungary] (Budapest: Múzeum Antikvárium, 2006), II, 156, tab. 80. Copies: Collection of Lajos Szántai gyűjteménye; Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Történelmi Képcsarnok. Published in: Vicenzo Maria Coronelli, *Teatro delle città e porti principali dell'Europa* (Venetia, 1697).

2. The icon of Máriapócs on the altar of the "Maria Stiegen" church in Vienna. Insc.: "Altar bei Unser Lieben Frauen Stiegen in Wien / Zur verehrung der wunderthätigen Bildnis aussgerichtet." Flyleaf. 1698. Copper engraving. 327 x 191 mm. Lit.: Knapp, "Abgetrocknete Thränen," 74; Éva Knapp and Gábor Tüskés, "Abgetrocknete Thränen" Elemente in der Wiener Verehrung des marianischen Gnadenbildes von Pötsch im Jahre 1698," *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 94 (1998): 93-104, fig. 1; Knapp and Tüskés, *Populáris grafika*, 85, fig. 37. Published in: *Abgetrocknete Thränen. Das ist: Von der Wunderthätigen Zäher-trieffenden Bildnus der Gnaden-reichen Gottes-Gebähreein so zu Pötsch in Ober-Ungarn Anno 1696. den 4. Monats-Tag Novembbris an beeden Augen zu weinen angefangen und folglich ... biss 8. December geweinet* (Nürnberg und Frankfurt, 1698). Copy: ELTE Egyetemi Könyvtár, Budapest, RNYO, Bar. 02171.

3. Johann Jacob Hoffmann and Johann Jacob Hermundt: The icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "O lacrymae manate, Deo date flumina, nostras / Ut Lauros undis irriget ille Sacris. / Sic Metamorphosos im veram monstrabimus, orta / Dum Sacra ex una Virgine Laurus erit." Flyleaf. 1698. Copper engraving. "Hoffmann et Hermundt fecerunt Viennae" 186 x 138 mm. Copy: Collection of Attila Tibold, Pannonhalma. Lit.: Dénes

међународног научног скупа [Miracle in the Slavic World, Proceedings of the International Conference] (Нови Сад, 2000), 222 (221-236), n. 6.

Pataky, *A magyar rézmetszés története* [History of Copper Engraving in Hungary] (Budapest: Közoktatási, 1951), 139, fig. 3; Galavics, *Kössünk kardot*, 121, fig. 61; Szilárdy et al., *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások*, 111, fig. 168. Published in: 1. Gábor Szerdahelyi, *Laureatae Lacrymae* (Graz, 1698); 2. Joannes Florianus Koller, *Historia universalis ab origine mundi* (Tyrnaviae: Typ. Acad. J. A. Hörmann, 1702); 3. Sámuel Timon, *Celebrionem Hungariae* (Tyrnaviae, 1702). Copies: ELTE Egyetemi Könyvtár, Budapest, RMKII496; Országos Széchényi Könyvtár RMK II. 2140.

4. Peter Schenk: The icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Wahre Abbildung unser Lieben Frauen So 1696 den 4 Nov. zu Pöötz / in ober Ungarn zum erstenmahl auch beiden augen geweinet." Devotional picture. Around 1698. Mezzotinto. "Pet. Schenck fec. et exc. Amstelod. cum Privil." 250 x 182 mm, 245 x 177 mm. Unpublished. Copy: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Történelmi Képcsarnok 58.3736.

5. The icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Wahre Abbildung der Gnadenreichen Bildniss Unser Lieben / Frauen, welche zu Pöötz in der Ungarn derimal mahrhasstig / geweinet. Anno 1696. den 4 November zum ersten mahl und folgendts." Devotional picture. Around 1698. Copper engraving. 195 x 150 mm, cropped. Lit.: Tüskés, "A póczi Mária," 267-284. Copy: Private collection.

6. The icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Gnaden Bild Maria Pötz bei St. / Stephan in Wienn." Devotional picture. Around 1698. Lit.: Schreiner, "Maria," 47, fig. 11. Copy: Brixen, Hofburg, Diözesanmuseum.

7. The icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Gnadenbild so 1696 den 4. Novemb: / zu Pötsch in Ober Ungarn geweinet." Devotional picture. 1st half of the 18th century. Lit.: Keller, ed., *Glaube & Aberglaube*, 290, 8.97. Copy: Salzburg, Dommuseum, inv. no. H 247.08.07.

8. Johann Andreas Pfeffel: Prince Charles and the allegory of the battle of Zenta with the icon of Máriapócs. Thesis page of Count Boldizsár Batthyány at the University of Graz. 1698. Copper engraving. 385 x 335 mm. Lit.: Szilárdy, "Magyar barokk," fig. 20.; Szilárdy, *Barokk szentképek*, cat. 19; Galavics, *Kössünk kardot*, 120, 122, fig. 87; Szilárdy, *Ikonográfia*, 124, fig. 261. Copy: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 600926, album of devotional pictures of Count Ferenc Széchényi.

9. The icon of Máriapócs with the battle of Zenta. Insc.: "Mater Lachrymarum. / Causa nostrae Laetitiae. / Victoria ad Zentam 1697." Devotional picture. 1698 (?). Copper engraving. 111 x 69 mm. Lit.: Szilárdy et al., *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások*, 111, fig. 166; Zoltán Szilárdy, "A török háborúk emléke barokk szentképeken" [Memory of the Turkish Wars in Baroque Devotional Pictures], in Árpád Mikó and Katalin Sinkó, eds., *Történelem - Kép* [History - Image] (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2000), 356, fig. 19. Copy: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg, Sammlung Pachinger, Kapsel 1735. no. 203.

10. The icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Wahre Abbildung unser Lieben Frauen / Anno 1696 den 4 Novmb zu Böötz in ober Ungaren / zum erstem [!] mahl aus beiden augen und underschid- / lichen Mahlen geweinet ist auff befelch Ihro Kaÿ Maÿ / nach Wien gebracht worden und den 7. Juli 1697 mit / der ganzen Clerisey nacher St. Stephan in die Thum- / kirchen bekleidet worden und alda mit grosser / Andacht ver erht [!] wirdt. Print. 1698. Copper engraving. Lit.: Bálint and Barna, *Búcsújáró magyarok*, 24; Szilárdy, "Adatok," 159, fig. 1; Szilárdy, *Ikonográfia*, 124. Copy: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Történeti Képcsarnok, inv. no. 58.3747.

11. The icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Gnadenbild. Ao 1696 den 4 Novemb zu Pöötz in Ober Ungarn gewinet. / Abrázatya Szűz Asszonyunk Mariának, áki / Felső Magyar Országban, Pötzen sírt, az 1696. Esztendő- / ben a Sz. András havának 4: napián. / Obraz Pany Marij Který pinkala w Uherczech horneg / zenia w biegu Roku 1696 one 4 mésycz November." Devotional picture. Around 1700. Copper engraving printed on green silk "zu finden bey Hans Grueber [!] Kupferdrucker" 347 x 251 mm. Lit.: Tüskés, "A pöcsi Mária," 267-284. Copy: Győrújbarát - Kisbarát, Roman Catholic church, sacristy.
12. The icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Effigies Miraculosa Mariae Dei Matris, / quae in Bööz Superioris Hungariae 1696. / saepius est lachrimata." Devotional picture. Around 1700. Copper engraving printed on silk. 188 x 142 mm; glued. Lit.: Szilárdfy et al., *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások*, 112, fig. 170. Copy: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 600926, album of devotional pictures of Count Ferenc Széchényi.
13. Johann Frank von Langgraffen: The allegory of Regnum Marianum with the coats of arms of Hungary and Transylvania, together with the icons of Máriapócs and Cluj. Illustration of book. 1701. Copper engraving. "H. F. de Langgraffen sculp. Tyrnaviae" 165 x 122 mm. Lit.: Szilárdfy et al., *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások*, 114, fig. 183; Szilárdfy, *Ikonográfia*, 125, fig. 257. Published in: 1. Péter Pázmány, *Imádságos könyv* (Nagyszombat, 1701). ELTE Egyetemi Könyvtár, Budapest, RMKI400a. 2. *Magna Hungarorum Domina [...]* (Claudiopoli: Acad. S.J., 1738). ELTE Egyetemi Könyvtár, Budapest, Gb2705.
14. Johann Frank von Langgraffen: The icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Miraculosa B.M.V. Pöicensis in Hung." Illustration of book. 1701. Copper engraving. "H. F. de Langgraffen sculp. Tyrnaviae" 183 x 131 mm. Lit.: Pataky, *A magyar rézmetszés*, 167, fig. 10; Szilárdfy et al., *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások*, 111, fig. 167; Tüskés and Knapp, *Népi vallásosság* 6. kép. Published in: Péter Pázmány, *Imádságos könyv* [Prayer Book] (Nagyszombat, 1701), fol. 143. ELTE Egyetemi Könyvtár, Budapest, RMKI400a.
15. Map of Hungary with the figure of a nobleman venerating the icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Imago B.V. / Poetschensis / ter lachrimari / visa toti nunc Hungariae / propitia. / Totius / Hungariae / dei parae / devotissimae / nova exhibi- / tio geogra- / phica." Map. 1710. Copper engraving. Lit.: Szilárdfy, "Adatok," 164, fig. 6; Szilárdfy, *Ikonográfia*, 125, fig. 262-263. Published in: Henricus Scherer, *Atlas novus, exhibens orbem terraqueum* (Augsburg, 1710). Collection of Zoltán Szilárdfy.
16. Franz Ambros Dietel: The icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Wahre abbildung des Wunderhätigen Weinenden Gnadenbilds / Mariae von Pötz, so von einer Löble. Liebs Versammlung deren / sterbenden unter dem Titul Mariae der threnen bey S. Steph. / in Wienn sonderbahr verehret wird. / Is tan dem Original angerihrt." Prayer card. Around 1720. Copper engraving. "Dieteil sc." 125 x 74 mm. Lit.: Szilárdfy et al., *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások*, 112, fig. 171. Copy: Papnevelő Intézet Könyvtára, Győr, legacy of Ferenc Ebenhöch.
17. The icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Mariabild so zu Böötz in / ober Ungarn den 4. Nov. Anno / 1696 gewinet." Devotional picture. Around 1720. Copper engraving. 150 x 96 mm. Lit.: Szilárdfy et al., *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások*, 112, fig. 172. Copy: Papnevelő Intézet Könyvtára, Győr, legacy of Ferenc Ebenhöch.
18. Elias Schaffhauser: The allegory of Regnum Marianum with the coats of arms of Hungary and Transylvania, together with the icons of Máriapócs and Cluj.

Devotional picture. Around 1720. Copper engraving. 122 x 75 mm. "El. Schaffhausen sculp. Try." Lit.: Szilárdfy, "Magyar barokk," 123; Szilárdfy et al., *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások*, 115, fig. 184. Copies: Collection of Miklós Dubay, Budapest; Papnevelő Intézet Könyvtára, Győr, legacy of Ferenc Ebenhöch.

19. Johann Asner: The icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Wahre ab- / bildung des / Wunderhä- / tigen Weinenden Gnadenbilds / Maria von Pötz." Devotional picture. Around 1730. Copper engraving. "Asner sc." 110 x 64 mm. Lit.: Szilárdfy et al., *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások*, 112, fig. 173. Copy: Papnevelő Intézet Könyvtára, Győr, legacy of Ferenc Ebenhöch.

20. Eagles are holding the various Viennese icons above the churches of Vienna, among them the icon of Máriapócs. Flyleaf. 1735. Copper engraving. 271 x 385 mm, 235 x 364 mm. Lit.: Knapp, "Abgetrocknete Thränen," 73; Knapp and Tüskés, *Populáris grafika*, 97. Published in: Thomas Ertl, *Austria Mariana* (Viennae, 1735), flyleaf. Copy: ELTE Egyetemi Könyvtár, Budapest, Ac5039.

21. The icon of Máriapócs (?). Illustration of cover page. 1737. Woodcut. 41 x 60 mm. Lit.: Tüskés, "A póczi Mária," 267-284. Published in: *Marianischer Pilgram deren In dem Königreich Ungarn sich befinden Gnaden-reichen Marianischen Oerthern* (Presburg: M. Magd. Royerin, 1737). Copy: ELTE Egyetemi Könyvtár, Budapest, Ac5396.

22. Franz Leopold Schmittner: The icon of Máriapócs with a group of persons in lethal danger underneath and the veduta of Vienna in the background. Insc.: "Wahre Abbildung des Wunderthätigen Weinenden Gnadenbilds Mariae von Pötz / von einer Löbl. Liebs Versammlung deren sterbenden inner dem Titul Maria der Thränen / in der Metropolitan Kirche bey S. Stephan in der Kays. Haubt Residenz Stau Wien Sonderbahr verehret wird." Confraternity sheet (?). Around 1740. Copper engraving. "I. Neckh del. F.L. Schmitner sc. Vienna" 281 x 175 mm, 290 x 180 mm; glued. Lit.: Szilárdfy, *Barokk szentképek*, fig. 20; Szilárdfy et al., *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások*, 113, fig. 177; Szilárdfy, "Adatok," 161; Szilárdfy, *Ikonográfia*, 124. Copy: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 600 926 V, album of devotional pictures of Count Ferenc Széchényi.

23. Joseph Sebastian and Johann Baptist Klauber: The icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Wahre Abbildung unser lieben Frauen so / 1696. den 4. November zu Böötz in ober Ungarn zum / erstenmal aus beyden augen geweinet." Devotional picture. Around 1740. Copper engraving. "C.P.S.C.M. / Klauber Cath. Sc. et exc. A.V." 135 x 70 mm, 150 x 85 mm. Lit.: Gugitz, *Das kleine Andachtsbild*, 128; Szilárdfy et al., *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások*, 113, fig. 175. Copies: Dobó István Vármúzeum, Eger; Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg, Sammlung Pachinger, Kapsel 1735. No. 208.

24. Schaur: A couple of noble origins are kneeling and praying to the icon of Máriapócs with the veduta of Vienna in the background. Insc.: "Wahre Abbildung des Wunderthätigen Marianischen Gnaden- / Bildes, so zu Pötsch in Ober-Ungarn Ao. 1696. geweinet, nunmehro / aber zu Wienn in der Metropolitan Kirche bey S. Stephan sonderbar / verehret wird." Prayer card. Around 1740. Copper engraving. "Schaur sc. Vienna" 118 x 78 mm. Lit.: Szilárdfy et al., *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások*, 113, fig. 176. Copy: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum 13566.

25. Franz Leopold Schmittner: The icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Wahre Abbildung des Wunderthätigen Gnaden Bilds / Maria von Pötsch so Anno 1696. von 4. novembr. bis 8. / Dec. hauftige zäher vergotten und Anno 1697. die Me- / tropolitan Kirchen zu S.

Stephan zu verehring überbracht / worden." Flyleaf. 1746. Copper engraving. "F. L. Schmitner sc. Viennae" 135 x 85 mm. Lit.: Szilárdfy, *Ikonográfia*, fig. 255. Published in: *Gründliche und Ausführliche Beschreibung der wundertätigen Bildnis des weinenden Muttergottes von Pötsch [...]* (Wien: Johann Peter v. Ghelen, 1746). Copies: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár: V.S.S. 670; Collection of Zoltán Szilárdfy.

26. The icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Rosa Mysti- / ca. // Wahre Abbildung des Weinenden Gnaden Bilds Mariae von / Pötsch, so bey 50-jährigen Gedächtnus-Fest zum beschluß der / Acht-Tägigen Andacht den 9. July 1747. öffentlich in einer Pro- / cession von S. Stephans Metropolitan Kirchen auf u. wider dahin getragen worden." Devotional picture. 1747. Copper engraving. 143 x 83 mm. German prayer on the verso. Lit.: Szilárdfy et al., *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások*, 112-113, fig. 174. Copy: Papnevelő Intézet Könyvtára, Győr, Legacy of Ferenc Ebenhoch.

27. The icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Rosa Mysti- / ca. // Gnadenbildniss Maria von Pötsch, welches im / Jahr 1696 auf eine wundervolle Ort Thranenvergos- / sen hat, jetzt zu Wien in der St. Steph: Metrop: Dom- / Kirche auf dem Hochaltar andachtigst verehret wird." Devotional picture. Around 1750. Copper engraving. 105 x 79 mm, cropped. Copy: Auction in Munich in 2012. Private collection.

28. Sebestyén Zeller: The icon of Máriapócs held by puttos and the veduta of Vienna underneath. Insc.: "Gnaden-Bild so zu Pötz in Ober Unga- / ren Anno 1696 den 4. Nov. geweinet." Illustration of book. 1748. Copper engraving. 110 x 62 mm, 125 x 75 mm. Lit.: Szilárdfy et al., *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások*, fig. 111-112. Published in: *Scala Jacob, sive Liber Precum Piarum* (Posonii: Typis Royerianis, 1748), bound before p. 87. Copies: Collection of Zoltán Éder, Budapest – bound; Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, Sammlung Kriss W5173; Dobó István Vármúzeum, Eger – independent sheet.

29. Joseph Jäger: The allegory of Regnum Marianum with the coats of arms of Hungary and Transylvania, together with the icons of Máriapócs and Cluj. Devotional picture. Around 1750. Copper engraving. "Jos. Jäger sc. Tyrna" 123 x 73 mm. Lit.: Szilárdfy et al., *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások*, 115, fig. 185. Copy: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg, Sammlung Pachinger, Kapsel 1735. No. 199.

30. Birckart: The icon of Máriapócs with the veduta of Vienna underneath. Insc.: "B.V. Maria Pözensis, quae Viennae in Austria / ut peccatorum Refugium Veneratur." Copper engraving bound in a manuscript prayer book. 1765. Copper engraving. "Attigit originale B.V.M." "Birckart sc. Prag" 115 x 70 mm. Lit.: Tüskés, "A pócsi Mária," 267-284. Copy: *Himlischer Seelen Schatz [...]* Anno 1765, bound before p. 107. Collection of Béla István Szabó, Budapest.

31. János Fülöp Binder: The Esztergom copy of the icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Vera effigies / Vetustissimae Imaginis / Beatae Virginis / Mariae, / publica fidelium veneratione clarae, / quae ad hanc usque aetatem / in Castro Strigoniensi / mire asservata, / hodie in Capella Bakocsiana pie / et constanter colitur." Flyleaf. 1765. Copper engraving. "Johann Philipp Binder fecit et scul. Budae" 150 x 105 mm. Lit.: Pataky, *A magyar rézmetszés*, no. 57; Rózsa, *Grafikatörténeti*, fig. 184. Published in: *Descriptio inscriptiorum ecclesiae metropolitanae Strigoniensis. Cognominatae: Szép Templom [...]* (Strigonii: Franciscus Antonius Royer, 1765). Copy: ELTE Egyetemi Könyvtár, Budapest, small print, without inv. no., unnumbered p. 3.

32. János Fülöp Binder: The icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Vera effigies B.V.M. quae adnorma. Prima Poesini in / Hungaria A. 1696. sapius Lacrimantis, ac dein Viennam ablatae expressa, et in illius Loco relictta rursus A. 1715. / Lacrimas profudit 31 July 1^a et 3 Augustj." Flyleaf. 1766. Copper engraving. "I. Phil. Binder sc. Budae 1766" 140 x 71 mm. Lit.: Éva Knapp, "Barokk kori mirákulumoskönyvek magyarországi búcsújáróhelyekről" [Baroque Miracle Books of Pilgrimage Sites in Hungary] PhD dissertation, manuscript (Budapest: ELTE BTK, 1984), dissertation of doctorate in philosophy, manuscript, 100; Szilárdfy et al., *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások*, 114, fig. 179; Puskás, "A Máriapócsi kegytemplom," 173, fig. 5; Rózsa, *Grafikatörténeti*, 142. Published in: *Vera relatio super fletu & lachrymatione secundae sacrae imaginis Pocsensis Beatae Mariae virginis [...]* (Cassoviae: Ex Typ. Landereriana, 1776). Copies: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Könyvtár, 521.846; Somogyi-könyvtár, Szeged, G.E. 1871.

33. The icon of Máriapócs. 1st half of 18th century. Copper engraving. Lit.: Adolf Spamer, *Das Kleine Andachtsbild vom XIV. bis zum XX. Jahrhundert* (München: Bruckmann, 1930/1980), CLXXXIII, Taf. 324; Szilárdfy, "Adatok," 168, fig. 10; Szilárdfy, *Ikonográfia*, 126.

34. János Fülöp Binder: The icon of Máriapócs with the church underneath. Insc.: "Vera effigies B.V.M. quae ad normam primae Poesini in / Hungaria Ao 1696 saepius Lachrimantis, ac dem Viennam / ablatae, expressa, in illius Loco relictta, rursus Ao 1715 / Lacrymas prafudit 31 July Ia b. 3 Augsti." Devotional picture. Around 1750. Copper engraving. "Binder sc. Budae" 139 x 78,5 mm. Lit.: Luková and Vyskupová, *Ave Mária*, 156, B. 90. Copy: Bratislava, Galéria mesta Bratislav, inv. no. C 4170.

35. Franz Feninger: The icon of Máriapócs with the church underneath. Insc.: "Vera Effigies Thaumuthurgae B. V. Mariae, Ao. 1696. in Ecclesia G. R. Unitorum, / Possessionis Pócs, in Regno Hungariae, saepius lachrimantis, nunc in Basilica / S. Stephani Vienn. Vener. Exposita, et successivé, in pari Effigie Viennae ex- / istenti, Ao. 1715. Mens. Iul. 31^a, et Aug. 1^a, et 3^a diebus, iterum in eadem Ecclesia / Pocsensi, novas lachrimas elicentis." Devotional picture. Around 1750. Copper engraving. "Fr. Feninger sc." 186 x 129 mm. Lit.: Szilárdfy, "Magyar barokk," 118, 121, 132, fig. 8; Szilárdfy, *Barokk szentképek*, fig. 18; Szilárdfy et al., *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások*, 113, fig. 178; Szilárdfy, "Adatok," fig. 4; Szilárdfy, *Ikonográfia*, 124, fig. 254. Copy: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 600 926 IV, Album of devotional pictures of Count Ferenc Széchényi.

36. The icon of Máriapócs with the church underneath. Insc.: "Vera effigies B.V.M. quae adnormam primae Pocsini in Hung- / aria A. 1696. Saepius Lacrymantis, ac dein. Viennam abblatae / expressa, et in illius Loco relictta rursus Ao. 1715. Lacrimas pro- / fudit 31. July 1^a et 3 Augsti." Devotional picture. Copper engraving. 185 x 130 mm. Lit.: Tüskés, "A pácsi Mária," 267-284. Copy: Máriapócs, Szent Bazil Rend Máriapócsi Gyűjteménye, Dudás Bertalan Múzeum.

37. The icon of Máriapócs with the church underneath. Insc.: "Vera effigies B.V.M. quae adnormam primae Pocsini in / Hungaria A. 1696. Saepius Lacrymantis, ac dein. Viennam / abblatae expressa, et in illius Loco relictta rursus Ao. / 1715. Lacrimas profudit 31. July 1^a et 3 Augsti." Devotional picture. Around 1770. Copper engraving. 125 x 72 mm. Lit.: Szilárdfy et al., *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások*, 114, fig. 180. Copy: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 600 926 IV. recto, Album of devotional pictures of Count Ferenc Széchényi.

38. Franz Assner: The icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Wahre Abbildung des Wunderthätigen Gnaden-Bildes, so im Jahr / 1696. zu Pötsch in Ober Ungarn geweinet, nunmehr aber zu Wienn / in der Metropolitan Kirche bey S. Stephan sonderbar verehret / wird." Devotional picture. Around 1770. Copper engraving. "F. Aßner sc." Lit.: Szilárdfy, *Ikonografía*, fig. 256. Copy: Collection of Zoltán Szilárdfy.
39. Anton Tyschler: The Eger copy of the icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Örömünknek oka. / Bóktogságos Szűz Mária Képe / melly az Egri öreg Templomban / Tiszeltetik." Prayer card of 4 p. 1777. Copper engraving. "Anton Tyschler Sculp. Agiae 1777." 125 x 75 mm. Lit.: László Lengyel, „Lelki szem-gyógyító” Szentképek a 18. századi orvoslásban” [Devotional Pictures in the 18th Century Medicine], *Lege artis medicinae* 2, no. 5 (1992): 498. Copy: Dobó István Vármúzeum, Eger.
40. The Tótkisfalú copy of the icon of Máriapócs. Devotional picture. Around 1770. Woodcut. Lit.: Mária Ginelli and Klaudia Bugonová, "A Mária-ábrázolások ikonográfiája a Kelet-Szlovákiai Múzeum gyűjteményében" [The Iconography of Depictions of Virgin Mary in the Collection of the East Slovak Museum], in Gábor Barna, ed., *Boldogasszony. Szűz Mária tisztelete Magyarországon és Közép-Európában* [Cult of the Virgin Mary in Hungary and Central Europe] (Szeged: Néprajzi Tanszék, 2001), 249-258, fig. 11. Copy: Kelet-Szlovákiai Múzeum, Kassa.
41. The icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Gnadenbild so zu Pötz in ober / Ungarn den 4 Novemb. A. 1696 geweinet." Devotional picture. Around 1770. 97 x 50 mm. Copper engraving bound in the 2nd part of a two-part-colligatum book. Lit.: Tüskés, "A pácsi Mária," 267-284. Published in: Joh. Christ. Elias, *Kern Aller Gebett [...] (Cölln, 1773); Marianisch Gnadenhaus [...] (erstlich gedruckt zu Wienn, without year)*. Copy: Collection of Karl Kolb, Wiesbaden, according to his daughter, Eva-Maria Kolb it does not exist any more.
42. The icon of Máriapócs. Devotional picture. Around 1770. Woodcut. Lit.: Boris C. Bálent, *Banskobystrické pútové tlače* [Prints in Banská Bystrica / Besztercebánya] (Martin: Slovenská národná knižnica, 1947), Tav. VI. Copy: Besztercebánya.
43. The icon of Máriapócs with the church underneath. Insc.: "Vera effigies B.V.M. quae adnormam primae Pocsini / in Hungaria A. 1696. Saepius Lacrymantis, ac dein. / Viennam abblatae expressa, et in illius Loco relictia / rursus Ao. 1715. Lacrimas profudit 31. July 1^a et 3 Augsti." Devotional picture. Around 1780. Copper engraving. 109 x 69 mm, 147 x 90 mm. Lit.: Szilárdfy et al., *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások*, 114, fig. 182. Copy: Papnevelő Intézet Könyvtára, Győr, Legacy of Ferenc Ebenhoch.
44. Gottfried Prixner: The icon of Máriapócs with the church underneath. Insc.: "A B. Sz. Mária Képe. Vera effigies B.V.M. quae ad normam primae Pocsini in Hungaria A. 1696. saepius Lacrymantis, ac dein. Viennam abblatae expressa, et in illius Loco relicita rursus Ao. 1715. Lacrimas / profudit 31. July 1^a et 3 Augsti." Devotional picture. Around 1800. Copper engraving. "Thom. Dolecek Cur." "Prixner sc. Pest." 405 x 387 mm. Lit.: Tüskés, "A pácsi Mária," 267-284. Copy: Józsa András Múzeum, Nyíregyháza, inv. no. 182.
45. Gottfried Prixner: The icon of Máriapócs with the church underneath. Insc.: "A B. Sz. Mária Képe, / melly 1715^{dik} esztendő Juliusnak 31^{dik} és Aug. / primo és 3^{dik} napján könyvezett Pótson N. Szabolcs / Vármegyében." Devotional picture. Around 1800. Copper engraving. "Prixner del. et sc." 170 x 110 mm. Lit.: Szilárdfy, "Magyar

barokk,” 127, 134; Szilárdfy et al., *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások*, 114, fig. 181. Copy: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 600 926 IV recto, Album of devotional pictures of Count Ferenc Széchényi.

46. The icon of Máriapócs with the church underneath. Insc.: “A’ B. Sz. Mária Képe, / melly 1715^{dík} esztendő Juliusnak 31^{dík} és Aug. 1^{ső} és 3^{dík} / napjain könyvezett Pótson N. Szabolcs Vármegyében.” Devotional picture. Around 1810. Copper engraving. 115 x 72 mm, 125 x 85 mm. Lit.: Tüskés, “A póczi Mária,” 267–284. Copy: Papnevelő Intézet Könyvtára, Győr, Legacy of Ferenc Ebenhöch.

47. The icon of Máriapócs with the church underneath. Insc.: “A’ B. Sz. Mária Képe, / melly 1715^{dík} esztendő Juliusnak 31^{dík} és Aug. 1^{ső} és 3^{dík} / napjain könyvezett Pótson N. Szabolcs Vármegyében.” Devotional picture. Around 1810. Copper engraving. 115 x 75 mm. Lit.: Tüskés, “A póczi Mária,” 267–284. Copy: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Történelmi Képcsarnok, inv. no. T739.

48. The icon of Máriapócs with the church underneath. Insc.: “A’ B. Sz. Mária Képe, / melly 1715^{dík} esztendő Juliusnak 31^{dík} és Aug. 1^{ső} és 3^{dík} / napjain könyvezett Pótson N. Szabolcs Vármegyében.” Devotional picture. Around 1820. Copper engraving. 108 x 69 mm, 118 x 80 mm. Lit.: Zoltán Szilárdfy, *A magánáhitat szentképei a szerző gyűjteményéből I. 17–18. század* [Small Devotional Images from the Collection of the Author I. 17th–18th Centuries] (Szeged: JATE, 1995), fig. 589. Copies: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Kisnyomtatványtár, without inv. no.; Collection of Zoltán Szilárdfy.

49. The Esztergom copy of the icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: “Effigies B. M. Virginis in Arce Strigoniensi.” Devotional picture. 1824. Woodcut. 112 x 70 mm. Lit.: Tüskés, “A póczi Mária,” 267–284. Published in: *Epigramma in Sacra molimina Arcis Strigoniensis [...] (Strigonii: Typis Josephi Beimel, 1824)*. Copy: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Kisnyomtatványtár (1824, 4, box 170).

50. The icon of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome as the icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: “A’ Pócsi boldogságos Szűz.” Devotional picture. Around 1830. Copper engraving. 95 x 56 mm, 105 x 64 mm. Lit.: Tüskés, “A póczi Mária,” 267–284. Copies: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 600 926, Album of devotional pictures of Count Ferenc Széchényi; Collection of Sándor Bálint, Móra Ferenc Múzeum, Szeged.

51. The Esztergom copy of the icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: “Az esztergomi várban / lévő boldogságos szűz Mária / kegyelmes képének / szent titkai. / Az esztergomi várban lévő bold. Szűz Mária képe / áttétetett pompásan junius 7^{én} 1824.” Devotional picture. Around 1824. Woodcut. 90 x 60 mm, 170 x 100 mm. Unpublished. Copy: Collection of Lajos Borda.

52. An icon of Grábóc as the icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: “Szűz Mária csudaképe / Pócsot.” Devotional picture printed on both pages on pink and yellow paper. Around 1828. Woodcut. 92 x 60 mm. Publisher: Alajos Bucsánszky, Bratislava. Lit.: Tüskés, “A póczi Mária,” 267–284. Copy: Private collection.

53. An icon of Grábóc as the icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: “Die heilige Jungfrau Maria / in Pócs.” Devotional picture printed on both pages on green and orange paper. Around 1828. Woodcut. 92 x 60 mm. Publisher: Alajos Bucsánszky, Bratislava. Lit.: Tüskés, “A póczi Mária,” 267–284. Copy: Private collection.

54. An icon of Grábóc as the icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: “Die heil. Jungfrau Maria / in Pócs.” Devotional picture. Around 1828. Woodcut. 113 x 70 mm. Publisher: Alajos

Bucsánszky, Bratislava. Unpublished. Copy: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Történelmi Képcarnok, inv. no. T740.

55. Dorneck: An icon of Grábóc as the icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Imago B. Mariae V. in Pócs, apud P. P. Basilitas, / in Cottu Zabolch." Illustration of book. 1836. Copper engraving. "Dorneck sc." Lit.: Puskás, "A Máriapócsi kegytemplom," 174, fig. 6, 187, n. 13. Published in: Jordánszky, *Magyar Országban*, 108-109. Coloured copy: Főegyházmegyei Könyvtár, Eger.

56. Dorneck: The Tótkisfalú copy of the icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Imago B. Mariae Virg. in Ecclesia Kisfalú prope Cas- / soviam, Comitatu Sáros, Diocesi Cassovien. 1836." Illustration of book. 1836. Copper engraving. "Dorneck sc." Published in: Jordánszky, *Magyar Országban*, 117.

57. The icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Gnaden Bild in St. Stephans Kirchen am Hoch Altar, welches / zu Potsch in Ober-Ungern, im Jarf 1696. den 4. November geweinet, 1697. / den 6. Julii nach Wien gebracht worden, und allda andachtig verehret wird." Devotional picture. Around 1850. Woodcut. "Wien, zu finden bey Leopold Hödl, im Schulder-Gässel." 300 x 220 mm. Lit.: Tüskés, "A pácsi Mária," 267-284. Copy: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 600 926, Album of devotional pictures of Count Ferenc Széchényi.

58. The Esztergom copy of the icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Gnadenbild U. L. Frau in der." Devotional picture. Around 1840. Coloured litograph. 98 x 65 mm. Lit.: Zoltán Szilárdy, *A magánáhitat szentképei a szerző gyűjteményéből II. 19-20. század* [Small Devotional Images from the Collection of the Author II. 19th-20th Centuries] (Szeged: JATE, 1997), fig. 593. Copy: Collection of Zoltán Szilárdy.

59. The icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Gnadenbild Maria von Pötsch bei St. Stephan in Wien." Devotional picture. Around 1850. Steel-engraving. "Wien, Jac. Wallners Verlag, Stadt Petersplatz 562" 120 x 74 mm, 182 x 142 mm. Lit.: Tüskés, "A pácsi Mária," 267-284. Copy: Papnevelő Intézet Könyvtára, Győr, Legacy of Ferenc Ebenhoch.

60. The icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Wunderthätiges Gnadenbild Maria Pötsch, / welches im Jahre 1696 vom 4. Novem. bis 8. Decem. Häufige führen vergos- / sen hat." Prayer card. 1849. Copper engraving. "Linz b. F. Glaser" 120 x 80 mm. Lit.: Tüskés, "A pácsi Mária," 267-284. Copy: Switzerland, Hall, Sammlung Hans Hohenegg (1894-1993).

61. An icon of Grábóc as the icon of Máriapócs with the church underneath. Illustration of prayer card. 1863. Litograph. 107 x 68 mm; cropped. Lit.: Tüskés, "A pácsi Mária," 267-284. Copy: Papnevelő Intézet Könyvtára, Győr, Legacy of Ferenc Ebenhoch.

62. The icon of Máriapócs. Insc.: "Szűz Mária csudaképe Pócsott." Devotional picture. Around 1860. Coloured litograph. 90 x 62 mm. "Posonyban Bucsánszky sajtója." Lit.: Tüskés, "A pácsi Mária," 267-284. Copy: Papnevelő Intézet Könyvtára, Győr, Legacy of Ferenc Ebenhoch.

63. The icon of Máriapócs with the church underneath. Insc.: "A' Paenitentzia Tartó Bűnnösnek Poócsot Könyvező Boldogságos Szűz / Máriához Nagy Aszszonyunkhoz Áltatos Imadsága." Prayer card. 2nd half of 19th century. Woodcut. 110 x 75 mm. Lit.: Tüskés, "A pácsi Mária," 267-284. Copy: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Történelmi Képcarnok, inv. no. 61.321.

64. An icon of Grábóc as the icon of Máriapócs with the church underneath. Insc.: "Valóságos Bold. Szűz Mária képe, mely Pócson / Szabolcs vármegyében 1696. esztendőben gyak- / ran könyeket ereszttet, innen Bécsbe vitetté / annak másolatja 1715^{ben} Julius 31^{én} és Aug. / 1^{ső} és 3^{ik} napján ismét könyezett." Prayer card. 1863. Woodcut. "Budán, 1863. Nyomatta és kiadta Bagó Márton." 110 x 70 mm. Lit.: Tüskés, "A pócsi Mária," 267-284. Copy: Collection of Attila Tibold, Pannonhalma.

65. The icon of Máriapócs with the church underneath. Illustration of hymn booklet. 1865. Woodcut. 110 x 70 mm, 175 x 105 mm. Unpublished. Published in: *Négy istenes új énekek a Szűz Máriához kisasszony napjára és más napokra* (Buda: Márton Bagó, 1865). Copy: Collection of Lajos Borda.

66. The icon of Máriapócs with the church underneath. Illustration of hymn and prayer booklet. 1866. Woodcut. 108 x 69 mm, 175 x 110 mm. Unpublished. Published in: *Énekek és imák* [Songs and Prayers] (Buda: Márton Bagó, 1866). Copy: Collection of Lajos Borda.

67. The icon of Máriapócs. Illustration of hymn and prayer booklet. 1870-1879. Woodcut. 90 x 60 mm, 170 x 105 mm. Unpublished. Published in: *Legujabb ájtatos énekek és fohász a Mária-Pócsi csudatevő boldogs. Szüznek képe előtt* [Latest Pious Hymns and Prayer in Front of the Máriapócs Miraculous Icon of the Blessed Virgin] (Pest: Alajos Bucsánszky, 187?), 1. Copy: Collection of Lajos Borda.

68. The icon of Máriapócs with the church underneath. Insc.: "A Mária-pócsi szent bucsuhely." Illustration of hymn and prayer booklet. 1870-1879. Woodcut. 107 x 68 mm, 170 x 105 mm. Unpublished. Published in: *Legujabb ájtatos énekek és fohász a Mária-Pócsi csudatevő boldogs*, 2. Copy: Collection of Lajos Borda.

69. The icon of Máriapócs with the church underneath. Devotional picture. Around 1880. Print. 95 x 65 mm. Lit.: Szilárdfy, *A magánáhitat szentképei*, fig. 591. Copy: Collection of Zoltán Szilárdfy.

70. The icon of Máriapócs with the church underneath. Insc.: "A Pócsi sz. Mária kegyképe." Devotional picture. Around 1900. Print. Lit.: Szilárdfy, *A magánáhitat szentképei*, fig. 592. Copy: Collection of Zoltán Szilárdfy.

71. The icon of Máriapócs with the church underneath. Insc.: "Mária Pocsi Emlék." Devotional picture. 1910. Colour print. 58 x 35 mm. On verso: prayer to Mary "Magyar egyházhatalósági engedélyel, Esztergom, 1910. október 25." Lit.: Tüskés, "A pócsi Mária," 267-284. Copy: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Történelmi Képcsarnok 81.80.58.

72. The icon of Máriapócs with the church underneath. Insc.: "A Pócsi sz. Mária." Devotional picture. 1st half of 20th century. Print. 84 x 50 mm. On verso: prayer to Mary. Lit.: Tüskés, "A pócsi Mária," 267-284. Copy: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Történelmi Képcsarnok 81.80.206.

73. The icon of Máriapócs with the church underneath. Insc.: "A Pócsi sz. Mária." Devotional picture. 1st half of 20th century. Print. 45 x 30 mm. On verso: prayer in Hungarian. Lit.: Tüskés, "A pócsi Mária," 267-284. Copy: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Történelmi Képcsarnok 81.80.208.

74. The icon of Máriapócs with the church underneath. Insc.: "A Pócsi sz. Mária kegyképe." Devotional picture. Around 1910. Print. 79 x 44 mm. On verso: "naponkinti ajánlás Mária ótalmába." Manuscript: "Titusnak. A pócsi kegyképhez

Representations of the Mary-Icon of Pócs in Engravings

érintve 1914 május 10-én.” Lit.: Tüskés, “A pócsi Mária,” 267-284. Copy: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Történelmi Képcsarnok 81.80.217.

75. The icon of Máriapócs with the church underneath. Insc.: “Sz. Mária Pócs.” Devotional picture. Around 1920. Print. 81 x 49 mm. On verso: prayer of St. Bernhard. Lit.: Tüskés, “A pócsi Mária,” 267-284. Copy: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Történelmi Képcsarnok 81.80.218.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 1. Side altar in the apsis of the Minorite church, Nyírbátor (1729). Archive photo taken by István Petrás between 1930 and 1940, and conserved in the Gyula Forster Center, inv. no. 5007 ND.

Representations of the Mary-Icon of Pócs in Engravings

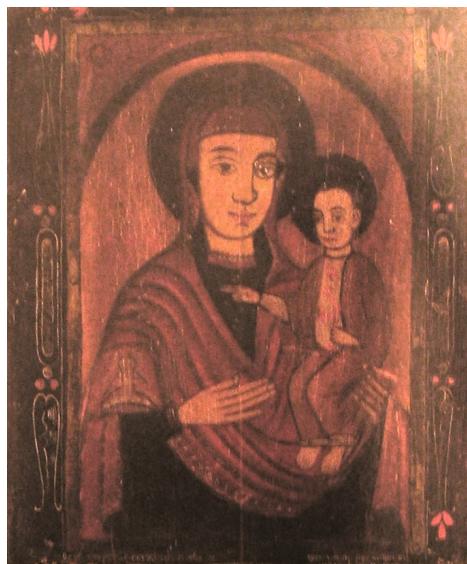


Fig. 2. Copy of the Máriapócs icon, 19th century. Máramaros. Nagyházi Auction, 2008.



Fig. 3. Copy of the Máriapócs icon, 18th century. Northern side altar of the Worship of the Holy Cross church, Tata. Photo: Anna Tüskés, 2011.



Fig. 4. Copy of the Máriapócs icon, 18th century. Southern wall of the King St. Stephen church, Tápiósáp. Photo: Anna Tüskés, 2014.

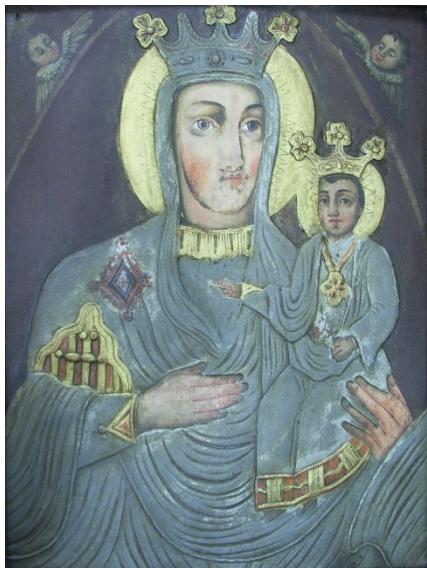


Fig. 5. Copy of the Máriapócs icon, 19th century. Ecclesiastical Collection of the Hungarian Ethnographical Museum.
Photo: Anna Tüskés, 2011.



Fig. 6. Copy of the Máriapócs icon, 19th century. Ecclesiastical Collection of the Hungarian Ethnographical Museum.
Photo: Anna Tüskés, 2011.



Fig. 7. Copy of the Máriapócs icon, 19th century. Ecclesiastical Collection of the Hungarian Ethnographical Museum.
Photo: Anna Tüskés, 2011.



Fig. 8. Copy of the Máriapócs icon, 19th century. Gyula Meszlényi Ecclesiastical Collection, Satu Mare. Photo: Anna Tüskés, 2010.

Representations of the Mary-Icon of Pócs in Engravings



Wahrer Abbildung unserer lieben frauen so 1696 den 4 Nov. in der klosterkirche zu poestlingberg erstmals auch öffentlich außen geweinet.
Die bildkunst von stephanus de walt.

Fig. 9. Cat. 4.



Wahrer Abbildung der Gnadenreichen Bildniss unsrer lieben frauen welche zu poestling in ober ungarn dreimal wahrschafft gewennet. Amo 1696. den 4 November zum ersten mahl und folgenden.

Fig. 10. Cat. 5.



Wahrer Abbildung des Meinenen in Pötsch Bilds Marien von
Pötsch, so von 50-jährigen Bräutigam fest zum bechlaf der
drei Tagigen Andacht am 8. Juli 1747 öffentlich in einer Pro-
cession von Stephanus Metropolitan Kirchen auf anderhaupt getragen wird.

Fig. 11. Cat. 26.



Gnadenbildnis MARIA von Pötsch, welches im
Jahr 1696 auf eine wunderliche Art Thränenvergo-
sen hat, jetzt zu Wien in der St. Steph. Metrop. Dom-
Kirche auf dem Hochaltar andächtigst verehret wird.

Fig. 12. Cat. 27.

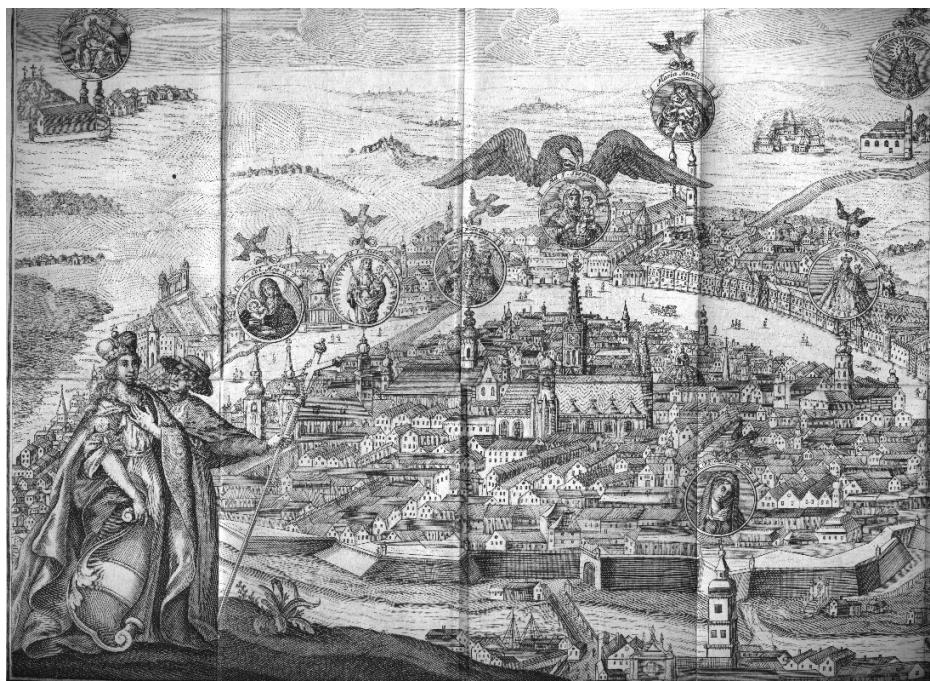


Fig. 13. Cat. 20.

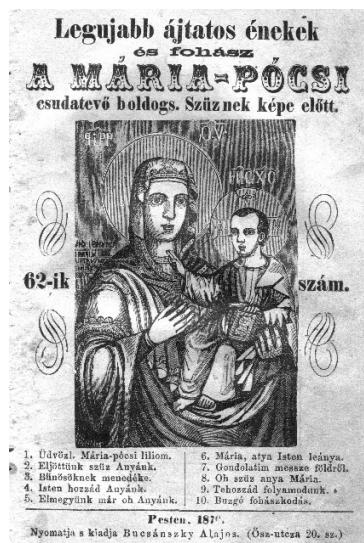


Fig. 14. Cat. 67.



Fig. 15. Cat. 68.