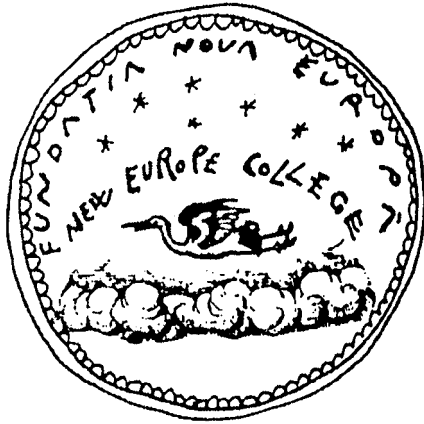


New Europe College Yearbook 2012-2013



MIHAIL EVANS
SAYGUN GOKARIKSEL
MARIA (CIOATĂ) HARALAMBAKIS
WOJCIECH KOZŁOWSKI
DANIEL KUCHLER
DÓRA MÉRAI
JOSEF SCHOVANEC
DENIS SKOPIN
BÁLINT VARGA
WILLIAM DANIEL JÖEL TALLOTTE

Editor: Irina Vainovski-Mihai

Copyright – New Europe College
ISSN 1584-0298

New Europe College
Str. Plantelor 21
023971 Bucharest
Romania
www.nec.ro; e-mail: nec@nec.ro

Tel. (+4) 021.307.99.10, Fax (+4) 021. 327.07.74



DÓRA MÉRAI

Born in 1977, in Hungary

Ph.D. Candidate, Central European University, Department of Medieval Studies

Art historian, archaeologist

Isabel and Alfred Bader Research Grant of the Institute of Art History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Hungary), 2011–2013

CEU Doctoral Research Support Grant, University of Leicester (UK),
Department of History of Art and Film (Hungary), 2010

CEU Doctoral Fellowship, Central European University, Budapest, 2007–

CEEPUS Scholarship, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Department of Art
History (Poland), 2000

Participation in international conferences in Hungary, Germany, Romania,
The United Kingdom

Articles, researches, translations published in archaeology, art history, history,
medieval studies

Participation in research projects in archaeology, art history, monument protection, and cultural heritage studies

Book:

“The True and Exact Dresses and Fashion” Archaeological Clothing Remains and their Social Contexts in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Hungary, Archaeolingua Central European Series 3, BAR International Series 2078, Archaeolingua Central European Series 5, BAR and Archaeolingua Foundation, Oxford – Budapest, 2010

FUNERAL MONUMENTS FROM THE TRANSYLVANIAN PRINCIPALITY IN THE FACE OF THE REFORMATION

Abstract

After the Ottoman conquest of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom in the mid-16th century, when Transylvania became an independent political entity, religious ideas were also transformed: Protestant Reformation reached Transylvania, and different denominations were embraced by various layers of the society. Reformation brought significant changes all over Europe in how the function of funeral monuments was seen, which impacted their appearance too. The aim of this paper is to analyze how religious ideas changing with the Protestant Reformation in 16th-17th century Transylvania influenced the commemoration of the dead as it is reflected by the production of funeral monuments.

Keywords: Transylvania, funeral monuments, 16th-17th century, Reformation

The reformation of death, funerary ritual, and the burial site

Ideas about commemoration depend on and reflect the concepts of a society about death and the relation between the dead and the living, that is, the social experience of death. Scholarship on medieval and early modern burial ritual analyzed the social history of death drawing on anthropological perspectives.¹ According to this anthropological definition, commemorative rituals were determined by and reflect the contemporary concepts about the relation of body and soul, of individual and community and of the community of the living with the community of the dead. As it has been argued on the basis of evidence from all over the Protestant Europe, Reformation brought a significant change in these concepts.² In the Middle Ages the living and the dead were all members of the same Christian community. The living could turn to the saintly

departed for intercession. They themselves could intercede for the souls of the dead suffering in the transitional state of the Purgatory too: with prayers and mass, later also through indulgences; they could shorten the time spent there. Reformers, however, eliminated this chance as a consequence of the doctrine about the salvation by the faith in God's grace alone. There was neither need nor possibility for intercession any more, as the dead were only in the hand of God. The living could not influence their fate, neither by prayer nor by any kind of act; they were separated by the event of death. The Purgatory – a doctrine that had existed since the 12th century – was abolished too.

The influence of the Reformation on death rituals has been studied extensively concerning various parts of Europe.³ Before the Reformation, Christian commemoration was centered on intercession, so as to evoke prayers for the dead with the aim of assisting their souls. With the loss of this possibility, the logical conclusion would have been to eliminate the entire funeral ritual too. Still, different views emerged concerning its necessity, and only the most radicals abandoned it, e.g. the Calvinist community in Geneva and the Anabaptists. Burial rituals were preserved in most of the Protestant denominations, as besides the intercessory function, they had an important social significance as well even during the Middle Ages. With the Reformation, this social element gained a primary role and the commemoration was directed exclusively towards the living. One of its main functions was to console and guide them by affirming their faith in the resurrection. Commemorative rituals and the related material culture served also to help them to prepare for their own good death – since the firm faith in the last minutes was essential concerning the fate of the soul. Death that caught the individual unprepared was considered as bad. The didactic potential of the virtuous life of the dead was exploited in this respect.⁴ The third main field of emphasis has been identified based on the anthropological theories of Arnold Van Gennep and his followers: to display the honor of the dead, thus to emphasize and reinforce social norms and social order.⁵ These were certainly not entirely new aspects, as they can be detected in the medieval forms of commemoration as well.

Studies from all over the Protestant Europe analyzing the actual practice based on written, visual and archaeological sources have pointed out that even if the ideas about death, ritual, church space and images were clearly formulated by theologians, the practice did not always go through similarly radical changes. There were significant regional differences, the whole image showed both continuities and discontinuities with the medieval

traditions, and the changes were gradual, influenced by several factors not related directly to religious ideologies.⁶ For example, concerning the funeral ceremony, several traditional elements were kept but equipped with a new meaning. Motifs such as the participation of the poor or tolling the bells did not have to do any more with accumulating merits or evoking prayers, but were explained within the framework of a set of social rationale, such as with paying the proper honor to the deceased required by his or her social status. Though the funeral sermon became the most important element, several parts of the medieval ritual were preserved too, just gained a new meaning in accordance with the new concepts. These general tendencies characterizing the funerary ritual in Protestant Europe can be traced in Hungary and Transylvania as well.⁷

This paper investigates these processes with respect to funeral monuments in Transylvania: whether the trends characterizing the Protestant lands of Europe can be recognized concerning the overall appearance and content of the stone memorials. The analysis is based on a database that contains 311 funeral monuments erected between 1541 and 1700.⁸ The survey covered the entire territory of the sometime Principality: the major centers and a significant part of the net of small villages too. The results show more or less the actual density of the surviving material and can be considered as representative, even if some further memorials might turn up later.⁹ This, however, will not change significantly the level of representativeness, especially if considering that the surviving ensemble is presumably only a fragment of the amount of memorials that was once installed.

The Reformation in Transylvania

Ideas of the religious reform initiated by Martin Luther reached Hungary already prior to the Ottoman conquest of the country and its division into three parts in the mid-16th century. The influences of the reform appeared first in the royal court and among the German townspeople in Western Hungary and Transylvania. Following the fall of Buda in 1541, the latter was turned into a separate vassal state of the Porte. However, due to the intense connections of the Transylvanian Saxon merchants with the German areas of the Holy Roman Empire, Lutheran teaching spread quickly in both of the two – Hermannstadt and the Burzenland – chapters of the Saxon, which, as a special privilege, were exempt from the authority

of the Gyulafehérvár Bishopric of Transylvania. The Lutheran teaching was embraced by several members of the town elite in Sibiu and Braşov as early as in the 1530s, and the Lutheran service and Church order was accepted in both cities in the early 1540s. In 1544 the decision of the Saxon general assembly expanded it to the entire the Saxon territory.

The population of the town of Cluj, which was originally also mostly German but by the mid-15th century displayed a significant Hungarian presence, embraced the Lutheran Reformation officially in 1551, and in 1557 a second, separate Hungarian superintendence was created. In 1550 the Diet settled the legal status of the Lutherans with a decree that granted the freedom of choice between the Lutheran and Catholic religion to the estates.¹⁰

In the meanwhile, the ideas of the Swiss reform reached the eastern counties of the Hungarian Kingdom, and a Hungarian Calvinist Church came into existence in Transylvania as well. As the two, Hungarian and Saxon (though ethnically not exclusive) churches could not find a resolution for their doctrinal conflict, in 1564 the Diet had to accept the existence of the two, Reformed (Calvinist) and Lutheran religions in Transylvania, with equal rights.¹¹ By that time, even more radical Antitrinitarian doctrines appeared within the borders, enjoying the support of the that time ruler, John Sigismund. In 1567 the Hungarian superintendence adopted an Antitrinitarian creed, followed by a part of the nobility and a number of towns, most significantly Cluj.¹²

The subsequent decisions of the Diet complied with the actual religious landscape: in 1568 they adopted a decree that granted the pastors the freedom of preaching according to their views, while the congregations received the right to reject any preacher. This basically meant the free practice of the four accepted – Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist and Antitrinitarian – religions.¹³ From that time on these principles remained valid all during the existence of the Principality, though the actual, first Catholic, later Protestant princes tried to intervene according to their own religious preferences.¹⁴

Concerning the different confessional environments, this paper aims to answer the question if it is possible to find – even subtle – differences in the way religious reform influenced the monuments erected in those. The question is deliberately not formulated with a reference to the religious views of the individual. Often there is no information on the confession of the person commemorated by a particular tomb or on that of the patron. For example, in the dominantly Antitrinitarian urban context of Cluj

in the late 16th century – where even the town administration adhered officially to the Antitrinitarian doctrines – Calvinism, and with the stay of the Jesuits, Catholicism was present as well. In the 17th century, with the official recognition of Calvinism in the city, it is more and more difficult to find out the confession of the particular individuals.¹⁵ It is the traditions of tomb-making within the local community that can be analyzed and contrasted for example with the essentially – and again, officially – Lutheran environment of the Saxon towns.¹⁶ On the other hand, this was a period when changes in the religious views and affiliation were not infrequent even in the life of a single person. From around the mid-16th century many from among the ranks of the nobility and intellectuals, starting from Catholicism, adhered gradually to more and more radical Protestant doctrines.¹⁷ Later, from the last two decades of the century, the re-Catholicizing efforts of the court resulted in an opposite trend, while in the 17th century Calvinism proved to be the most successful among the nobility. As far as scholarship can follow the personal religious views of the social and intellectual elite, it seems that in many cases these did not correspond to any of the established religions. Local and personal theologies, philosophies were formed building on the theologians of the officially accepted and unorthodox doctrines the representatives of which found refuge in the relatively liberal Transylvania.¹⁸ Thus, in the context of the nobility one cannot speak about one or another characteristic confessional environment and search for the imprint of those on their tombs. In this case, the investigation addresses indeed the traces of the individual motivations in the context of religion: whether it is possible to find the signs of their deliberate visual (or textual) expression, and if yes, how. A third group of memorials commemorates members of the clergy of various denominations; in these cases one would expect an exact doctrinal expression of confessional belonging. Here the question is whether this was indeed the case and if yes, what were the visual means to achieve it.

Post-Reformation funeral monuments in Transylvania

The problem of funeral monuments after the religious reform

As the main ideologists of various trends of the Reformation were not concerned specifically with the applicability, form and general appearance of the funeral monuments, these were mostly subject to local approaches

based on the broader principles related to commemoration, the church space and the applicability of certain images and texts. In this context, the main problem with the medieval tombs concerned their function: they called for prayer for the deceased as it is often explicitly expressed by the "*ora pro me*", "pray for me" inscriptions as well as by visual motifs. This held true both for the grave markers and any kind of commemorative objects the purpose of which was to remind of the dead. The appearance of medieval tombs was determined by their function concerning this salvific dimension.¹⁹ Reformed authorities recognized the danger of misinterpreting any funeral monument in this sense. As an example, the 1525 statute of the Zürich council ordered to remove all the gravestones from the city within a month (though it is a question whether it happened in reality).²⁰ During the 16th century tomb destruction in England in many cases, even if the tomb itself was kept, those elements – images and texts – were removed that could be interpreted as aiming to provoke an intercessory prayer.²¹ However, in general, similarly to the funeral ritual, neither were funeral monuments eliminated, as they constituted an essential part of the social practice of commemoration. The function of the monuments had to be re-interpreted in accordance with the new functions of the commemoration: as consoling the survivors, instructing them on how to prepare for their own death by reminding them of mortality and by setting the deceased as moral examples, and displaying the honor of the dead, thus re-confirming the social order.²² Another main line of criticism concerned funeral monuments as image bearing objects within the church space.²³ As funeral monuments belonged to the furnishing of the church interior, views about their acceptable form was largely determined by the position of different Protestant theologies on the applicability of images, especially in church context.

Though Luther rejected the idea of endowing images and sculptures to acquire merit by God and earn salvation, and also the adoration of images, he did not forbid possessing them as such. For Luther, certain types of images were acceptable for their teaching value in the propagation of the Gospel, as opposed to the views of Zwingli, Bullinger and Calvin, who disapproved any images in church sphere. According to the concerns of the latter, images can provide an opportunity for idolatry, so they called for their removal.²⁴ The cleansing of the churches from images inherited from medieval piety was sometimes smooth, but sometimes it was manifest in an outburst of violent iconoclasm.²⁵

In Transylvania the early Protestant synods regulated the practice of demolishing the altarpieces in the 1550s, warning that it belonged to the competence of the secular authorities and not of the church officials.²⁶ The Saxon synod held in Sibiu distanced themselves already in 1557 from those teachings that differed from Luther's ones in this respect, and prescribed the removal only of the "imaginary" representations (from the legends of the saints), but the "historical" ones (from the Bible) were allowed to keep.²⁷ After the Sacramentarian branch broke up with the Lutheran church, they formulated their position based on the principles set up by Calvin in the documents of the Reformed synod held in 1567. All the altarpieces, pictures, sculpted images had to be removed from the churches by the secular authorities and the priests, and sculpture was not allowed to install even outside the church.²⁸

Written accounts tell about cases also in Transylvania when images were destroyed by Protestants so as to purify church buildings, starting from the 1540s.²⁹ In the Lutheran Saxon context the approach was much more tolerant as it is attested by the large number of surviving medieval altarpieces and frescoes as well.³⁰

In certain parts of Europe funeral monuments too fell victim to iconoclasm if they were considered as calling upon intercessory prayer, and thus, dangerous.³¹ Elsewhere, however, the restricted attitude towards images, thus church furnishing in general, contributed indirectly to the flourishing of the genre of sepulchral monuments.³² This was the period when the amount, size and richness of funeral monuments increased in Europe to an extent never seen before. Independent from the denominational affiliation, spectacular sepulchral monuments were erected in the church naves and choirs, and there was an increasing tendency to create large, complex, lavishly ornamented structures.

From Transylvania there are no data that would suggest that Protestant iconoclasm effected sepulchral monuments from the Middle Ages or those of other denominations. What is more, a source suggests the exact opposite attitude during the first wave of iconoclasm. According to the account of Giovanandrea Gromo, the Italian officer of the Guards of Prince John Sigismund, when the Protestants destroyed the entire furnishing of the medieval cathedral in Alba Iulia in 1565 only four marble monuments were spared: that of János Hunyadi, another one determined probably erroneously as that of John Sigismund's father, the memorial of Cardinal György Martinuzzi, and the tomb of Queen Isabelle.³³

The type and form of funeral monuments

The views elaborated by Calvin on the suspicious character of art replicating nature evoked a generally reserved attitude towards figural images among his followers, which was manifest in various areas of Europe in a cautious treatment of images on tombs as well, or often their complete abandonment.³⁴ The application of images on sepulchral monuments seems to have expressed and have been determined by denominational boundaries.³⁵

In Transylvania the official church forums were not interested in the applicability of funeral monuments and in their form, and Calvinist synods said nothing about the topic either. A certain level of general criticism is manifest, however, in the description of the wall monument imported from Poland for Gábor Bethlen and his first wife, Zsuzsanna Károlyi (1632-34), provided by Ferenc Nagy Szabó in his "Chronicle". The *civis* of the Calvinist Târgu Mureş put the rhetoric question: why are the prince and his wife more worthy for being present in the church with their alabaster images than the saints?³⁶ The difference between the perception of portraits of the dead and portraits of biblical personalities in a church interior is well attested by the story of the pulpit that was installed in the same building for the personal will of Prince Gábor Bethlen. The Calvinist prince was attracted by a pulpit he saw in a Lutheran town of Upper Hungary, and he decided to order for his court church a similar one decorated with the gilded figures of the apostles and angels. The pulpit was finished by 1630, but he was not able to persuade the Calvinist priests to use it. According to the contemporary narrations, the figures were removed for the urge of the Calvinist estates after the death of the prince and were even publicly burnt or buried.³⁷

The quantitative analysis of the surviving memorials shows a clear difference in the attitude towards the figural tombs between the Lutherans and the Calvinists. 62 of the 311 memorials bear a portrait of the deceased, and from among these 39 (62%) were installed in a Lutheran context. From among the rest, four can be related to Catholic subjects, including the ledger of János Statileo (+1542) in Alba Iulia continuing and at the same time closing down a series of medieval bishops' figural monuments.³⁸ Eleven subjects were Calvinist or Antitrinitarian, and I have no information about the confessional context of eight tombs. Notably, from among the portrait tombs that were not erected in a Lutheran context,

only three survived from an urban environment, and 18 from the sphere of the nobility.

In the first decades after the acceptance of the religious reform, relatively few tombs displayed portraits of the deceased even among the Lutheran. One of the earliest examples was the memorial of Albert Cerasinus or Kirschner, who was the priest of Bistrița from 1549 (+1567).³⁹ The inscription of his tomb representing a full figure informs that the Reformation of the town was completed during his activity. Kirschner was among those who favored a more radical attitude towards the liturgy, its visual elements and the furnishing of the church space, closer to the Calvinist or Antitrinitarian ideas as compared to the more conservative direction characterizing Sibiu.⁴⁰ Still, apparently portraiture on funeral monuments did not cause any worries even in this formation period of the local Reform. A contemporary figural memorial in a Lutheran context was installed in Sibiu, for Margaretha Budai (+1566).⁴¹ The representation of the deceased with her children in a kneeling position in front of the Crucifix can possibly be attributed directly to the contacts of the family with the western Protestant territories. The first relatively large group of portrait gravestones of Lutheran dead was produced in the 1590s: a series of mostly priests' tombs displaying a half-figure portrait under a niche carved in the form of a shell.⁴² Based on the execution of these tombs, more than one master or workshop started to offer a very similar design approximately at the same time. As the position of the Protestant denominations concerning the images was clarified by that time, and figural gravestones were apparently not seen as problematic at all for the Lutherans, the market was opened for such memorials, and from that time on they were almost continuously produced first by a group of stonecutters active in the early 17th century in the town, then in Elias Nicolai's and Jacob Srawo's workshops, and later by Sigismund Möss.⁴³

It is even more telling to check the memorials of priests: from among the 50 tombs of Lutheran priests 23 are portrait monuments, while none among the Calvinist and Antitrinitarian ones. Portrait gravestones of the Lutheran clergy characteristic all over the Protestant parts of Europe originated from medieval priests' tombs and another type that appeared prior to the Reform: that of the Humanist scholar. When it was adapted to commemorate Lutheran pastors in the German areas of the Empire, it significantly changed concerning the gestures and clothing, reflecting – as probably in Transylvania too – dress codes for ministers and their wives.⁴⁴ Lutheran pastors and preachers were always depicted in their characteristic

ornate without signaling their rank; their bishops were represented the same way as the village priests. Notably, however, six of the eight surviving memorials of Lutheran bishops were ledgers displaying their life-size portrait, covering the period between 1600 and 1686. The attribute of Lutheran pastors was most frequently a book – as all over Europe⁴⁵ –, then a chalice and a chalice cloth. A number of portrait memorials installed in the Transylvanian Lutheran churches were painted in vivid colors that made the figure even livelier. This phenomenon indicates conspicuously that they were not afraid at all from similitude to reality.

As opposed to the Saxon Lutheran clergy, no portrait gravestones of Calvinist and Antitrinitarian pastors were produced. Altogether they are much less represented in the surviving ensemble than the Lutheran priests, only with a 16th-century heraldic ledger,⁴⁶ and five 17th-century gravestones: two coffin shaped and three coped stones.⁴⁷ Their form is not characteristic for the local urban elite in contrast with the Lutheran clergy, which might have marked a difference in their financial status as well. The tomb of the Calvinist bishop Péter Kovásznai displays a heraldic image, the rest, however, only a very simple symbol: a Bible, the same but held by a lamb or in a hand with three flowers.

The Bible and its scholarly interpretations were the most important weapons of the Calvinist priests according to their statutes.⁴⁸ The visual image of a hand holding a Bible corresponds to this formulation, as it can be associated with the motif of a hand holding a sword that was popular in the real heraldic devices of the nobility. Calvinist pastors were obliged to possess a copy of the Holy Scripture: the more learned individuals a Latin Bible, the less educated priests a Hungarian version. The Bible was an important element of the Lutheran priests' monuments too, as mentioned above, referring to the scriptural bases of their confession: 32 from among the 51 stone memorials of Lutheran priests display the Book.

In contrast with the Bible, the presence or absence of the chalice was a clear distinction between the Lutheran and Calvinist subjects. The chalice was a popular visual element of the tombs commemorating members of the clergy even in the Middle Ages and also within the broader geographical region. The earliest example from the territory of medieval Hungary was found in Dúbravka Devín (now in Slovakia), and dated to the second half of the 13th - beginning of the 14th century. In the neighboring Austrian and South Bavarian areas it was widespread to depict chalices on the gravestones of the lower clergy. A series of similar gravestones with a chalice sometimes combined with a book or a heraldic shield and

surrounded by border inscription dated from the 15th-16th centuries, and were produced in workshops in the area of Salzburg and Vienna.⁴⁹

The chalice depicted on 17 monuments of Transylvanian Lutheran priests – in several cases together with the host – can be attributed a special significance in its context. It put an emphasis on the motif of the Eucharist, which marked an important difference between the Lutheran and Calvinist theological position, and served as the starting point of a series of debates in Transylvania too. Maria Crăciun, when analyzing the Eucharistic iconography on altarpieces, argued that during the process of shaping the confessional identity of the Saxon church, the definition of the meaning of the Eucharist was a corner stone. Lutheran theologians used this sacrament to distance themselves both from Catholics and Calvinists.⁵⁰

Consequently, in theory it can be excluded that the visual representation of the Eucharist appears on a Transylvanian tomb in a Calvinist context. (In East England for example, tombs commemorating priests with representations of the host and chalice were even destroyed.⁵¹) However, there is at least one example that contradicts to this hypothesis: on the tomb chest of György Apafi the allegorical figure of Faith is represented with a chalice and the host.⁵² The three-dimensional female figure is placed on the corner of the tomb chest together with the allegorical representation of three other virtues; consequently it is not a main element of the representation, though it was very well visible for the spectator. This might signal that the patrons of the tomb of the Calvinist nobleman were not specifically preoccupied whether the visual representation corresponded to the “right” religious dogmas, and neither did the tomb-maker, Elias Nicolai, who otherwise worked in a Lutheran environment.⁵³ Other tombs related to his workshop but commemorating Lutheran subjects often displayed the chalice and host too.⁵⁴

The lack of figural representations did not characterize only the funeral monuments of the Calvinist and Antitrinitarian clergy, but the portrait was almost absent in the Calvinist or Antitrinitarian urban context in general. Three memorials from the Házsongárd or Central Cemetery in Cluj display human figures that can be understood as representations of the deceased, but in a very small size and in a schematic manner, all dating from the first half of the 17th century.⁵⁵ In contrast, 15 tombs commemorating members of the Lutheran Saxon urban elite display their portraits. Even tombs without figures are much more modest in the Antitrinitarian and Calvinist environment of Cluj and Târgu Mureş than in the Saxon churches. The few ledgers from the churches in Cluj are simpler than the

contemporary examples from Sibiu, displaying only a basic heraldic motif and a brief inscription.⁵⁶ The more modest forms and decoration of the entire ensemble of funeral monuments from Cluj and Târgu Mureş is also related to the place of the burials: as most of the surviving stones were installed in the extramural graveyards of these towns, they necessarily displayed forms different from those inserted into the pavement of the churches. They were exposed to the weather conditions, which made it useless to create meticulously ornamented surfaces.

Certainly the skills of the tomb-makers determined the complexity of the available tomb designs as well. Based on the survey of the surviving pieces it seems that the possibilities were broader in Sibiu in this respect. This is indicated by the funeral monuments produced by stonemasons from Cluj for members of the nobility, displaying portraits and other figures. The quality of craftsmanship is far from the average level in Sibiu even in the case of the best pieces produced by masters from Cluj.⁵⁷ On the other hand, these memorials prove that also the latter would have been able to create figural tombs for townspeople too if there had been a demand for that. Apparently the tomb market in Sibiu could continuously provide a demand for at least one workshop at least partly specialized in relatively richly ornamented funeral monuments, among those figural ones. This was also due to the position of the confession officially adhered by the town concerning the applicability of images – though there are for sure no monocausal explanations.

Considering the funeral monuments of the nobility, no such difference can be perceived. Though there were Catholic, Calvinist and Antitrinitarian among those represented in the sample of memorials analyzed, the religious affiliation is not manifest in any kind of difference in the tomb type. The medieval type of tomb chest with a representation of the full figure of the deceased on the top was preserved regardless the denominational context (e.g. the tombs of the Calvinist György Apafi, +1635, the Antitrinitarian György Sükösd, 1632, and the Catholic Kelemen Béldi, +1627⁵⁸). Heraldic tombs were also characteristic for people of all confessional status.

The host was not the only element on the Apafi tomb chest that connected it to the Lutheran memorials and distinguished it from the Calvinist doctrines. On one of the short side panels the three sons of Apafi are represented who died as infants, notably two of them in a prayer, in a kneeling position, which was defined as erroneous by the early Calvinist synods in Eastern Hungary already in the 1560s.⁵⁹ Patrons, donators had been depicted in such a pose since the first half of the 14th century

in codices, altarpieces, wall paintings, and the kneeling, praying figure became a general element of painted epitaphs and gravestones from the mid-14th century first in the German areas, later all over Europe.⁶⁰ It was the most popular way of representing the deceased also on Lutheran epitaphs, and it was not infrequent on funeral monuments either in a Lutheran context. Epitaphs displaying the subject kneeling in a prayer in front of the Crucifix seem to have been wide-spread in the second half of the 16th century in Upper Hungary too, and the same scene appears on the top of the tomb chest of Tamás Nádasdy – a Hungarian aristocrat interested in the Lutheran teachings – located in Lockenhaus (today Austria).⁶¹ Among the Transylvanian tombs the kneeling position is represented only by a few examples even from a Lutheran context (Margaretha Budai and her children, +1566; Georg Heltner with his family, +1640; the children on the tomb of Barbara Theilesius, +1620s⁶²). The first one had no analogies in the 16th century Transylvania and probably reflects the intense Western European relations of the Haller family. The second and third, however, together with the Apafi tomb chest, can be related to the activity of Elias Nicolai, so it was the visual panels applied by the tomb-maker in this case too that determined the choice of the forms. The possible presence of a three dimensional kneeling figure in Transylvania has been raised related to the wall monuments of the princes in Alba Iulia: based on the analogies from the workshop of their sculptors it has been suggested that they were equipped with kneeling figures, probably under the Crucifix.⁶³ This may have not meant any conceptual problem in the case of the Catholic Kristóf Báthory. However, concerning the Calvinist Gábor Bethlen, and especially the memorials of György Rákóczi I and his sons commissioned by his devotedly Puritan wife, Zsuzsanna Lorántffy, it is a question whether they could have overlooked such a detail in a context where it was much more visible than on the Apafi tomb chest.⁶⁴ In this case it remains an open question – unless new sources are discovered – whether the solutions offered by the tomb-maker were evaluated by the patron with a special attention to the exact theological implications of the visual elements or not.

The traditions characterizing the commemorative practices of the nobility were definitely more influential than theological considerations when making the choices about funeral monuments. This is attested by an element in the last will of the Calvinist Zsigmond Kékedi, *magister curiae* of the prince, written in 1638: he expressed his wish about a modest funeral ceremony reasoning that God prohibits any luxury. At the same time, he

asked his brother to have a red marble figural monument (*statua*) made in his memory – a material that implies an expensive imported work and a form that probably would have displayed his portrait.⁶⁵ Apparently the fear from ostentation did not even occur in this respect.

Images and iconography

Details of the tombs, their images and iconography may have offered a field to manifest religious positions. As the discussion of a few details – the Bible, the chalice – has already shown, there were indeed some elements that were amenable to signal religious affiliation and distinction from other denominations, though their use was not always determined by conscious theological considerations. Sometimes they seem to have appeared only as an element of visual conventions characteristic for the commissioners' environment or the tomb-maker's toolkit.

The most characteristic difference between the attitude of Protestant denominations towards images concerns the applicability of scenes from the Bible. While Lutherans accepted the "historical" images that is episodes from the Old Testament and the life of Christ, and rejected only the stories of the saints considered to be fictional,⁶⁶ the Swiss direction of the Reform found it unacceptable to represent anything that was worshipped by the Catholics. The more liberal attitude of Luther and his followers towards the images lead to a flourishing of new genres and representational types in their art, including specifically religious art developed to present even complicated theological issues visually through figural allegories.⁶⁷ One of the most important fields where these new iconographic types appeared was that of commemoration: the Lutheran painted epitaph,⁶⁸ but also funeral monuments were equipped with a particular set of religious scenes.⁶⁹ Funeral monuments from Transylvania display a relatively narrow set of these iconographic themes that elsewhere covered mostly the scenes of the Passion, the last Judgment and also Old Testament stories.⁷⁰

Even the scene that was the most popular on Lutheran epitaphs and tombs in Europe, the Crucifixion of Christ is represented by no more than one example, the aforementioned epitaph of Margaretha Budai (+1566). The cross itself appeared above the head of Barbara Theilesius (+1620s),⁷¹ and even more than once on the ledger produced probably also in Sibiu, but placed in the church of the Orthodox monastery in Prislop. This commemorated the patron of the church, Zamfira, the daughter of the Viovide of Walachia (+1580).⁷² It is only the cross that refers to the

Orthodox Christianity of the deceased on the memorials created by Elias Nicolai for Walachian patrons: a double cross on the second tomb of Voivode Matie Basarab and a small and simple one on that of his wife, Princess Elena.⁷³

The Holy Dove floats above the head of the deceased on several funeral monuments installed in a Lutheran context.⁷⁴ In contrast, the Calvinist synod of 1567, listed the representation of God the Father, Christ, and the Holy Spirit among the prohibited themes of images.⁷⁵ The Son was represented through a symbol, a lamb on the tomb of the Antitrinitarian priest Sámuel Járai, but holding a Bible and not a cross.⁷⁶ Despite the explicit prohibition of the Calvinist statutes, however, the Holy Dove papers above the head of the Calvinist György Apafi. This can be understood as another element mechanically applied by Elias Nicolai without considering the specific confessional context, but also as a conscious choice of demonstrating the belief of the deceased and the patron, his wife in the Holy Trinity. The patron, Borbála Petki was Calvinist by that time, but she was raised as Antitrinitarian, and her brother, Ferenc Petki had some serious conflicts with the prince with regard to his Antitrinitarian views as well. The councilor Apafi was favored by the Prince, and he tried to intervene for his brother-in-law. Still, the family was standing on a slippery soil with their disgraced relatives especially from about 1638.⁷⁷ Their donations to the various Calvinist congregations, the erection of a Calvinist chapel and probably also a church related to their manor house, however, suggests that they put a strong emphasis on appearing as devout Calvinists.⁷⁸

The representation of biblical scenes is exceptional on Transylvanian memorials. The story of the Good Samaritan was carved on the side panel of the tomb chest of Queen Isabelle as a moral instruction for the spectator but also referring to the virtues of the queen.⁷⁹ The Resurrection, a popular theme on tombs in a Western European Lutheran context, is displayed by two, almost identical ledgers from Sibiu from the 1650s.⁸⁰ The dove was applied in another context as well: as a reference to Noah's Ark, holding a branch in its beak. It appears as a heraldic motif on a shield on a series of portrait gravestones from the 1590s.⁸¹ On the tomb of Petrus Rihelius by the workshop of Elias Nicolai (+1648) even the ark is depicted, an ancient reference to the journey to the afterlife, but the dove with the oil branch appears as a symbol of the hope of Resurrection.⁸² The shield is held by St. Peter Martyr and St. John the Evangelist. The representation of saints was exceptional on funeral monuments. On the ledger of Blasius

Rhau a strange mixture of the iconography of St. Onophrius and Blasius, the patron of the profession and name of the deceased appears as the crest, so also included into a heraldic image.⁸³ Angel figures are the most frequent as shield holders on the memorials, but they can be interpreted in an eschatological context as well, taking the soul of deceased represented by the heraldic device, to the heaven.

Hearts, lions, and other small motifs on the Lutheran tombs refer to the virtues of the dead and their unshakeable faith, and religious allegories such as the image of the pelican feeding its nestlings and bunches of grapes were multiplied around the figures and heraldic shields. The anchor as the symbol of the firm faith was placed on the portrait monument of bishop Christian Barth in Biertan (1649) and the largely provincial ledger of the priest Georg Clockner in Sibiu (+1670).⁸⁴ The tomb of Christian Barth was produced by the workshop of Elias Nicolai. His effigy was represented holding a huge anchor that, as an emblem, bears an inscription referring to his faith in salvation by God's grace; the rest of the texts refer to his role as the firm column of his homeland. Christian Barth was elected as a Lutheran bishop in 1647, and that time his position was shaking in a certain extent as he was accused with crypto-Calvinism.⁸⁵ His tomb monument was commissioned by himself in 1649 as it is stated in the inscription, and it transmits a powerful visual message of him being steadily anchored into the Lutheran church, especially having been set into the context of an already existing series of monuments of Lutheran bishops in the fortified church of Biertan.

The allegorical figures of virtues were represented only on two of the known memorials of noblemen: on the tomb chests of György Apafi and György Sükösd, on the corners of the former as three-dimensional figures and in a flat relief on the long side panel on the latter. One or two of the four cardinal and three theological virtues can be detected on the ledgers of Saxon Lutheran townspeople as well: *Fides* with book and chalice and *Spes* with an anchor as the most important virtues in the context of Protestant eschatology.⁸⁶

This is not the only similarity between the iconography of the two – the Apafi and Sükösd – tomb chests produced in the 1630s in Sibiu and in Cluj respectively, which might be the sign of the sometime existence of a common model lost by now. They are connected by elements belonging to the *memento mori* iconography as well, referring to the vanity and perishability of worldly things, youth and life, widespread on funeral monuments in the 16th and 17th centuries all over Europe.

Representations and texts referring to decay were broadly applied on tombs even in the Middle Ages, reminding the observer of his or her own death and inviting for contemplation on the sins closely associated with decay within the spiritual framework of Christianity. Macabre themes and an interest shown in portrayals of physical decomposition were manifest from the 14th century in manuscripts and church murals, and also in a funerary context mostly in Germany and France.⁸⁷ The images of bodily decay were closely related to medieval conceptions of memory as well, applying emotionally shocking effects for a deeper impression of the message.⁸⁸ From the late 16th century the theme was “vulgarized” (using a term by Philippe Ariés): skeletons and bones appeared on a broad range of tombstones all over Europe.⁸⁹ Representations reminding of the brevity of human life and the necessity of preparing for death, combined with sentences from the Bible or religious literature were widely popularized by printed graphic arts.

On the top of the Apafi tomb chest the figure of the dead is surrounded by symbolic images from this iconographic sphere. On the left side of the figure there is a human skeleton with a scythe in the bones of the left hand, and raising a sand-clock with the right hand. The blade of the scythe threatens to cut down the grapevine, the heraldic device of the family. A similar “active skeleton” is found on a side panel of the tombstone of György Sükösd. Matthew 25:13 was written on a scroll above the skeleton: “VIGILATE QUIA NESCIT[...] QVA HORA [...]NSVENIET MAT”.

On the other side of the figure on the Apafi tomb an infant sits on a human skull barefooted, wearing a long shirt. The image of an infant with the death’s head derives from the genre of emblems.⁹⁰ The depiction, which became highly popular from the 15th-16th centuries, is a creation of the Renaissance, the golden age of allegories, symbols and emblems. It was invented by the Venetian Giovanni Boldú in 1458. Boldú, a follower of Pisanello, created bronze medals, and on one of these he combined for the first time the figure of a putto – a hybrid of an *all’antica* genius and the angel who carries the souls to the heaven – and a skull. This composition became extremely popular all over Europe due to the striking contrast between the skull and the young, childlike figure of the putto. North from Italy the putto was associated with hedonism, and warned as a threatening example to fight the sins vigilantly. The putto is often depicted dying among all kinds of vanities, or playing carelessly near a skeleton that holds a scythe, with a text in Latin or German: “*Hodie mihi cras tibi*”.⁹¹ The “putto with the death’s head” was introduced in a new

context in the Netherlands by Cornelis Floris in the second half of the 16th century. He combined the iconography with the antique representations of Thanatos, and placed winged putto figures leaning on a torch on epitaphs and tombs.⁹² The motif appeared on tombstones at the end of the 16th century, and during the 17th century spread all over Europe. German art, however, preserved the putto with a sand-clock without wings and torch, leaning on a skull, and transmitted that to funeral context – this is the type that can be detected in Transylvania as well.

Most of such images in Transylvania originate from Saxon urban context.⁹³ The largest series of this image are displayed by those tombs that have been connected to the workshop of Elias Nicolai.⁹⁴ These represent different versions of the motif often combined with the text “*Hodie mihi cras tibi*”. This short proverb is a paraphrase of Sirach 38:22, “Remember my judgment: for thine also shall be so: yesterday for me, and today for thee.”⁹⁵ There are other motifs from the same iconographic environment, such as a skull with a snake woven between the jaw-bones on the tomb of Daniel Klein (+1628) and Zsuzsanna Kamuthy (+1631).⁹⁶ A skull with crossed bones can be seen on two monuments already mentioned above, on that of Barbara Theilesius and Georg Glockner.

As all these examples show, the moral didactic potential of *memento mori* images was rarely utilized outside the Lutheran context, and even in these cases almost exclusively on those tombs that were made in the workshops in Sibiu for patrons from the ranks of the Calvinist nobility. As in the case of the other religiously meaningful motifs, here too the tomb-maker probably applied his established panels regardless the context. The only exception is the tomb chest of the Antitrinitarian György Sükösd produced in Cluj by Péter Diószegi – Cluj tomb-makers did not apply *memento mori* images in any other case among the tombs that survived. In Sibiu the use of both religious symbols and *memento mori* allegories was especially characteristic from the 1620s. As compared to the previous practice of applying one single item of such elements, in these decades the tombs were crowded with various small images of religious and moral significance. It seems that the application of such images on tombs was not related to the level of religiosity at all, but was determined by the toolkit of the tomb-makers ultimately based on graphic models circulating all over Europe. These images have to be interpreted rather within the broad trends of European visual culture of the period than in a local theological or intellectual context.

Texts

Calvinist and Lutheran views overlapped in their positive attitude towards the application of biblical inscriptions in church environment. Lutheran images could fulfill more efficiently their educational task due to the text, and they contributed to excluding any doctrinal misunderstanding of the images too, while according to the more radical Reformed ideas, inscriptions were the only form of acceptable decoration in a church sphere.⁹⁷ As it has been observed in the German-speaking areas of the Holy Roman Empire, neither the style nor the content of the funerary inscriptions differed much in the Reformed and the Lutheran religious context.⁹⁸ A similar image unfolds when overviewing these texts from the Transylvanian Principality.

Inscriptions on funeral monuments appeared relatively late in Transylvania, in the 15th century, and formulae calling for intercession – “*ora pro me*”, “*miserere me*” – which caused the most serious upheaval in the Protestant Western Europe,⁹⁹ were applied as well, though these were not very widespread.¹⁰⁰ From the mid-16th century, the content of the texts was focused on topics complying with the eschatological views of the Protestant theology. In general the longest and most complex inscriptions were applied in the Lutheran Saxon environment, and the detailed examination of particular case studies can sometimes reveal even nuances in the contemporary intellectual and religious life.¹⁰¹ Members of the Saxon intellectual elite wrote pieces belonging to the popular genre of epitaphs, a number of which were not inscribed in stone but published in literary collections.¹⁰²

A considerable number of inscriptions from Transylvanian funeral monuments have been collected and analyzed by experts in epigraphy focusing on the development of formulae and script types.¹⁰³ Here I will only point at a few tendencies partly observed by previous scholarship in epigraphy and partly concluded on the basis of the inventory behind this paper, a considerable part of which have not been included yet to the epigraphic research.

As stated above, the general content of grave inscriptions did not show any difference in the Lutheran and Reformed environment. The same can be concluded about the texts written on the – not too many, a total of 18 – verifiably Catholic subjects as well: no specifically Catholic textual references can be detected. The religious content of funerary inscriptions all over Transylvania was focused on displaying the firm faith of the

deceased, his or her hope in the resurrection, and on re-confirming that of the spectator too. The security in the salvation and the resurrection were the most important elements in the epitaphs both written in Latin and in Hungarian.¹⁰⁴ This hope was expressed through biblical quotes as well, such as with Psalm 25, 2 (“O my God, I trust in thee”¹⁰⁵), and the Hungarian text on a series of tombs produced in Cluj in the 17th century is closed by the same formula referring to the resurrection (“*adjon az úr feltámadást az utolsó napon*”¹⁰⁶).

An important motif in a Protestant context was that of the “good death”: with the doctrine of the justification by faith alone the only thing that mattered to achieve salvation for the dying was to remain firm in their faith.¹⁰⁷ Tomb inscriptions stating that the subject died the proper way were to confirm the faith of the living in the resurrection, similarly to the quote “*beati mortui qui in domino moriuntur*” (Rev. 14,13) on the ledger of Georg Peltz in Richiş. The Hungarian text on the gravestone of Mátyás Hyncz warned everybody to focus on the returning of Christ and the eternal happiness when on their deathbed.¹⁰⁸ A life closed down by a good death is referred to by the application of 2 Timothy 4,7: “*bonum certamen certavi cursum consummavi fidem servavi*”.¹⁰⁹

Texts reminded of the brevity of life so as to warn to prepare for a good death, in a piece of poetry or in the form of brief sayings widespread all over Europe: “*memento mori*”, “*hodie mihi cras tibi*”, “*quod ego sum tu eris*”, “*sic transit gloria mundi*”. Various forms of texts were interwoven with the contrasting of the fate of the body and the soul, death and life, a theme already popular in the Middle Ages.¹¹⁰ Texts emphasizing that the grave or tomb hides only the bones and ashes of the deceased are related to these ideas too.¹¹¹

The brief paraphrases, mottos were generally operating together with a corresponding visual representation, most often with the “putto and a skull”, or inserted into the image so as to utilize the interplay of text and visual representation in emphasizing the content. The two sentences – “*Christus ißt mein Leben*”, “*Sterben ißt mein gewin*” – were contrasted even visually written on the two pilasters flanking the portrait of Barbara Theilesius. The motto incised on the huge anchor held by Bishop Christian Barth also referred to the image: “*Anchora meae salutis gratia Patris per Christum acqvisita*” and the two operated together almost as a Protestant religious and also personal device. The emblem of Petrus Rihelius bearing Philippians 1,21 as a motto, “*vita mihi Christas, mors mihi lucrum*”, and held by Petrus Martyr, is in a triple interplay with the epitaph built on the

meaning of the name Petrus.¹¹² The pelican feeding its nestlings with her own blood, a symbol of the salvation by Christ, was the chosen heraldic symbol of the Saxon Roth family, and the motif of salvation appears in the epitaph as well.¹¹³

In the rhymed epitaphs all these contents are often formulated in the language of Humanistic poetry.¹¹⁴ These tell about the virtues of the deceased, and express the faith that their soul is now in the heaven and their body will resurrect in the future. The use of ancient formulae of addressing the spectator (e.g. “*viator*”) emphasizes the didactic role of the tombs.¹¹⁵

The praise of the deceased was a general characteristic in the Humanistic genre of epitaphs,¹¹⁶ and it was certainly present also in Transylvania.¹¹⁷ In a Protestant environment the emphasis was on the virtuous life both in the civic and in the religious sphere, the dead were set as models for the audience. The application of extensive biographical texts was also rooted in the Humanist commemorative traditions, and corresponded to the emergence of lengthy biographical sermons in the second half of the 16th century all over Europe.¹¹⁸ On Transylvanian funeral monuments these became especially popular from the 17th century, and the most ostentatious example was created already in the 18th century, on the monument of Simon Albelius and Marcus Fronius in Braşov.

Latin was widespread and not specific for any denomination. At the same time, the increasing use of vernacular languages characterized the application of texts on funeral monuments too. Similarly to the imperial German territories, texts in vernacular were not an exclusive characteristic of Protestant environment in Transylvania either.¹¹⁹ The first examples can be detected in the 1560-70s both concerning the German and Hungarian monuments in Transylvania. The first Hungarian text appeared on the plaques walled into the city wall of Cluj, from the 1570s¹²⁰ – taking aside one plaque bearing the suspiciously early date of 1554 – and the first German inscription was preserved from 1567 (on the tomb of Salome Ursula Hedvig).¹²¹

Comparison of funeral monuments created for different religious (and social) strata reveal that the same old testament verses on death, salvation and resurrection appear on the monuments of Calvinist, Lutheran, Catholic and also on Orthodox subjects produced in Transylvanian workshops. Some of these popular textual “panels” (e.g. from the Book of Job, Sirach, and the prophecy of Ezekiel) moved around combined with moralizing images, in the form of *memento mori* emblems mentioned above. These

most popular quotes did not differ from those preferred in a funerary context all over Europe. Job 14,1-2 ("Man that is born of a woman is of few days and full of trouble. He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down: he fleeth also as a shadow, and continueth not.") was also quoted by the Catholic Zsigmond Haller in his last will in 1626 justifying why he was composing the testament.¹²² The most popular biblical quote was Job 19,25-27: "For I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth: And though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God: Whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another; though my reins be consumed within me." It can often be encountered in Latin, Hungarian, and German as well. Zsigmond Lónyai, who put in writing in his testament his wish to have a tombstone installed on his grave so as he can wait for the resurrection without any disturbance, supplemented this with the quote of Job 19,25-27.¹²³ These biblical parts belonged to the general verbal toolkit of both the patrons and the tomb-makers of all confessions to express their ideas about their own death and death in general. The aforementioned quotes and a number of others (e.g. Ezekiel 37,12; Sirach 14:18) were equally placed on tombs of Calvinist noblemen, Lutheran Saxon patricians and priests and the Orthodox family members of the voivode of Walachia. The expression of grief over the loss is generally far overshadowed by a display of faith in the salvation of the soul and in the resurrection. The presentation of the virtues of the deceased, though it was also a display of what had been lost for the bereaved, was more related to this context.

The siting of the funeral monuments

Though theologians of the religious reform did not give any direct instructions on the appearance of the funeral monuments, they were definitely concerned of another aspect of the burial: that of the location. In the Middle Ages the dead were placed to rest in the church and the churchyard, within the settlement and among the living, who could constantly support their souls with prayers. After the Reformation, this sacred topography did not bear meaning any more, on the contrary, offered a temptation for misinterpretation and inappropriate use.¹²⁴ Luther himself argued for the removal of the burial from the center of the settlement to outside the city walls. He suggested the use of extramural cemeteries also for health reasons.¹²⁵ The period was indeed characterized

by a general trend of removing the cemeteries from the center of the towns and the area of the church to outside the settlements, though the exact role played by the Reformation within the process is debated by scholarship.¹²⁶ Concerning Transylvania, sources attest that the first steps to remove the place of burial from the church and the town to extramural communal graveyards were taken after the acceptance of Reformation and by town magistrates officially adhering to the new doctrines.¹²⁷ On the other hand, this does not mean that church interiors were not used for burials any more. Churches remained a favored burial site of the urban elite, especially in the Lutheran Saxon towns as testified by the large series of surviving funeral monuments from Sibiu, Braşov, Sighişoara, Mediaş and Biertan. The surviving funeral monuments, as well as the last wills suggest that also members of the nobility kept on using churches as their burial place no matter which denomination they belonged to. What is more, the actual practice seems to have influenced the official position of the local Reformed Church as well. The documents of its early synods express a strict position in this question: churches have to be kept free from burials.¹²⁸ In 1646, however, they formulated that patrons who had the ancient right to be interred in the churches and chapels were exempt from this rule.¹²⁹

An indirect influence of religious views on the appearance of the tombs can be detected here: urban extramural cemeteries emerged as a new spatial destination of the tombs, and as a result, new forms came into existence (coped headstones and coffin-shaped stones). These were essentially different from those in the church interior, and the fact that they were exposed directly to the weather conditions might have influenced the complexity of the decoration as well. Forms known already in the Middle Ages that counted as traditional in the church interior (such as ledger stones and tomb chests) were, however, also produced, and even a few examples of early modern wall monuments widespread in Europe were imported.

Conclusions

Protestant theologians did not elaborate specifically on the applicability and form of funeral monuments, but based on their views on the use of images in a church environment, various local positions emerged all throughout Europe, sometimes only omitting complex tombs but

sometimes ending up in a violent iconoclasm in this field too. The Lutheran and Calvinist viewpoint in this respect clearly differed in Transylvania as well. Lutherans did not see any problems with those images that offered no reason for worshipping, and they accepted the representations of biblical scenes referring to their didactic function. In contrast, Calvinist synods formulated a radically negative attitude towards the figural images. This cannot be overlooked when interpreting the phenomenon that no real portrait monuments survived from a Calvinist urban context, while the late 16th century brought a boom in such tombs in the Lutheran towns, and especially among their priests. Decisions made in this respect by members of the nobility, however, do not show any influence of religious considerations: all four religions followed the medieval traditions when choosing the types of their tombs. Neither does the iconography of these tombs reflect specifically the religious views of their subjects. This is attested by those cases where a tomb-maker coming from a Lutheran environment prepared the memorial of a Calvinist noble and applied the same elements as on the tombs of the Lutheran townspeople, even if their theological implications might have been problematic in a Reformed context. Considering the texts carved on stone memorials all over Transylvania, the picture seems to be even more uniform concerning the eschatological content. In most cases the inscriptions do not give any clue to the denominational belonging of the subject. Religious motifs in general were covered by the same broadly accepted and applied formulae. Humanist epitaphs incised on memorials belonged to a genre pursued by the intellectual elite also in the Principality, and these too were built on the same main eschatological ideas in the case of all denominations. The authors of these often took the opportunity to elaborate on some elements of the individual's life as well.

The overall image resulting from this analysis suggests that tombs were not specifically instrumentalized to display confessional difference in the Transylvanian Principality, which is an especially interesting phenomenon considering the denominational diversity of the society. In urban communities, where the town leadership officially accepted one or another confession, its imprint can be identified in the burial and commemorative practice, but in general traditions seem to have been related more to the social status. Among the nobility the strong emphasis on the representation of the "social self" might have contributed to the phenomenon that tombs were not utilized to display religious affiliation even in a confessionally largely fragmented society and even in cases

of contested religious identities. Traditional rights of the patrons to be buried inside the church even overwrote the official position of the local Reformed Church.

As, however, other sources testify, nobles were definitely concerned about the proper religious setting of the burial, manifest for example in the funerary ritual. Though it seems that the ceremonies of the Protestant denominations and the Catholics were linked by several elements, contemporaries clearly perceived the difference. As denominational differences were not infrequent between the immediate family members, it was unavoidable to participate at ceremonies organized according to various confessional principles. People problematized the participation in practices they considered as pagan or superstitious based on their own confessional standing. This was manifest in the concern expressed by the Lutheran Saxon when they were obliged to appear at the funeral ceremony of the Antitrinitarian Prince John Sigismund, or by the Protestant nobles who, due to their obligation based on social status, took part at the funeral of the Catholic Kelemen Mikes.¹³⁰ Funeral monuments seem to reflect religious identities in a very limited and far not uniform manner concerning various social layers. Other factors that contributed to the overall setting, such as the context of space and of ritual and social acts need to be taken into consideration as well so as to understand more deeply the impact of religious changes on the ideas and concepts related to death and commemoration within the Transylvanian Principality.

NOTES

- ¹ Mostly on theories of HERTZ, R., *Death and the Right Hand*, Cohen & West, Glencoe (Ill), 1960; GENNEP, A. V., *The Rites of Passage*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1960; TURNER, V., *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1969; BLOCH, M. and PARRY, J. P., *Death and the Regeneration of Life*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982; HUNTINGTON, R. and METCALF, P., *Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991.
- ² KOSLOFSKY, C. M., *The Reformation of the Dead. Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450-1700*, Palgrave, New York, 2000, 22-39; REINIS, A., *Reforming the Art of Dying: The Ars Moriendi in the German Reformation (1519-1528)*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2007, 2-5.
- ³ See e.g. GITTINGS, C., *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England*, Croom Helm, London, 1984; CRESSY, D., "Death and the Social Order: The Funerary Preferences of Elizabethan Gentlemen", in *Continuity and Change*, 5. 1989; MUIR, E., *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997; KARANT-NUNN, S. C., *The Reformation of the Ritual. An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany*, Routledge, London, 1997; KOSLOFSKY, C. M., *The Reformation of the Dead. Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450-1700*, Palgrave, New York, 2000; MARSHALL, P., *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002; HARDING, V., "Choices and Changes: Death, Burial and the English Reformation", in Gilchrist and Gaimster (eds.), *The Archaeology of the Reformation 1480-1580*. Maney, Leeds, 2003, 386-398. The following summary is based mostly on these works.
- ⁴ LLEWELLYN, N., *The Art of Death. Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual c. 1500 - c. 1800*, Reaktion Books, London, 1991, 28.
- ⁵ LLEWELLYN, N., *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000, 42-49; KOSLOFSKY, C. M., *The Reformation of the Dead. Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450-1700*, Palgrave, New York, 2000, 93-94, 104-106.
- ⁶ GAIMSTER, D. and GILCHRIST, R., "History From Below: The Archaeology of the English Reformation 1480-1580", in Gaimster and Gilchrist (eds.), *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480-1580*. Maney, Leeds, 2003, 1-8; HAMM, B., "How innovative was the Reformation?", in Jäggi and Staecker (eds.), *Archäologie der Reformation: Studien zu den Auswirkungen des Konfessionswechsels auf die materielle Kultur*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 2007, 26-43; SCHOLKMANN, B., "Forschungsfragestellungen, Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer Archäologie der Reformation in Mitteleuropa", in Jäggi and Staecker (eds.), *Archäologie der Reformation: Studien zu den Auswirkungen des Konfessionswechsels auf die materielle Kultur*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 2007, 3-25.

- ⁷ Graham Murdock has discussed the question based on the study of Calvinist church visitations and funeral sermons. MURDOCK, G., "Death, prophecy and judgement in Transylvania", in Gordon and Marshall (eds.), *The Place of the Dead. Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000, 206-223.
- ⁸ The inventorying of the funeral monuments was carried out between 2010 and 2013 with the financial support of the CEU Research Support Grant and the Isabel and Alfred Bader Research Grant of the Research Centre for the Humanities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.
- ⁹ The two exceptions are the present Sălaj and Bihor counties where I could not cover the entire area yet.
- ¹⁰ For a history of the religious reform in Transylvania, see ROTH, E., *Die Reformation in Siebenbürgen. Von Honterus zur Augustana*, Böhlau, Köln, 1964; KEUL, I., *Early Modern Religious Communities in East-Central Europe: Ethnic Diversity, Denominational Plurality, and Corporative Politics in the Principality of Transylvania (1526-1691)*, Brill, Leiden, 2009.
- ¹¹ MURDOCK, G., *Calvinism on the Frontier, 1600-1660: International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 2000, 1-12.
- ¹² FLOREA, C., "Shaping Transylvanian anti-Trinitarian identity in an urban context", in Crăciun, Ghitta and Murdock (eds.), *Confessional Identity in East-Central Europe*. Ashgate, Aldershot, 2002, 64-80.
- ¹³ KEUL, I., *Early Modern Religious Communities in East-Central Europe: Ethnic Diversity, Denominational Plurality, and Corporative Politics in the Principality of Transylvania (1526-1691)*, Brill, Leiden, 2009, 245-246.
- ¹⁴ About the Catholic preference, see DAUGSCH, W., "Gegenreformation und protestantische Konfessionsbildung in Siebenbürgen zur Zeit Stephan Báthorys (1571-1584)", in Weber and Weber (eds.), *Luther und Siebenbürgen. Ausstrahlungen von Reformation und Humanismus nach Südosteuropa*. Böhlau, Cologne, 1985, 215-228.
- ¹⁵ See SIPOS, G., "A kolozsvári református egyházközség a XVII. században", in Dáné, Egyed, Sipos and Wolf (eds.), *Kolozsvár 1000 éve. A 2000. október 13-14-én rendezett konferencia előadásai*. Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület - Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület, Kolozsvár, 2001, 90-99.
- ¹⁶ KNÖLL, S., *Creating Academic Communities: Funeral Monuments to Professors at Oxford, Leiden and Tübingen 1580-1700*, Equilibris, Haren, 2003, 10 argued about a similar approach concerning the three cities characterized by different confessional environments.
- ¹⁷ See HORN, I., "Der ungarische Adel als Träger der Reformation in Siebenbürgen", in Leppin and Wien (eds.), *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur in Siebenbürgen in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Steiner, Stuttgart, 2005, 165-178; HORN, I., *Hit és hatalom. Az erdélyi unitárius nemesség 16.századi története*, Balassi, Budapest, 2009.

- 18 HORN, I., "Der ungarische Adel als Träger der Reformation in Siebenbürgen", in Leppin and Wien (eds.), *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur in Siebenbürgen in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Steiner, Stuttgart, 2005, 165-168.
- 19 BINSKI, P., *Medieval Death. Ritual and Representation*, British Museum Press, London, 1996, 70-72.
- 20 SCHOLKMANN, B., "Forschungsfragestellungen, Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer Archäologie der Reformation in Mitteleuropa", in Jäggi and Staecker (eds.), *Archäologie der Reformation: Studien zu den Auswirkungen des Konfessionswechsels auf die materielle Kultur*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 2007, 18-19.
- 21 LINDLEY, P., *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship: Medieval Monuments in Early Modern England*, Shaun Tyas, Donington, 2007.
- 22 See LLEWELLYN, N., *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 251-259.
- 24 The Protestant positions on the applicability of images have a broad literature. The following, most often cited works discuss the issue from a variety of perspectives: BUCHHOLZ, F., *Protestantismus und Kunst im sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, Dieterich'scheVerlagsbuchhandlung, Leipzig, 1928; HOFMANN, W., *Luther und die Folgen für die Kunst: Hamburger Kunsthalle, 11. November 1983 - 8. Januar 1984*, Prestel, München, 1983; MICHALSKI, S., *The Reformation and the Visual Arts. The Protestant Image Question and the Visual Arts*, Routledge, London, 1993; HARASIMOWICZ, J., *Kunst als Glaubensbekenntnis. Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der Reformationszeit*, Verlag Valentin Koerner, Baden-Baden, 1996; PETTEGREE, A., "Art", in Pettegree (ed.) *The Reformation World*. Routledge, London, 2000, 461-490.
- 25 WANDEL, L. P., *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands. Iconoclasm in Reformation Zürich, Strasbourg, and Basel*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995; SCRIBNER, B. and WARNKE, M., *Bilder und Bildersturm im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1990; ASTON, M., "Public Worship and Iconoclasm", in Gaimster and Gilchrist (eds.), *The Archaeology of the Reformation 1480-1580*. Maney, Leeds, 2003, 9-28; SPICER, A., "Iconoclasm and Adaptation: The Reformation of the Churches in Scotland and the Netherlands", in Gaimster and Gilchrist (eds.), *The Archaeology of the Reformation 1480-1580*. Maney, Leeds, 2003, 29-43, TARLOW, S., "Reformation and Transformation: What Happened to Catholic Things in a Protestant World?", *The Archaeology of the Reformation 1480-1580*. Maney, Leeds, 2003, 108-121.
- 26 KISS, Á., *A XVI. században tartott magyar református zsinatok végzései*, Magyarországi Protestáns Egylet, Budapest, 1882, 23-24, 31, 41.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 44-45.
- 28 *Ibid.*, 188-189, 516

- ²⁹ For a survey of the related information, see SARKADI NAGY, E., *Local workshops, foreign connections: late medieval altarpieces from Transylvania*, Jan Thorbecke Verlag, Ostfildern, 2012, 21.
- ³⁰ CRĂCIUN, M., "The Construction of Sacred Space and the Confessional Identity of the Transylvanian Lutheran Community", in Wetter (ed.) *Formierungen des konfessionellen Raumes in Ostmitteleuropa*, Steiner, Stuttgart, 2008, 97-124; CRĂCIUN, M., "Rural altarpieces and religious experiences in Transylvania's Saxon communities", in Schilling and Tóth (eds.), *Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400-1700*. Cambridge University Press - Europe Science Foundation, Cambridge, 2006, 191-217; CRĂCIUN, M., "Art, religious diversity and confessional identity in early-modern Transylvania", in Dixon, Freist and Greengrass (eds.), *Living with Religious Diversity in Early-Modern Europe*. Ashgate, Aldershot, 2009, 81-108. See also PETERS, C., "Mural paintings, ethnicity and religious identity in Transylvania: the context of Reformation", in Maag (ed.) *The Reformation in Eastern and Central Europe*. Scholar Press, Aldershot, 1997, 92-117.
- ³¹ LLEWELLYN, N., *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000, 259-271, LINDLEY, P., *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship: Medieval Monuments in Early Modern England*, Shaun Tyas, Donington, 2007.
- ³² STAECKER, J. R., "Die Reformation auf Gotland - Innovation und Tradition im Kirchenraum", in Jäggi and Staecker (eds.), *Archäologie der Reformation: Studien zu den Auswirkungen des Konfessionswechsels auf die materielle Kultur*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 2007, 74.
- ³³ GROMO, G., "Compendio di tutto il regno posseduto dal Re Giovanni Transilvano ed di tutte le cose notabili d' esso Regno, ed. by Aurel Decei", in *Apulum (Buletinul Muzeului Regional Alba Julia)*, 2. 1943-45; ENTZ, G., *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1958, 139.
- ³⁴ LLEWELLYN, N., *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000, 246; KNÖLL, S., *Creating Academic Communities: Funeral Monuments to Professors at Oxford, Leiden and Tübingen 1580-1700*, Equilibris, Haren, 2003, 171-180.
- ³⁵ HARASIMOWICZ, J., *Kunst als Glaubensbekenntnis. Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der Reformationszeit*, Verlag Valentin Koerner, Baden-Baden, 1996; KNÖLL, S., *Creating Academic Communities: Funeral Monuments to Professors at Oxford, Leiden and Tübingen 1580-1700*, Equilibris, Haren, 2003; STAECKER, J. R., "A Protestant Habitus. 16th-Century Danish Graveslabs as an Expression of Changes in Belief", in Gaimster and Gilchrist (eds.), *The Archaeology of the Reformation 1480-1580*. Maney, Leeds, 2003, 415-436; ZERBE, D., "Memorialkunst im Wandel. Die Ausbildung eines lutherischen Typus des Grab- und Gedenkmals im 16. Jahrhundert", in Jäggi and Staecker (eds.), *Archäologie der Reformation:*

- Studien zu den Auswirkungen des Konfessionswechsels auf die materielle Kultur.* Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 2007, 124.
- 36 "Nagy Szabó Ferenc memorialéja", in Imre (ed.) *Erdélyi történelmi adatok.* Ref. Főtanoda Ny., Kolozsvár, 1855, 142-143.
- 37 KOVÁCS, A., "'Simulált is szegény fejedelem az religio dolgában...'
Bethlen Gábor fejedelem gyulafehérvári szószerk- és orgonarendeléséről",
in Jankovics, Monok, Nyerges and Sárközy (eds.), *La civiltà ungherese e il cristianesimo. Atti del Ivo Congresso Internazionale di Studi Ungheresi. Roma–Napoli, 9–14 settembre 1996.* Nemzetközi Magyar Filológiai Társaság - Scriptum Rt., Budapest - Szeged, 1998, 689-697.
- 38 ENTZ, G., *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház,* Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1958, 65, 140, 168.
- 39 DAHINTEN, O., *Geschichte der Stadt Bistritz in Siebenbürgen,* Böhlau, Köln, 1988, 258, fig. 24.
- 40 BINDER, P., "Dávid Ferenc rektor besztercei papja: Albert Kirschner (1508–1564)", in *Keresztény Magvető,* 87. 1981, 217-220.
- 41 ALBU, I., *Inscripfen der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit,* Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, Hermannstadt, 2002, 57-58, Cat. No. 52, fig. 23.
- 42 See e.g. in Sibiu, *ibid.* 96-97, Cat. No. 97, 100-101, Cat. No. 199, 106-107, Cat. No. 108, 118, Cat. No. 125, 126-127, Cat. No. 135, 127-128, Cat. No. 136.
- 43 For some of these funeral monuments, see ROTH, V., *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen,* Heitz & Mündel, Strassburg, 1906, 80-127; KRASSER, H., "Sigismund Möss, Bildhauer und Schnitzler zu Hermannstadt", *Studien zur Siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte* 1976.
- 44 Maria Crăciun treated this issue also in her paper delivered at CEU in Budapest in 2013, with the title *Stagesets and Props: Material Evidence for Lutheran Liturgical Practice in Early Modern Transylvania.*
- 45 ZERBE, D., "Memorialkunst im Wandel. Die Ausbildung eines lutherischen Typus des Grab- und Gedächtnismals im 16. Jahrhundert", in Jäggi and Staecker (eds.), *Archäologie der Reformation: Studien zu den Auswirkungen des Konfessionswechsels auf die materielle Kultur.* Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 2007, 137-138.
- 46 SARKADI NAGY, E., "Adatok az eltűnt dévai templom történetéhez", in Kollár (ed.) *Építészeti a középkori Dél-Magyarországon. Tanulmányok.* Teleki László Alapítvány, Budapest, 2010, 951-952, 954, fig. 32.
- 47 Of Sámuel Járai, Péter Kovásznai, and András Lachovius, see HERPEI, J., *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez,* Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1988, 117-120, 344-352, 383-385.; and of Gáspár Tiszabecsi in Sic (unpublished) and the husband of Zsófia Salattya in Turea, see HERPEI, J., *A kalotaszegi templomok, cintermek és temetők régi sírkövei,* Művelődés, Kolozsvár, 2001, 72.

- 48 Artículi maiores XLII, 1567, see KISS, Á., *A XVI. században tartott magyar református zsinatok végzései*, Magyarországi Protestáns Egylet, Budapest, 1882, 583.
- 49 LŐVEI, P., *Posuit hoc monumentum pro aeterna memoria: Bevezető fejezetek a középkori Magyarország síremlékeinek katalógusához*, Doctor of the Academy, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2009, 408.
- 50 CRĂCIUN, M., "Rural altarpieces and religious experiences in Transylvania's Saxon communities", in Schilling and Tóth (eds.), *Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400-1700*. Cambridge University Press - Europe Science Foundation, Cambridge, 2006, 216.
- 51 FINCH, J., "Sacred and Secular Spheres: Commemoration and the 'practice of privacy' in Reformation England", in Jäggi and Staecker (eds.), *Archäologie der Reformation: Studien zu den Auswirkungen des Konfessionswechsels auf die materielle Kultur*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 2007, 197.
- 52 ÉBER, L., "Apaffi György síremléke", in *Archaeológiai Értesítő*, 22. 1902, 97-113; MÉRAI, D., "Apafi György síremléke", in *Credo*, 11. 2005, 3-26.
- 53 For Elias Nicolai, see GÜNDISCH, G., "Der Hermannstädter Bildhauer und Steinmetz Elias Nicolai". Böhlau, Cologne, 1976, 256-292.
- 54 Those of Paul Whonner and Martin Rosalerus, see ROTH, V., *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, Heitz & Mündel, Strassburg, 1906, 119, 140.
- 55 HERPEI, J., *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1988, 87-90, 250-256, 265-275. János Herepei still saw further six similar examples, see *ibid.* 255-256.
- 56 János Seres, Istvánka Berkenyesi and Martinus, see BALOGH, J., *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század*, A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, Budapest, 1985, 51-52.
- 57 For memorials produced in Cluj, see *ibid.* EMŐDI, T., "Monumente funerare figurative renescentiste din Transilvania", in Porumb and Chiriac (eds.), *Artă românească, artă europeană. Centenar Virgil Vătășianu*. Oradea, 2002, 135-144. For Sibiu, see ALBU, I., *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus der Mittelalter und den frühen Neuzeit*, Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, Hermannstadt, 2002.
- 58 KELEMEN, L., "Nagyteremi Sükösd György síremléke", *Művészettörténeti tanulmányok*. Kriterion, Bucharest, 1977, 173-174. The funeral monument of Kelemen Béldi is unpublished.
- 59 KISS, Á., *A XVI. században tartott magyar református zsinatok végzései*, Magyarországi Protestáns Egylet, Budapest, 1882, 79.
- 60 LŐVEI, P., *Posuit hoc monumentum pro aeterna memoria: Bevezető fejezetek a középkori Magyarország síremlékeinek katalógusához*, Doctor of the Academy, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2009, 410-413.

- 61 MIKÓ, Á., "Késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékek a Magyar Királyság területén (1540-1690)", in G. Etényi and Horn (eds.), *Idővel paloták... Magyar udvari kultúra a 16-17. században*. Balassi, Budapest, 2005, 627-628.
- 62 ROTH, V., *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, Heitz & Mündel, Strassburg, 1906, 100; ROTH, V., "Barbara Theillesius sírköve", in *Archaeológiai Értesítő*, 44. 1910, 97-101.
- 63 MIKÓ, Á., "Báthory István király és a reneszánsz művészet Erdélyben", in *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, 37. 1988, 123.
- 64 On these monuments, see HERCZOG, J., "Újabb adatok Bethlen Gábor és Károlyi Zsuzsanna síremlékéről", in *Századok*, 55-56. 1921-22, 539-555; DÉTSHY, M., "A gyulafehérvári Rákóczi-síremlékek", in *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, 15. 1966, 26-30.
- 65 TÜDŐS S., K., *Erdélyi testamentumok III. Erdélyi nemesek és főemberek végrendeletei 1600-1660*, Mentor Kiadó, Marosvásárhely, 2008, 124-128.
- 66 The Lutheran synod in 1557 prohibited "*fabulosae imagines et similes picturae ... quae ad cultum sunt prostitutae contra manifestum verbum Dei.*" See ROTH, E., *Die Reformation in Siebenbürgen. Von Honterus zur Augustana*, Böhlau, Köln, 1964, 26; ALBU, I., *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, Hermannstadt, 2002, xli.
- 67 See HOFMANN, W., *Luther und die Folgen für die Kunst: Hamburger Kunsthalle, 11. November 1983 - 8. Januar 1984*, Prestel, München, 1983; BUCHHOLZ, F., *Protestantismus und Kunst im sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Leipzig, 1928; MICHALSKI, S., *The Reformation and the Visual Arts. The Protestant Image Question and the Visual Arts*, Routledge, London, 1993; PETTEGREE, A., "Art", in Pettegree (ed.) *The Reformation World*. Routledge, London, 2000, 461-490.
- 68 HARASIMOWICZ, J., *Kunst als Glaubensbekenntnis. Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der Reformationszeit*, Verlag Valentin Koerner, Baden-Baden, 1996; CIEŚLAK, K., *Tod und Gedenken: Danziger Epitaphien vom 15. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Verl. Nordostdt, Lüneburg, 1998.
- 69 ZERBE, D., "Memorialkunst im Wandel. Die Ausbildung eines lutherischen Typus des Grab- und Gedenkmals im 16. Jahrhundert", in Jäggi and Staecker (eds.), *Archäologie der Reformation: Studien zu den Auswirkungen des Konfessionswechsels auf die materielle Kultur*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 2007, 127-136.
- 70 KNÖLL, S., *Creating Academic Communities: Funeral Monuments to Professors at Oxford, Leiden and Tübingen 1580-1700*, Equilibris, Haren, 2003, 144-150.
- 71 ROTH, V., "Barbara Theillesius sírköve", in *Archaeológiai Értesítő*, 44. 1910, 97-101.

- 72 KOVÁCS, A., "Date privind viața Zamfirei, fiica lui Moise-Vodă", in *Anuarul Institutului de istorie și arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, 27. 1987, 349-374.
- 73 GÜNDISCH, G., "Der Hermannstädter Bildhauer und Steinmetz Elias Nicolai". Böhlau, Cologne, 1976, 232-237.
- 74 E.g. of Zacharias Weirauch in Biertan (unpublished); Thomas Bordan in Slimnic, see ALBU, I., "VIXI DUM VOLUI. An Unknown Work of the Sculptor Elias Nicolai - The Funerary Plate of Pastor Thomas Bordanus (+1633)", in *Bruckenthal. Acta Musei*, 7. 2012, 255-266; Georg Theilesius in Biertan, Paul Whonner in Cincu, Michael Oltard in Șeica Mică, Martin Rosalerus in Keisd, see ROTH, V., *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, Heitz & Mündel, Strassburg, 1906, 101, 119, 120, 140.
- 75 KISS, Á., *A XVI. században tartott magyar református zsinatok végzései*, Magyarországi Protestáns Egyet, Budapest, 1882, 594.
- 76 HERPEI, J., *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1988, 226-228.
- 77 This is attested by a letter written by one of the Petki family members mentioning the burial of Gergely Apafi and the persecution of Antitrinitarians by the prince, whose faithful finally caught the letter and handed over to him. On the Petki family, see also MORDOVIN, M., "Petki István, II. Rákóczi György főudvarmestere", in Kármán and Szabó (eds.), *"Szerencsének elegyes forgása" - II. Rákóczi György és kora*. L'Harmattan, Budapest, 2009, 373-422.
- 78 KÁDÁR, J., *Szolnok-Dobokavármegye monographiája*, Szolnok-Dobokavármegye közönsége, Dés, 1900-1901, vol. 2, 37; ÁVEDIK, L., *Szabad Kir. Erzsébetváros monographiája*, Erdélyi Örmény Gyökerek Kulturális Egyesület, Szamosújvár, 1896, 300.
- 79 ENTZ, G., *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1958, 65.
- 80 ALBU, I., *Inscripfen der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, Hermannstadt, 2002, 181-182, Cat. No. 197, 182-184, Cat. No. 198.
- 81 Lucas Unglerus in Biertan, see ROTH, V., *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, Heitz & Mündel, Strassburg, 1906, 126. and further pieces in Sibiu, see ALBU, I., *Inscripfen der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, Hermannstadt, 2002, 118, Cat. No. 125, 126-127, Cat. No. 135, 127-128, Cat. No. 136.
- 82 ALBU, I., *Inscripfen der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, Hermannstadt, 2002, xlv-xlv, 168-170, Cat. No. 181.
- 83 *Ibid.*, xlv, 92-93, Cat. No. 93.
- 84 ROTH, V., *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, Heitz & Mündel, Strassburg, 1906, 102; ALBU, I., *Inscripfen der Stadt Hermannstadt*

- aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit, Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, Hermannstadt, 2002, 195-196, Cat. No. 215.
- 85 ALBU, I., "The Iconography of Petrus Martyr Vermilius and Crypto-Calvinist Influences in the Funeral Eulogy of Johannes Hutter (1638)", in *Brukenthal. Acta Musei*, 8. 2013, 205.
- 86 ALBU, I., *Inscripfen der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, Hermannstadt, 2002, xliii-xliv.
- 87 PANOFISKY, E., *Tomb sculpture: Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1964; COHEN, K., *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1973.
- 88 HALLAM, E. and HOCKEY, J., *Death, Memory and Material Culture*, Berg Publishers, Oxford - New York, 2001, 54-60.
- 89 ARIÉS, P., *Western Attitudes toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1974, 39-40.
- 90 Its formation and spread and the changes in the content were studied by Horst W. Janson, see JANSON, H. W., "The Putto with the Death's Head", in *The Art Bulletin* 19. 1937, 423-449.
- 91 *Ibid.*, fig. 11.
- 92 HUYSMANS, A., DAMME, J. V., VELDE, C. V. D. and MULDER, C. V., *Cornelis Floris 1514 – 1575*, Gemeentekrediet, Bruxelles, 1996 figs 113, 118, 226 and 280–291.
- 93 On three tombs in Sibius, see ALBU, I., *Inscripfen der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, Hermannstadt, 2002, 107-108, Cat. No. 109, 136-137, Cat. No. 146, 149-150, Cat. No. 159; two in Mediaş (Petrus Gotterbarmet +1623, and one more +1630, both unpublished), and the tomb of Georg Peltz in Richiş, see ROTH, V., *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, Heitz & Mündel, Strassburg, 1906, 118.
- 94 Funeral monuments of György Apafi, Anna May, Martin Rosalerus, see ROTH, V., *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, Heitz & Mündel, Strassburg, 1906, 85, 140; three memorials in Sibiu, see ALBU, I., *Inscripfen der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, Hermannstadt, 2002, 152-153, 322, 325; Cat. No. 163, 175-176, Cat. No. 190, 82-184, Cat. No. 198. and that of Simon Hartmann in Moşna (unpublished).
- 95 King James Version of the English Bible translation.
- 96 ALBU, I., *Inscripfen der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, Hermannstadt, 2002, 136-137, Cat. No. 146, 140-141, Cat. No.

150. The latter in Criş, see LUKINICH, I., *A Bethleni gróf Bethlen család története*, Aetheneum, Budapest, 1928, fig. 122.
- 97 HARASIMOWICZ, J., *Kunst als Glaubensbekenntnis. Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der Reformationszeit*, Verlag Valentin Koerner, Baden-Baden, 1996, 41-82.
- 98 ZERBE, D., "Memorialkunst im Wandel. Die Ausbildung eines lutherischen Typus des Grab- und Gedächtnismals im 16. Jahrhundert", in Jäggi and Staecker (eds.), *Archäologie der Reformation: Studien zu den Auswirkungen des Konfessionswechsels auf die materielle Kultur*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 2007, 126.
- 99 FINCH, J., "Sacred and Secular Spheres: Commemoration and the 'practice of privacy' in Reformation England", *ibid.*, 197-198.
- 100 For examples, see LÖVEI, P., *Posuit hoc monumentum pro aeterna memoria: Bevezető fejezetek a középkori Magyarország síremlékeinek katalógusához*, Doktor of the Academy, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2009, 52-53.
- 101 See e.g. ALBU, I., "The Iconography of Petrus Martyr Vermilius and Crypto-Calvinist Influences in the Funeral Eulogy of Johannes Hutter (1638)", in *Brukenthal. Acta Musei*, 8. 2013, 203-214.
- 102 ALBU, I., *Inscripções der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, Hermannstadt, 2002, xxxix.
- 103 *Ibid.*, DOROFTEI, D. F., *Lexicul inscripțiilor în limba latină din bisericile săsești*, Editura Academiei Române, Bucharest, 2007; DOROFTEI, D. P., *Inscripții în limba latină din bisericile României, din perioada 1290-1850, cu privire specială asupra bisericilor maghiare din Transilvania*, Editura Muzeului Național al Literaturii Române, București, 2013.
- 104 See also DOROFTEI, D. F., "Elemente biblice în inscripțiile funerare în limba latină din țările române (1300-1800)", in *Text și Discurs Religious*, 2. 2010, 110-111.
- 105 On the memorial of Andreas Fleischer, see ALBU, I., *Inscripções der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, Hermannstadt, 2002, 203-204, Cat. No. 227.
- 106 See e.g. four such memorials in HERPEI, J., *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1988, 250-256. 280-283, 328-331, 391-393.
- 107 REINIS, A., *Reforming the Art of Dying: The Ars Moriendi in the German Reformation (1519-1528)*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2007.
- 108 HERPEI, J., *A Házsongárdi temető régi sírkövei: Adatok Kolozsvár művelődéstörténetéhez*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1988, 113-116.
- 109 Johannes Hellwig in Gârbova, see ROTH, V., *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen*, Heitz & Mündel, Strassburg, 1906, 120.

- 110 DOROFTEI, D. F., "Elemente biblice în inscripțiile funerare în limba latină din țările române (1300-1800)", in *Text și Discurs Religious*, 2. 2010, 109-111.
- 111 For examples, see DOROFTEI, D. F., *Lexicul inscripțiilor în limba latină din bisericile săsești*, Editura Academiei Române, Bucharest, 2007, 25-26.
- 112 See also ALBU, I., *Inscripțen der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, Hermannstadt, 2002, xxxix.
- 113 *Ibid.*, xlv.
- 114 On the earliest manifestations of Humanism on late medieval tomb monuments, see LŐVEI, P., *Posuit hoc monumentum pro aeterna memoria: Bevezető fejezetek a középkori Magyarország síremlékeinek katalógusához*, Doktor of the Academy, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2009, 109-114.
- 115 The tombs of Johann Reusner and Michael Agnethler in Sibiu, see ALBU, I., *Inscripțen der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, Hermannstadt, 2002, 154-156, Cat. No. 165, 161-162, Cat. No. 173.
- 116 KAJANTO, I., *Classical and Christian. Studies in the Latin Epitaphs of Medieval and Renaissance Rome* Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Helsinki, 1980, 137-138.
- 117 DOROFTEI, D. F., "Elemente biblice în inscripțiile funerare în limba latină din țările române (1300-1800)", in *Text și Discurs Religious*, 2. 2010, 108.
- 118 KOSLOFSKY, C. M., *The Reformation of the Dead. Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450-1700*, Palgrave, New York, 2000, 107-114; FINCH, J., "Sacred and Secular Spheres: Commemoration and the 'practice of privacy' in Reformation England", in Jäggi and Staecker (eds.), *Archäologie der Reformation: Studien zu den Auswirkungen des Konfessionswechsels auf die materielle Kultur*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 2007, 198-199; DOROFTEI, D. F., "Elemente biblice în inscripțiile funerare în limba latină din țările române (1300-1800)", in *Text și Discurs Religious*, 2. 2010, 108.
- 119 ZERBE, D., "Memorialkunst im Wandel. Die Ausbildung eines lutherischen Typus des Grab- und Gedächtnismals im 16. Jahrhundert", in Jäggi and Staecker (eds.), *Archäologie der Reformation: Studien zu den Auswirkungen des Konfessionswechsels auf die materielle Kultur*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 2007, 134.
- 120 JAKAB, A. Z., *Ez a kő tétetett... : Az emlékezet helyei Kolozsváron (1440-2012). Adattár*, Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság, Nemzeti Kisebbségkutató intézet, Kolozsvár, 2012, 33-34, Cat. No. 45-48; 41-42, Cat. No. 63-64.
- 121 In Sibiu, see ALBU, I., *Inscripțen der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, Hermannstadt, 2002, 80-81, Cat. No. 75.
- 122 TÜDÖS S., K., *Erdélyi testamentumok III. Erdélyi nemesek és főemberek végrendeletei 1600-1660*, Mentor Kiadó, Marosvásárhely, 2008, 93.

- ¹²³ *Ibid.*, 180.
- ¹²⁴ ASTON, M., "Public Worship and Iconoclasm", in Gaimster and Gilchrist (eds.), *The Archaeology of the Reformation 1480-1580*. Maney, Leeds, 2003, 9-28; HARDING, V., "Choices and Changes: Death, Burial and the English Reformation", in Gilchrist and Gaimster (eds.), *The Archaeology of the Reformation 1480-1580*. Maney, Leeds, 2003, 387-388.
- ¹²⁵ OEXLE, O. G., "Die Gegenwart der Toten", in Braet and Verbeke (eds.), *Death in the Middle Ages*. Leuven University Press, Leuven, 1983 [1982], 70, quoting Luther's relevant paragraphs.
- ¹²⁶ See e.g. *Ibid*, KOSLOFSKY, C. M., *The Reformation of the Dead. Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450-1700*, Palgrave, New York, 2000.
- ¹²⁷ ALBU, I., *Inscripfen der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, Hora Verlag - Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde Heidelberg, Hermannstadt, 2002, 25; BALOGH, J., *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század*, A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, Budapest, 1985, 196-197.
- ¹²⁸ Confession of Egervölgy, see KISS, Á., *A XVI. században tartott magyar református zsinatok végzései*, Magyarországi Protestáns Egylet, Budapest, 1882, 238-239.
- ¹²⁹ Canon No. LXXV On visiting and consoling the ill and those sentenced to death and on the burial of the dead. See http://leporollak.hu/egyhtori/magyar/KA_GELEJ.HTM (24. 17. 2013).
- ¹³⁰ HORN, I., *Hit és hatalom. Az erdélyi unitárius nemesség 16.századi története*, Balassi, Budapest, 2009, 22-23; TÜDÖS S., K., "A csíksomlyói végtisztesség. A székelyek generálisa, I. Mikes Kelemen végrendelete és temetése (1685-1687)", in *Acta Siculica*, 2008, 295-308.