

Résumé. Le présent article analyse les peintures murales découvertes dans l'ancienne salle des fêtes de la maison de Johannes Reussner, consul à Sibiu, datées du milieu du XVII^e siècle, qui sont le seul exemple connu des illustrations de Matthäus Merian à l'*Historische Chronica* (Francfort, 1630) transposées dans l'art monumental. L'Histoire de Rome, d'après Titus-Live, est représentée dans le registre supérieur des murs: Romulus et Remus exposés sur les rives du Tibre, Romulus et Remus consultent les Augures, la Mort de Remus, l'Enlèvement des Sabines et le Combat des Horaces et des Curiaces. Le registre inférieur représente des scènes de l'Histoire ancienne: les Jugements de Cambyse et Zaleucus, Philonamus et Callias, ce dernier n'étant connu que par des photographies historiques.

L'ensemble est d'une grande importance pour l'image de la décoration intérieure de l'époque moderne dans les résidences du riche patriciat saxon de Transylvanie.

Keywords: Transylvania, Sibiu, Reussner, wall paintings, mid-seventeenth century, Titus Livius, *Historische Chronica*.

The discovery of numerous murals from the Early Modern period inside the residences of the Saxon urban patriciate in the Principality of Transylvania, about which in certain cases nothing has been known until recently¹, reveals the aesthetic demands and erudition of their commissioners, still in direct contact with the Central European culture of the German-speaking area, where they had studied in their youth. In Sibiu/*Hermannstadt*, the capital of the *Saxonum natione*, the members of two successive generations of the Schirmer family kept friendship books/*alba amicorum*, very popular amongst university students of the time², while Georg Kraus (1607–1679), in his *Siebenbürgische Chronik*, employed typical terms from the students' slang, acquired during his studies in Strasbourg (1626)³, the place where Jakob von der Heyden published the anthology *Pugillus*

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM THE *HISTORISCHE CHRONICA* (FRANKFURT, 1630) PAINTED IN THE REUSSNER HOUSE IN SIBIU/HERMANNSTADT

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facietarum (1610, 1618)⁴, with illustrations used as models for decorating the houses in no. 22 Piața Mică/Small Square (1631)⁵ and no. 17 Mitropoliei Street (1628)⁶.

Murals painted after well-known engravings have also been discovered in other Transylvanian cities, such as Brașov/Kronstadt, where in the house at no. 16 Piața Sfatului/Council Square, the *Evropae nationes* were inspired by the drawings of Hans von Aachen, engraved by Jan and Raphael Sadeler (c. 1594)⁷, or Sighișoara/*Schäßburg*, inside the Stag House, where the *uomini famosi* in medallions were inspired by the portraits in Giovio's *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* (Basel, 1575)⁸.

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In the summer of 1902, secular murals were found by chance inside a room on the first floor of the Reussner House in Sibiu, no. 16 Piața Mare/Large Square, but they were whitewashed over on the same day. In the short time available, the local researcher Emil Sigerus photographed the paintings and wrote a brief report in which he described the images, but did not identify their subjects, publishing a note the same year, without illustrations⁹.

Sigerus' account was taken over by Paul Binder (1971)¹⁰ and Andrei Kertesz-Badrusz (1981)¹¹ in their general articles on Early Modern painting in Transylvania, mostly valued for their complementary information taken from documents, chronicles, wills, and payment records.

After more than a century, in 2010, the paintings were brought to light, but only on the southern wall of the room¹². Meanwhile, I identified in 2018 the scenes in the upper register as episodes from the History of Rome¹³, and published the 1976 copies after 1902 Sigerus' photographs¹⁴, while the present article largely analyses all the known images of the mural ensemble.

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The Reussner House, with its former painted festive hall may be considered representative of Transylvanian urban civil architecture of the mid-seventeenth century (Fig. 1). Exceptionally, the foundation stone has been preserved (Fig. 2), and records the name of the commissioner, the consul Johann Reussner Jr., and the year of construction, 1646, in a "cryptic inscription of five elegiac couplets", as deciphered by Ioan Albu:

*Cibinium postquam sua bis duo Secula uidit
Annumq(ue) ad Sextum Lustra Bis Octo dedit
Antea quae exiguo, haec cumbebam cespitem
moles*

*Vt cernis, Sto nunc alte eleuata domus
Scire cupis quis sit, qui me fundarit ab imo
REISNERVS Consul NOBILITATE Gravis
Anterior postquam cessit, quae solis ad ortum
[Illus]tre, quiq(ue) urbis, Consul & ipse fuit;
... Hesperis Titan Subducere Vultum
... [moe]nia) mansa tenerent¹⁵.*

The year 1646 is significant both for the history of Sibiu and for Reussner himself, as it marks the end of an uprising of the population against the immorality of the

patriciate, which removed him violently from the position of mayor of the city, but soon after order was restored, he was made a consul¹⁶, and rebuilt his house. The works commissioned by Reussner gave a uniform façade to the building, which incorporates earlier Gothic and Renaissance constructions. The portal of the passageway, dated 1652, is original and not adapted, as erroneously claimed lately, and reiterates the scheme of the older model of the Haller House in the same square in Sibiu, being decorated in the centre of the archivolt with the coat of arms of the Reussner family, carved in the same block of stone as the rest of the portal, between trophies symmetrically arranged and chandelier-columns on the jambs¹⁷.

The crest is framed by the digits of the year 16 // E · N // 52¹⁸, comprising the initials of Elias Nicolai (c. 1605–1661), the most important sculptor of the Late Renaissance in Transylvania¹⁹, who also carved the foundation stone (1646) and Johann Reussner the Elder's tombstone (1637), preserved in the *Ferula* of the Evangelical Cathedral in Sibiu²⁰.

The painted room, located in the southern wing of the house on the first floor, has a simple ceiling and windows looking onto the square, and comprises only half of the former hall later divided in two, so that the mural decoration extends to the north beyond the new wall, as noticed by Sigerus, and shown by the restorer's investigations.

The scenes in the upper row of the ensemble present the History of Rome, as already mentioned (2018). Two of the three images uncovered on the south wall (2010), and the first on the eastern wall, known from the historical photographs (1902) reproduce in reverse the engravings of Giovanni Battista Fontana from 1573, not directly, but after the illustrations of Matthäus Merian the Elder (1593–1650) to the book written by Johann Ludwig Gottfried (1584–1633), published in Frankfurt am Main in 1630, under the title:

*Historische Chronica,
 oder
 Beschreibung der fürnehm-
 sten Geschichten, so sich von Anfang
 der Welt, biß auf unsere zeitten
 zugetragen /
 Nach Auftheilung der vier Monar-
 chenen, und beygefügtter Jahrrechnung auff
 fleißigst in Ordnung gebracht/
 Durch
 Johan Ludwig Gottfriedt/
 Mit viel schönen geschichtsmässigen
 Kupffer-
 stücken zur lust und anwendung der
 Historien
 geziehret/an tag geben unnd Verlegt/
 Durch Matthaeus Merian Buchhandlern
 und Kupffer-
 stüchen in Frankfurt:
 Cum Privilegio Caes. Majest.
 M. DC. XXX²¹.*

The Reformed pastor Johann Ludwig Gottfried (1584–1633), theologian, translator, publisher and author, who was Jan Theodor De Bry's collaborator from 1619, became the principal writer of the Frankfurt publishing house²², after Merian took it over in 1624²³. The 1185-page *Historische Chronica* was one of their most successful books, being also highly appreciated for the 329 copper illustrations in the text, to which were added 31 plates with portraits in medallion of political rulers from Antiquity to the Early Modern era, reformers and humanists, and the double-page engraved maps of the world and of Ostend. "The most important events from the beginning of the universe [...], divided into the Four Monarchies" are catalogued in chronological order, according to the periodization based on the Book of Daniel (2.31–45), adopted by Protestant historiography²⁴, with the classical sources mentioned in the text. The work comprised "in addition to the historical events of the world, stories of 'sex and murder', and fabulous things"²⁵, maintaining its popularity through numerous reprints and translations into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and is frequently noticed as the source of Goethe's knowledge of world history²⁶.

Of particular interest to the history of present-day Romania is the scene of the Wars of Conquest of Decebal's Dacia by Trajan's Romans, with the representation of the Drobeta-Turnu Severin bridge and references to Trajan's Column in the text, as well as the assassination of Michael the Brave by Imperial order on Câmpia Turzii, in 1601. The effigy of *Michael Waiuoda*, the first Romanian unifier of Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania in 1600 is also found in the gallery of portraits in medallion, on the same Table XXXI along with his contemporaries, *Elisabetha Angliae Franc. Hibern. Regina*, the princes of Transylvania, *Sigismund Bathori* and *Stephanus Bochkay*, as well as the general of Emperor Rudolf II of Habsburg, *Georgius Basta*, his murderer.

Also worth mentioning are the episodes of the arrest of the future king Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490), including the execution of his brother, Ladislaus of Hunedoara, ordered by King Ladislaus Posthumus in 1456, and the assassination in 1551 of Bishop Georg Utjessenovicz-Martinuzzi, governor during the regency of the future John Sigismund Zápolya (1540–1571), the first prince of Transylvania.

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The painted scenes in Sibiu are organized in two registers. On the south wall, where the murals are visible or at least discernible, to the three scenes in the narrower upper register correspond two images on the lower level, which originally framed a door still functional in 1902, now walled up. In the case of the east wall, where the paintings are known only from photographs, being completely whitewashed today, the same 3/2 ratio applies, which is not affected by the later partition of the hall.

All the images known have their origin in Matthäus Merian's illustrations to the *Historische Chronica*, with several episodes reproducing the plates of the Story of Romulus and Remus, made in 1573 by Giambattista Fontana (1524–1587)²⁷, for Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol, in whose service the Veronese artist had been since 1572²⁸. Of the total of



Fig. 1 – Reussner House, detail of the facade with the portal, dated 1652.



Fig. 2 – The foundation stone of the Reussner House, Sibiu, dated 1646, today at the Brukenthal Museum in Sibiu, Ioan Albu, *Inscripções der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der Frühen Neuzeit*, Hermannstadt, 2002, Abb. 88).

Fontana's 27 plates, apparently Merian copied six in reverse.

In the upper register, the scenes from the History of Rome respect the sequence of illustrations in the 1630 edition of the book, being painted from right to left: *Romulus and Remus exposed on the banks of the River Tiber*, *Romulus and Remus consult the Augurs*, and *the Death of Remus*, on the south wall. The subject continues on the east wall with *the Rape of the Sabines*, and *the Fight of the Horatii and Curiatii*, between which another image described by Sigerus is partially visible in the photographs, but the subject is as yet uncertain.

In the lower register, scenes from Ancient History are rendered, which similarly have the *Historische Chronica* as source: on the southern wall, from right to left, below the first three images from the History of Rome, were painted *the Judgment of Cambyses* (mostly covered by the modern green paint) and, on the other side of the door now walled up, *the Judgment of Zaleucus* (partially preserved). On the east wall, the scene of *Philonamus and Callias of Catania*, positioned under *the Horatii and Curiatii*, is known from the photographs of 1902, which also show that nearby, there could be another scene under the lime, which has never been uncovered.

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The first image in the upper register of the southern wall shows Romulus and Remus, the new-born twins of the vestal Rhea Silvia and Mars, abandoned on a bank of the river Tiber by two servants at the order of the dictator Amulius, so that they might drown. The story continues in the distance, with Romulus and Remus on the opposite bank fed by a she-wolf, the detail being difficult to make out in Sibiu, because of the degradation of the colour layer. The historiographical source is here, as for all the episodes of the History of Rome, Titus Livius', *Ab Urbe Condita Libri*²⁹, reference mentioned in the *Historische Chronica*. Merian's engraving is based on Giambattista

Fontana's series, Plate 2, in reverse, with the following explanatory inscription: *ROMVLVS ET REMVS EX MARTE ET [S]IL[V]IA NATI IVSSV AMVLII AD / TIBRIA EXPOSITI A LVPA NUTRIUNTUR / Romulus and Remus born from Silvia and Mars, ordered by Amulius to be exposed on the Tiber, were nourished by the she-wolf*³⁰ (Fig. 3–5).

The next scene similarly depicts Rome's foundation mythology and represents the moment of determining its name and ruler by using the Ancient Italic ritual practice of divination: "the gods, who were guardians of the place, should choose by auguries, which of the two should give a name to the new city, and enjoy the government of it when built". Romulus standing on the Palatine Hill sees twelve vultures, while in the distance, Remus on the Aventine Hill sees only half that number³¹ (Fig. 6–7). Merian's engraving reproduces in reverse Giambattista Fontana's series, Plate 7, with the inscription: *FRATRES DE VRBIS INNITIO DISCORDES AGVRYS CAPIENDIS LITEM DIRIMVNT / At the founding of the city the quarrelling brothers give up their dispute on understanding the omens.*

The Death of Remus copies Merian's original illustration which shows Romulus killing his twin brother, while uttering the words attributed to him by the legend: "So perish every one that shall hereafter leap over my wall". Then, Livy concludes: "By these means Romulus came into the sole possession of the government, and the city, when built, was called after the name of its founder". The second plane of the image includes indeed the moment previous to the fratricide, showing Remus jumping over the wall of the fortress, while in the background, the Eternal City on the Palatine mount is under construction, with workmen carving stone, carrying and setting the blocks in place on scaffolding (Fig. 8–9).

The Rape of the Sabine Women in the upper register of the eastern wall continues the representations on the south. The scene is known from the historical photographs³², and

the investigations of 2010 proved the wall painting is still preserved under the lime. Livy recounts the story of the Romans under Romulus who invited their neighbours, the Sabini, to the Consualia festival dedicated to Neptunus Equester, in order to kidnap their women. The painting reproduces Merian's *Historische Chronica* engraving (Fig. 10), which in this case is only inspired by, and not a faithful copy of Fontana's Plate 12, with the inscription: *ROMANI MVLIERUM INOPIA COATI SIMVLATIS NEPTUNO LVDIS SABINAS RAPIVNT* / The Romans compelled by the lack of women, seize the Sabines, during the games dedicated to Neptune.

On the same eastern wall, in the upper register, was painted the *Battle of the Horatii and Curiatii*, which concluded the war of Alba Longa with Rome, under Tullus Hostilius, its third legendary king (Titus Livius, I. XXV). The image in Sibiu, now covered with lime, was described by Sigerus as a "Roman battle", with the *SPQR* motto written on the fallen shield in the centre of the image, visible both in Merian's illustration to the *Historische Chronica*, and in the painting itself, as the historical photographs show³³ (Fig. 11–12). The "Roman warrior" mentioned in the

middle, with the sword raised against his opponents, and a "dark red toga falling into beautiful folds on his back", is actually the surviving Horatius. According to the same researcher, between the Sabine women and the Horatii, the third scene in the upper register of the east wall included a rider on the back of a white horse, but he is not visible in the left margin of the painting recorded by his camera, where we can see only a standing soldier with his back to the viewer³⁴.

Individual episodes of the Foundation of Rome were frequently represented in Early Modern European panel painting, but in the monumental art only a few mural cycles executed by Italian artists are known, such as the one in Palazzo Magnani, Bologna (1589–1592), by the Carracci brothers, or that in the Capitoline Museums, Rome (1596–1639), by Giuseppe Cesari / Cavalier d'Arpino, but with no relation to Fontana's or Merian's series of prints. Several Livian scenes made in *stucco* before 1589 by Antonio da Melano in Kratochvíle Villa, in Bohemia, such as *Romulus and Remus nursed by the she-wolf*, *Romulus killing Remus*, the *Combat of Horatii and Curiatii* and so on, are derived from Jost Amman's woodcuts³⁵.



Fig. 3 – *Romulus and Remus exposed on the banks of Tiber River*, the Reussner House, wall painting, south wall, upper row.



Fig. 4 – *Romulus and Remus exposed on the Tiber*, Giovanni Batista Fontana, *The Story of Romulus and Remus*, Plate 2, 1593.

(https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/cd/Romulus_and_Remus_Exposed_on_the_Tiber_%2C_pl_2_from_the_series_The_Story_of_Romulus_and_Remus.jpg)



Fig. 5 – *Romulus and Remus exposed on the banks of Tiber River*, Matthäus Merian, illustration to *Historische Cronica*, Frankfurt, 1630.

(<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=SiBhAAAACAAJ&pg=GBS.PA86&hl=ro>)



Fig. 6 – *Romulus and Remus, disputing over the founding of Rome, consult the Augurs*, Reussner House, south wall, upper row.



Fig. 7 – *Romulus and Remus, disputing over the founding of Rome, consult the Augurs*, Matthäus Merian, illustration to *Historische Cronica*, Frankfurt, 1630.
(<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=SiBhAAAACAAJ&pg=GBS.PA88&hl=ro>)



Fig. 8 – *The Death of Remus*, Reussner House, south wall, upper row.



Fig. 9 – *The Death of Remus*, Matthäus Merian, illustration to *Historische Cronica*, Frankfurt, 1630
(<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=SiBhAAAACAAJ&pg=GBS.PA90&hl=ro>)



Fig. 10 – *The Rape of the Sabine Women*, Matthäus Merian, illustration to *Historische Cronica*, Frankfurt, 1630 (<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=SiBhAAAACAAJ&pg=GBS.PA93&hl=ro>)

In the lower register in Sibiu, the only image known on the eastern wall of the ensemble, photographed and then immediately re-covered in 1902, is located under the Horatii and Curiatii and the adjacent scene, and represents “Philonomus and Callias the Catanians [who] picked up their fathers and carried them through the flames, paying no attention to their other possessions. For this they received a reward from the gods: as they ran, the fire parted at their approach” (Fig. 11 and 13). The episode recounted by Aelianus Tacticus, took place during the first eruption of Mount Etna recorded in history (475 BC)³⁶. Based on this episode mistakenly interpreted, Sigerus declared in 1922 that the whole ensemble in the Reussner House represents Homer’s Trojan War³⁷.

According to the photographs, a second scene which has never been cleaned should exist nearby, in the lower row of the east wall, to the right of the viewer, the 3/2 ratio of the images in the upper / lower registers of the south wall apparently being respected here too.

On the southern wall, one of the two extant painted scenes in the lower register of represents Cambyses II, the Persian Emperor (seventh century BC) who, according to Herodotus as indicated by the *Historische Chronica*, “made Otanes governor of the people on the coast. Otanes’ father Sisamnes had been one of the royal judges, and Cambyses had cut his throat and flayed off all his skin because he had been bribed to give an unjust judgment.

Then he cut leather strips of the skin which had been torn away and with these he covered the seat upon which Sisamnes had sat to give judgment. After doing this, Cambyses appointed the son of this slain and flayed Sisamnes to be judge in his place, admonishing him to keep in mind the nature of the throne on which he was sitting”³⁸. In the centre of the image in Sibiu, from under the layer of modern green paint which covers this part of the murals almost entirely, emerges the figure of the Emperor wearing a turban and pointing at Sisamnes’s skin hanging under the canopy of the throne to the right, the armour of a soldier and his halberd to the left, and elements of architecture – columns and pillars – in the background³⁹. This subject was also rendered by Renaissance, Mannerist, and Baroque artists, such as Dierck Vellert (1542), Joachim Wtewael (1606), and Peter Paul Rubens with his workshop (1626).

The second image depicts Zaleucus (seventh century BC), from the Greek colony of Locri in lower Italy, regarded as the first legislator of the Hellenistic world, who, among other judgements, punished adultery with the loss of both eyes. When his son is charged with this crime, he does not exonerate him, but subjects him to the statutory punishment, though taking half of it upon himself. The historical source indicated by the *Historische Chronica* for this episode is Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, 1.6.c.5. In Sibiu, the two moments are represented symmetrically, following Merian’s engraving, but only the fragment with Zaleucus surrounded by tormentors is visible today on the left side of the composition, uncovered from the paint (Fig. 14), while the figure of his son, painted to the right, is lost, being known only from the historical photographs, as the area was destroyed by

a second door opened after 1902, now walled-up too. In this case, Merian’s engraving (Fig. 15) recalls the older fresco of the Mannerist painter Perino del Vaga (1521), now in the Uffizzi Galleries in Florence.

Under the two scenes of the southern wall in Sibiu, there are preserved fragments of the drapery register, which should have existed at the base of the whole ensemble.

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The Reussner House was built in 1646, as the inscription of the foundation stone cryptically proclaims, the year being based on the traditional foundation date of Sibiu (1160)⁴⁰, computed similarly to the traditional foundation date of Rome, whose beginnings were painted in the former festive hall⁴¹. The recourse to Ancient history as a moral model is typical of humanist practice of the Early Modern era and entirely appropriate to the commissioner himself, Johann Reussner, who became “a consul of the city shining like the rising sun”, as the inscription puts it, after one of the most troubled episodes in the history of Sibiu ended, when the lack of virtue of the oligarchy was called into question. The year 1652, when Elias Nicolai carved the stone doorframe of the main entrance in the building, could mark the end of the works to the house, the murals being executed towards the end of this period, but their author is as yet unknown.

The Reussner House murals, even if only partially uncovered, are the only known example of the transposition of Matthäus Merian’s illustrations to the *Historische Chronica* into the medium of monumental art, equally being of great importance in the attempt to regain an idea of the interior decoration in the houses of the wealthy Early Modern Saxon Transylvanian urban patriciate.



Fig. 11 – *The Battle of the Horatii and Curiatii*, and unidentified scene – Reussner House, east wall, upper row, respectively *Philonamus and Callias of Catania* – east wall, lower row, copy after Emil Sigerus' photograph, 1902, Dana Jenei, "Seventeenth century murals in Sibiu: unpublished photographs of scenes from Antique History", in *Brukenthal. Acta Musei*, 2022, Fig. 11, p. 235.



Fig. 12 – *The Battle of the Horatii and Curiatii*, Matthäus Merian, illustration to *Historische Cronica*, Frankfurt, 1630.
(<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=SiBhAAAAcAAJ&pg=GBS.PA116&hl=ro>)



Fig. 13 – *Philonamus and Callias of Catania*, Matthäus Merian, illustration to *Historische Cronica*, Frankfurt am Main, 1657.
(https://books.google.ro/books?id=txhhAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false)

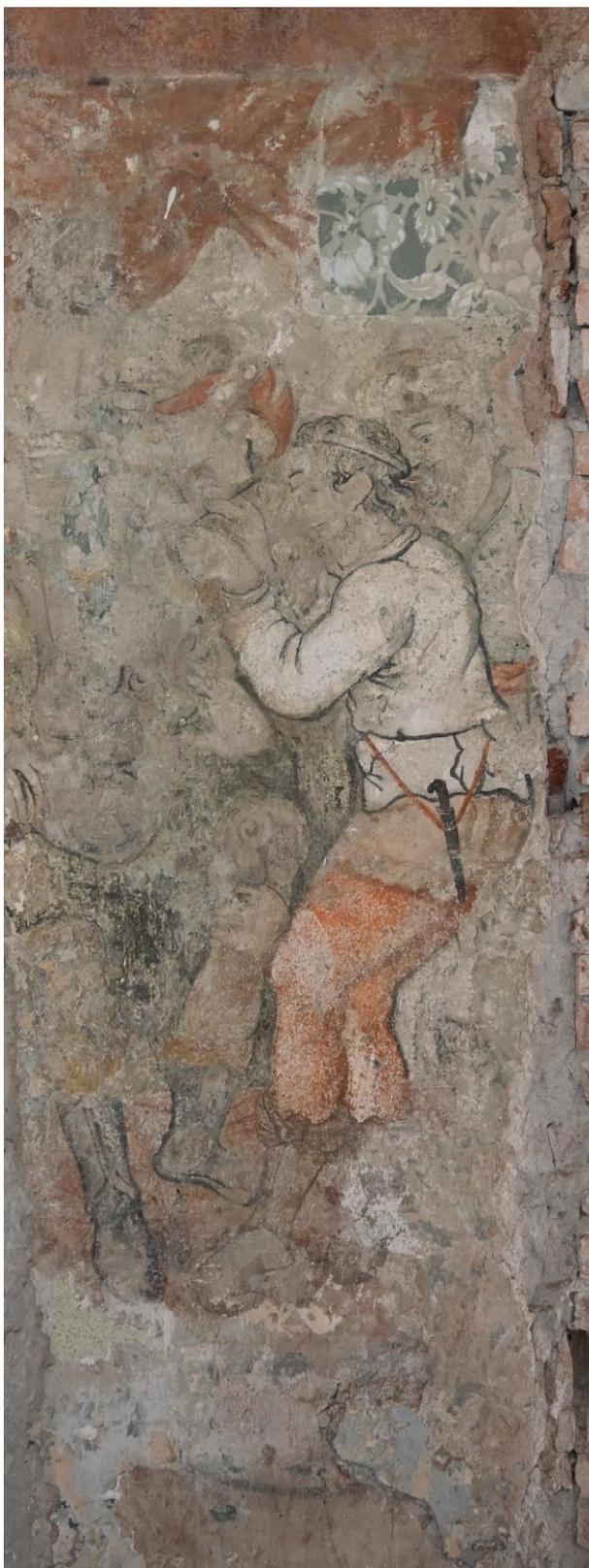


Fig. 14 – *The Judgement of Zaleucus*, Reussner House, south wall, lower row, detail.



Fig. 15 – *The Judgement of Zaleucus*, Matthäus Merian, illustration to *Historische Cronica*, Frankfurt, 1630.
(<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=SiBhAAAACAAJ&pg=GBS.PA102&hl=ro>)

¹ Dana Jenei, *Renașterea transilvăneană – identitate culturală în context European*, București 2013, 113–134; Dana Jenei, “Pictura murală din Transilvania Renașterii în secolele XVI–XVII”, in *Arta în România din Preistorie în Contemporaneitate*, eds. Răzvan Theodorescu and Marius Porumb, București–Cluj Napoca, 2018, p. 611–622.

² Dana Jenei, “A motif from the *Pugillus Facietiarum* painted inside a house in Sibiu (1631)”, in *Transylvanian Review*, XXVIII, No. 4, 2019, p. 60–73; Gustav Gündisch, “Das Schirmerische Familienbuch”, in *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 8, 4/2, 1985, p. 151–157. Anton and Paulus Schirmer’s *alba amicorum* known together as the *Schirmersche Familienbuch* with entrances dated between 1651 and 1654, respectively 1681 and 1685. <http://dspace.bcuculuj.ro/handle/123456789/13244>, <http://dspace.bcuculuj.ro/handle/123456789/13243>.

³ Georg Kraus, *Cronica Transilvaniei, 1608–1665*, eds. Gheorghe Duzinchievici and Eugen Reus-Mârza, București 1965, p. 16, used the term *cornalizatio*, derived from the name of the student *Cornelius Relagatus*, see Dana Jenei, “A motif from the *Pugillus Facietiarum* ...”, p. 64; Reinhold Köhler, “Cornelius: Eine Ergänzung zum deutschen Wörterbuche”, in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* (Halle), 1, 1869, p. 452–458. Ulrich Rasche, “Cornelius relegatus und die Disziplinierung der deutschen Studenten (16. bis frühes 19. Jahrhundert): zugleich ein Beitrag zur Ikonologie studentischer Memoria”, in *Frühneuzeitliche Universitätskulturen: Kulturhistorische Perspektiven auf die Hochschulen in Europa*, eds. Barbara Krug-Richter and Ruth-E. Mohrmann, Cologne-Weimar-Wien 2009, p. 190.

⁴ *Pugillus facietiarum iconographicarum in studiosorum potissimum gratiam ex propijs eorundem Albis desumptarum; et iam primum hac forma editarum. Allerhand kurtzweilige Stücklein, allen Studenten furnemblich zu lieb auss Ihren eigenen Stambüchern zusammen gelesen und in dise Form gebracht* [A handful of illustrated witticisms, chiefly for the benefit of students and taken from their own albums], <https://archive.org/details/pugillusfacietiar00heyd/page/n3>.

⁵ Dana Jenei, “A motif from the *Pugillus Facietiarum* ...”, p. 60–73; Malcolm Jones and Dana Jenei, “Woman and the men of the four elements”, in *In honorem Răzvan Theodorescu. Profesorul la 80 de ani*, ed. Dana Jenei, București 2019, p. 191–205.

⁶ Dana Jenei, “Murals from 1628 painted inside the house of Greger Stamp, *circvmsp(ecti) viridomini [...] civis et mercatoris civit(at)is / cib(iniensis)optimi*”, in *Brukenenthal: Acta Musei* 14.2, 2019, p. 341–353.

⁷ Dana Jenei, “*Evropae nationes* – allegories painted in a house in Brașov, in the early seventeenth century”, in *Transylvanian Review*, XXX, no. 3, 2021, p. 84–99.

⁸ Dana Jenei, *Renașterea transilvăneană*, p. 127–128. The other figurative motifs come from Theodore de Bèze, *Icones id est verae imagines virorum*

doctrina simul et pietate illustrium, Geneva, 1580. Zsolt Kovács, *Limbajul emblematic în arta transilvăneană din secolele XVII–XVIII*, Phd paper. Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai, Facultatea de Istorie și Filosofie, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, “pers. Comm”.

⁹ Emil Sigerus, “Alte Wanderbilder”, in *Korespondenzblatt* (1902), 163–164. The postal number of the house at that period was 23.

¹⁰ Paul Binder, “Date despre picturile din secolul al XVI-lea de la Brașov și Sibiu”, in *BMI*, 2, 1971, p. 18.

¹¹ Andrei Kertesz-Badrusz, “Aspecte privind tematica picturii transilvănene din secolul al XVI-lea în lumina documentelor de epocă”, in *SCIA*, 1981, p. 137.

¹² The murals painted in a *secco* technique were partially uncovered by the restorer Vasile Ciungan, with only one of the scenes aesthetically presented, the works being financially sustained by the private owner of the house.

¹³ Dana Jenei “Pictura murală din Transilvania Renașterii ...”, p. 611.

¹⁴ Dana Jenei, “Seventeenth century murals in Sibiu: unpublished photographs of scenes from Antique History”, in *Brukenenthal. Acta Musei*, 2022, p. 221–238.

¹⁵ *Nachdem Hermannstadt ihre zweimal zwei Jahrhunderte sah, und am sechsten Jahr das Jahrfünft zweimal acht ergab, nachdem ich, wie man sehen kann, in diesem kleinen Rasen als Wehren lag, stehe nun am hochgebauten Haus. Willst Du wissen, wer mich ursprünglich begründete? Konsul Reußner, gewichtig durch seiner vornehmen Geburt, bevor er starb, und der Konsul der wie die Sonne beim Aufgang glänzenden Stadt war; die Sonne am Niedergang richtete ihr Gesicht, ... die gebliebenen Wehren hielten*, Ioan Albu, *Inscripții der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der Frühen Neuzeit*, Hermannstadt, 2002, no. 178, p. 161. The year 1646 is arrived at by the addition of 1160 (the traditional year of the foundation of Sibiu) + 400 (*bis duo Secula*) + 86 (*Sextum Lustra bis Octo*). The stone is preserved today at the Brukenenthal Museum in Sibiu, Inv. Nr. M 5361/15499.

¹⁶ Johann Reussner / Reisner Jr. was *villicus* of Sibiu in 1626–1627, notary in 1636–1644, mayor in 1644–1646, consul in 1646–1648, and provincial consul in 1648–1654, Johann Seivert, *Kurze Geschichte der Provinzial Bürgermeister von Hermannstadt in Siebenbürgen*, Hermannstadt, 1792, p. 89–90. His father, Johann Reussner Sr. (1575–1637), was provincial notary (1624–26), *villicus* (1626), judge (1632) and mayor (1633–1637), while his grandfather may have been the *Joannes Rhyssus Coronensis* mentioned as a city notary in 1556–1562. Ioan Albu, *Inscripții der Stadt Hermannstadt ...*, p. 151–152.

¹⁷ Dana Jenei, “Seventeenth century murals in Sibiu ...”, p. 223–224, also records the new data on the building and its decorative elements in carved stone. In the last fifty years, the researchers falsely supposed that the present coat of arms was added in 1652 on a

mid-sixteenth century portal, and referred to the initials of the commissioner's name, *I R*, which actually never existed.

¹⁸ Ioan Albu, *Inscripții der Stadt Hermannstadt ...*, no. 192, p. 172–173.

¹⁹ Nicolai was not only in the service of the townspeople and nobles in the Principality of Transylvania, but also of the rulers of Wallachia. Vasile Drăguț, *Arta Românească*, București 1983, 410; András Kovács, “Arhitectura și sculptura Renașterii”, in *Arta în România din Preistorie în Contemporaneitate*, eds. Răzvan Theodorescu and Marius Porumb, București–Cluj Napoca 2018, p. 635.

²⁰ Ioan Albu, *Inscripții der Stadt Hermannstadt...*, no. 165, p. 151–152.

²¹ <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=SiBhAAAAcAAJ&pg=GBS.PP2&hl=ro>. *Historical Chronicle, / or / Description of the Most / Noble Stories from the Beginning / of the World, to Our Times / After the Dividing of the Four Monarchies, and the attached chronology, diligently arranged / by / Johan Ludwig Gottfriedt / Decorated with many beautiful historical copper engravings for pleasure and training. From Matthaeus Merian Bookseller and Copper Engraver in Frankfurt: Cum Privilegio Caes. Majest. M. DC. XXX.*

²² Gottfried studied theology at Heidelberg from 1601, being a deacon and pastor in *Kurpfalz* from 1603 to 1624. He previously collaborated with Merian at de Bry's publishing house in Oppenheim (1619) for the publication of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in Latin.: *P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon plerarumque historica, naturalis, moralis ekphrasis. Ad figuras elegantissimas, quibus illa repraesentantur, accommodata* (Frankfurt am Main, 1619). Lucas Heinrich Wüthrich (Hrsg.), *Matthaeus Merian der Ältere. Briefe und Widmungen*, Hamburg 2009, p. 137. Lucas Heinrich Wüthrich, *Gottfried, Johann Ludwig*, in *New German Biography* (NDB), vol. 6, Berlin, 1964, p. 677. <https://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/0001/bsb00016322/images/index.html?seite=691>. Michiel van Groesen, “America Abridged: Matthaeus Merian, Johann Ludwig Gottfried, and the Apotheosis of the De Bry Collection of Voyages”, in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* / 41.1, 2011, p. 68.

²³ Matthäus Merian the Elder (1593–1650) inherited the publishing house from his father-in-law, Jan Theodor De Bry (1561–1623). Some time before 1613, the enterprise was moved from Frankfurt to Oppenheim, but after the Spanish capture of the city in 1620, De Bry moved it back to Frankfurt.

²⁴ David Mervart, “Reading European universal histories in Japan, 1790s–1840s”, in *The Historical Journal*, 64, 1 2021, p. 47–49. Downloaded from <https://www.cambridge.org/core>. IP address: 86.121.14.128, on 12 Nov 2021 at 09:56:04, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms>. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X19000670>.

²⁵ https://www.zvab.com/servlet/BookDetailsPL?bi=30605206254&cm_sp=SEARCHREC-_-WIDGET-R-_-BDP-F&searchurl=kn%3Dgottfried%2Bhistorische%2Bchronica%26sortby%3D20.

²⁶ Michiel van Groesen, “America Abridged: Matthaeus Merian ...”, p. 86.

²⁷ <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/search/objects?set=BI-1937-0095#/BI-1937-0095,0>. Adam Bartsch, *Le peintre graveur*, XVI, Leipzig 1870, p. 211–239. *Illustrated Bartsch*, XXXII, New York 1979, p. 320–381.

²⁸ Fontana, Giovanni Battista, in *Treccani.it – Enciclopedia on line*, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana. URL consultato il 2 febbraio 2021. Harula Economopoulos, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 48 1997. Some of the plates bear Fontana's signature and the year 1573.

²⁹ “But neither gods nor men screened her or her children from the King's cruelty: the priestess was loaded with chains, and cast into prison, and the children were ordered to be thrown into the stream of the river. It happened providentially that the Tiber, overflowing its banks, formed itself into stagnant pools in such a manner, as that the regular channel was everywhere inaccessible, and those who carried the infants supposed that they would be drowned in any water, however still. [...] A story prevails that the retiring flood having left on dry ground the trough, hitherto floating, in which they had been exposed, a thirsty she-wolf from the neighbouring mountains, directed her course to the cries of the children, and, stooping, presented her dugs to the infants, showing so much gentleness, that the keeper of the King herds found her licking the boys with her tongue” (I.IV). Titus Livius, *The History of Rome* by, trans. and ill George Baker, New York, 1823, vol. 1, https://oll.libertyfund.org/title/baker-the-history-of-rome-vol-1#lfl023-01_head_005.

³⁰ Adam Bartsch, *Le peintre graveur: Peintres et dessinateurs italiens: maîtres du seizième siècle*, seizième volume, Vienne, 1818, p. 228–232. The Latin captions were most probably composed for the Fontana's series. Gianvittorio Dillon, “Stampe e libri a Verona negli anni di Palladio” [ex. cat.], in *Palladio e Verona*, Paola Marini ed., Verona, 1980, p. 257.

³¹ Titus Livius, *The History of Rome* (I.V).

³² Dana Jenei, “Seventeenth century murals in Sibiu ...”, Fig. 6, p. 233. Based on Sigerus' recount, the scene was correctly identified by Paul Binder, “Date despre picturile din secolul al XVI-lea ...”, p. 18.

³³ Dana Jenei, “Seventeenth century murals in Sibiu ...”, Fig. 11, p. 235. Andrei Kertesz followed Sigerus' 1922 erroneous assumption that the whole ensemble must represent the Trojan War, this scene being considered as the fight between Hector and Achilles.

³⁴ Between *the Rape of the Sabine women* and *the Horatii*, the *Historische Chronica* presents three other episodes of the *History of Rome*, all copied by Merian after Fontana: *the Sabine women*

negotiating peace, Romulus offering Jupiter the armour of King Acron, and the Apotheosis of Romulus, but none of them comprises the two mentioned elements.

³⁵ Ondřej Jakubec, “The Villa Kratochvíle in Bohemia: Imagery, Senses, and Meaning in Vilém of Rožmberk’s Aristocratic Hunting Lodge”, in Barbara Arciszewska (ed.), *The Early Modern Villa. Senses and Perceptions versus Materiality*, Warsaw 2017, 8. Scenes considered of the same date, but repainted later, are rendered at Schloss Riegersburg, on the coffered ceiling of the Roman Chamber.

³⁶ Denis M. Searby, *The Corpus Parisinum. A Critical Edition of the Greek Text with Commentary and English Translation. A Medieval Anthology of Greek Texts from the Pre-Socratics to the Church Fathers, 600 B.C. – 700 A. D.*, Lewiston, New York 2007, p. 734.

³⁷ Emil Sigerus, *Von altem Hermannstadt*, I, Sibiu, 1922, p. 77. Andrei Kertesz-Badrusz, “Aspecte privind tematica picturii transilvănene ...”, p. 137, took over the assertion, considering that Aeneas and Anchises are represented in the image, this incorrect identification being also perpetuated in some other recent texts.

³⁸ Herodotus, *Histories*, ed. A. D. Godley, Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London, 1920–1925 (1.3). <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0126%3Abook%3D5%3Achapter%3D25>.

³⁹ Dana Jenei, “Seventeenth century murals in Sibiu ...”, Fig. 14 and 15, p. 237.

⁴⁰ Ioan Albu, *Inscripții der Stadt Hermannstadt ...*, no. 178, p. 161–162.

⁴¹ I thank Malcolm Jones for this important observation, for the translations of the Latin captions, and for revising my English text.