

Abstract. *The current essay has as starting point the author's art historical study elaborated within the multidisciplinary research undertaken for the restoration of the house in 1992, published in an abridged form in 2013 and 2018 with the information updated, which is completed and corrected here. The Stag House is one of the most significant examples of the urban patrician residence in Renaissance Transylvania. Its most important phase of construction is dated by the inscription incised in the main beam of the wooden ceiling of the Hochparter corner room 3 IVN. / HR / 1602. The murals, preserved mainly in the upper vaulted Saal facing the square, have a compositional structure dictated by the architectural elements, while the colour-range, dominated by grey tones, with accents of vermilion, green and ochre, gives a general impression of a grisaille painting. The iconographical programme comprises portraits of uomini illustri in round medallions, including members of the House of Habsburg, emblems, themes from the Classical literature and the Old Testament, all inspired by early modern engravings from the last part of the sixteenth century.*

After the fire of 1676, which destroyed three quarters of the buildings in Sighișoara, the Stag House was rehabilitated in 1693 by the mayor Michael Deli, its "owner, sustainer and founder", as the inscription on the façade towards the square shows. In the following centuries, the residence arrived through matrimonial alliances in the possession of the members of two important families in the town: Kelp von Sternburg and Schech von Sternheim.

Key words: *Sighișoara, Transylvania, early modern murals, effigies, uomini illustri, Habsburg, emblems.*

The Stag House in Sighișoara is one of the most significant examples of the urban patrician residence in Renaissance Transylvania, comprising early modern murals discovered

THE STAG HOUSE. EARLY MODERN MURALS IN SIGHIȘOARA / SCHÄßBURG / SEGESVÁR

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during the works started in 1992 by a research and restoration team awarded with the prize of the Romanian Ministry of Culture in 2002. Parts of my preliminary art historical study, elaborated within the framework of the multidisciplinary investigation in 1992¹, were published with updated information in my works on Transylvanian Renaissance painting in 2013² and 2018³, the information being completed and corrected by the present article.

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The devastating fire of April 30th 1676 destroyed three quarters of the buildings in Sighișoara, and only a princely order prevented the migration of the population⁴. Despite the major destruction, restoration work in recent decades has highlighted the elements that adorned the façades of the houses, even from before the disaster. The craftsman dwellings were decorated with simple motifs that emphasize the profiled cornice and the openings by colour, examples being in the Upper Town the house on Tâmplarilor street / *Untere Tischlergasse* no. 24, with the monogram of the owner *MM* and the year 1576 inscribed between the windows, and in the Lower Town, the house on Morii street / *Mühlgasse* no. 17, with the cobblers' guild sign and the year 1568. Inside the house on Bastionului street / *Schanzgasse* no. 4,

provided with a cantilevered roof and an attic partially open for storage, the restorers discovered floral decoration on the walls and a coffered wooden ceiling⁵. The façades of the patrician residences were adorned with *sgraffitto* ornamentation, as on the house in the Main Square / *Burgplatz* no. 11, today mutilated⁶, or with paintings, including quotations from Classical authors in Latin, and devotional inscriptions in German, the majority of which record their reconstruction after the fire.

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The Stag House is located in the Upper Town at the intersection of the main square with the street leading up to the school on the hill, and is the result of successive interventions which ultimately unified the exterior, while still preserving the functional coherence of the two previous households⁷. The typology of the Transylvanian house, with a simple tract and side passage, can still be discerned in the modified ensemble, advanced towards both the square and street, the older walls and their openings being preserved at the semi-basement level.

The corner of the house is emphasized by decorative *rustica*, first outlined in colour and then embossed in plaster, while the upper storey displays the antlers of a stag, with the body painted on the two converging walls, beneath which, on the main façade, the restorers recovered from under the limewash the fragmentary inscription, which, as I published in 2013, begins with a line from Catullus (*Carmina* 73), and ends with the name of the owner and the date:

O[MNIA SU]NT INGR[ATA,] NIHIL
FECISSE BEN[IGNE] [...],
POSSESSOR, SUFFULTOR
ET INSTAURATOR MICHAEL DELI [...]
ANNO CHR[IST]I. 1693 DIE 10 IUNII
AETA[TIS]
PROPRIA 55 CONSVL[...]⁸.

The residence of Michael Deli, the 55 year-old mayor of Sighișoara mentioned in the inscription of 1693 as “owner, sustainer and founder” of the house, became the property of the Kelps von Sternburg and

Schechs von Sternheim, through matrimonial alliances between the members of these families of the first political and cultural importance in the town. In 1686 Michael Deli’s daughter, Katharina, married Martin Kelp (1659–1694)⁹, rector of the gymnasium in Sighișoara, founder of the library, and author of historical, theological and philosophical works published in Criș, Sibiu and Sighișoara, his doctoral dissertation, *Natales Saxonum Transylvaniae*, being published in Leipzig in 1684¹⁰. He also gave the oration in Hebrew at the funeral of Prince Michael Apafy in 1690¹¹. According to archival information provided by Gernot Nussbächer and included in my 1992 study¹², his father, Georgius Kelp (1626–1685), was a preacher in Sighișoara between 1654–1658, then parish priest in Hoghilag (1658–1661) and Daia (1661–1685), and in the final year of his life became the dean of the Saschiz Chapter. Georgius II (+1734), his brother, held the highest positions in the leadership of Sighișoara, between 1712 and 1732, as a mayor, royal judge, consul, proconsul and assessor of the *Tabula Regia*, his sons receiving from the Empress Maria Theresia the title von Sternburg, on 4 August 1742¹³. The youngest brother, Johann (1667–1708), orphaned at 18, was supported in his studies by his father’s friends, the same Michael Deli, mayor of Sighișoara, Valentin Frank von Frankenstein, count of the Transylvanian Saxons, and Johann Zabanius Sachs von Harteneck, provincial notary in Sibiu¹⁴. *Johannes Kelpius Dalia Transylvanus Saxone* studied in Tübingen, his name appearing in the matriculation register next to that of Zabanius in 1687¹⁵, then in Leipzig, and Altdorf, where he received the title of Magister for his work, *Theologiae Naturalis* in 1690¹⁶, and co-authored the book *Scylla Theologica*, with one of his professors, Johann Fabricius, in the same year. In 1693, he emigrated within a group of 40 Germans to America, and settled in Pennsylvania, where he led the Pietist movement called “Monks from Wissahickon”¹⁷, or “Woman in the Wilderness” (Revelation 12:6)¹⁸. His diary,

as well as his prayer books and musical compositions are preserved, his American period being richly documented¹⁹.

In 1751, Johanna Regina Kelp von Sternburg (1735–1768) married Martin Gottlieb Schech von Sternheim (1724–1807), who was ennobled by Emperor Francis I, in 1804. As a notary for the town from 1765, he systematized the archives of the Seat of Sighișoara for the first time²⁰. He was senator, royal judge from 1775, and the author of several historical works dedicated to the Grand Principality of Transylvania and to his home town. His chronicle *Memorabilia Schaessburgensia* was placed inside the cruciform globe of the roof of the Clock Tower, at the completion of the renovation works in 1776²¹.

After the fire of 1676, at the height of the Baroque style, repairs to the house preserve its conservative Renaissance appearance. The passages were covered with vaults *a vela* and the damaged stone window-frames were completed. Floral decorative murals were also made inside, from which only a few fragments

are preserved in the corner rooms, on the soffit of the bow-window built in a later phase in the axis of the main façade of the *Hochparter*, and on the intrados of the windows in the upper room. The older murals in the upper vaulted *Saal* were whitewashed, two oval stucco medallions being applied on the vault, fragments of which were also preserved by the interventions of the restorer²².

Dr. Josef Bacon (1857–1941), owner of the Stag House and founder of the Museum of History in Sighișoara in 1899, noted in his family register, that the residence was, before being modernised and restored by his grandfather, Michael Wenrich, around 1850, “a very interesting old patrician house with stone windows and door frames, painted walls and wooden ceilings, with bull’s-eye windows, a wide hall and relatively few and badly dilapidated living rooms”²³. “Numerous murals” and a “magnificently inlaid wooden door of the house”, donated by Dr. Josef Bacon to the museum, were also mentioned by Richard Schuller in 1906²⁴.



Fig. 1. – The Stag House in Sighișoara, 2024.



Fig. 2. – The Stag House, the inscription painted in 1693 on the façade, 2006.

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The general structure and decoration of the Stag House, including the highly important murals in the upper vaulted *Saal*, pre-dates the 1676 fire, and may be dated by the inscription incised laterally on the main beam of the polychromed wooden ceiling of the *Hochparter* corner room: 3 IVN. / HR / 1602, with the monogram surmounted by the merchants' mark, within a heraldic shield (Fig. 3). The unified construction featured carved stone frames with the profiles turned at the base of the jambs, and denticulated lintels with central heraldic shield and moulded cornices to the tripartite windows on the façades, and the main door inside. The rooms were covered with painted wooden ceilings, semi-cylindrical vaults with penetrations or crossed with decorative plaster ribs and bosses. Murals adorned not only the interiors, but also the façades where the figure of the stag was depicted three-dimensionally²⁵. A painted stag on the

corner of a house with real antlers attached was rendered in a view of Strassburg, in Graf Anton Heinrich von Oldenburg's *album amicorum* (1620–1622)²⁶. Figures of stags with antlers attached, but serving as wall candle-holders, were painted before 1554 in the Habsburgs Hall and on the interior gallery of Schloss Tratzberg in Jenbach, Tyrol²⁷.

The upper corner room of the Stag House was originally embellished with vegetal-floral paintings, similar to those of the vaulted *Saal*, but only a few fragments are preserved, the ensemble having been destroyed by the unscientific interventions of 1988²⁸. The same fate was suffered by the coffered painted wooden ceiling, from which the few remaining boards still preserved in 2002, were photographed and published by Ferencz Mihály in 2004²⁹.

Effigies of *uomini illustri* wearing armour in medallions, with their names written beside them, decorate the cassettes, but the only heads still visible are those of *Octavianus Augustus keyser*, shown in

profile, with the name inscribed in red next to him, the figure apparently recoverable from two pieces of wood, and the portrait of another monarch in a crowned helmet, with only the letter *s* of his name (Fig. 4).

Other fragmentary inscriptions, such as *Ves[pasianus ?]*, *[...]/ a [...]/ ke[yser]*, and *key[yser]*, show that the figures represent Roman Emperors, as frequently depicted in early modern art.



Fig. 3. – The Stag House, inscription incised on the master beam of the wooden ceiling in 1602.



Fig. 4. – The Stag House, fragments of the lost wooden painting ceiling of the upper corner room. Photographs by Ferencz Mihály, 2002.

Similar portraits in circular medallions with variously shaped frames are also included in the programme of the adjacent *Saal*, facing the square, covered by a semi-cylindrical vault with penetrations and illusionistic painted consoles, the room which preserves the fullest ensemble in the residence, but which has also been affected

by the loss of large areas of paintwork on the central part of the vault and, to a large extent, on the side walls, while the colour layer of some of the paintings is extremely abraded, obscuring the identification of certain figures, scenes and inscriptions, written in Latin and German, in Gothic minuscules (Figs. 5–6).



Fig. 5. – The Stag House, view of the painted *Saal* to the north.



Fig. 6. – The Stag House, view of the painted *Saal* to the south.

The majority of the effigies originate in the treatise *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* by Paolo Giovio (1483–1552), the 1551 *editio princeps* being republished in Basel, in 1575, with illustrations by Tobias Stimmer (1539–1584)³⁰. Even though the work includes several figures of Holy Roman kings and emperors, for the portraits of the members of the House of Austria, the painter from Sighișoara had

recourse to later models. On the south wall of the room, towards the hall of the house, the medallions follow the semi-circular line of the vault, the first character represented being *Temerlanes Scy/thar[um] Imp[erator]* (1336–1405), with an arrow in his left hand and the fingers of his right hand resting on the frame of the medallion, as in Giovio’s illustration (Fig. 7).



Fig. 7. – The Stag House, portraits of *uomini illustri*, after Paolo Giovio’s *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium*, Basel, 1575, illustrated by Tobias Stimmer.

<https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb10141560?q=%28Elogia+virorum+bellica+virtute+illustrium+,+1576%29&page=117>

Temerlanes Scy/thar(um) Imp(erator) (1336–1405), *Alfonsus Neapolitan.rex* (1396–1458), *Vitell/oci Vi(t)elli* (+1502), *[Galeaciu]s Sfortia* (1444–1476), *Ioanes Accutus Britanus* (c. 1320–1394), *[Galeaciu]s Sfortia* (1444–1476), *Ioanes Accutus Britanus* (c. 1320–1394), *Georgius Castriotus Scanderbechus Epiri princeps* (1405–1468).

A full-figure warrior, apparently a janissary with a musket on his shoulder, a lighted fuse in front of it, and a sabre at his waist (Fig. 8), is represented beside, on the surface adjacent to the door, inspired by the book illustrations based on Nicolas de Nicolay's *Les quatre premiers livres des navigations, peregrinations et voyages faits en la Turquie*, published at Lyon in 1567/1568, with the engravings by Antoine Danet made after the drawings of the author³¹. The illustrations were reproduced by, amongst others, Abraham de Bruyn in 1577³², who published them in his costume book entitled *Omnium Pene Europae, Asiae, Aphricae atque Americae gentium habitus* (Köln, 1580)³³, from which the soldier in Sighișoara apparently comes, bearing on his back a triangular curved shield from the same source, but omitting the spectacular feather ornament of the janissary's tall *bork*. The inscription in

German ending in a flourishing, written by his side, is now only fragmentarily preserved³⁴.

Opposite the doorway is the profile effigy of *Georgius Castriotus Scanderbechus Epiri princeps* (1405–1468) and, above him, *Alfonsus Neapolitan. rex* (1396–1458), from Giovio's book. On the side walls, the portraits in medallions are arranged at the base of the vaults, among them, still identifiable on the west wall the English *condottiere*, *Ioan[nes] Acuthus Britannus* (c. 1320–1394), and the Duke of Milan, *[Galeaciu]s Sfortia* (1444–1476). Two other very damaged effigies might represent *Frederick I Barbarossa* (1155–1190) – the first German emperor who used the title Holy Roman Empire (crowned, with red hair?), and *Frederick III* (1415–1493) – the first Habsburg Holy Roman Emperor (in profile, wearing a closed crown with a cross on top).



Fig. 8. – The Stag House, the north wall, figure of a janissary inspired by Abraham de Bruyn's *Omnium Pene Europae, Asiae, Aphricae atque Americae gentium habitus*, Köln 1580 (details, reversed).

<https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/search/objects?set=BI-1895-3811#/BI-1895-3811-55,55>.

<https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/search/objects?set=BI-1895-3811#/BI-1895-3811-50,50>.



Fig. 9. – The Stag House, portraits of Holy Roman kings and emperors on the window soffit: *Rupert[us]* (1358–1410), *Maximilianus I* (1459–1519), Albertus II (1397–1439), *Sigismund[us]* (1368–1437)

On the window soffit are painted the portraits of four Holy Roman kings and emperors, *Rupert[us]* (1358–1410), *Sigismund[us]* (1368–1437), probably Albertus II (1397–1439) – but the name is lost – shown crowned, as in *Austriacae Gentis Imagines* (1558 /1569) by Francesco Terzio, with illustrations by Gaspare Oselli³⁵, and *Maximilianus I* (1459–1519), wearing a laurel wreath, all rendered in profile (Fig. 9), as seen in such works as the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, comprising “the true portraits of the Roman emperors of all the East and West: drawn as faithfully as possible from ancient coins”, from Julius Caesar to Rudolf II, illustrated by Giovanni Ambrogio Brambilla (Rome, 1582)³⁶, abridged from earlier works, such as the *Imperatorum Romanorum omnium orientalium et occidentalium verissimae imagines: ex antiquis numismatis quam fidelissime delineatae*, by Jacobo Strada, published by Andreas Gesner (Zürich, 1559)³⁷. The row is closed by the effigy of the Italian condottiere, *Vitell /oci Vi[t]elli* (+1502), rendered in profile too, but after Giovo.

On the base of the vaults, to the north, are painted the portraits of two emperors of the House of Habsburg, their names inscribed inside the medallions: *Carolus Quintus* (1500–1558) (Fig. 10), wearing an extravagant hat with plumes, as seen in several early portraits, but unrelated to the ensemble in Sighișoara³⁸, and *Maximilianus II* (1527–1576), crowned, this rare variant, being probably derived, as is Albert II’s, from Terzio’s *Austriacae Gentis*

Imagines (1559 /1568)³⁹ (Fig. 11), but with the ruff from De Bruyn’s costume book⁴⁰.

The window is framed by the portraits of two of his sons, the Archdukes Maximilian III and Ernest of Austria⁴¹, made after Jacob Hoefnagel’s engravings of 1594, which exceptionally were added to the edition of the *Emblemata nobilitate*, first published by Theodor de Bry in Frankfurt am Main in 1593, as represented by the copy in the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel⁴². Some of the effigies were reused for Adam Johann Lonicer’s *PANNONIAE HISTORIA CHRONOLOGICA: res per Ungariam, Transylvaniam*, issued by the same publishing house in Frankfurt, in 1596⁴³, e.g. Maximilian III’s portrait, but not that of Ernest, deceased in 1595. From the illustration of the title-page of this extremely important book for the history of Transylvania and Wallachia, which includes the images of the victorious battles against the Turks at Giurgiu and Târgoviște in 1595, may derive the effigy represented on the west wall in Sighișoara (Figs. 12–13), which is probably of Matthias (1557–1619), another son of Maximilian II, who succeeded on the throne of the Holy Roman Empire his brother, Emperor Rudolf II (1552–1612), whose portrait seems to be lost, as are many others. A further two effigies on the eastern wall opposite, represented in the same type of festive costume, with ruff and sash over the armour, are difficult to identify because of the degradation of the colour layer.



Fig. 10. – The Stag House, Albertus II (1397–1439) and Maximilian II (1527–1576), possibly inspired by Francesco Terzio, *Austriacae Gentis Imagines* (1559 /1568), illustrated by Gaspare Oselli.

https://dl.ub.uni-freiburg.de/diglit/terzi_austri-1/0001/thumbs?sid=a5bd53aba1b595b9d439eb48ee4522e1#current_page

Beneath the portrait of Archduke Maximilian III (1558–1618), the ghost of whose name is still discernible, is an image of the *Phoenix*, which “lives in death”, accompanied by the text: *[P]hoenicem, si vera ferunt mors ipsa refingit. Huic sit ut unus avi vitaque, morsque rogos. Ite o [ca]rnifices. Sanctorum sancta cremate. Corpo[r]a, quos vultis perdere flamma parit.* On the other side of the window, the very faded portrait supposed to be of Archduke Ernest (1553–1595), is sited above the image of a cannon which explodes killing the gunner, the accompanying text declaring that he who attempts to destroy the holy servants of God will be himself destroyed: *Cernis ut in caelum fuerat quae machina torta, Fit iaculatori mors properata suo? In sanctos quicumque Dei ruis impie, servos, Conatus merces. Haec manet una tuos* (Figs. 14–15). The source of the images accompanying the portraits, identified by Zsolt Kovács⁴⁴, is the *Icones id est verae images virorum doctrina simul et pietate illustrium ...] quibus adiectae sunt nonnullae picturae quas Emblemata vocant* of the Swiss Reformed theologian Theodore Beza, published in Geneva, in 1580. From the illustrations

made by Pierre Eskrich (c. 1518–1595) for the second part of the book, emblems VI and VIII are represented here. Other fragmentary emblems are preserved on the side walls of the room: the allegory of the believer deprived of the reins of God, represented by the image of a man fallen from his horse (X, in reverse)⁴⁵, a planetary system, in which the sun symbolizes Christ, and the moon, the Church (XL)⁴⁶, and on the vault by the window, a barrel fallen apart with the hoops sprung, which suggests that the firm laws needed to support the state, as its explanatory inscription, now barely visible, reads: *Solvuntur compacta licet bene dolia, firmis Constricta ni sint circulis. Sic legum poenis quae non firmata tènentur, Corruat oportet civitas*⁴⁷ (Fig. 16). Painted near this image, but outside it, is the full-length figure of a nobleman wearing a high hat, a ruff, a short cape with a high collar, puffy trousers above the knees and a sword, recalling both Abraham De Bruyn’s costume book⁴⁸, already mentioned twice as used by the painter of Sighișoara, and Tobias Stimmer’s, *Die weltliche Hierarchie, drei Fursten* (ante 1584), Wien, Graphische Sammlung Albertina (Fig. 17)..



Fig. 11. – The Stag House, portrait of *Carolus Quintus* (1500–1558).



Fig. 12. – The Stag House, possible portrait of Archduke Matthias (1557–1619), reversed.

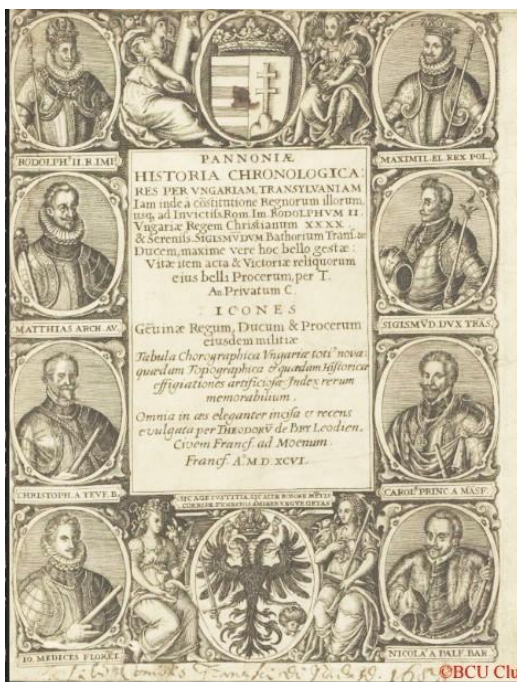


Fig. 13. – Adam Johann Lonicer, *PANNONIAE HISTORIA CHRONOLOGICA: res per Ungariam, Transylvaniam*, Frankfurt, 1596 BCU Cluj.
<https://dspace.bcucluj.ro/handle/123456789/40>



Fig. 14. – The Stag House, Archdukes Maximilian III (1558–1618) and Ernest (1553–1595), after Jacob Hoefnagel’s engravings, from 1594 (the latter reversed).
<https://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?dir=drucke/uk-sbd-2-1s&distype=thumbs>



Fig. 15. – The Stag House, Emblems VI and VIII, after Theodore Beza, *Icones id est verae images virorum doctrina simul et pietate illustrium ...] quibus adiectae sunt nonnullae picturae quas Emblemata vocant,* Geneva, 1580, illustrated by Pierre Eskrich.
<https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb10198109?page=275>



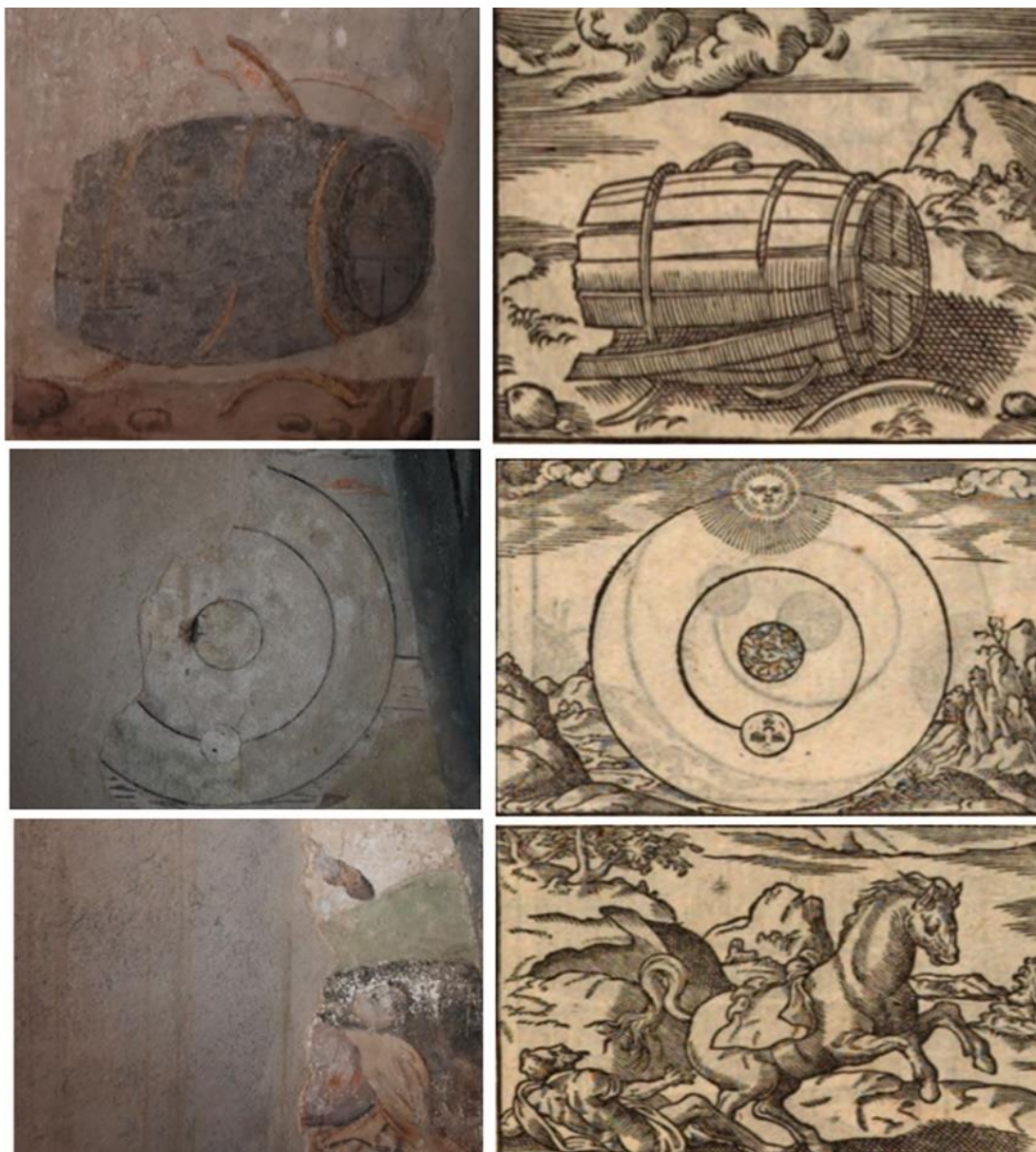


Fig. 16. – The Stag House, Emblems X, XIII, XL, after Theodore Beza, *Icones ...*, illustrated by Pierre Eskrich.



Fig. 17. – The Stag House, a nobleman, painting inspired by Abraham de Bruyn's *Omnium Pene Europae, Asiae, Africae atque Americae gentium habitus*, Cologne, 1580 (detail, reversed) or Tobias Stimmer, *Die weltliche Hierarchie, drei Fursten*, ante 1584, Wien, Graphische Sammlung Albertina (reversed).
<https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/search/objects?set=BI-1895-3811#/BI-1895-3811-21,21;>
https://ghdi.ghi-dc.org/print_document.cfm?document_id=3307

On the west wall, near the window, an Old Testament image is painted, which represents the three youths in the fiery furnace (Daniel 3:8–25), after Virgil Solis' *Biblische Figuren des Alten vnd Newen Testaments*, published in Frankfurt am Main, in 1560 (Fig. 18). In the largely destroyed painting, the Hebrews Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, protected by "the angel of the Lord", are no longer visible, only "the flames [which] rose forty-nine

cubits above the furnace and spread out, burning to death those Chaldeans who were standing nearby", and Nebuchadnezzar II, king of Babylon, in front of the group of his advisers. The inscription in German Gothic minuscules, taken from the source, reads:

*Ein Bild sol[dt] jeder batte ahn/ Ebreer
wolten solches nicht t[hu]n/
Darumb m[u]stens in des Ofens glut/
Darrin sie Gott erhalten [t]hu[t]⁴⁹*



Fig. 18. – The three youths in the fiery furnace (Daniel 3:8–25), after Virgil Solis' *Biblische Figuren des Alten vnd Newen Testaments*, Frankfurt am Main, 1560.

https://archive.org/details/gri_33125009484409/page/n11/mode/1up?view=theater

From the decoration of the vault, only parts of the frames and inscriptions to the scenes are preserved, but sufficient remains to enable the identification of their source as the edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, illustrated by Virgil Solis and published in Frankfurt am Main, from 1563 onwards. The fragmentary inscriptions, read by Malcolm Jones, show that the lost images represented the myths of Actaeon (III, IV), Philomela (VI, V) and Icarus (VIII, V)⁵⁰ (Fig. 19):

Icari casus
Ad patrios fines dum sumptis Icarus alis
Aërias carpit cum [genitore vias:]

Subuolat ad coelum propius, mox cera
liquescit, Inque necaturas praecip[itatur
aquas].

[Pandion generum Zephyris ia]m vela
daturum, Vt curae imprimis sit
Philomela, rogat. Atque vbi delec]tam
bene viserat illa sororem, At pa:[triam
celeri puppe redir]e iubet.

[Fingitur Actaeon nova] sumere cornua
cervi D[um videt et comites, et sine veste
deam.

Scilicet] ingenio consuescunt esse
f[eroci], quos nim[ium] sylvae, praedac
capta iuvant.





Fig. 19. – The Stag House, painting on the west wall, portrait of Ioan[nes] Acuthus Britannus (c. 1320–1394), and above, *Rollwerk* fragmentary frame and inscription of the lost image of Icarus, inspired by Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, illustrated by Tobias Stimmer, Frankfurt am Main, 1563.

<https://archive.org/details/iohanposthiigerm00post/page/95/mode/1up>

The compositional structure is dictated by the architectural elements, and the colour-range, dominated by grey tones, with accents of vermillion, green and ochre, gives the appearance at the edges of a *grisaille* painting to the ensemble. The Mannerist *Rollwerk* rectangular frames of the lost scenes on the vault come from the same graphic source, same as the individual decorative motifs, such as the heads – *putti* and *mascheroni* – which are rendered under each circular medallion at the base of the vaults. The rich ornamentation is completed by garlands of flowers and fruits, plants in vases, ribbons with

tassels, and other grotesque masks between symmetrical volutes above the figurative scenes on the walls⁵¹ (Fig. 20).

The figural scenes are based on book illustrations from the last part of the sixteenth century, same as the engravings used as models for the brothers of Rudolf II, emperor between 1576 and 1612, who are rendered in costumes with ruffs and sashes over the armour, the clothes worn by the full-length nobleman depicted on the vault, in keeping with the same fashion of the decades around 1600.



Fig. 20. – The Stag House, painting above the window on the north, decorative element with mask between volutes, inspired by Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, illustrated by Tobias Stimmer, Frankfurt am Main, 1563.

<https://archive.org/details/iohanposthiigerm00post/page/14/mode/1up>

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The central shield with the initials *HR* and the 'staff of Mercury', incised into the main beam of the ceiling of the *Hochparter* corner room, shows that the owner of the Stag House was a merchant, and certainly a very wealthy one, to be in a position to afford to rebuild such a residence, but the date 3 IUN 1602, which is also a *terminus post quem* for the murals, is surprising, as it is on the very eve of the end of one of the most serious crises in the history of Sighișoara, the only time when the Upper Town was occupied by an enemy, between December 1601 and July 1602. The *Chronica Civitatis Schaessburgensis 1514–1663* of Johannis Goebel and Georg Wachsmann reports that on 14th of December 1601, while Andreas Göbel, the mayor of Sighișoara, was meeting in Mediaș Stephan Csáki, one of the generals of Prince Sigismund Báthory, 4,000 Szeklers led by captain György Makó, entered the fortress through the main gate, which had been opened in order to transport Gabriel Haller's wine out of the town. The Szeklers were helped by the traitorous counsellor, Jacob Schwartz, who was later executed by his fellow citizens, by being thrown from the roof of his own house. The occupants

changed the Hungarian name of the town from *Segesvár* to *Nemesvár* ("the city of nobles"), banished the inhabitants, and put the members of the town council in prison, where the royal judge Georgius Bredt died, nor did his fellow magistrates live much longer, only Stephan Henneng surviving until 1608⁵². The account was taken over by the later chroniclers Georg Krauss (1677) and Martin Gottlieb Schech von Sternheim (1776), the latter being one of the owners of the Stag House at the end of the eighteenth century, as noticed above. His *Memorabilia Schaessburgensia*, deposited in the globe of the Clock Tower in 1776, also refers to an autograph letter of Emperor Rudolf II, apparently preserved in the town archive and addressed to the Magistrates of Sighișoara, "in which he praises and mercifully acknowledges their faith and devotion [...]"⁵³. In 1602, Transylvania came under the control of Rudolf II's imperial army, commanded by General George Basta⁵⁴.

The gallery of portraits painted inside the Stag House reflects exactly this pro-Habsburg attitude of the majority of the Saxon population in Transylvania during the Thirteen Years' War (1593–1606). At the end of the sixteenth century, several citizens of the Sighișoara political elite linked with the members of the House of Austria. Mayor

Michael Rewel, for instance, was ennobled by Emperor Maximilian II on December 2nd 1572, along with his two sons, Johann and Michael. *Johannes Rewel Segheswariensis* was a senator and a provincial notary in Sibiu between 1574 and 1577, and married to Sophia List, whose uncle, Johann List (†1577), bishop of Győr, and royal chancellor, was ennobled by emperor Ferdinand I, in 1554⁵⁵.

Another citizen of Sighișoara, Johannes Hegyes, was in the service of three Habsburgs: the Emperor Ferdinand I, the Archduke Karl II. Franz von Innerösterreich (1540–1590), who signed his ennobling diploma of 21 June 1567 in Graz, and Emperor Maximilian II (1527–1576), who issued a *Geleiterbrief* for him in Vienna on 17 June 1568. His brother, Andreas Hegyes (*Hegyesch/Hekyes/Hedjesch, Heidgisch*), mayor of Sighișoara in 1573, 1578 and 1585⁵⁶, died childless, according to Julia Derzsi, “pers. comm.”⁵⁷. On his return to Transylvania, Johann settled in Brașov, where he was a city councilor in 1576, and between 1584 and 1588⁵⁸. His son, of the same name as his brother, Andreas (1578–1627), was the mayor of Brașov in 1626, being known mostly for his *Diarium, in welchem die Kronstädter Magistrats-Personen vom J. 1614 an namentlich angeführt werden, vom J. 1613 bis 1617*⁵⁹.

The political ambitions of the well-connected members of the urban patriciate of Sighișoara were, however, far surpassed by Albert Huet (1537–1607), royal judge and count of the Transylvanian Saxons, in Sibiu, their capital. For “the faithful services shown to the House of Austria since childhood”, Huet had even invited Rudolf II to his second wedding in 1604, and in 1605 minted a gold coin in the name of the emperor, but bearing his own monogram and insignia⁶⁰. Mária Pakucs-Wilcocks evoked Huet’s correspondence with Maria Christierna, Prince Sigismund Báthory’s wife, and with her mother, Maria Anna von Bayern, from whom he requested a portrait

of Archduke Charles II Franz von Innerösterreich, her husband, who had ennobled Hans Hegyes from Sighișoara, as mentioned above. Huet’s will records, among numerous other paintings / *Bielderr*, the portraits / *Contrafecturen* of the Emperors Charles V and Ferdinand I (1607)⁶¹, while a bust of Maximilian II was owned by the merchant Georg Stamp (1630)⁶², both collections also including effigies of several Transylvanian princes and leaders⁶³, such as General George Basta⁶⁴. In Cluj, Ferdinand I and Maximilian II appear amongst the portraits of Roman and German “Caesars”, such as *Octavian Augustus* and *Vespasianus*⁶⁵, the latter being also painted on the wooden ceiling of the Stag House.

As for the painters in Sighișoara at the end of the sixteenth century, there is documentary evidence from 1591 that one *Christianus Moler aber Draus* received a certificate from the Magistrate of Sighișoara, which remembers his father, *Daniel aber Draus*, considered to be the same painter recorded in Sibiu in 1597⁶⁶, together with a *Henning Bildhauer* and *Johannes Maler*⁶⁷. This is not, of course, to identify the Stag House painter as one of these artists necessarily, as most of the examples of late Renaissance Transylvanian wall painting were recently discovered, and their history is only now being written.

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The fashion of representing *uomini illustri*, typical of early modern Western European iconographic programs, was represented, for instance in Slovakia, in the inner courtyard of the Bytča Castle (1631), where rulers, kings and heroes were painted full-length, including Tamerlane and George Castriot, both represented as portraits in the Stag House⁶⁸, while effigies in medallions are also common on the exterior of the *sgraffitto* houses of Moravia, such as Slavonice, and Austria, such as Krems, but in none of these cases is there a

thematic or stylistic identity with the ensemble of the Stag House.

In late Renaissance Transylvania, the documents mention the Kings Hall in the Mănăstirea Castle (*ante* 1593)⁶⁹, “the images of the most famous emperors, kings and princes”, in Gabriel Bethlen’s palace in Alba Iulia (1619) and the Counts Hall in the Frank von Frankenstein House in Sibiu (*ante* 1697)⁷⁰. Such programs are fragmentarily preserved in the Diet Hall of the Hunedoara Castle and in the Apor Manor in Turia⁷¹, but the closest analogy to the painting in the Stag House is in Sighișoara itself, in the upper corner room of Paulinus House. As I mentioned elsewhere, in the room known in the earlier literature for the frieze of the half-length effigies under the wooden ceiling, Habsburg portraits in round medallions, surrounded by floral-vegetal decoration, were painted on the windows soffits, in a later different style. The best-preserved portrait represents a man in profile, similar to the effigies on medals and coins, wearing a ruff minutely painted, visible though it has been vandalized. In front of him, the double-headed Imperial eagle is outlined, and above him, a fragmentary inscription from which only the last word, AVSTRI[AE], can be read. In the upper part of the adjacent effigy, with the paint layer extremely abraded, the word ARCHID[UX] is visible⁷², while near the third portrait, the first digits of the date: 16 [...], can just be made out.

Other later seventeenth century ensembles are preserved inside the room on the ground floor of the former town hall building, at no.

4–6, Școlii street / *Schulgasse* (monochrome linearly sketched hunting scenes, painted in a single tone of grey-blue on the light background), the School on the Hill (emblems and maxims inside in the classroom), and in the house of the chronicler Georg Kraus (motifs on the themes of *memento mori*, *artes moriendi* and *divini amoris*)⁷³. The decoration of the façade of the Fronius House on Școlii street no. 13, painted in the same grey-blue tones, stands out elegantly against the white background. In addition to the decorative frieze of stylized palmettes which underline the cornice, a quotation in Latin from Virgil’s *Aeneid* (2, 632–633) was inscribed with artistry between the windows:

DESCENDO AC DVCENTE DEO,
FLAMMAM INTER ET HOSTES
EXPEDIOR DANT TELA LOCVM,
FLAMMAEQVE RECEDVNT.

Below is an inscription in German Gothic minuscule, preserved fragmentarily, which refers to the fire of 1667, and to the year of reconstruction of the house, 1697⁷⁴. The reception rooms on the first floor, facing the street, were covered with crossed vaults, their ribs being decorated with bands in relief, by stylized bumps and semi-palmettes, made with a template and later painted, which recall the ornamental programme of the interiors of Transylvanian noble residences from the late seventeenth century, as at Criș (1684), Turia (1693) and Racoș (1700)⁷⁵.

¹ Dana Jenei, *Casa cu Cerb din Sighișoara*. Cercetare de istoria artei, mss., 1992/1998, București, Arhiva INP. Fond DMSI, after 1990. Starting with 1996, the works were financed by the Messerschmidt Foundation in München. Cristoph Machat, ed., *Denkmaltopographie Siebenbürgen. Stadt Schäßburg* 4.1., Köln, 2002, p. 144–145.

² Dana Jenei, *Renașterea transilvaneană – identitate culturală în context European*, București, 2013, p. 126–129.

³ Eadem, “Pictura murală din Transilvania Renașterii, în secolele XVI–XVII”, in Răzvan

Theodorescu and Marius Porumb eds., *Arta în România din Preistorie în Contemporaneitate*, București-Cluj Napoca, 2018, p. 621.

⁴ Vasile Drăguț, *Cetatea Sighișoara*, București, 1968, p. 26.

⁵ Mihály Ferencz and Lángi József, *Erdélyi falképek és festett faberendezések*, III, 2006, p. 114–116.

⁶ This decoration, in this case comprising geometric motifs, volutes and lozenges, typical for the façades of the houses in early modern Austria, Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia, is the sole example known to me in the

Transylvanian cities of the time, another fragment being preserved in the old building of Racoș Castle (phase 1624), Dana Jenei, “Restaurarea castelului Sükösd-Bethlen din Racoșul de Jos, județul Brașov (1624–1700)”, in *Palate, Castele și Cetăți din Transilvania*, Făgăraș Museum, 2000, p. 193–200. Idem, *Renașterea transilvăneană ...*, p. 142.

⁷ The medieval houses, with a fountain in one of the passages, were built in the fourteenth century, then expanded on the site of some wooden constructions from the thirteenth century, according to the archaeological excavation carried out by Ioan Feodor Pascu, from the Museum of History from Sighișoara, in 1993. The evolution of the house, published in 2002, is mostly based on my 1992 study.

⁸ Dana Jenei, *Renașterea transilvăneană...*, p. 126. The mid part of the inscription, which reads [...] IA [...] AETERITI NVLLA LA[...] / DISTICHON ISTV[D] PERINNANDAE [...] ORI[...] AV / HIS AEDIBUS IN SC[...] VOLVIT [I]ARUNDEM, was unconvincingly completed by Dana Bänder, “Inscripția latină de pe fațada de nord a Casei cu Cerb din Sighișoara”, in *Alt-Schaessburg. Istorie. Patrimoniu*, 2020, p. 47. The article doesn't comprise all the acknowledgements.

⁹ Karl Fabritius, “Die Schässburger Chronisten des siebenzehnten Jahrhunderts”, foreword to *Georg Kraus, Siebenbürgische Chronik des Schässburger Stadtschreibers: 1608–1665*, 2 Wien, 1865, p. LXXVI.

¹⁰ Johann Seivert, *Nachrichten von Siebenbürgischen Gelehrten und ihren Schriften*, Pressburg, 1785, p. 212–216.

¹¹ Karl Fabritius, “Die Schässburger Chronisten ...”, p. XXXVI.

¹² Magistrate Protocol. Nr. 1, 1475–1735. Fond Sighișoara Town Hall, The State Archives in Brașov.

¹³ Joseph Trautsch, *Schriftsteller-Lexikon oder biographisch-literarische Denk-Blätter der Siebenbürger Deutschen*, Kronstadt, 1870, 2, p. 245.

¹⁴ Joseph Trautsch, *Schriftsteller-Lexikon ...*, 2, p. 246; Julius Friederich Sachse, *The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania*, Pennsylvania, 1895, p. 223.

¹⁵ Miklós Szabó and Sándor Tonk eds., *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban*, Szeged, 1992, cf. Levente Juhász, “Johannes Kelpius (1673–1708): Mystic on the Wissahickon”, in *Cromohs Virtual Seminars*, https://oajournals.fupress.net/public/journals/9/Seminar/juhasz_kelpius.html.

¹⁶ Joseph Trautsch, *Schriftsteller-Lexikon ...*, 2, p. 245.

¹⁷ I thank Howard J. Tyson, the author of book *The Wissahickon Monks. Their Rise and Dissolution*, Middleton, 2024, for information, and bibliography offered. <https://www.svjlit.com/features/the-monks-of-the-wissahickon-pt-1-by-joseph-tyson-1>.

¹⁸ <https://www.amphilsoc.org/blog/seeking-perfection-wissahickon-wilderness>. He took the place of his master and former leader of the group, Johan Jacob Zimmerman (1644–1693), ‘most learned astrologer, magician and cabbalist’, who died in Rotterdam before the travel to America started.

¹⁹ *The Diarium of Magister Johannes Kelpius*, ed. Julius Friederich Sachse, Pennsylvania, 1817.

²⁰ Gernot Nussbächer, “Contribuții la istoria arhivei orașului Sighișoara în secolul al XVIII-lea”, in *Din istoria arhivelor ardelene. 75 de ani de la înființarea Arhivelor Statului Cluj*, Cluj-Napoca, 1995, p. 137–144.

²¹ Liviu Cîmpeanu and Nicolae Teșculă, „Cronici sighișorene” (I), in *Alt-Schaessburg. Istorie. Patrimoniu*, 7, 2014, p. 69–86. Joseph Trausch, *Schriftsteller-Lexikon ...*, 3, p. 338. Friedrich Wilhelm (1826–1876), one of Karl Leopold's sons (1786–1870), the mayor emeritus of Sighișoara, and a lawyer at the *Tabula Regia* in Târgu Mureș, wrote a commentary on the Revolution of 1848 in Sighișoara, see Emil Giurgiu, *Sighișoara*, București, 1982, p. 34–35.

²² Dana Jenei, *Casa cu Cerb...*, p. 19–22. Renaissance wooden window frames were found towards the former passage.

²³ Richard Ackner, *Allerlei von Vorfahren in Siebenbürgen (und darüber hinaus) Was bei genealogischer Forschung so über Familien, Personen und ihre Zeit gefunden wurde Zusammengetragen von Familiendruck und für Siebenbürgische Bibliotheken*, Ergänzte Fassung, Neubrandenburg, 2010, p. 6.

²⁴ Richard Schuller, *Alt Schäßburg: kulturhistorische Skizze*, Schäßburg, 1906, p. 28. The house was inherited by Teresa Bacon.

²⁵ Andreas Hartmann, the restorer of the ensemble, determined that the stag figure pre-existed the 1693 re-painting.

²⁶ I thank Malcolm Jones for bringing to my attention this analogy. Antlers on the roof tops with apotropaic connotations are visible in an earlier cityscape of Vienna, as seen in the altarpiece in Biertan (c. 1480).

²⁷ Sighard Graf Entzberg, *Tratzberg. Renaissancejuwell im Inntal*, Wien, 2000, p. 37.

²⁸ Christoph Machat, *Topography ...*, p. 144–145.

²⁹ Mihály Ferencz and Lángi József, *Erdélyi falképek...*, 2004, I, p. 92–93. I thank Mihály Ferencz for the photographs.

³⁰ <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb10141560?q=%28Elogia+virorum+bellica+virtute+illustrium+,+1576%29&page=117>.

³¹ David Brafman, “Facing East: The Western View of Islam in Nicolas de Nicolay's” *Travels in Turkey*, in *Getty Research Journal*, No. 1 (2009), p. 153.

³² *Ensemble de gravures de costumes de Turquie du XVI^e siècle* (BnF, Es. RESERVE OD-12-Fo), <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b69373991>. A number of the plates were made by Jost Amman, who published them in his own costume book, *Habitus praecipuorum populorum, tam virorum quam foeminarum singulari arte depicti. Trachtenbuch darin fastallerley und der fürnembsten nationen* (Nürnberg, 1577). Cesare Vecellio's *GIANIZZERO*.

SOLDATO from his *De gli habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo* (Venice, 1590), is also based on Nicolay's book.

³³ <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/search/objects?set=BI-1895-3811#/BI-1895-3811-55,55>.

<https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/search/objects?set=BI-1895-3811#/BI-1895-3811-50,50>.

³⁴ [...] *hütt dich, sagt die [...] / Dich wurst.*

³⁵ https://dl.ub.uni-freiburg.de/diglit/terzi_austri-1/0001/thumbs?sid=a5bd53aba1b595b9d439eb48ee4522e1#current_page.

³⁶ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/403811>.

³⁷ https://bildsuche.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=band_segmente&bandnummer=bsb00083998&page=00252&l=r0.

³⁸ See Hans Daucher's relief, representing *The Meeting of Charles V and Ferdinand I before the city of Worms, 1527*.

³⁹ Oselli's figures of Albert II and Maximilian II also inspired Jacob van der Heyden's portraits (c. 1620), which were published in Johannes Sleidanus', *Veri et ad Nostra tempora usque continuati* (Strassburg, 1625), then copied by Sebastian Furck in Nikolaus Helwig's, *Theatrum Historiae Universalis Catholico-Protestant*, (1641/1644).

⁴⁰ <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55001874r/f9.item>.

⁴¹ Maximilian III stood as a candidate for the governorship of Transylvanian and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth throne, with no success, then he was Archduke of *Vorderösterreich*, from 1612 until his death. Ernest was the Governor in the Archduchy of Austria (from 1576), in Inner Austria (from 1590), and in the Spanish Netherlands (from 1594).

⁴² <https://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?dir=drucke/uk-sbd-2-1s&distype=thumbs>.

⁴³ <https://dspace.bcucluj.ro/handle/123456789/40>.

⁴⁴ Zsolt Kovács, *Limbaajul emblematic în arta transilvăneană din secolele XVII–XVIII*, PhD mss. Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, Facultatea de Istorie și Filosofie, Cluj-Napoca 2012, "pers comm".

⁴⁵ Unlike the model, in the Sighişoara painting the man has fallen in front of his horse, and not behind it. The caption in the model reads: *Qualis eques rapido nemorosa per avia cursu / Corruit, effreni praecipitatus equo./ Corpore tu quemcunque Deus vel mente beavit, / Talis es, ipsius te nisi frena regant.*

Glasgow University Emblem Site. <https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/emblem.php?id=FB Ea010>.

⁴⁶ The caption in the model reads: *Fraternis luna ut radiis adversa refulgens, / Pleno coruscat lumine. / Sic Christi oppositos spectans Ecclesiae vultus, / Splendore lucet integro.* Glasgow University Emblem Site.

<https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/emblem.php?id=FB Ea040>.

On the opposite side, between the base of the vault and the door towards the upper corner room, a tree is

painted, which may or may not have a significance like the *arbores* in Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata*, illustrated by the same Pierre Eskirch (1550). <https://archive.org/details/emblematadaalci00alci/mode/1up?view=theater>.

⁴⁷ https://archive.org/details/gri_33125009484409/page/n11/mode/1up?view=theater.

⁴⁸ <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/search/objects?set=BI-1895-3811#/BI-1895-3811-21,21>.

⁴⁹ https://archive.org/details/gri_33125009484409/page/n97/mode/1up?view=theater. On the opposite wall, beside the Emblem X, a further two scenes were painted, of which only small fragments are preserved from the lateral edges of the compositions: the base of a column near a severed hand, recalls the image of Samson destroying the temple, in the same source, whereas in the other scene, only the tessellated pavement and a wooden structure are visible.

⁵⁰ *Iohan. Posthii Germershemii Tetrasticha in Ovidii Metam. lib. XV. qvibus accesserunt Vergilij Solis figurae elegantiss.* <https://archive.org/details/iohanposthii germ00post/page/95/mode/1up>. Such a conclusion may have been arrived at by Zsolt Kovács in his PhD noticed above, from which only the abstract is available online.

⁵¹ <https://archive.org/details/iohanposthii germ00post/page/14/mode/1up>. The ensemble does not therefore have the connotations of a *Kunstkammer*, as suggested in my preliminary study of 1992, this information being taken over, together with other parts of my text, by Nicolae Sabău, in *Metamorfoze ale Barocului transilvan. Pictura*, II, Cluj-Napoca 2005, p. 296–305.

⁵² The mayor was imprisoned in Hannes Mann's house, *Deutsche Fundgruben der Geschichte Siebenbürgens*, II, ed. Grof Jozsef Kemeny, Koloszvár, 1840, p. 94–97.

⁵³ Liviu Cîmpeanu and Nicolae Teşculă, "Cronici sighişorene (I)", p. 76 and 85.

⁵⁴ Costin Feneşan, "An attempt to regulate tax revenues in Transylvania during the second Habsburg occupation (1603)", in *ANALELE BANATULUI. Serie nouă. ARHEOLOGIE ISTORIE*, XXXI, 2023, p. 239.

⁵⁵ Johann Rewel (†1577) was buried in the *ferula* of the Evangelical Church, as was the parish priest *Herrn Johann Rodner, einst Schäßburger . . . starb in Christo . . . im Jahre 1602, am 20. September*, and the mayor of Sighişoara, Georg Jüngling, *Grab mit dem Kirschner Wappen* (No. 152, 1629), who took up office on the death of his predecessor, Martin Orend, in 1619. *Eines altes Schäßburger Bürgermeisters Petro Lutschen*, 1615-1617, also buried in Sibiu was mentioned in Ioan Albu, *Inscripţion der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, Hermannstadt-Heidelberg 2002, p. 12–14.

⁵⁶ According to Gernot Nussbächer, *Din cronici și hrisoave. Contribuţii la istoria Transilvaniei*, Bucureşti 1987, p. 43, their father, *Michael Hekyes Segesvarsensis*, was one of the most important personalities of the city, who was the seat judge in

1516, royal judge (1521–1529), mayor (1526–1547), obtaining the confirmation of numerous privileges for Sighișoara, and member of the council of governor Martinuzzi, in 1542. Near the Hegyeseș in Sighișoara and Brașov, a Martin Hegyeseș was a town councilor in 1543 in Mediaș.

⁵⁷ RNL Szeben, Brukenthal Gyűjtemény (Brukenthal Collection). RS 1–10. 483. His testament, dated December 22nd 1582, was confirmed by Stefan Báthory, King of Poland and Prince of Transylvania (to whom he left 100 ducats and 100 thalers for this favor), mentions his brother settled in Brașov, *Hans Heidgisch*, his nephew, *Endrisch*, his niece Agneth, and his sister, Barbara, married to Jacob Schneider.

⁵⁸ Joseph Trautsch, *Schriftsteller-Lexikon ...*, 2, p. 82–83.

⁵⁹ Liviu Cîmpeanu, “Cele mai vechi cronici săsești din Transilvania. Cronicarii sași din Brașov și scrierile lor în secolului al XVI-lea”, in *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, XXIX, 2011, p. 222. The young Andreas Hegyeseș maintained the connections to his father’s hometown, Johannes Schinker and Paul Schesser from Sighișoara being guests at his garden parties. Júlia Derzsi, “A bűnözés és deviáns magatartások megítélése Andreas Hegyeseș brassói kapitány és városi tanácsos *Diarium*ában”, in *Certamen*, IX, 2022, p. 253–281.

⁶⁰ Mária Pakucs-Willcocks, *Sibiul veacului al XVI-lea. Rânduirea unui oraș transilvănean* (București, 2018), p. 104. At the beginning of his career, Huet served as a notary of the Hungarian chancellery at Vienna, under four emperors: Charles V, Ferdinand I, Maximilian II and Rudolf II. Friederich Teutsch, “Huët, Albert”, in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 13 (1881), 283–286; <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd137645767.html#adbcontent>.

⁶¹ Julius Gross, “Teilbrief über den Nachlass Albert Huet’s, ausgestellt für Margaretha Wolffin im Jahre 1607”, in *Korrespondenzblatt*, XII, 11, 1889, p. 121

⁶² Daniela Dâmboiu, „Identificarea comandatarului frescelor din interiorul casei de pe str. Mitropoliei, nr. 17, Sibiu”, in *STUDIA UNIVERSITATIS CIBINIENSIS*. Series Historica, XVII, Sibiu, 2020, p. 130.

⁶³ *Stephan Bathori* (1607), in Julius Gross, “Teilbrief ...”, p. 121; *Bathor Istwan* (1596), in Andreas Scheiner, “Die Sprache des Teilschreibers Georg Dollert, Beitrag zu einer Geschichte hermannstädtischer Geschäftssprache”, *Vereins Archiv* (XLVII, 1933), 133.

⁶⁴ *Bathori Andras, Bathori Sigismundt, Basta, Bocskay* (1630), in Daniela Dâmboiu, “Identificarea ...”, p. 130.

⁶⁵ Ștefan Pascu and Viorica Marica, *Clujul medieval*, București, 1968, p. 81.

⁶⁶ Ciprian Firea and Saveta Pop, *Pictorii Transilvaniei medievale (cca 1300–1600). Un dicționar*, Cluj-Napoca, 2021, p. 40.

⁶⁷ Paul Binder, “Date despre picturile din secolul al XVI-lea de la Brașov și Sibiu”, in *BMI* (2, 1971), p. 19.

⁶⁸ Klára Garas, *Magyarországi festészet a XVIII. Században*, Budapest, 1953, p. 57, also gives the examples of the Kings Hall in Kežmarok (1659), no longer extant. Later ensembles of Cesars in the Ezterházy Castles of Zvolen (wooden painted ceiling) and Fortenstein (murals), with the source Giovanni Battista Cavalieri, *Romanorum Imperatorum effigies* (1583).

⁶⁹ Margit B. Nagy, *Várak, kastélyok, udvarházak, ahogy a régiek látták (XVII-XVIII. századi erdélyi összeírások és leltárak)*, Bukarest, 1973, p. 374.

⁷⁰ Emil Sigerius, “Waren die Wohnungen unserer Vorfahren bemalt”, in *Korrespondenzblatt*, XIII, 1, 1890, p. 1.

⁷¹ Dana Jenei, *Renașterea transilvăneană...*, p. 130 and 144.

⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 130–131. Traces of a possible hunting scene showing only the front of a running wild animal, most likely a bear, have also been highlighted on the walls of the opposite corner. The later murals were brought to light in unknown circumstances.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 132. An essay on the House Kraus murals is due to be released.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*. *Durch Gottes Gnaden Schuß bin ich für noth befreyt. Wenn ...] gar will trennen. Es ...] h weg, es ...] die flamm nicht brennen. Dass ...] voll ...] / Man kan stehen ohne leyd / 1697*. The German inscription was transcribed by Gernot Nussbächer, “pers. comm”. On the walls and vaults, the restorers’ surveys revealed the existence of vegetal-floral paintings, similar to those on the top level of the 1693 phase of the Stag House, and, under the vaults, traces of an older figural mural. The Psalm 127, *Wo der Herr das Haus bauet [...]*, was still visible around 1900 on the façade of the house on Școlii street no. 17. Richard Schuller, *Alt Schäßburg ...*, p. 27.

⁷⁵ I thank Malcolm Jones for the transcription of the inscriptions, editing the English text, and kind support.