

Daniel Dumitran, Valer Moga (Eds.)

Economy and Society in Central and Eastern Europe

Economy and Society in Central and Eastern Europe

Territory, Population, Consumption

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Daniel Dumitran, Valer Moga

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PILGRIMAGE ART IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TRANSYLVANIA: ICONS, WOODCUTS AND ENGRAVINGS

ANNA TÜSKÉS

The purpose of my paper is the analysis of the engravings representing the Roman Catholic pilgrimage sites in Transylvania dating from the 18th century. These sources constitute an exceptionally versatile group regarding their genre, forms of appearance and potential for use, ranging from front covers through book illustrations and thesis pages to so called devotional pictures and prayer cards. The iconographic analysis is justified by the fact that close to one third of the source material has so far been unknown to researchers covering the topic.

There are thirteen pilgrimage sites from the 17th and 18th centuries known in the region: Csíksomlyó / Șumuleu Ciuc, Gyulafehérvár / Alba Iulia, Kolozsmonostor / Cluj-Mănăstur, Kolozsvár / Cluj, Máriaradna / Radna, Mikola / Nicula, Nagykároly / Carei, Nagyszeben / Sibiu, Szászsebes / Sebeș, Temesvár / Timișoara and Tusnád / Tușnad Sat. The mapping of religions shows a close relation to the density of pilgrimage sites: most pilgrimage sites can be found in the areas that remained mostly Catholic, or were quickly converted back to Catholicism.¹ It mostly occurs in these locations also that there are two pilgrimage sites within one city, either at the same time or consecutively, namely in Alba Iulia and Cluj.

In Transylvania, three pilgrimage sites became established before 1600 that also remained visited during the Baroque era. (1) The first was the Franciscan monastery church built by János Hunyadi in Șumuleu Ciuc; (2) the second Cluj-Mănăstur, which was a medieval pilgrimage site for Mary, but the icon of the Virgin was later destroyed; (3) and the third the basilica in Sebeș, where the sculpture of the Virgin was already revered in the Middle Ages as well, and when the Protestants occupied the church in the 16th century, the sculpture was not profanised. Therefore, Catholic pilgrimages did not stop arriving here during the era of the occupation. The establishment of the rest of the pilgrimage sites, besides Șumuleu Ciuc that was constantly being visited, falls to the three decades following 1690, when the evolution of pilgrimage sites was the most intense. (4) The (*Hodegitria*) picture of Mary in the St John Capistran chapel near to the Alba Iulia Cathedral was brought by Catholic Bulgarians, who fled from the Bulgarian Ciprovac to Transylvania. Pilgrims had already revered the picture in Ciprovac where it wept. In Alba Iulia it became a pilgrimage destination as of 1712. (5) In the Trinitarian Church in Alba Iulia the picture of the *Maria gravida* was revered. (6) In Cluj, there was a Loretto chapel beside the Franciscan church. (7) In the Holy Trinity Jesuit church in Cluj, pilgrims re-

¹ Gábor Tüskés, *Búcsújárás a barokk kori Magyarországon* [Pilgrimages of the Baroque Period in Hungary] (Budapest, 1993), 13-24.

vered the Hodegetria picture that wept in Nicula in 1699. (8) The Mount Carmel Virgin – *Episkepsis* image of the Franciscan church in Radna was placed on the altar in 1668. In 1695, the Turks occupied Lipova / Lipova and the chapel was set on fire, but the picture remained fully intact. Following the Turkish rule, István Novoslich, a Franciscan monk cleared the chapel and its surroundings in 1722; the pilgrimage church was built in 1767 and the image was placed on its main altar. They began to revere the picture following 1709, when it protected Arad from the pest. (9) Nicula: in the Assumption Cloister Church next to the St Nicholas Abbey on the grape hill, the weeping picture of Mary is revered. (10) At the border of Carei, the Holy Trinity Chapel had been completed by 1703.² (11) The Cross of the Trinitarian Church in Sibiu that was taken to Vienna.³ (12) In the Jesuit church in Timișoara, the picture of Mary was revered. It was crowned in 1716 and named *Maria Serena*. It is only the (13) St Anne Chapel by the side of St Anne's Lake, close to Tușnad Sat, that was built in the second part of the 18th century.

The cult objects central to pilgrimage sites are overwhelmingly images and sculptures of the Virgin Mary, and they belong to different iconographic types.⁴ The most common is the Hodegetria type, but there are regular instances of the Lady of Mount Carmel or the Woman Clothed in the Sun. Amongst saints it is only St Anne who has a pilgrimage site. Amongst types from foreign countries, the Hodegetria of Alba Iulia came from Bulgarian territory. Amongst depictions coming from abroad, in the case of the one in Radna, specific data is available about who brought and purchased the object that later became a cult object: György Virchnossa, an elderly Bosnian man bought the picture from an Italian trader and he gave it to the chapel in Radna. The types that were created locally gave way to further copies.

The number of icons originating in Transylvania is considerably larger than of those coming from abroad. However, we rarely have trustworthy information regarding their exact location and time of origin. Most of the cult objects were created during the Baroque era, but in one instance the representation of Mary dates from the Middle Ages: in Șumuleu Ciuc, the sculpture central to the cult is medieval. In the case of some cult objects originating in Transylvania, information covers who, from where and under what circumstances carried the object from its place of origin to the location that later became the place of cult. The intermediary can be a person of the Church (Franciscans, Bulgarian Observant Franciscans, Trinitarians, and Jesuits) or a lay person having patronage over the given area. Count Zsigmond Kornis, who later became the gubernator of Transylva-

² Gábor Éble, *A nagykarolyi Szentháromság-kápolna története* [History of the Holy Trinity Chapel in Carei] (Budapest: 1910).

³ Zsolt Kovács, "Effigies ad similitudinem. A bécsi trinitáriusok kalászos feszületének erdélyi másolatai" [Effigies ad Similitudinem. Copies of the Crucifix with the Ears of the Viennese Trinitarians in Transylvania], in *Stílusok, művek, mesterek. Erdély művészete 1690-1848 között. Tanulmányok B. Nagy Margit emléké-re* [Styles, Works, Artists. The Art of Transylvania between 1690-1848. Studies in Memory of B. Nagy Margit], ed. János Orbán (Kolozsvár, 2011), 295-313.

⁴ Gábor Tüskés and Éva Knapp, *Népi vallásosság Magyarországon a 17-18. században* [Vernacular Religiousness in 17th and 18th Century Hungary] (Budapest, 2001), 27-42.

nia, played a decisive role in achieving that the Mary icon in Cluj and Sebeş reached a cult location. The Trinity Chapel in Carei was erected by Count Sándor Károlyi to commemorate the peace treaty of Karlowitz / Sremski Karlovci in 1699. He made orders about the celebration separately in 1718, and the Károlyi family did their pilgrimage alongside common people.

In the genesis legends and the motifs occurring in them the social aspect of the cult is expressed. Regarding content, these can be (1) historic motifs, for example the motifs of the Turks, Protestants or the Pest epidemic, or (2) motifs that travelled across locations – most regularly the following: the weeping of the image, and the preservation of the objects in times of destruction.

The sources have strong ties to the European tradition of the engravings regarding their historical context, the persons who engraved the cult objects, and the motifs behind why they were preserved along the centuries. Most of the representations were prepared in Hungary or by foreign masters who were commissioned from Hungary. Some of the images were preserved owing to various European public and private collections (such as the ones in Budapest, Milan and Nürnberg). The sources also give valuable insight into the visual culture of the various ethnic groups, religious communities and social classes.

The most important iconographic property of the engraving depictions is that they represent the icon or the sculpture that the religious cult centres on. They occasionally also present the narrower or broader context of the theme, or more rarely miracles or historical events linked to the icon. The iconography or label obviously shows that the creation, spreading and usage of the engraving is strongly linked with the given pilgrimage site.

Overview of Research History

The origins of scientific interest about pilgrimage sites in Transylvania are connected with the various genres of engravings. The beginnings go back to the first half of the 19th century. In 1836, Elek Jordánszky, the prebend of Esztergom published a book about the icons of Mary in Hungary, titled 'A Short Description of the Icons of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Hungary and its Adjacent Parts'. This book also published a one-page engraving illustration of the Șumuleu Ciuc, Cluj and Radna sculptures and icons.⁵

More recent research starting from the 1980s has analysed the historical, ethnographic, literary and art historical aspects of icons and objects represented in engravings. The authoritative studies regarding Baroque era pilgrimages, history of cults and vernacular religiousness have been done by Sándor Bálint, Gábor Barna, Margit B. Nagy, Ana and Daniel Dumitran, Géza Galavics, Enikő Hegedűs, Éva Knapp, Zsolt Kovács, Ferenc

⁵ Elek Jordánszky, *Magyar országban 's az ahoz tartozó részekben lévő Bóldogságos Szűz Mária kegyelem' képeinek rövid leírása* (Pozsony / Bratislava, 1836), 97-99, 132-140; Gábor Tüskés and Éva Knapp, *Utószó*, in the reprint: Elek Jordánszky, *Magyar országban 's az ahoz tartozó részekben lévő Bóldogságos Szűz Mária kegyelem' képeinek rövid leírása* (Budapest, 1988), 3-49.

Mihály, Nicolae Sabău, Zoltán Szilárdfy and Gábor Tüskés.⁶ The exhibitions and their respective catalogues presenting the veneration of Mary in Transylvania (in 2010, in Odorheiu Secuiesc) and the analysis of the icon in Cluj and Nicula (2011, Alba Iulia) brought significant new results into the research.

I mostly analyse the engravings of the 18th century, but I also present the notoriety and prevalence of the icon in the Trinitarian church of Alba Iulia through the four engravings representing the preceding image in Prague. Furthermore, I will present two sheets from the 19th century in the case of the Radna icon, to illustrate how types of representations have traditionally been transmitted throughout the centuries. In the course of my work I found some engravings that were previously unknown. New items of previously known engravings have also surfaced in new functions and different conditions. In my research I present the masters of engravings from Transylvanian pilgrimage sites, the main types of representation and the different forms of usage. In the course of my current research I have mostly reached new conclusions in the analysis of the engravings representing the icon in Cluj and Radna.

*Engravers*⁷

Observing the technique, the majority of images are copper engravings⁸ and there are only a few woodcuts (Fig. 1-4).⁹ In determining the masters, signatures are very helpful: more than half of the engravings are signed. Most of the masters we know by name are represented by one sheet each, and it is a rare occurrence that one master has engraved the

⁶ Margit B. Nagy, "Adalékok a mikolai Mária-ikon történetéhez" [Addenda to the History of the Icon in Mikola], in Margit B. Nagy, *Stílusok, művek, mesterek* [Styles, Works, Artists] (Bukarest, 1977), 24-31; Éva Knapp, "Barokk kori mirákulumos könyvek magyarországi búcsújáróhelyekről" [Miracle Books of the Baroque Period from Shrines in Hungary] (PhD dissertation, Budapest, 1984); Zoltán Szilárdfy, Gábor Tüskés and Éva Knapp, *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások magyarországi búcsújáróhelyekről* [Devotional Pictures of the Baroque Period from Shrines in Hungary] (Budapest, 1987); Sándor Bálint and Gábor Barna, *Búcsújáró magyarok. A magyarországi búcsújárás története és néprajza* [Hungarian Pilgrims. History and Ethnography of the Pilgrimages in Hungary] (Budapest, 1994); Ferenc Mihály, ed., *Mária-tisztelet Erdélyben. Mária-ábrázolások az erdélyi templomokban* [Cult of Mary in Transylvania. Representations of Mary in Transylvanian Churches] (Székelyudvarhely, 2010); Ana Dumitran, Enikő Hegedűs and Vasile Rus, ed., *Fecioarele înălăcrimate ale Transilvaniei. Preliminarii la o istorie ilustrată a toleranței religioase* [Lachrymose Virgins of Transylvania. Preliminaries to an Illustrated History of Religious Tolerance] (Alba Iulia, 2011).

⁷ Catalogue of the woodcuts and copper engravings: Szilárdfy, Tüskés and Knapp, *Barokk kori kisgrafikai*; Dumitran, Hegedűs and Rus, *Fecioarele înălăcrimate*.

⁸ Copper engraving illustration in the middle of the 1st page of *Pius affectus ad B. V. Mariam [...]* bound after *Officium Rakocianum* (Claudiopoli: 1737): Széchényi National Library, 628.095; Roman Catholic Deanery, Târgu-Mureș; Muzeul Carpaților Răsăriteni, Sfântu Gheorghe.

⁹ Some woodcuts: 1. Woodcut in the middle of the title page (48 x 40 mm): Mihail Manuil Olsavszky, *Elementa puerilis institutionis in lingua latina* (Claudiopoli: Typis Academ. Soc. Jesu per Andream Feij, 1746). University Library, Budapest, Fc 4901. Reprint (Nyíregyháza: IMI Print, 1999); 2. Signed woodcut on the verso of the title page: *Doctrina christiana [...]*. In Monasterio Sanctissimae Triadis typis edita Balasfalvae. Per Michaelae Betskereki. Anno 1757. University Library, Budapest, I 8r 102/2.coll. This woodcut illustrates also other books: *Ceaslov* (Blaj, 1766). National Museum of Union, Alba Iulia, CVR 660. See Dumitran, Hegedűs and Rus, *Fecioarele înălăcrimate*, 84-85; 3. Woodcut on prayer card (75 x 52 mm): Szebenben Nyomtt. Hochmeister Márton betűivel Tsász. Kir. Priv. Typog. és Bibliopola által. [Printed in Sibiu with the Types of Márton Hochmeister, Imperial and Royal Privilege Printer and Bookseller]. 1779. In the collection of Béla Szabó.

same topic using either the same or different iconography and in a significantly different size. Such cases are (1-2) the two copper engravings of Philipp Binder (at around 1770) with the icon in Cluj in itself and with a pilgrim and two copper engravings at around 1770 about the icon in Radna with views of the church and the monastery underneath it, (3) furthermore, two copper engravings of Johann Frank von Langgrafen at around 1700. Finally, the engravings made in the Remondini workshop are about the icon in Radna in itself, or surrounded by scenes of miraculous healings, and with the image of pilgrims arriving at the church.

In some cases it also occurs that one copper engraving is utilised in more functions or books. (1) Thus, for example, one of the copper engravings depicting the icon of Cluj was copied and became a cover for the book of Alfonsus Rodericus 'Practicing Christian Good Deeds and Perfection' translated by András Illyés, and published in Trnava in 1688.¹⁰ The copper engraving was bound in the book at least ten years after it was published. The other copy is an independent devotional picture owned by the Historical Picture Gallery of the Hungarian National Museum.¹¹ (2) Another example is the copper engraving of Johann Heinrich Martin, which illustrates the book *Wahre und ausführliche Beschreibung des Ursprungs des [...] zu Clausenburg [...] vorgestellten Gnaden-Bilds [...]* published in 1735 in Cluj and in the undated book titled *Solatium solatiorum maximum* in Trnava.¹² (3) A third representation of the icon of Cluj features as illustration in two different books published in Cluj in 1735 and 1738.¹³ (4) The copper engraving depicting the icon in Cluj by Joseph and Andreas Schmutzer Viennese engravers survives as cover of a book published in Trnava in 1736 and also as an individual prayer sheet. (5) The engraving of Philipp Binder representing the icon of Radna first appeared in the book *Wunder-scheinender Wald-schatten* in Buda in the press of Leopold Francis Landerer in 1769, and later in the same press it was used for the book of Stanislaus Losgott titled *Varia pietatis exercitia omnibus Christi fidelibus accommodata*, also as cover, two years later.¹⁴

The earliest currently known engraving representation of the sculpture in Șumuleu Ciuc was made by the Viennese engraver Franz Leopold Schmit(t)ner (1703-1761) in the mid-18th century in the form of a devotional picture. It survived in the heritage of

¹⁰ University Library, Budapest, RMK I 316; Széchényi National Library, I. 1370/1.

¹¹ Hungarian National Museum, Historical Picture Gallery, inv. no. 1942/20.

¹² *Wahre und ausführliche Beschreibung des Ursprungs des [...] zu Clausenburg [...] vorgestellten Gnaden-Bilds [...]* (Clausenburg: Acad. S. J. Sim. Thadaeus Weichenberg, 1735). University Library, Budapest, Ac 4950. Bound before the 1st numbered page; *Solatium solatiorum maximum* (Tyrnavia, s.a.). Batthyaneum Library, Alba Iulia, I₂ VII.41.

¹³ *Wahre und ausführliche Beschreibung*, bound at the end of the book; *Imago seu speculum [...]* (Claudiopoli, 1738), 6/b. Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 308.955.

¹⁴ 123 x 71 mm. [Stanislaus Losgott,] *Varia pietatis exercitia omnibus Christi fidelibus accommodata* (Buda: typis Leopoldi Francisci Landerer, 1769). University Library, Budapest, 08326; Széchényi National Library, 288.981; *Wunder-scheinender Wald-schatten [...]* (Ofen: Landerer, 1771). Széchényi National Library, 319358. Knapp, "Barokk kori miráculumos könyvek," 100; Szilárdfy, Tüskés and Knapp, *Barokk kori kisgrafikai*, 190.

Sándor Bálint and is today in the inventory of the Ferenc Móra Museum in Szeged (Fig. 5). Schmitner completed several commissions coming from Hungary, mostly depicting Biblical scenes and scenes from the lives of Saints. This artist has also made copper engravings of the Mary pregnant icon of the Trinitarian Church in Alba Iulia.¹⁵ While in the case of the former, he only depicted the icon, in the case of the latter he also composed the view of a city in the image. The question arises whether Schmitner was familiar with the engraving of Joseph and Andreas Schmuzers from 1739 and / or the representations of the preceding image of the icon in Prague. These were also prevalent in Hungary, as proven by three devotional pictures and a book illustration (Fig. 6-7).¹⁶ The icon was revered in the Assumption of Mary medieval church in Prague. Its engraving appears in the book *Scala Jacob* published in Bratislava in 1748. The book contains various prayers appropriate for different times of the day and for different religious holidays. It has several illustrations including the representation of three Hungarian pilgrimage sites (Máriapócs, Sasvár, and Homokkomárom). Schmitner's composition is different from the illustration of the book and the devotional pictures in the sense that behind Mary there is a building on a rock, rather than the view of a city.

The copper engraving of Sebastian Zeller depicting the icon of Cluj survived as an individual sheet in the image collection of Count Ferenc Széchenyi. Zeller worked in Bratislava in the latter half of the 18th century and engraved portraits, maps and city views.¹⁷ In the above mentioned book *Scala Jacob*, there are several images by Zeller that were unknown to György Rózsa. For example the Crucifixion (following the composition of the Italian painter Francesco Trevisiani, Rome, San Silvestro in Capite, cappella del crocifisso); or the martyrdom of St John of Nepomuk.

From among Hungarian masters, Johann Philip Binder who was born in Bratislava but worked in Buda (1735/36-1811)¹⁸ represented the icon of Cluj in two different copper engravings: the one created around 1770 shows the icon by itself, the other presents it together with the pilgrims praying to the icon. It is interesting about the latter that we can see the votive offerings that prove the miraculous healings hung up on the frame of the composition, such as clutches and objects of pledge shaping arms and legs.

Binder also made two engravings about the icon in Radna in two different compositions and sizes. In the cover depiction mentioned earlier, the icon appears on clouds under a canopy held up by angels. Under the icon is the distant view of the church and the Franciscan monastery with arriving ill pilgrims, and a stag among the trees. Around the

¹⁵ Zsolt Kovács, "A gyulafehérvári trinitárius templom és rendház egykori berendezése" [The Interior Decoration and Furnishing of the Former Trinitarian Church and Monastery of Alba Iulia], in *Liber discipulorum. Tanulmányok Kovács András 65. születésnapjára* [Essays in Honour of András Kovács on His 65th Birthday], ed. Zsolt Kovács, Emese Sarkadi Nagy and Attila Weisz (Koložsvár, 2011), 202, 204, fig. 1-2.

¹⁶ Three devotional pictures in the collection of Ebenhöch, Pannonhalma. Book illustration: *Scala Jacob, per quam ascenditur ad coelum, sive liber precum piarum ex variis authoribus collectus* (Pozsony, 1748), 61. Collection of Zoltán Éder.

¹⁷ György Rózsa, *Grafikatörténeti tanulmányok* [Essays in History of Graphics] (Budapest, 1998), 25-27.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 61-62.

canopy there are four Latin quotes: *Monstra te esse matrem* means “Show thyself to be a Mother;” *Duc eum ad Mariam* means “Carry him to Mary;” *Egem aspiciate matrem* means “Look we need a mother;” *Ecce matrem vestram* means “Behold your mother.” The first is a line from the Vespers hymn to Mary *Ave Maris Stella* (“Hail Star of the Sea”). As for the other three I didn’t find the source. The composition of the other engraving is a lot simpler: there is no canopy held by angels, the icon and the pilgrimage church appear in two separate frames and the pilgrims and the stag do not show up. The depiction was used as a cover by Mátyás József Heimerl (?-1784), the first printer of Timișoara¹⁹ in the publication ‘Light Grove Hill’ in 1773, but its devotional picture copy is also known.

	University Library RMK I 400/a:1	University Library RMK I 400/a:2	Széchenyi Library RMK I 1640
Coat of arms of István Altorjai Apor	Flyleaf	-	Before dedication
Holy Trinity	Before 1 st numbered page	-	Before 1 st numbered page
Crucifixion	Between pp. 60-61	-	Between pp. 60-61
Icon of Máriapócs	Between pp. 142-143	-	Between pp. 142-143
Icon of Győr	-	Between pp. 190-191	Between pp. 190-191
Eucharist	Between pp. 248-249	Between pp. 248-249	Between pp. 248-249
Jesus the good shepherd	Between pp. 334-335	-	Between pp. 334-335
Emblem of the Jesuits	Between pp. 374-375	-	Between pp. 374-375
Icon of Cluj	Between pp. 382-383	-	Between pp. 382-383
Allegory of <i>Regnum Marianum</i> with the coats of arms of Hungary and Transylvania, together with the icons in Máriapócs and Cluj	Between pp. 400-401	-	Flyleaf
St. Joseph	Between pp. 408-409	Between pp. 408-409	Between pp. 400-401

Among the 18th century engravers, the Viennese copper engraver making covers and allegorical scenes, the above mentioned Johann Frank von Langgraffen created the allegorical scene where the icons of Máriapócs and Cluj appear together. One copy of this print can be found in Péter Pázmány’s ‘Prayer Book’ published in Trnava in 1701, in a

¹⁹ István Berkeszi, *A temesvári könyvnyomdászat és hírlapirodalom története* [History of the Book Printing and Newspaper Literature in Timișoara] (Temesvár, 1900).

copy located in the University Library of Budapest, bound as illustration between pages 400 and 401. The other copy appears bound following the introduction in the *Magna Hungarorum Domina* published in Cluj in 1738.²⁰ It is insightful to compare three copies of the 1701 edition of Péter Pázmány's 'Prayer Book' from the perspective of publishers using the engraving illustrations. The three copies compared in this study are held in the Széchényi National Library and the University Library Budapest.

From comparing the different copies of the book it is clear that Langgraffen made a series of illustrations consisting of many items, but not the whole series were bound in the individual copies. In the copies that I know the number of copper engraved illustrations ranges between 4 and 10. The themes of illustrations have variety: Holy Trinity, Crucifixion, the icons in Máriapócs, Cluj and Győr, the Eucharist, Jesus the good shepherd, St. Joseph and so on. The illustrations in this varied iconography partly match the chapters of Pázmány's 'Prayer Book' that they were bound in front of. For example, the copper engraving representing Joseph is just before the chapter about Joseph. There are small differences in the position of a few illustrations.

The Remondini press in Bassano, which was in business for two centuries, published four devotional pictures representing the icon of Radna. The composition of the devotional pictures is varied: the devotional picture from around 1730 depicts miraculous events around the icon in 14 scenes. The two devotional pictures that can be dated at around 1770 only show the icon, one being a simple rectangle, the other in a Baroque-style frame. The fourth devotional picture from around 1780 depicts miraculous events around the icon in seven scenes and there is the distant view of the pilgrimage site below the icon, with the pilgrims arriving in a procession.

We do not know the engraver of the two 19th century sheets representing the icon in Radna, but we know their publisher. The bookbinder and publisher of Bratislava, Alajos Bucsánszky (1802-1883)²¹ published a devotional picture with Hungarian, Latin and German text (Fig. 8)²² in a style close to the artwork of the Viennese engraver lady, Dorneck. It is worth observing from this aspect the double tiers of the halo of the child Jesus, a feature that can be traced back to a devotional picture reproduced from a copper engraving at around 1800. Márton Bagó, a publisher from Buda (?-1873), who published a number of Greek Catholic weekly papers for the Rusyns living in Hungary, released four brochures containing songs to praise the Lord in 1848. The covers of these are decorated by the woodcut of the icon in Radna (Fig. 9).²³

²⁰ Engraving bound after the introduction (182 x 132 mm): *Magna Hungarorum Domina* [...] (Claudiopoli: Acad. S.J., 1738). University Library, Budapest, Gb 2705.

²¹ Gábor Kovács I., "Bucsánszky Alajos útja a kalendárium- és ponyva-tömegtermeléshez" [Alajos Bucsánszky's Way to the Calendar and Trash Mass Production], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 101, 1 (1985): 1-17.

²² Hungarian National Museum, Historical Picture Gallery, inv. no. T744.

²³ *Négy szép istenes énekek* [Four Beautiful Godly Songs] (Buda, 1848). University Library, Budapest, Hd 2765/27.

From surveying the engravers whose name is known, it can be concluded that more than half of the 18th-19th century engravings of Transylvanian holy sculptures and icons were made by well known masters from Hungary and abroad. Research has enriched the activities of these engravers with some new engravings that have been unknown so far, for example in the case of Sebastian Zeller. In several cases the preceding pictures can be defined as well. In the case of a signed copper engraving I did not find data about the work or personal details of the artist, Joseph Ender. In the case of another representation, the fact that the copy was worn out made it impossible for me to distinguish and recognize the signature. It can also be concluded that the signed engravings constitute the highest quality pieces of the material, and their secondary use and the repeated versions of engraving them prove the long continuity of their history.

Iconography

During the iconographic analysis, I have arranged the engravings based on their main motifs. This grouping also makes it possible to observe the changes or consistency of the iconography across various periods. Based on the above, the engravings can be placed in seven categories: (1) most of the engravings depict the revered object itself, with or without explanatory notes. (2-3) In some cases each, the object appears together with the buildings of the pilgrimage site, with or without the pilgrims. (4) In a few cases, the object can be seen with the buildings of the pilgrimage site, surrounded by pilgrims and scenes of miraculous events. (5) In further cases we can see the object as part of another composition; in one case (6) the icon is surrounded by pilgrims, and in one case (7) it appears surrounded by signs of miracles.

We can make important observations about one devotional picture based on the icon in Radna, made in the Remondini workshop. The coloured copper engraving dated from around 1780 follows an engraving from 1750; the North Italian artist follows his preceding picture with small differences and simplifications regarding both the icon and the depiction of the miraculous events and the pilgrimage site from a distance. The print of Binder around 1773 could also have followed the engraving from 1750, if only distantly, as its preceding image. While he leaves the miraculous events from around the icon, the pilgrimage church and the trees around the monastery, the motif of the fenced garden to the left and the divisions made in the garden all point towards this theory.

The revered object is shown as part of another composition in the copper engraving of Binder which appears as the first of the series of twelve illustrations of the miracle book published in Buda in 1763, presenting the history of the pilgrimage site of Radna.²⁴ Binder depicts the Italian trader selling the icon to the elderly Bosnian man, György Virchnossa which was later placed on the altar in the chapel of Radna.

²⁴ Éva Knapp and Gábor Tüskés, "Barokk kori mirákulumos könyvek illusztráció-sorozatai" [Illustration Series of Miracle Books in Baroque Period], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 112, 1 (1996): 30-32; Éva Knapp and Gábor Tüskés, *Populáris grafika a 17-18. században* [Vernacular Graphics in the 17-18th Centuries] (Budapest, 2004), 131-153.

A copper engraving made in 1830 shows the icon in a manner different from all previous depictions (Fig. 10-11).²⁵ The unknown master, who was possibly not very highly trained in Arts, depicted three events of Miklós Dániel's life and he added some explanatory text. The three events are as follows: 1. On 2nd August, 1825, Miklós Dániel was on his way home to his estate called Keresztmènes²⁶ in Arad County, following his investigations in several counties on behalf of the Hungarian Royal Treasury. On the mountains he got into a sudden downpour where all his horses drowned. However, he escaped miraculously after one hour of drowning – just when his brother called Antal found out about the danger from the carter travelling ahead, pleaded to the Virgin Mary of Radna and his prayer was heard. 2. On 19th March, 1829 he was robbed in Pest and accused by the authorities. However, thanks to Divine Providence the burglars and most of his wealth were found. 3. He was sentenced to death in Pest despite his innocence on 3rd September 1830. Because of the upcoming coronation of Ferdinand V to King of Hungary, (Bratislava, 28th September 1830) he asked for mercy, resolving that he would build a chapel in the location of the event recounted first. The engraving was probably commissioned by one member of the aristocratic family of Dániel of Szamosújvár, perhaps his brother Antal, to place emphasis on his plea for mercy for his family member. From our perspective, the depiction of the first event is interesting. In the foreground, we can discover carts and animals floating in the flow of the water on the road as a result of the downpour. In the distance, on the peak of the mountain, there is the figure of Antal kneeling in prayer to the icon of Mariaradna. The engraver did not entirely succeed in evoking the icon of Radna, the Madonna does not resemble the icon of Radna at all.

Usage of the engravings

As we have seen earlier, the engravings representing religious objects fulfilled various functions. The pictures were used in publications, mostly as covers or front pages, more rarely as internal illustrations. The one page depictions belong in a separate group. These can fill the entire first page of leaflets, devotional pictures, thesis pages, prayer sheets or company pages. Alternatively they can be in the middle of pages surrounded by longer text.

The prevalence and users of engravings can be traced based on the function, quality and inscription language of the prints. In the first half of the 18th century the engravings are predominantly in Latin but a prayer sheet in German has also survived from this era; in the second half of the 18th century it was also Latin inscriptions that remained in the biggest quantities, but a Hungarian language inscription is also known. The first half of the 19th century is dominated by Hungarian and German inscriptions. The high quality book illustrations, one page thesis sheets and other prints presenting a more complex iconography were made for the nobility, while woodcuts, devotional pictures showing the icon only and prayer sheets were certainly made to serve the devotional needs of wider groups in the first place.

²⁵ 23,5 x 26,5 cm. Hungarian National Museum, Historical Picture Gallery, inv. no. 1833 II.

²⁶ Minişel, Arad county.

Copper engravings were sometimes coloured, such as the big size leaf representing the icon of Cluj owned by the Historical Picture Gallery of the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest (Fig. 12).²⁷ Engravings could have been printed not only on paper but also on coloured silk.

The usage of images can be illustrated by one of the copper engraving depictions of the icon of Cluj.²⁸ It is the copper engraving of Joseph Ernst Mansfeld,²⁹ embellished by cover and watercolour painting as a colouring, as well as with textile patches and metal threads (the so-called “nun work”).³⁰ Klára Csilléry bought the item in 1968 in Budapest (in the pawnshop BÁV) and it is now held in the Religious Art Collection of the Hungarian Museum of Ethnography. We see a similar nun work on a copper engraving of the altar of Radna in the exhibition “Icons from Transylvania. Romanian Art – European Heritage” (Fig. 13).³¹

One engraving of the icon of Radna, a big woodcut copy from around 1800 is a good example of the engravings that were pressed and distributed in large quantities, to be purchased cheap at the pilgrimage site.³² This sheet has so far, to my knowledge, has been unknown and it is currently in a private collection.

To conclude, it can be said that among icons of Mary in Transylvania the most varied iconography is seen in the depictions of the Cluj and Radna icons in engravings. The gradual shallowing and emptying out of the iconography can be traced well, as the images became more and more popular. This is further proven by the change in the language of inscriptions over time as well.

Further research is needed in the case of three Mary-sanctuaries: (1) what happened with the Mary sculpture of Sebeş which was first brought to Kóród / Coroi and then in the Jesuit church of Cluj by Zsigmond Kornis, (2) where is actually the *Maria gravida* icon of Alba Iulia and (3) what happened with the Mary icon of the Jesuit church of Sibiu. Regarding the second question, Zsolt Kovács tried to investigate in his

²⁷ Hungarian National Museum, Historical Picture Gallery, inv. no. T 9287.

²⁸ Ana Dumitran, “Icoana ca intermediar al miracolului și expresie a identității confesionale. Studiu de caz: Beatissima Virgo Claudiopolitana” [Icon as Intermediary of Miracle and Expression of Confessional Identity. Case Study: Miraculosa Beatissimae Virginis Maria Claudiopolitana], in *Identitate confesională și toleranță religioasă în secolele XVIII-XXI* [Religious Identity and Confessional Tolerance in the 18th-21st Centuries], ed. Daniel Dumitran and Botond Gudor (Alba Iulia, 2011), 74, note 28, fig. 4.

²⁹ Other copy of the copper engraving with colouring in the Ecclesiastical Art Museum of Marosvásárhely / Târgu-Mureș: Kisanna Barabás, “A marosvásárhelyi Egyházművészeti Múzeum magánáhitatra serkentő 18. századi szentképei” [The 18th Century Devotional Pictures of the Marosvásárhely Ecclesiastical Art Museum], in *Stílusok, művek, mesterek*, ed. János Orbán, 320, fig. 7.

³⁰ On nun works see: Éva Knapp and Gábor Tüskés, “Feldíszített katakombák szent ereklyék Magyarországon” [Decorated Relics of Catacomb Saints in Hungary], in *Devóció és dekoráció. 18. és 19. századi kolostormunkák Magyarországon* [Devotion and Decoration. 18th and 19th Century Convent Work in Hungary], ed. László Lengyel (Eger, 1987), 25-44, 118-121.

³¹ Alba Iulia, Apur Palace, 25 April - 15 Mai 2013. Organized by Ana Dumitran. Inv. Ar. 657. An other copy of the engraving was published: Gábor Barna, “A fogadalmi tárgyak kutatásáról” [On the Research of Votive Objects], in “*Mária megsegített*” *Fogadalmi tárgyak Máriaradnán* [“Virgin Mary helped.” Votive Objects in Radna], vol. I, ed. Gábor Barna (Szeged, 2002), 17.

³² 365 x 295 mm.

study about the former furnishing of the Trinitarian Church in Alba Iulia whether there was a remaining icon.³³ However, he did not succeed to find a trace in Katona / Cătina as there was no icon in the inventory of the parish church. Until a few years ago there was a big and fairly good quality painting of the Mary pregnant in the church of a neighbouring village, Mócs / Mociu. The researcher reckons it might be just that. Unfortunately a few years ago when the church was handed over to local Greek Catholics, the priest sold this altar picture – thus in the lack of good photographs this theory is difficult to prove. It would be worth going to Mócs in case the locals have photographs of the painting.

The third case is even more difficult: there is currently only one 18th century copper engraving known about the Sibiu icon in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nürnberg.³⁴ This represents Mary sailing on the house of Loretto, with the child Jesus in her arms. Inscription at the bottom of the page: *Marianische Gnadenbild von der Guten Hoffnung genandt in der Kkirchen Soc. Jesu zu Hörmanstadt in Sinnbürgen*. On the script ribbons around Madonna's figure and around the Holy Spirit hovering above her head, it reads: *Salve Regina Mater Misericordiae Vita Dulcedo et Spes nostra salve* (Hail, holy Queen, Mother of Mercy, our life, our sweetness and our hope.) *Jesum Benedictum Fructum Ventris tui nobis post hoc exilium ostende*. (After this our exile, show unto us the blessed fruit of thy womb, Jesus.) So lines 1-2 and 8-9 of the Salve Regina Marian Psalm. From the mouths of the four puttos hovering around Mary's figure, words are coming as well: *O clemens, O pia, O dulcis Virgo Ma[ria]* (O clement, O loving, O sweet Virgin Mary.) – which is line 11 of the psalm.

³³ Kovács, "A gyulafehérvári trinitárius templom," 214, note 95.

³⁴ Szilárdfy, Tüskés and Knapp, *Barokk kori kisgrafikai*, Cat. no. 335.

ILLUSTRATIONS

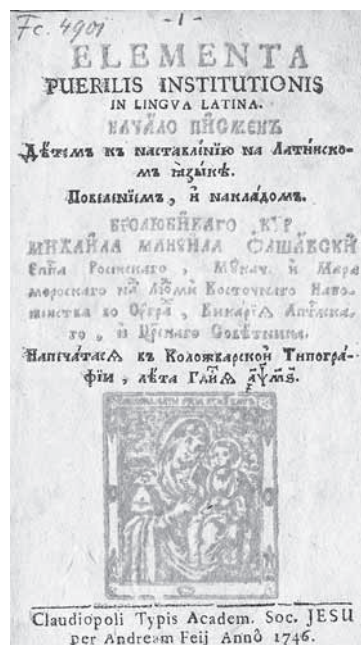


Fig. 1: Mihail Manuil Olsavszky, *Elementa puerilis institutionis* [...],
Claudiopoli, 1746.



Fig. 2: Ceaslov, Blaj, 1766.



Fig. 3: *Doctrina christiana* [...], Balasfalvae, 1757.



Fig. 4: Icon of Cluj on a prayer card.

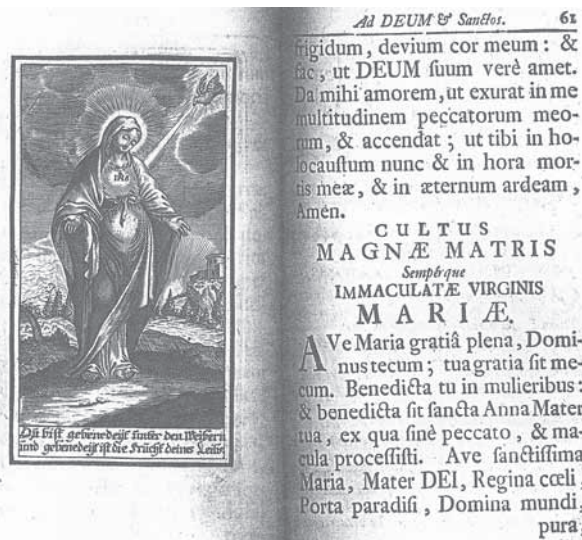
Fig. 5: Fr. L. Schmit(t)ner,
Madonna sculpture of
Şumuleu Ciuc.

Fig. 6: Icon from the Assumption of Mary church, Prague.

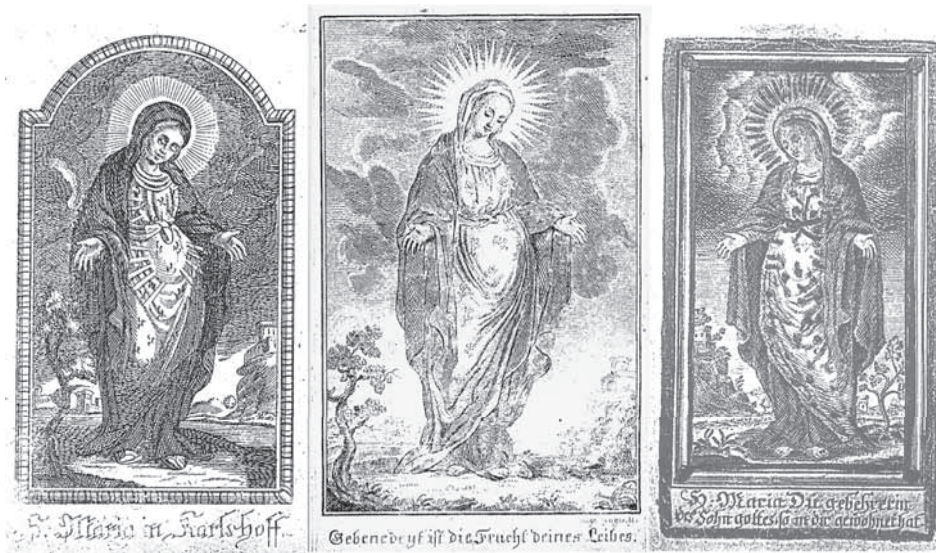


Fig. 7: Icon from the Assumption of Mary church, Prague.



Fig. 8: Icon of Radna on a prayer card.



Fig. 9: Icon of Radna.



Fig. 10: Unknown artist:
Three events of Miklós Dániel's life.



Fig. 11: Detail.



Fig. 12: Joseph Ernst Mansfeld, Icon of Cluj.



Fig. 13: Unknown artist, Altar of Radna.