Résumé. Le retable de chœur de l'église Sainte-Marguerite de Mediaş, avec ses huit scènes du cycle de la Passion du Sauveur peintes à l'extérieur de ses ailes, est considéré comme un ensemble d'importance primordiale de l'art médiéval de Transylvanie, et c'est l'une des études de cas du projet de recherche du consortium composé par plusieurs institutions de recherche de Bucarest et de Cluj, contexte dans lequel nous avons eu l'occasion de passer en revue les informations bibliographiques existantes, qui serront corroborées avec les résultats des recherches multidisciplinaires envisagées.

THE MASTER OF THE MEDIAŞ ALTARPIECE PAINTING: THE MONOGRAMMIST *MSP* – THE ARTISTIC CONTEXT AND HIS WORKSHOP

Dana Jenei

The retable from the choir of St. Margaret's Church in Mediaş, with its Passion Cycle of eight scenes preserved on the outer faces of the wings, is considered an ensemble of prime importance for the late medieval art in Transylvania, and is one of the case studies of the consortium research project developed by several research institutions from Bucharest and Cluj-Napoca. It is in this context that the present study reviews existing work on the altarpiece that in due course will be reinforced by the results of the multidisciplinary investigations envisaged[1].

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The church was decorated during several phases of construction, the last one completed in 1488, during the reign of Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490), as specified by Georgius Soterius in his *Historia Transilvaniae*, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In addition to the older artistic components from c. 1420, that are themselves superimposed over earlier elements, fragmentary mural scenes from the end of the fifteenth century are preserved, while the vaults of the nave and the southern aisle were embellished with a

Wappenprozession, a typical decorative program, which here includes wooden shields at the intersection of the ribs that, although evidently repainted, permit the identification of the heraldry, the most important arms being those of Matthias Corvinus from 1487, confirming Soterius' information[2]. Similar wooden painted escutcheons, but illustrating the *Credo* theme, decorate the choir networked-vault and reflect the assimilation of heraldry within late medieval religious monumental art[3].

In the same late phase of construction, the main altarpiece of the church was created as a Gothic polyptych retable-type, a *Wandelaltar* with "hidden architecture", being one of the few pieces of late fifteenth century date preserved *in situ* and conceived in relation to the space of the choir for which it was created, being connected with the *mensa*[4]. It has an elongated crowning formed by three canopies for statues decorated by phinials, fleurons and coat of arms, a central shrine adorned with a frieze of gilded Gothic tracery at the top, fixed and mobile panels, and a shrine-type *predella* that shelters another smaller supporting plinth, deriving from a different later piece. This hybrid

conformation, still preserved to this day, was noted by Victor Roth, the first researcher to analyse the piece at the beginning of the twentieth century[5].

The altar was the first of its kind to be restored in Gisela Richter's workshop in Brașov in 1972–1973, from whose archive, preserved today in Sibiu (Begegnungs- und Kulturzentrum Friedrich Teutsch), comes a photograph showing the condition of the piece before the interventions, with the transformed inner faces of the wings, and a later statuary group representing the Crucifixion, replacing the original statues of the central shrine. Their impression is preserved on the gilded background, and would most likely have consisted of the Virgin Mary with the Child between two female saints, one of whom would certainly have been Margaret, the spiritual patron of the church. At that stage of the restoration, the original four niches of the *predella* were also reconstructed, the golden background imitating a curtain with a fold behind each figure, on which could be discerned impressions of the four statues that may have represented the four evangelists or the four doctors of the Catholic Church[6].

In 1984, statues were installed in the rebuilt niches, but removed within the last decade, when the latest restoration work brought this part of the altarpiece back to the form of the first recording, including the small later sixteenth-century *predella*, taken from a secondary altarpiece in the church[7]. The restoration of the 1970s also removed the colonettes attached in the Baroque era and created the new look of the outer part of the panels, each one being centrally fitted with one of the four symbols of the evangelists, carved in relief, in a quadrilobe medallion[8]. The decorative painted background imitates a brocade cloth with diagonal lines that intersect and form rhombs, adorned alternately with lilies, other stylised flowers, vases, and eagles around St. John the Evangelist's symbol.

Victor Roth showed that initially the intrados of the mobile panels had been decorated with flat carved reliefs, in which Gisela Richter discerned four scenes from the Life of the Virgin: the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi. In the only photography of the altar preserved before those interventions which radically modified the feast part, one can see the dividing horizontal line of the figurative part of the representation and the upper part-gilded background, the horizon line[9]. Only landscape forms are discernible in the case of the first panel, but in the second, the shape of a roof visible is indeed in keeping with that of the stable in the Nativity scene. No contours of the characters are visible to confirm the accurate determination of scenes, but further investigation may well verify this suggestion. A major merit of the restoration of 1972–1973 was that it brought to light the figures of the two donors on the wings of the *predella*[10].

The rear of the altarpiece, artfully painted, preserves in its entirety the vegetal ensemble of *Grünerankmalerei* type, amongst which the Master of Mediaş has hidden his *MSP* monogram[11].

The Passion Cycle that decorates the eight panels of the week part presents in the upper register The Arrest, the Flagellation, the Crowning with Thorns, the *Ecce homo* and, in the lower register, the Carrying of the Cross, *Rast Christi*, the Crucifixion and the Resurrection.

The first scholars to discuss the paintings indicated Martin Schongauer's engravings as graphic sources of the figurative scenes, opinion advanced by Victor Roth in 1907, taken up by Virgil Vătăşianu in 1959, and further developed by Otto Folberth in the monograph he devoted to the polyptych in 1973[12]. In 1979, however, Dietmar Priebisch pointed out that seven of the eight panels of the altar are actually based on the engravings of Israhel van Meckenem, which were either copied in detail, interpreted, modified or completed with elements taken from other works. The Crucifixion scene was created by the Master of the Mediaş Altarpiece, by assembling details taken from various sources[13].

Israhel van Meckenem of Bocholt (c. 1445–1503) was one of the most prolific German engravers of the late fifteenth century, and around 600 of his engravings survive[14]. His oeuvre represents Gothic Mannerism *par excellence*, characterized by stylized and conventional figures, whose elegant and studied postures, undermine the drama of the Passion Cycle scenes. According to Geisberg, the first scholar to devote serious attention to his life and work, Van Meckenem, a goldsmith by training, worked before 1470 with the Master of the Berlin Passion and with Master E. S. in the Konstanz area, who influenced him in technique and style. Van Meckenem produced many copies after their work, "retouching" them, and even intervening in certain cases directly onto the plates. In the middle of his activity, he copied Martin Schongauer's works and, at its end, he was inspired by the compositions of the Housebook Master, Hans Holbein the Elder, and Albrecht Dürer.

His engravings served as the models for several Gothic artworks such as the altar painted by the *Meister des Jahreszahlen* in 1486 (Warszawa, Muzeum Narodowe), an artist trained in Nuremberg and known to have worked in collaboration with Sebald Pleydenwurff at Eisleben in 1471[15]. His work has been already noticed in connexion with the Mediaş altarpiece[16].

The twelve engravings of Van Meckenem's Passion Cycle, *Die Grosse Passion*, produced in the early 1480's, reinterpret Schongauer's graphics, being principally composed of a central episode and one or more secondary scenes that offer many narrative details, arranged in several depth planes.

The first panels of the Mediaş altarpiece reproduce the compositions of Van Meckenem's engravings, but the figures have the proportions changed and their own typologies. The ensemble begins with the scene of The Arrest of Christ, which literally transposes the design (B VI.207.11), representing the Kiss of Judas at its centre. In the lower left, Peter, the first of the three apostles who witnessed Jesus's prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane, raises the sword against Malchus, while in the distance, Jacob and John the Evangelist are shown leaving the enclosure hastily by a side-gate.

The Flagellation copies Van Meckenem's engraving in the smallest details (B VI.207.13), including the secondary scene with Jesus before Herod.

The Crowning with Thorns, with the Mocking of Christ in the depth plane (B VI.207.15) is the first example of a Van Meckenem composition which has been altered, here by the substitution of a soldier kneeling in front of Christ, offering him a reed as a sceptre with one hand, and holding his hat in the other, a character taken from an engraving by Martin Schongauer[17].

In the *Ecce homo* scene, Christ is presented to the agitated crowd that clamours for him to be crucified. In the distance, under the arch of the back of the pretorium, is represented the apocryphal episode of Claudia Procula, Pilate's wife, who asks him to spare Jesus's life; the scene also copies Van Meckenem's engraving (B VI.207.16)[18].

The Carrying of the Cross was the most impressing image for the religious sensitivity of the Late Western Middle Ages, referring explicitly to the *Via dolorosa* Devotion. The image from Mediaş generally reproduces the crowded scene of the engraving (B VI.207.17), with many of the characters surrounding Jesus making mocking gestures, shouting and blowing trumpets, which create a *horror vacui* sensation and an atmosphere of "infernal masquerade"[19]. Certain changes to the model were made by the Mediaş painter: Christ no longer looks at the spectators, as in the engraving, but backwards to Simon of Cirene, who helps him carry the Cross[20]. The myrmidon in front of him with hair cut short and represented in profile, is Stephaton, the "evil Jew", as he is called in the Apocrypha[21], with an aggressive attitude, as rendered by Michael Wolgemuth, the

leader of the Nuremberg school of painting, in the Zwikau altar (1479), or by the Transylvanian painters probably trained there, such as the author of the Râşnov mural ensemble (1500)[22]. He holds one of the ends of the the rope with which Jesus is tied, pulls his hair and strikes him with his foot, a detail changed by the Mediaş painter who returned on it in order to accentuate the tension[23]. His black brocade embroidered coat has a border decorated with pseudo-inscriptions[24]. The nails held by the soldier behind Jesus, in the model, are here moved to the hand of the soldier who leads the cortege and holds the other end of the rope on his shoulder, like the corresponding character from Israhel van Meckenem's different engraving (London, British Museum). Behind Jesus, the third soldier shouts and prepares to strike him with a stick. In this image, the "daughters of Jerusalem", as Christ refers to them in the Gospel of Luke (23, 28-30), are also represented. The first woman holds her child in her arms, like in the model, but the second has been replaced by St. Veronica holding the *mandylion*, taken rather from a devotional paper atributed to Van Meckenem himself, with the inscription: *Salve Sancta facies n(ost)ri redempto(r)is* (Vienna, Albertina)[25]. Near the two women, a *myrophora* covers her face with a red *maphorion*, a gesture that comes from Schongauer's Crucifixion (B 17) and which the Master of the Mediaş Altarpiece has reiterated in the present Crucifixion. In the distant plane, the *Mater dolorosa* is sustained by the Magdalene, John and two other myrrh-bearers.

The following motif of Man of Sorrow Resting or Christ in Distress / *Hergottsruh / Christus in der Rast* is most often represented in the Late Middle Ages as a devotional image, accompanied in certain cases by prayers that invoke the Passion of Christ under the title *ECCE HOMO: AVE IHESU BENIGNISSIME [O heere ihesu christe Passie]*. The most widespread variant depicts Christ waiting for the Crucifixion sitting on the "cold stone", resting his head in one hand and inviting the believer to meditation[26], as illustrated, for instance, by the wooden statue

preserved in Transylvania at the Szekler Museum in Miercurea Ciuc, or by the wall painting in the church at Sântimbru-Alba. This devotional motif is rarely represented in a narrative context, but its evolution may be observed in the main retable of the parish church in Ebern, Bamberg, c. 1450 (Nuremberg, Germanisches National Museum), in which Jesus still sitting on the "cold stone", has the Cross lying on the ground under his feet. In Ludwig Schongauer's drawing from around 1480 (Basel, Offentliche Kunstsammlung), Christ sits on the Cross, this composition comprising all the elements taken over by Van Meckenem, which are also found in the Mediaş altarpiece, where the enhanced figure of Christ from the centre of the image becomes much more important in the economy of the composition. The Crucifixion in the depth plane is modified and reduced as surface: a soldier pierces the Cross's arm with a drill, a tool assimilated to the Passion Instruments in devotional images, and the soldiers play dice on Christ's shirt, being about to fight for it. In front of the three empty crosses the Master of Mediaş reproduced the group formed by the Virgin collapsed in grief, sustained by John, the Magdalene and the three *Myrophorae*. Moreover, in the distance two workers are shown preparing the footing of the Cross, digging the earth from which Adam's bones emerge, the detail being inspired by Van Meckenem's *Memento Mori* engraving with roundels (B VI.259.151), in which the motif is associated with skulls (Vienna, Albertina) and scenes from the Dance of Death (London, British Museum)[27].

The Crucifixion represented in the distant upper plane of Van Meckenem's engraving, as a moment of secondary importance, has a full panel dedicated to it at Mediaş. In the absence of the model, the painter has created an original composition by combining parts of various origins, in this "riddle-image" – *Rätsel Bildung*[28], the scheme being executed in the tradition of the Nuremberg workshop, with the Virgin, John and the Holy Women positioned to the

heraldic right of Christ on the Cross, and the soldiers on the opposite side, as became standard from the first work of Pleydenwurf, head of the Franconian school of painting in the second half of the fifteenth century, right through to the last work of his successor in that position, Michael Wolgemut, Dürer's Master[29]. The Mediaş painter made use of the technique termed *Analogiebildung* by Walter Vöge, i.e., that implies the characters to be transferred from the model with the identities changed, in this case, being borrowed from Martin Schongauer's two engravings, from which comes the figure of Jesus on the Cross, used by Van Meckenem himself in a work of his own (Vienna, Abertina, DG1926/1001)[30], with the Virgin to the right of the Cross, withdrawn into the second plane (B VIII o.11 c13), in front of which are placed three characters, adapted from the second engraving (B 17): *Teotokos* wringing her hands in grief, the Magdalene kneeling and embracing the Cross, and two Holy Women, one of whom covers her face with the *maforion*, with a gesture already observed in the scene of the Carrying of the Cross. On the left side of the Cross, the "good centurion", as Robert Sukale calls this character who points to Jesus, was taken by the Mediaş Master from the Schottenstift altarpiece[31], while the "skeptical centurion" in move seems to come from Hans Pleydenwurff's drawing (Budapest, Szepmuveszeti Muzeum)[32], being also present in the Hofer altar (1465), and wears a short cape, as in the retables from Löwenstein (1456) and Leipzig, Stötteritz (1473), two other characteristic examples of the same South German school.

The Resurrection scene which ends the Passion Cycle in Mediaş reiterates the graphic pattern, including two secondary episodes depicted in the distance – the Descent into Limbo and the Three Myrrh-bearers coming to the Holy Sepulchre the next day.

In 1907, Victor Roth pointed to Franconian art as the main artistic filiation for the Mediaş altar, a view endorsed by Viorica Guy Marica in 1981, but in general the Mediaş Master was mainly considered an important member of the Schottenstift altar workshop. The principal argument is the recognisably accurate depiction of St. Stephen's Cathedral and other buildings in Vienna identified in the background of the Crucifixion[33], as also seen in the Triptych of the Sankt Florian Monastery, attributed to "the Old Master of Schottenstift"[34], on the very altarpiece being claimed that the figure of the Mediaş "good centurion" originates[35].

However, compared to other contemporary paintings preserved in Transylvania, such as the altarpieces of Biertan or Târnava[36], the Master of the Mediaş Passion's work is stylistically the furthest removed from Schottenstift. In the light of recent research, he was most likely a local painter trained in Nuremberg, who was also familiar with the most important contemporary work in Vienna, issued from the workshop of his compatriot Hans Siebenbürger. This same *Johannes de Septemcastris* is today regarded as the main author of the so-called Schottenstift altarpiece, made in 1469 for the Scottish Monastery, presided over by the Transylvanian abbot Matthias Fink from 1467–1475[37], while in 1485, which must be close to the date of production of the Mediaş Polyptych, the imperial city was conquered by king Matthias Corvinus who lived out his final years there.

As I have discussed elsewhere, the painter from Mediaş signed his work in the tradition of South German painters, hiding his *MSP* monogram amongst the vegetation, the *Grünerankmalerei* inspired by the engraving of the time and traced with a sure hand on the back of the altar.

An example of the manner in which the artists of the time signed their works, was identified by Miklos Moijszer on the rear of Michael Wolgemut's Zwikau altarpiece (1479), on which the name of his collaborator, *Master MS,* alias *Martin Schwarz* of Wroklaw, was written by using Van Meckenem's *Grünerankmalerei* ornamental letters[38].

Fig. 1 – Mediaș, the choir of St. Margaret church. The polyptich today, the week part of the wings.
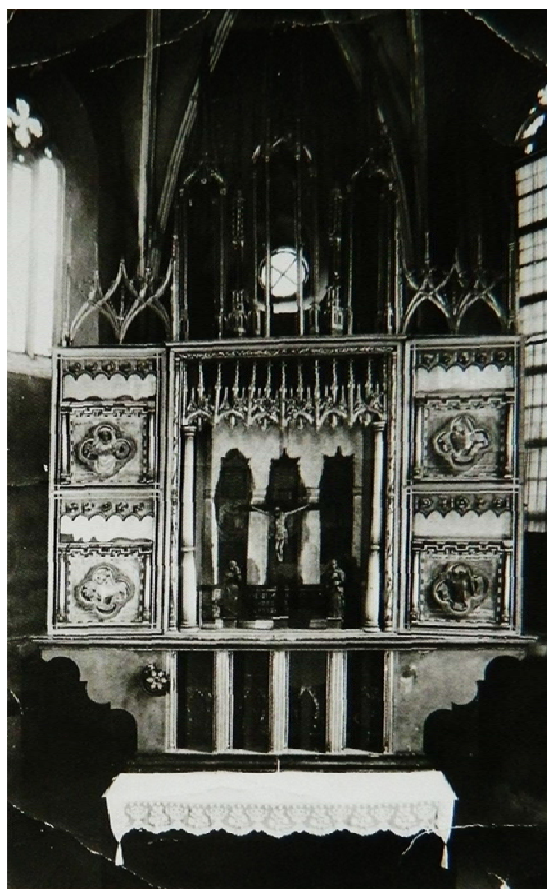
Fig. 2 – Mediaș, the choir of St. Margaret church. The feast part of the wings, before the restoration of 1972.

Fig. 3 – The inner part of the panels,
detail before the restoration.

Fig. 4 – The inner part of the panels,
detail after the restoration.

Fig. 5 – The Carrying of the Cross, the Mediaș polyptych, the fourth scene.

Fig. 6 – St. Veronica, Israhel van
Meckenem, Vienna, Albertina.

Fig. 7 – The Carrying of the Cross,
Israhel van Meckenem, detail,
London, British Museum.

Fig. 8 – The Carrying of the Cross,
Israhel van Meckenem, *Die Grosse Passion*.

Fig. 9 – *Memento mori*, Israhel van Meckenem, Vienna, Albertina.

Fig. 10 – *Rast Christi*, the Passion, the Mediaș polyptych, the sixth scene.

Fig. 11 – *Rast Christi*, panel painting, the parish church in
Eber, Bamberg, c. 1450, Nuremberg, Germanisches
National Museum.

Fig. 12 – *Rast Christi*, drawing,
Ludwig Schongauer, c. 1480, Basel, Offentliche
Kunstsammlung.

Fig. 13 – *Rast Christi*, Israhel van Meckenem,
Die Grosse Passion.

Fig. 14 – The monogram *MSP* painted between
the vegetal-floral motifs on the Mediaș polyptych rear.

Fig. 15 – Vegetal-floral motifs on the Mediaș polyptych rear.

Fig. 16 – Jesus' figure in the Crucifixion, Carrying of the Cross and *Rast Christi*, the Master of the Mediaş polyptych.

Fig. 17 – Jesus' figure in the Crucifixion, Carrying of the Cross and *Rast Christi*, the Master of the Mediaş polyptych

Fig. 18 – Jesus' figure in the Crucifixion, Carrying of the Cross and *Rast Christi*, the Master of the Mediaş polyptych.

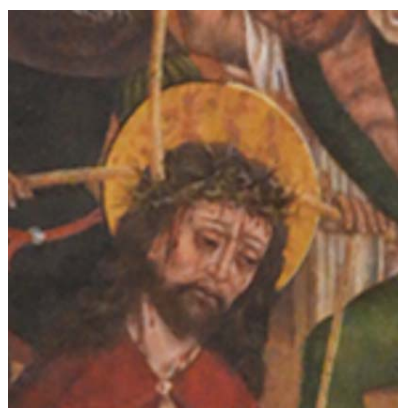Fig. 19 – Jesus' figure in the Arrest scene, the Mediaş polyptych.

Fig. 20 – Jesus'figure in the Crowning with Thorns, the Mediaş polyptych.

Fig. 21 – Jesus' figure in the Resurrection scene, the Mediaş polyptych.

Other examples of such signatures in Transylvanian painting or art related to the Voivodship include the crypto-signatures of *Johannes Siebenbürger*'s in the Triptych of the Sankt Florian Monastery[39], that of *Jonas Pictor Norimbergensis*, creator of the Feldioara altar, fragmentarily preserved inside the Black Church in Braşov[40], and the monograms of *Henricus[41]* and *Philipus* from the first half of the sixteenth century, the latter being a Moldavian painter established in Sibiu, known for his printing works of and of his activity at the City Hall[42]. The year of the Biertan altarpiece's execution, 1483, was inscribed on a book in the scene of the presentation of Jesus at the Temple[43].

The documents in Sibiu, the *de facto* capital of the Transylvanian *Universitas Saxonum*, most commonly mention the names of painters at the end of the fifteenth century, among which the most important is *Magister Stephanus Pictor* (1466–1480),

whom I have identified behind the *MSP* monogram[44], recorded as a member of the council (1466, 1469) and the *villicus* of the city (1472)[45], whose artistic work has not been known before[46].

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The painting of the Mediaş altarpiece is a collaborative project, a workshop production. Scenes, such as the Carrying of the Cross, the Rest of Christ and the Crucifixion, in which different elements than Meckenem's engravings are important, are of the highest quality, but only the main figures may be attributed to the supposed master. The hands of the different authors become evident when analysing the figure of Jesus, as it appears in the other scenes.

All this information follow to be deepened and corroborated with the conclusions of the other specialties of the project.

Notes

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[2] Dana Jenei, *Picturi murale din jurul anului 1500 de la Mediaş*, in *Ars Transilvaniae*, XXII, 2012, p. 49–56. Other works were completed in the sacristy, where the monogram of king Wladyslaw II Jagiello (1490–1516), included amongst the typical late Gothic decoration with rays around the intersections of the vaults and monochrome scrolls with religious inscriptions, show that the site was still active during his reign.

[3] Dana Jenei, *Tema Credo în pictura murală din Transilvania medievală*, in *Ars Transilvaniae*, X–XI, 2000–2001, pp. 13–19.

[4] Ciprian Firea, *Arta polipticelor medievale din Transilvania (1450–1550)*. PhD paper, Cluj-Napoca, II, 2010, p. 224.

[5] Victor Roth, *Das Kreuzigungsbild des Mediascher Flügelaltars*, in *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, 53. Jg., Nr. 11–12, p. 280.

[6] Gisela und Otmar: *Siebenbürgische Flügelaltäre*, in Christoph Machat (Ed.): *Kulturdenkmäler*

Siebenbürgens. Bd. 1. Wort und Welt, Thaur bei Innsbruck, 1992, pp. 91–104.

[7] Ciprian Firea, *Arta polipticelor medievale*, II, p. 226; eadem, „*Per bireti nostri capiti impositionem investimus...*". *Arhipresbiteri, însemne heraldice şi artă în renaşterea timpurie din Transilvania*, in *Ars Transilvaniae*, XXIII, 2013, pp. 99–123.

[8] Gisela Richter considers that the four medallions belong to an older crucifix, which would have decorated the triumphal arch before the reconstruction of the choir. The medieval reliefs would have been re-installed after the Reformation or later, in the Baroque era, when the lateral columns were attached, Emese Nagy Sarkadi, *Local Workshops – Foreign Connections: Late Medieval Altarpieces from Transylvania*, in *Studia Jagellonica Lipsiensia, Band 9*. Thorbecke, Ostfildern 2012, p. 128–133.

[9] The upper gilded part is in line with the South-German tradition of late Gothic altarpieces, for example that of Hans Schüchlin of Ulm, Robert Sukale, *Die Erneuerung der Malerei vor Dürer*, 1., Petersberg, 2009, pp. 263 and 277.

[10] The donors were hypothetically identified with the priest *Valentinus*, mentioned in the 1474 students' register as a *baccalaureus* (*Valentinus Jacobi Antiqui de Wirthalm*), and in 1477 together with *iudex Laurentius Aurifaber*, who would be the secular patron, according to Ciprian Firea, *Arta polipticelor medievale*, II, p. 230, but with *Ladislaus* and *Georgius Thabiassy*, by Emese Nagy Sarkadi, *Local Workshops*, p. 71.

[11] Dana Jenei, *Renaşterea transilvăneană – identitate culturală în context european*, Bucureşti, 2013, p. 67; eadem, *Contributions to the Transylvanian Panel Painting at the end of the Fifteenth Century*, in *Acta Musei Brukenthal*, Sibiu, VIII, 2, 2013, pp. 215–233.

[12] Otto Folberth, *Gotik in Siebenbürgen. Der Meister des Mediascher Altars und seine Zeit*. Schroll, Wien, München 1973.

[13] Dietmar Priebisch, *Der „Mediascher Meister", ein Epigone? Über die Vorlagermuster des Passionaltars vom Mediasch*, in *Südostdeutschland Vierteljahresblätter*, 18, 1979, pp. 116–122.

[14] Fritz Oskar Schuppisser, Erstveröffentlichung, in *Unser Bocholt, Zeitschrift für Kultur und Heimatpflege, herausgegeben vom Verein für Heimatpflege Bocholt*, 1991, pp. 31–42.

[15] Robert Sukale, *Die Erneuerung*, 1., p. 250, il. 219.

[16] Dana Jenei, *Contribution*, p. 219.

[17] Emese Nagy Sarkadi, *Local Workshops*, p. 130. A figure in the crowd wears a white feather hat hypothetically taken from Johannes Siebenbürger's Crucifixion Triptych of the Monastery of Sankt Florian, which is also encountered at the Master of the Playing Cards and Master PW. Dana Jenei, *Contribution*, p. 219.

[18] Emese Nagy Sarkadi, *Local Workshops*, p. 64. The corresponding scene in Sighişoara, painted by Jacobus Kendinger in 1488, is inspired by the Schotenstift altapiece. Dana Jenei, *Picturile murale ale Bisericii „din Deal" din Sighişoara*, in *Ars Transilvaniae*, XIV–XV, 2004–2005, p. 117.

[19] Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Raţiunea gesturilor*, Bucureşti, 1998, pp. 204 and 328.

[20] Similar at Derick Baegert (c. 1440–after 1515) of Wesel (Nordrhein-Westfalen), situated less than 20 km from Bocholt, Van Meckenem's hometown.

[21] William Chester Jordan, *The Erosion of the Stereotype of the Last Tormentor of Christ*, in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, Vol. 81, 1/2 (1990), pp. 13–44. Robert Sukale, *Die Erneuerung*, 2., il 732.

[22] Dana Jenei, *The Passion, Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ painted inside St. Matthias Church in Râşnov (1500)*, in *SCIA*, 4, 48, 2014, pp. 9–27.

[23] Miháy Ferenc, *Adatok az erdélyi középkori oltárművészeti kutatásához. Készítéstechnikai, restaurálás történeti megfigyelések*, in *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, 56, 2007, pp. 49–73.

[24] Pseudo-inscriptions at Hărman – in the wall painting, and Dupuş – in the panel painting. Dana Jenei, *Renaşterea transilvăneană*, p. 67; eadem, *Contribution*, p. 218.

[25] http://www.kulturpool.at/plugins/kulturpool/showitem.action?itemId=4295439111&kupoContext=default. Considered as a Schongauer figure before, by Dietmar Priebisch, *Der Mediascher Meister*, p. 119.

[26] Mitchell B. Merback, *The Man of Sorrow in Northern Europe: Ritual Metaphor and Therapeutic Exchange*, Catherine R. Puglisi and William L. Barcham (Eds.), *New Perspective on the Man of Sorrows*, p. 79. The two hypostases find their liturgical parallels in texts, such as *Dies Irae* in *Requiem*.

[27] https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1402634&partId=1&searchText=master+w+and+key+&page=1

[28] Otto Folberth, *Zum Rätsel der Mediascher Kreuzigung*, in *Klingsor, Siebenbürgische Zeitschrift, 10. Jg*. Kronstadt, 1933, pp. 371–377.

[29] Dana Jenei, *The Passion*, p. 16.

[30] http://www.kulturpool.at/plugins/servlet/watermark/markImage?params=fGltYWdlVXJsPWh0dHA6Ly9zYW1tbHVuZ2Vub25saW5lLmFzYmVydGluYS5hdC9jYy9pbWFnZXByb3h5LmFzHg_c2VydmyPWxvY2FsaG9zdCZwb3J0PTE1MDAxJmZpbGVuYW1lPWltYWdlcy9ERzE5MjZfMTAwMS5qcGcgICAgIHx3YXRlcm1hcmtUZXh0PCKpIEFsYmVydGluYXxkZWZhdWx0SW1hZ2VVcmw9aHR0cDovL3d3dy5rdWx0dXJwb29sLmF0L3MvMTcyNC81LzIvXy9kb3dubG9hZC9yZXNvdXJjZXMvYXQudWhLmt1bHR1cnBvb2wa3Vwby11aTpzdHlsZXMttZGVmYXVsdC1pY29ucy9pY29uLWltYWdlLmdpZg.

[31] Emese Nagy Sarkadi, *Local Workshops*, p. 67

[32] Dana Jenei, *Contribution*, p. 218.

[33] Theobald Streifeld, *Etwas über die Kreuzigung des Mediascher Altars*, în *KVSL*, 53, 1930, p. 52–55.

[34] Alexander von Reitzenstein, *Malerei*, in Victor Roth, C. Theodor Müller, Alexander Freiherr von Reitzenstein, Heinz R. Rosemann (Hrsg.): *Die deutsche Kunst in Siebenbürgen*, Berlin, Hermannstadt 1934, p. 129.

[35] The models for the "good centurion" may also be identified in Schongauer's engravings (B. 22) and in the works of the Nuremberg school, as the Master of the Landauer Crucifixion, and in a Wolgemut's coloured drawing from Rosenwald Collection. https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/the-crucifixion-with-saint-mary-magdalene-attributed-to-michael-wolgemut/3AGDqQEPJocKCA.

[36] Dana Jenei, *Contribution*, p. 218.

[37] Karl August Schimmwer, *Geschichte von Wien von der ältesten bis auf die gegenwärtige Zeit*, Wien, 1844. Imre Takách, *A budapestei Eligius-tablakepek: a bécsi későgótikus festészet ismeretlen emléke*, in *A Magyar Nemzeti Galéria évkö*nyve, 1991.

[38] *Martin Schwarz* was the son of *Magister Stanislai Pictor Cracoviensis*, the so-called *Master MSPC*, Miklós Mojzer, *Der historische Meister MS sive Marten Schwarcz seu Martinus Niger alias Martin Czarny, der Maler der Krakauer Hochaltars von Veit Stoss, II.Teil. Krakau und Nürnberg im Jahr 1477 und davor*, in *Annales de la Galerie Nationale Hongroise*, Budapest, 2008; eadem, *The Signature of Hans Siebenbürger, a close Compatriot of the Dürer Family*, in *Bonum ut Pulchrum. Essays in Art History in Honor of Ernë Marosi on His Seventies Birthday*, Budapest, 2010.

[39] *IHOANES VII / HERNICV... HRANOPV/S VISAIEIH*, Otto Benesch, *Der Meister des Krainburger Altar. Die Wiener Tafelmalerei im Zeitalter Friederich III*, in *Wiener Jahrbuch für*

Kunstgeschichte, VII, 1930; *IHOANES VII / HERNICU / UHRAN / OPUIS / VISAIEH*, Robert Sukale, *Der Maler Johannes Siebenbürger (um 1440-1483) als Vermittler Nürnberger Kunst nach Ostmitteleuropa*, în Evelin Wetter (Hrsg.), *Die Länder der Böhmischen Krone und ihre Nachbarn zur Zeit der Jagiellonenkönige (1471–1526). Kunst-Kultur-Geschichte*, Ostfildern, 2004, p. 366.

[40] Anton Hekler, *apud* Virgil Vătăşianu, *Istoria artei feudale în ţările române*, I, Cluj, 1959, pp. 781–785.

[41] Dana Jenei, *Murals discovered in the choir of the present Franciscian Church of Sibiu*, in *Ars Transsilvaniae*, XXVII, 2017–2018.

[42] Lidia Demeni, *Xilogravurile lui Filip Moldoveanul*, in *SCIA*, 16, 2, 1969, Fig. 10.

[43] Harald Krasser, *Untersuchungen zur mittelalterlichen Tafelmalerei in Siebenbürgen. Zur Herkunft und Datierung der Birthälmer Altarstafeln*, în *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde, Bd. 14, Nr. 2.*, Bukarest 1971, pp. 9–24.

[44] Dana Jenei, *Goticul în Transilvania. Pictura (c. 1300–1500)*, Bucureşti, 2016, p. 88.

[45] *Stephanus Pictor villicus civitatis Cibiniensis*. Franz Zimmermann, Carl Werner, Georg Müller, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, VI, Hermanstadt–Bukarest, 1990, doc. 3916, respectively Ciprian Firea, *Arta polipticelor medievale*, I, p. 177.

[46] His only known work is a flag produced for the City Magistrate in 1467: *Item Stephano Moler pro falanga et preparatione banderii eorundem stipendariorum flor. aur. 1. Quellen zur Geschichte Siebenbürgens aus sächsischen Archiven. Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Hermannstadt*, Hermannstadt, I, 1880, p. 9.