

■ The Owl and the Plague. Contextualising a Carved Image  
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■ Bufnița și ciurma. Contextualizarea unei imagini cioplite  
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■ A bagoly és a pestis. Egy faragott kép kontextusba helyezése  
A cikk a 43–51. oldalakon olvasható.

*built heritage*    *patrimoniu construit*

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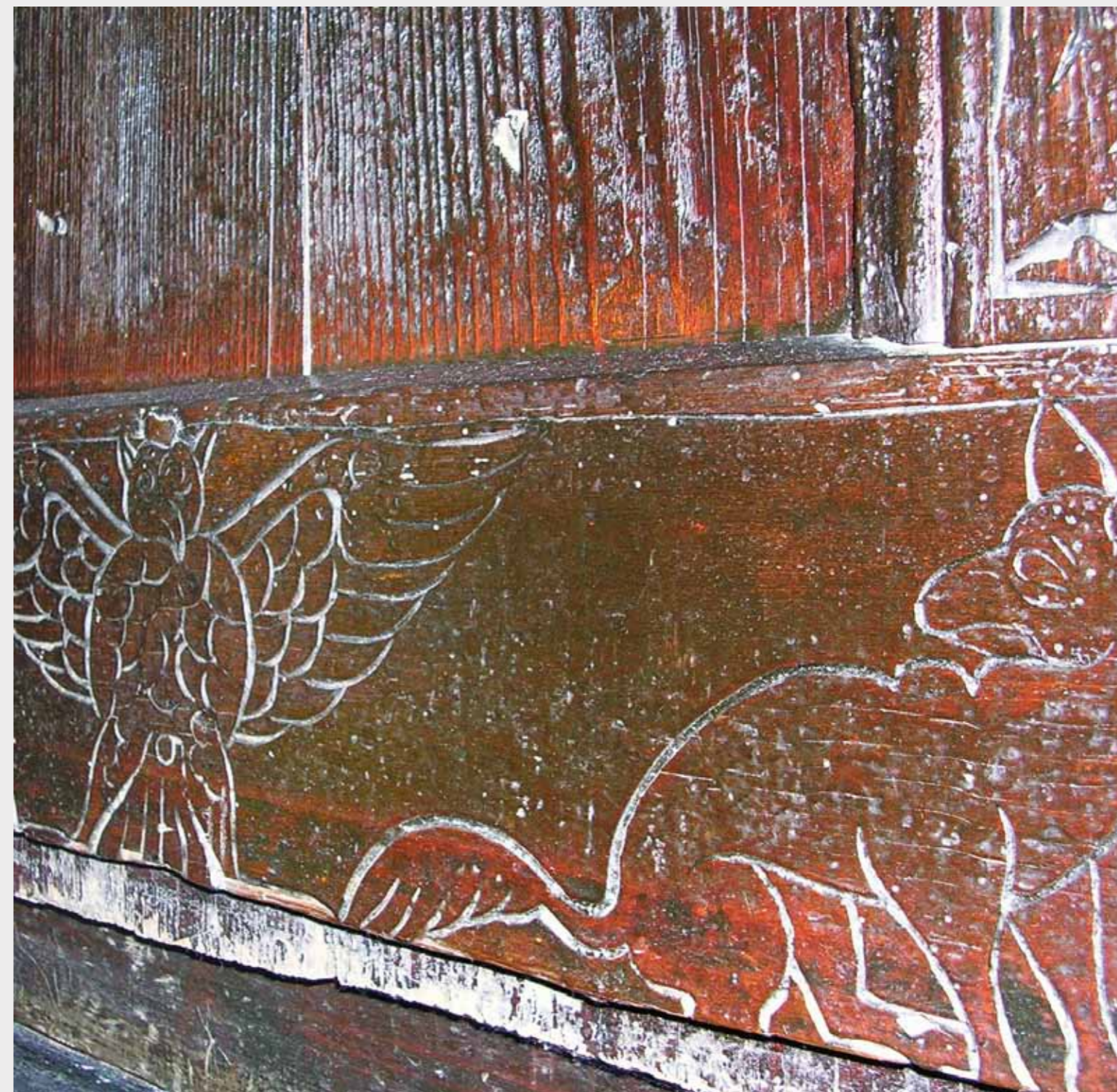
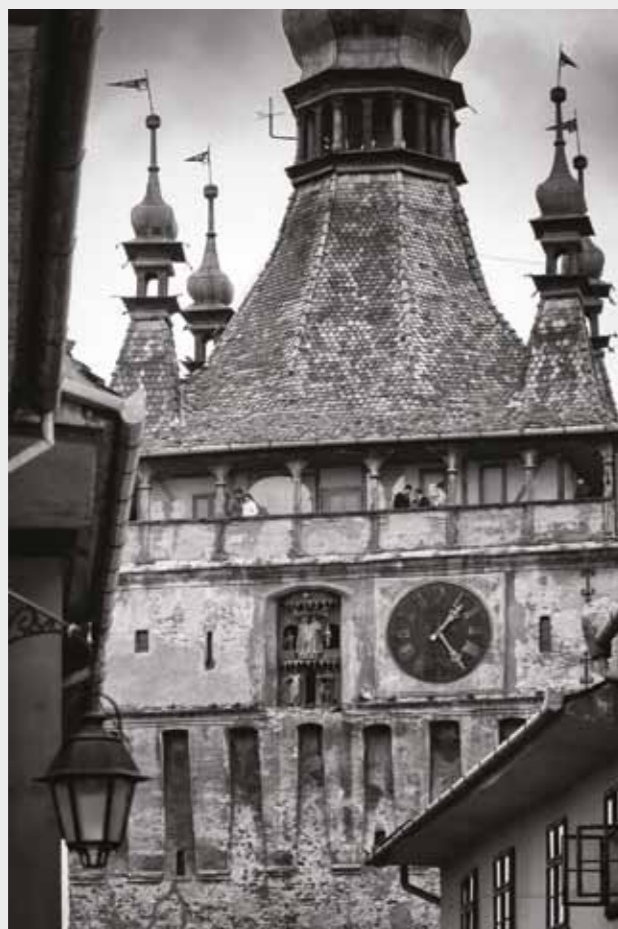


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*Transsylvania*

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Vákár

■ The current issue of the Transsylvania Nostra journal is dedicated to the general topic of historic building conservation, as we do every year, being true to our tradition.

In the greetings of the present issue we offer a small glimpse into the articles appearing on the journal's pages, which tackle the topic of conservation as well as the highly discussed and debated issue of reconstruction. We continue our permanent column of Historical Gardens, presenting in the current issue the Csáki Manor House Park found in Almaşu, Sălaj County. The article discusses the ensemble's main buildings and their arrangements, as well as the relationship between the landscaped elements, presenting thus the current state of the ensemble.

Furthermore, we can read about issues concerning the reconstruction of buildings in historical rural sites that are part of the World Heritage List, where maintaining their authenticity presents challenges to the professionals. The case studies discussed in the article contribute to the debate around the legitimacy of reconstruction in preserving UNESCO sites.

In the next article we gain insight in the inspection of historic building conservation works in Hungary over the past 30 years, through the experiences of a practised inspector. We can read, among others, about the Hungarian aspects related to the guidelines of the 20<sup>th</sup> century international charters, as well as about the series of debates regarding the steps to be taken in historic building conservation, prompted by the post-modern trends of the '80s. The author illustrates the many dilemmas related to authenticity and reconstruction with examples, which often put to the test even an experienced specialist.

In the following, a compilation can be read about one of the decorative motifs found on choir stalls in historical Transylvania, the owl, which on the discussed example is accompanied by an inscription containing a mysterious message. The author discusses the connections and relationships of the image and text in a narrower and wider context, with the help of which she tries to find the meaning of the curious representation.

We hope that with this review we managed to awaken the interest of those leafing through the journal, and we wish a useful pastime to all our readers!

**Enikő VÁKÁR**  
editorial general secretary

■ Numărul actual al revistei Transsylvania Nostra, conform unei tradiții pe care o urmărim în fiecare an, l-am dedicat tematicii generale a protecției patrimoniului.

În preambulul acestui număr vă oferim o scurtă prezentare a articolelor ce apar pe paginile revistei, abordând tema restaurării și cea a mult discutatei și controversatei reconstrucții. Continuăm rubrica permanentă a Grădinilor Istorice, prezentând de această dată parcul castelului Csáki din Almaşu, județul Sălaj. Articolul descrie principalele clădiri ale ansamblului și amenajările acestora, respectiv relațiile dintre elementele peisagere, prezentând astfel starea actuală a sitului.

În continuare, putem citi despre problemele legate de reconstrucția unor clădiri din siturile istorice rurale care fac parte din Lista Patrimoniului Mondial, la care păstrarea autenticității reprezintă o provocare pentru profesioniști. Cazurile discutate în articol contribuie la dezbaterile declanșate de legitimitatea reconstrucției ca măsură pentru protecția siturilor UNESCO.

În studiul următor, prin relatările unui inspector cu experiență, putem arunca o privire asupra lucrărilor de inspecție a restaurărilor de monumente istorice din Ungaria în decursul ultimilor 30 de ani. Putem citi, printre altele, despre abordarea în Ungaria a directivelor elaborate de cartele internaționale din secolul al XX-lea, respectiv despre seria de dezbateri privind direcțiile restaurării monumentelor istorice, declanșată de curentele postmoderniste ale anilor '80. Autorul articolului ilustrează prin exemple problemele dilematice ale autenticității și reconstrucției, care adesea testează chiar și specialiștii cu experiență.

Urmează o compilație legată de unul dintre motivele decorative ale stranelor din Transilvania istorică, cel al bufniței, care în cazul exemplului discutat este asociat cu o inscripție având un mesaj misterios. Autoarea discută legăturile și relațiile dintre imagine și text într-un context mai restrâns, cât și mai larg, căutând un răspuns în privința semnificației acestei reprezentări curioase.

Sperăm că prin această trecere în revistă am reușit să stărnim interesul celor care răsfoiesc publicația și dorim lectură plăcută cititorilor noștri!

**Enikő VÁKÁR**  
secretar general de redacție

■ A Transsylvania Nostra folyóirat jelen lapszámát a műemlékvédelem általános témakörének szenteltük, ahogy azt minden évben a hagyományokhoz híven tesszük.

Jelen lapszám köszöntőjében egy kis előzetest nyújtunk a folyóirat hasábjain megjelenő cikkekből, amelyek a helyreállítás és a sokat tárgyalt és vitatott rekonstrukció témáját boncolgatják. Folytatjuk a Történeti kertek állandó rovatot, jelen lapszámában a Szilágy megyei Váralmásan található Csáki-kastély kertjének bemutatására kerül sor. A cikk kitér a műemlékegyüttes legfontosabb épületeire és azok elrendezésére, a tájépítészeti elemek közti viszonyokra, bemutatva a napjainkban uralkodó állapotokat.

Továbbá olvashatunk olyan történeti rurális helyszínek épületeinek rekonstrukciós problémáiról, amelyek a Világörökségi lista részét képezik és hitelességük megtartása kihívást jelent a szakemberek számára. A cikkben tárgyalt esetek hozzájárulnak az UNESCO-helyszínek megőrzése érdekében véghezvitt rekonstrukciók legitimitását célzó vitákhoz.

A következő tanulmánynak köszönhetően betekintést nyerhetünk az elmúlt 30 év magyarországi műemlék-felügyeleti munkáiba egy gyakorlott felügyelő tapasztalatai által. Olvashatunk többek között a XX. századi nemzetközi karták által kidolgozott irányelvek magyarországi vonatkozásairól, a '80-as évek posztmodern áramlatainak hatására elinduló vitasorozatokról a műemlék-helyreállítás mikéntjéről. A cikk szerzője példákkal illusztrálja a hitelesség és a rekonstrukció dilemmákkal teli kérdéseit, amelyek sokszor próbára teszik a gyakorlott szakembert is.

A továbbiakban egy összeállítás olvasható a történeti Erdélyi stallumait díszítő motívumok egyikéről, egy bagolyéről, amely a tárgyalt darabon egy rejtélyes üzenetet közvetítő felirattal társul. A szerző a kép és felirat összefüggéseit és kapcsolatait tárgyalja szűkebb és tágabb kontextusban, amelynek segítségével a különös ábrázolás értelmére keresi a választ.

Reméljük, hogy a fenti szemlézettel sikerült felkeltenünk a folyóiratot lapozók érdeklődését, továbbá hasznos időtöltést kívánunk minden kedves olvasónknak!

**VÁKÁR Enikő**  
szerkesztőségi főtájtár

■ Andreea MILEA<sup>1</sup>

## Parcul castelului Csáki din Almașu, județul Sălaj

DATE ISTORICE ȘI CONTEMPORANE<sup>2</sup>

■ **Rezumat:** *Articolul prezintă câteva repere din istoria construcțiilor și amenajărilor parcului castelului Csáki din Almașu (județul Sălaj). Parcul în stil mixt, clasat drept monument istoric în Listele Monumentelor Istorice 2004, 2010, respectiv 2015, a fost creat în secolul al XIX-lea. Descifrabilă parțial în documente iconografice de epocă, amenajarea a fost alterată pe parcursul secolului al XX-lea, din fostele dispuneri păstrându-se doar urma unui lac. Părăsit de mai bine de un sfert de secol, castelul însuși este în stare de ruină. Articolul descrie principalele elemente construite și amenajate ale ansamblului, relațiile dintre ele și relațiile lor cu așezarea și peisajul înconjurător, așa cum au fost observate de către autoare în vara anului 2007, în încercarea de a schița un inventar sumar al situației amenajării în zilele noastre.*

■ **Cuvinte cheie:** grădină istorică rezidențială, amenajare în stil peisager, amenajare în stil mixt, secolul XIX

### Introducere

■ Date puține avem în prezent despre istoria ansamblului castelului Csáki din Almașu.<sup>3</sup> Amintit de József BIRÓ ca ilustrând perioada de tranziție dintre secolele al XVIII-lea și XIX-lea (1944, 75), castelul, împreună cu par-

1 Arhitect, dr., lector la Universitatea Tehnică din Cluj-Napoca, România.

2 Urmând structura metodologică descrisă în articolul de debut al rubricii *Grădini Istorică*, prezentarea parcului castelului Csáki din Almașu abordează următoarele aspecte, relevante pentru o analiză sistematică a grădinilor istorice rezidențiale transilvănene: date generale despre „proprietari, etape de construcție, stil arhitectural, constructori”; peisaj („formațiuni principale de relief, cursuri de apă, prezența unor elemente dominante”); amplasament („localizare în cadrul așezării, forma generală a sitului, caracterul limitelor”); relief local și dispunerea elementelor majore („topografia sitului, localizarea elementelor majore pe sit: zona de acces, reședința, parcul, alte elemente naturale sau construite”); amenajările de acces („localizarea acceselor – pe proprietate și în reședință – și descrierea amenajărilor aferente”); castelul și relația lui cu amenajările exterioare („descrierea volumelor principale” ale castelului și a „dispozitivelor de legătură cu exteriorul”); respectiv, amenajarea exterioară propriu-zisă („compoziție, dispunerea vegetației, elemente de vegetație, paviment, obiecte ornamentale, construcții ornamentale”). Pentru descrierea detaliată a metodologiei, a se vedea articolul de debut (MILEA 2012).

3 Ansamblul castelului Csaki (sic) (SJ-II-a-B-05010) 1815-1819; castelul Csaky (sic) (SJ-II-m-B-05010.01) 1815-1819; anexe castel (SJ-II-m-B-05010.02); parcul castelului Csaki (sic) (SJ-II-s-B-05010.03) 1815-1819 (Lista Monumentelor Istorice 2004, 2010, respectiv 2015). Almașu/Almașul Mare (RO), Váralmás/Nagyalmás/Monostorosalmás/Almás/Kalotaszeg (HU) (SZABÓ, Dicționar...).

Scrierea numelui familiei apare în literatura de specialitate atât ca CSÁKI (Mór PETRI 1901-1904), cât și ca CSÁKY (József BIRÓ 1944), dar și ca CSAKI, respectiv CSAKY (Lista Monumentelor Istorice 2004, 2010, 2015). În lucrarea de față am optat pentru varianta CSÁKI, ca fiind cea folosită de dr. Mór PETRI în reputata sa lucrare (1901-1904).

## The Csáki Manor House Park in Almașu, Sălaj County

HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY DATA<sup>2</sup>

■ **Abstract:** *The article presents several landmarks from the history of construction and landscape design of the Csáki Manor House in Almașu (Sălaj Co.). The mixed style park, listed on the 2004, 2010, respectively 2015 Historic Buildings List, was created in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Partially decipherable in period iconographic documents, the landscaping was altered during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, only the trace of a lake being preserved from the former elements. Abandoned for more than 25 years, the manor house itself is in ruins. The article presents the main built and landscaped elements of the ensemble, the relationships developed between them and with the settlement and the surrounding landscape, as they were observed by the author in the summer of 2007, in an attempt to sketch a brief inventory of the current state of the ensemble.*

■ **Keywords:** historical residential garden, landscaped style park, mixed style park, 19<sup>th</sup> century

1 Architect, PhD, lecturer at the Technical University of Cluj-Napoca, Romania.

2 Following the methodological structure described in the first article of the *Historical Gardens* column, the presentation of the Csáki Manor House Park in Almașu approaches the following aspects, relevant for a systematic analysis of Transylvanian historical residential gardens: general data on “owners, building stages, architectural style, contractors”; landscape (“main landforms, watercourses, the presence of dominating elements”); site (“location within the settlement, general shape of the site, limit characteristics”); local relief and the placement of major elements (“site topography, location of the main elements on site: access area, the residence, the park, other natural or built elements”); access and the elements related to it (“access placement – to the property and to the residence – and the descriptions of the related elements”); the manor house and its relationship with the exterior design elements (“description of the residence’s main volumes and the devices for the connection with the exterior”); as well as the actual landscape design (“composition, placement of the vegetation, vegetation elements, pavement, ornamental objects, ornamental constructions”). For a detailed description of the methodology, see the first article (MILEA 2012).





■ **Foto 1.** Ortofotografia satului Almașu (2016). Conturul alb cu linie continuă reprezintă limitele amplasamentului ansamblului castelului Csáki, clar identificabile în prezent, iar cu linie punctată întinderea presupusă a amplasamentului, corespunzător reprezentărilor istorice (însemnările grafice și textuale sunt adăugate de către autoare, scala grafică reprezentată este estimativă) © 2016 GoogleEarth, CNES/Astrium © Andreea MILEA

■ **Photo 1.** Orthophoto of Almașu Village (2016). The solid white contour represents the approximate limits of the Csáki Manor House ensemble and the dotted line the approximate limits of the site corresponding to the historical representations, with the entire area of the park (the graphic and textual markings are added by the author, the represented graphic scale is estimative) © 2016 GoogleEarth, CNES/Astrium © Andreea MILEA

## Introduction

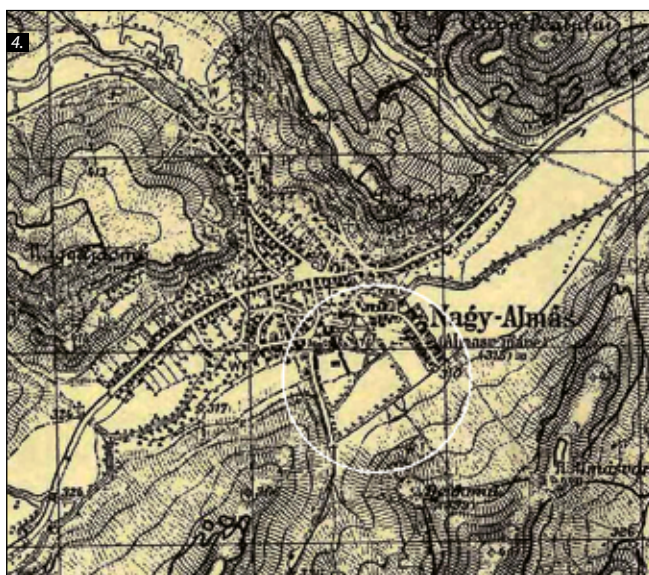
■ At the moment, we have few data on the history of the Csáki Manor House ensemble in Almașu.<sup>3</sup> Mentioned by József

<sup>3</sup> Csáki (sic) Manor House ensemble (SJ-II-a-B-05010) 1815-1819; Csaky (sic) Manor House (SJ-II-m-B-05010.01) 1815-1819; manor house outbuildings (SJ-II-m-B-05010.02); Csaki (sic) Manor House park (SJ-II-s-B-05010.03) 1815-1819 (Lista Monumentelor Istorice 2004, 2010, respectively 2015). Almașu/Almașul Mare (RO), Váralmás/Nagyalmás/Monostorosalmás/Almás/Kalotaszeg (HU) (SZABÓ, Dicționar...). The last name appears in the literature both as CSÁKI (Mór PETRI 1901-1904), as well as CSÁKY (József BIRÓ 1944), but also as CSAKI, respectively CSAKY (the 2004, 2010, and 2015 Historic Buildings List). We have chosen in this paper the CSÁKI option, as being the one used by Mr. Mór PETRI in his famous work (1901-1904).

cul amenajat în imediata sa apropiere, apare reprezentat deja în cea de-a doua ridicare topografică militară a Imperiului Austriac (1806-1869), dar de asemenea în cea de-a treia ridicare topografică militară a Austro-Ungariei (1869-1887), în cartarea Regatului Maghiar (1869-1887), și într-o hartă militară din 1941,<sup>4</sup> aceasta din urmă cu o reprezentare ceva mai sumară a sitului. Ilustrate de la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului al XX-lea se adaugă documentației iconografice, înfățișând reședința în momentele ei de bunăstare. Naționalizarea atrage după sine, în preajma mijlocului de secol XX, pierderea funcțiunii rezidențiale a ansamblului, devenit Cooperativă Agricolă de Producție (CAP) în perioada comunistă, iar schimbările post-revoluționare din ultimul deceniu al secolului al XX-lea conduc la abandonarea ansamblului, urmată de ruinarea lui.

<sup>4</sup> Așa-numita hartă militară a Ungariei din 1941. Întrucât denumirea acesteia, *Military Survey of Hungary (1941)* (Historical Maps...), este improprie, cuprinzând și teritoriile aflate la vremea respectivă în România, ne vom referi la ea mai simplu în lucrarea de față, drept *hartă militară din 1941*.





- **Fig. 1.** Reprezentarea satului Almașu (Nagy Almas) în prima ridicare topografică militară a Imperiului Habsburgic (1763-1787). Zona amplasamentului studiat este reprezentată (de către autoare) cu linie albă © Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., 2017
- **Fig. 2.** Reprezentarea satului Almașu (Nagy Almas) în cea de-a doua ridicare topografică militară a Imperiului Austriac (1806-1869). Zona amplasamentului studiat este reprezentată (de către autoare) cu linie albă © Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., 2017
- **Fig. 3.** Reprezentarea satului Almașu (Nagy Almás sau Almasiu mr.) în cea de-a treia ridicare topografică militară a Austro-Ungariei (1869-1887). Zona amplasamentului studiat este reprezentată (de către autoare) cu linie albă © Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., 2017
- **Fig. 4.** Reprezentarea satului Almașu (Nagy-Almás sau Almasu mare) în cartarea Regatului Maghiar (1869-1887). Zona amplasamentului studiat este reprezentată (de către autoare) cu linie albă © Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., 2017
- **Figure 1.** Representation of Almașu (Nagy Almas) in the 1<sup>st</sup> Military Survey of the Habsburg Empire (1763-1787). The area of the studied site is represented (by the author) with a white line © Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., 2017
- **Figure 2.** Representation of Almașu (Nagy Almas) in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Military Survey of the Austrian Empire (1806-1869). The area of the studied site is represented (by the author) with a white line © Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., 2017
- **Figure 3.** Representation of Almașu (Nagy Almás or Almasiu mr.) in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Military Survey of Austro-Hungary (1869-1887). The area of the studied site is represented (by the author) with a white line © Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., 2017
- **Figure 4.** Representation of Almașu (Nagy-Almás or Almasu mare) in the mapping of the Kingdom of Hungary (1869-1887). The area of the studied site is represented (by the author) with a white line © Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., 2017

## Peisaj (foto 1)

■ Satul Almașu, sat de reședință al comunei omonime, este situat în Pozișul Someșan, într-un peisaj deluros, dezvoltându-se în lungul văilor râurilor Almașu și Băbiu,<sup>5</sup> la confluența acestora. Ruinele cetății Almașului se înalță pe un deal, în apropiere, la sud-est de așezare.

<sup>5</sup> Râul Băbiu este afluent de stânga al râului Almașu.

BIRÓ as illustrating the transition period between the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (1944, 75), the manor house, along with the park created next to it, already appears on the Second Military Survey of the Austrian Empire (1806-1869), but also on the Third Military Survey of Austro-Hungary (1869-1887), on the mapping



of the Kingdom of Hungary (1869-1887), and on a military map from 1941,<sup>4</sup> the latter with a more sketched representation of the site. Postcards from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century are added to the iconographic documentation, depicting the residence in its moments of plenty. Nationalisation brought with it, around the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, the loss of the ensemble's residential destination, turned into an "Agricultural Production Cooperative" during the communist regime. The post-revolutionary changes in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century led to the abandonment of the ensemble, followed by its ruin.

### Landscape (Photo 1)

■ Almaşu Village, the residence village of the homonymous commune, is placed in the Someşan Plateau, in a hilly landscape, unfolding along the valleys of the Almaşu and Băbiu rivers,<sup>5</sup> at their confluence. The ruins of Almaşu Castle are on a nearby hill, to the south-east of the settlement.

### Placement

■ The formal characteristics of the confluence of Almaşu (here, on the south-west – north-east direction) and Băbiu rivers (here, on a north – south direction) has determined the structure of Almaşu Village. The village developed mostly north of the Almaşu River, along three roads defining three arms of the settlement, two of which parallel to the Almaşu River and the third to the Băbiu River. The village square is placed at the meeting of the village's three arms.<sup>6</sup> This structure is identifiable in the First Military Survey of the Habsburg Empire (1736-1787) (Figure 1), but also in the subsequent ones (Figures 2-5) and today (Photo 1). Compared to the First Military Survey of the Habsburg Empire, the subsequent ones show a greater development of the settlement to the south of the Almaşu River, an area of special interest for us, since the Csáki Manor House ensemble is found here. However, if the area of the settlement south of the Almaşu River is clearly different between the First and Second Military Survey, its subsequent developments bring relatively minor differences.

The Csáki Manor House site is found immediately to the south of the Almaşu River, when the road led parallel to the Băbiu River crosses it.

4 The so-called Military Survey of Hungary from 1941. As its name, *Military Survey of Hungary (1941)* (Historical Maps...), is not accurate, also containing territories that belonged at the time to Romania, we will refer to it in this paper as the *1941 military map*.

5 The Băbiu River is a left tributary of the Almaşu River.

6 Wider at the beginning and superposed over the crossroads (in the 19<sup>th</sup> century maps), subsequently reduced by the plotting of the public land and thus separated from the crossroads (in the 1941 military map and at present).



■ **Foto 2.** Ilustrată de la sfârşitul secolului al XIX-lea sau începutul secolului al XX-lea, înfăţişând latura vestică a castelului, cea adăpostind intrarea, şi amenajările exterioare imediat învecinate acesteia © Biblioteca Centrală Universitară „Lucian Blaga”, Cluj-Napoca

■ **Photo 2.** Postcard from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century or the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, showing the western side of the manor house, the one housing the entrance, and the landscaping elements next to it © "Lucian Blaga" Central University Library of Cluj-Napoca

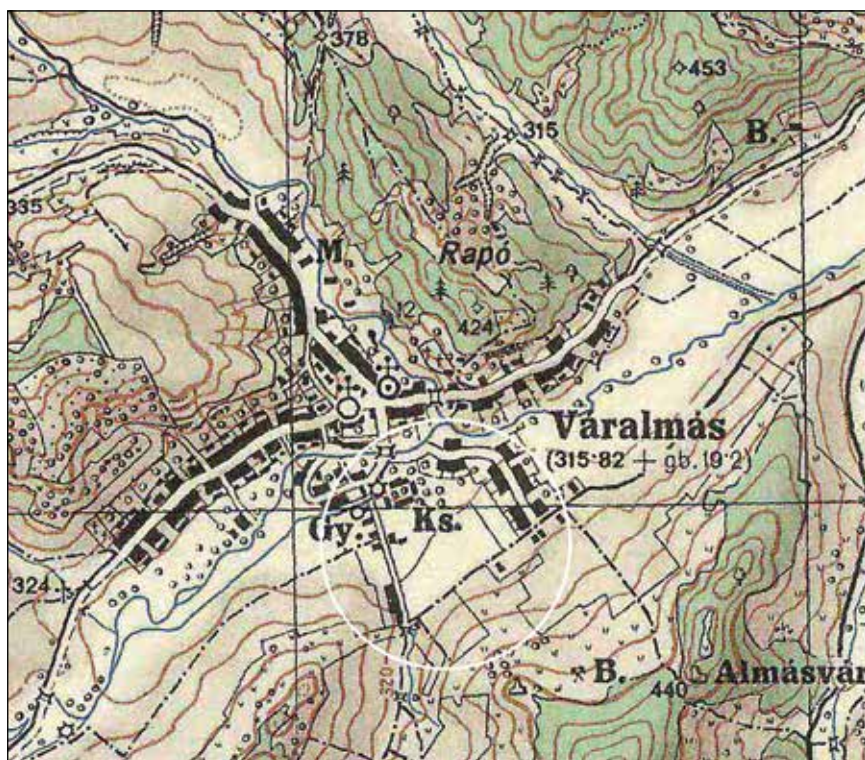
## Amplasament

■ Caracterul formal al confluenţei râurilor Almaşu (aici, pe direcţia sud-vest nord-est) şi Băbiu (aici, pe direcţia nord-sud) a determinat structura satului Almaşu. Satul s-a dezvoltat în cea mai mare parte la nord de râul Almaşu, în lungul a trei drumuri definind trei braţe ale aşezării, dintre care două în paralel cu râul Almaşu, iar al treilea în paralel cu râul Băbiu. La întâlnirea celor trei braţe ale aşezării se dezvoltă piaţa satului.<sup>6</sup> Această structură este identificabilă în prima ridicare topografică militară a Imperiului Habsburgic (1763-1787) (fig. 1) dar şi în cele ulterioare (fig. 2-5) şi o regăsim, de asemenea, în prezent (foto 1). Faţă de prima ridicare topografică militară a Imperiului Habsburgic, cele ulterioare arată o mai mare dezvoltare a aşezării la sud de râul Almaşu, zonă care ne interesează în-deosebi, aici aflându-se ansamblul castelului Csáki. Totuşi, dacă întinderea dezvoltării aşezării la sud de râul Almaşu diferă clar între prima şi cea de-a doua ridicare topografică militară, dezvoltările ulterioare acesteia din urmă aduc diferenţe relativ minore.

Amplasamentul castelului Csáki se află imediat la sud de râul Almaşu, odată ce drumul condus în paralel cu râul Băbiu îl traversează.

Prima ridicare topografică militară a Imperiului Habsburgic (1763-1787) nu prezintă dispuneri comparabile ansamblului castelului Csáki, așa cum îl putem observa în prezent. În această reprezentare, suprafaţa actuală a ansamblului castelului este ocupată de mici parcele construite, dar şi de o proprietate mai amplă, mobilată aparent cu clădirea unei biserici şi cu anexele sale, cu o grădină amenajată formal şi cu o grădină utilitară. Începând cu cea de-a doua ridicare topografică militară a Imperiu-

6 Mai largă la început şi suprapusă intersecţiei de drumuri (în reprezentările cartografice din secolul al XIX-lea), micşorată ulterior prin parcelarea domeniului public şi separată astfel de intersecţia drumurilor (în harta militară din 1941 şi în prezent).



■ **Fig. 5.** Reprezentarea satului Almașu (Váralmás) în harta militară din 1941. Zona amplasamentului studiat este reprezentată (de către autoare) cu linie albă © Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., 2017

■ **Figure 5.** Representation of Almașu (Váralmás) in the 1941 Military Map. The area of the studied site is represented (by the author) with a white line © Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., 2017

lui Austriac, dispunerile amintite nu se mai regăsesc, locul lor fiind luat de dispunerile ansamblului castelului Csáki, în forme comparabile cu situația actuală.

Amplasamentul are formă neregulată. La nord este delimitat de un drum local, condus de-a lungul țărmului drept al râului Almașu, dincolo de care se desfășoară grădini și proprietăți construite. La vest este delimitat de asemenea de un drum local, condus în continuarea celui format în paralel cu râul Băbiu; acest drum constituie totodată principala cale de acces la castel. Pe partea opusă a drumului se află, de asemenea, grădini și proprietăți construite. Către est, de-a lungul unei limite cu numeroase frângerii, amplasamentul se învecinează direct cu grădini și proprietăți construite. Către sud, pe parcursul secolului al XIX-lea nu par să fi fost vecinătăți amenajate, reprezentările semnaland doar terenul natural care începe să urce; mărunte dezvoltări prin parcelare și construire apar semnalate doar în secolul XX, existând și în prezent.

## Relief local și dispunerea elementelor majore

■ Terenul este plat. Denivelările vizibile în prezent în partea nordică (foto 3) a sitului corespund fostelor amenajări ale parcului, făcute în scopul creării unui lac artificial cu insulă.<sup>7</sup>

Cea de-a doua ridicare topografică militară a Imperiului Austriac (1806-1869) (fig. 2) semnaleză atât o zonificare funcțională a sitului, cât și prezența principalelor elemente construite și amenajate de pe sit. Astfel, remarcăm o zonă cu caracter presupus utilitar, reprezentată pe fond deschis la culoare, aferentă laturilor vestică, sudică și estică ale sitului.

<sup>7</sup> Necunoscând adâncimea lacului în perioada existenței sale, putem estima o diferență de nivel actuală între terenul înconjurător și fundul de lac de cel mult 1,5 m.

The First Military Survey of the Habsburg Empire (1763-1787) does not show elements comparable with the Csáki Manor House ensemble, as we can observe it now. In this depiction, the current area of the manor house ensemble is occupied by small built plots, but also by a larger property, apparently furnished with a church and its outbuildings, with a landscaped garden and a utilitarian one. Starting with the Second Military Survey of the Austrian Empire, the mentioned elements are not found any more, being replaced by the elements of the Csáki Manor House ensemble, in similar shapes compared with the current situation.

The site's shape is irregular. It is limited to the north by a local road, led along the right bank of the Almașu River, beyond which gardens and buildings unfold. To the west it is limited also by a local road, led as a continuation of the one parallel with the Băbiu River; this road is also the main access route to the manor house. Gardens and buildings are found also on the other side of this road. To the east, along a limit with many breaks, the site is next to gardens and buildings. To the south, there seem to be no developed neighbouring plots during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the representations showing only the natural terrain beginning to climb; small developments through plotting and building are shown only in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and they still exist now.

### Local relief and the placement of major elements

■ The land is flat. The differences in level visible at present in the northern area of the site (Photo 3) correspond to the former landscaping of the park, with the purpose of creating an artificial lake with an island.<sup>7</sup>

The Second Military Survey of the Austrian Empire (1809-1869) (Figure 2) shows both a functional zoning of the site, as well as the presence of the main built and landscaped elements. Thus, we notice a supposedly utilitarian area, shown on a light coloured background, corresponding to the western, southern and eastern areas of the site. The supposedly utilitarian area has a U-shaped configuration, which contains another area, supposedly destined for leisure, shown on a dark coloured background. The supposed leisure area also corresponds to the northern area of the site.<sup>8</sup>

The western side of the utilitarian area has a series of buildings, among which we can identify the manor house at the contact point with the leisure area. The other buildings, supposed outbuildings, form a

<sup>7</sup> Without knowing the depth of the lake when it existed, we can estimate a current difference of level between the surrounding terrain and the lake's bed of maximum 1.5 m.

<sup>8</sup> Estimated measurements on an aerial view of the site, using Google Earth measurement tools, indicate a possible total area of the site of approx. 22 ha, of which approx. 6 ha destined for the park.



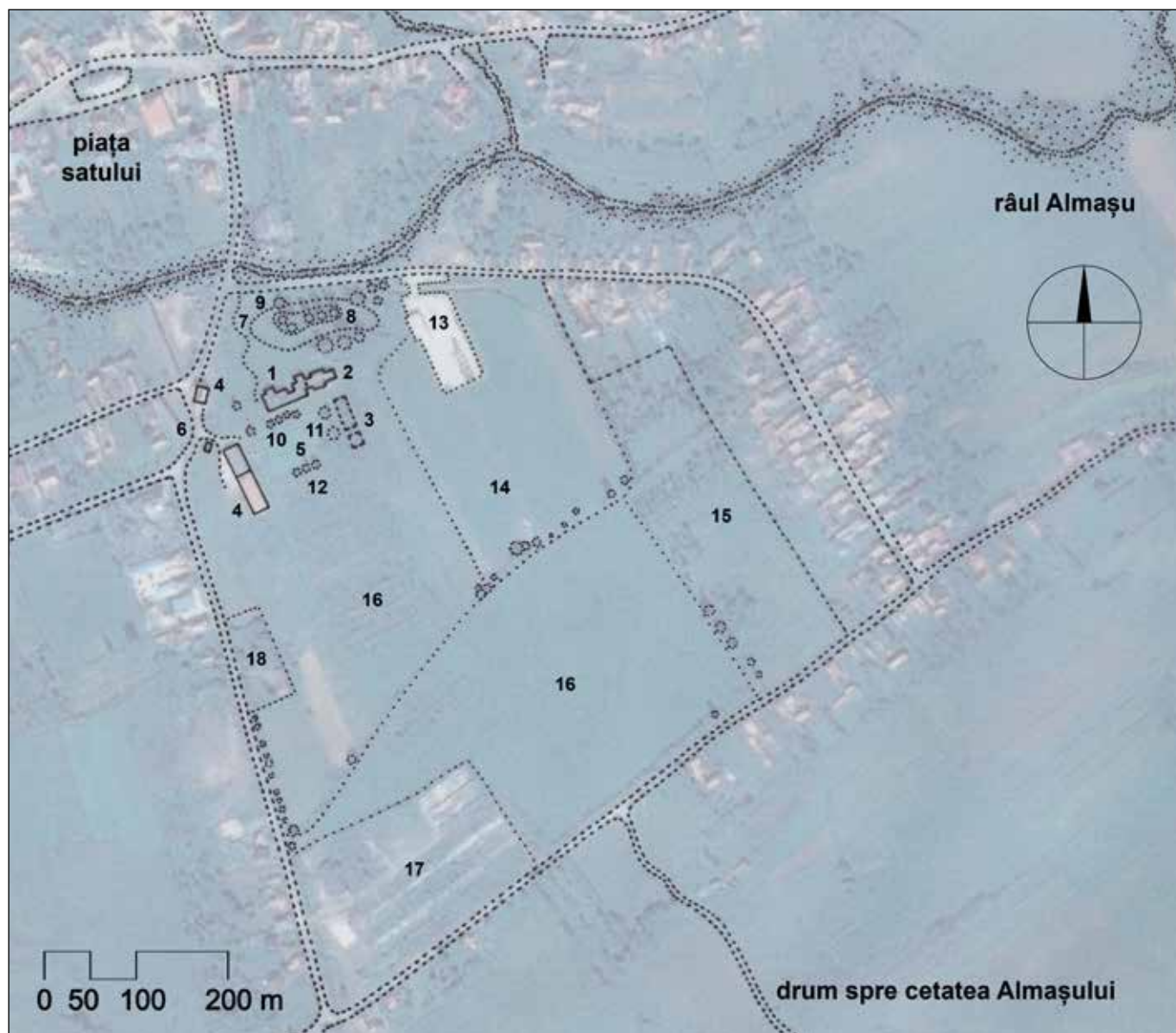
utilitarian courtyard next to the southern side of the manor house. The southern and eastern sides of the utilitarian area seem to be free from buildings and other developments, as the representation shows only tree alignments with a delimitation purpose. The leisure area encompasses the lake to the north and the promenade alleys to the south.

The area of access to the site is not signalled very clearly. Of the two roads that limit the site, the one next to the western side is more important, continuing the road led parallel with the Băbiu River, thus com-

Zona presupus utilitară prezintă o configurație în U, în interiorul căreia este cuprinsă o altă suprafață, cu caracter presupus agremental, reprezentată pe fond închis la culoare. Zona presupusă de agrement răspunde totodată laturii nordice a sitului.<sup>8</sup>

Latura vestică a zonei utilitare cuprinde o serie de clădiri, printre care o putem identifica pe cea a castelului, la contactul cu zona de agrement; celelalte clădiri, presupunem anexe, formează în dreptul laturii sudice a castelului o curte cu caracter utilitar. Laturile sudică și estică ale zonei

<sup>8</sup> Măsurători estimate pe o vedere aeriană a sitului, cu ajutorul instrumentelor de măsurare Google Earth, indică o posibilă suprafață totală a amplasamentului de c. 22 ha, din care c. 6 ha destinate parcului.



■ **Fig. 6.** Dispunerea elementelor majore ale ansamblului castelului Csáki: 1 – corpul inițial al castelului, 2 – extinderea castelului, 3 – anexe ruinate, 4 – anexe, 5 – fostă curte utilitară, 6 – acces de pe latura vestică a sitului, 7 – potecă de acces de pe latura nordică a sitului, 8 – insula cu plop, în prezent o movilă, 9 – urma fostului lac, 10 – aliniament de pomi fructiferi, 11 – castan monumental, 12 – castani, 13 – platformă betonată, 14 – zona aleilor de promenadă în fostul parc, 15 – fostă zonă utilitară a amplasamentului, pe care în prezent se desfășoară grădini extinse ale caselor învecinate, 16 – fostă zonă utilitară a amplasamentului, 17 – delimitare de teren în folosință agricolă, 18 – parcelă construită (reconstituirea autoarei, suprapusă unei ortofotografii © GoogleEarth 2016; scala grafică reprezentată este estimativă) © Andreea MILEA

■ **Figure 6.** Placement of the major elements of the Csáki Manor House ensemble: 1 – original building of the manor house, 2 – manor house extension, 3 – ruined outbuildings, 4 – outbuildings, 5 – former utilitarian courtyard, 6 – access from the western side of the site, 7 – access trail from the northern side of the site, 8 – the poplar island, at present a mound, 9 – trace of the former lake, 10 – fruit tree alignment, 11 – monumental chestnut, 12 – chestnut trees, 13 – concrete platform, 14 – area of the promenade alleys in the former park, 15 – former utilitarian area of the site, where now extended gardens of the neighbouring houses are found, 16 – former utilitarian area of the site, 17 – limits of agricultural land, 18 – built plot (reconstruction of the author, superposed over an orthophoto © GoogleEarth 2016; the represented graphic scale is estimative) © Andreea MILEA





■ **Foto 3.** Ansamblul castelului Csáki din Almașu, privit de la intersecția drumurilor care îl mărginesc la vest și nord. În prim plan se observă urma fostului lac artificial cu insulă © Andreea MILEA, 2007

■ **Photo 3.** Csáki Manor House ensemble in Almașu, seen from the intersection of the roads that limit it to the west and north. The trace of the former lake with island is seen in the foreground © Andreea MILEA, 2007

utilitare par să fie libere de construcții și amenajări, în reprezentare fiind evidențiate doar aliniamente arborescente cu rol de delimitare. Zona de agrement cuprinde înspre nord lacul, iar înspre sud aleile de promenadă.

Zona accesului pe sit nu este foarte clar semnalată. Dintre cele două drumuri care delimitează situl, cel adiacent laturii vestice este mai important, continuând drumul condus în paralel cu râul Băbiu, prin urmare venind din partea nordică a satului, de unde pornesc legăturile spre restul teritoriului și așezările vecine. Intrarea în castel, dispusă pe latura sa vestică, este orientată către acest drum, față de care are o retragere convenabilă de cca. 60 m.<sup>9</sup> Astfel, am putea presupune că accesul pe sit s-ar fi făcut din drumul adiacent laturii vestice, posibil undeva între castel și curtea utilitară desfășurată la sud de el, creându-se, din punct de vedere funcțional, o situație avantajoasă: un acces confortabil în apropierea intrării în castel, în legătură directă cu anexele și curtea utilitară conturată de acestea. La ora actuală, un astfel de acces pe sit există, fiind totodată și cel mai bine marcat. Dacă în trecut caracterul său ar fi fost de acces principal sau secundar, pentru moment nu este evident.

<sup>9</sup> Valoare estimată pe o vedere aeriană a sitului, cu ajutorul instrumentelor de măsurare Google Earth.



■ **Foto 4.** Vedere din zona intrării în castel înspre urma fostului lac artificial cu insulă © Andreea MILEA, 2007

■ **Photo 4.** View from the entrance area of the manor house on the trace of the former artificial lake with an island © Andreea MILEA, 2007

ing from the northern area of the village, the point from where the connections to the rest of the territory and to the neighbouring villages start. The manor house entrance, placed on its western side, faces this road, from which it has a suitable distance of approx. 60 m.<sup>9</sup> Thus, we could suppose the entrance to the site to have been made from the road next to the western side, possibly somewhere between the manor house and the utilitarian courtyard found to its south, creating a functionally advantageous situation: a comfortable access close to the manor house entrance, with a direct connection to the outbuildings and the utilitarian courtyard outlined by them. Such an entrance to the site exists at present, being also the best marked one. It is at the moment not clear whether in the past it was the main or secondary access.

On the other hand, the possibility of a former access from the northern road is not excluded. Such an access would have led the course to the manor house through the landscaped park in a more attractive way, in the spirit of the landscaped park or landscaped elements of a mixed style park, where, as will be seen, we think the park of the Csáki Manor House in Almașu was placed. At present, such an access exists, as well as a winding path connecting the northern area of the site with the manor house entrance. We cannot say with certainty if it represents the trace of a former landscaped element, but its proximity to the western side of the site, lined anyway by the road, makes us believe that, in case it was present in the park's landscaping, it was probably a promenade alley with ambient ambitions, maybe a walkway, rather than a driveway, separating the representative entrance from the utilitarian one.

Regarding the placement of the main landscaping elements on the site, the Third Military Survey of Austro-Hungary and the mapping of the Kingdom of Hungary (both from 1869-1887) (Figures 3 and 4) do not seem to bring any alterations. The functional zoning, the manor house,

<sup>9</sup> Value estimated on an aerial view of the site, using Google Earth measurement tools.





■ **Foto 5.** Latura vestică, a intrării principale în castel, precedată de portic © Andreea MILEA, 2007

■ **Photo 5.** Western side, that of the main entrance to the manor house, preceded by the portico © Andreea MILEA, 2007

the outbuildings' courtyard, the park with the lake and walkways are preserved.<sup>10</sup>

The 1941 military map shows a more sketched representation (Figure 5). A functional zoning of the site seems to be signalled still, making use of a conventional representation of trees on the area already known as belonging to the park. The manor house and the outbuildings' courtyard are well defined.<sup>11</sup> However, the park's elements themselves (the lake, the alleys) are completely missing. We cannot be sure at the moment if they had been already altered or not in this period.

At present (Figure 6), we cannot speak of a functional zoning; probably, the entire site became at some point the scene for the activities of the Agricultural Production Cooperative, blurring the differences between the former utilitarian and leisure areas. The manor house is in ruins and of the outbuildings that lined the utilitarian

Pe de altă parte, un posibil fost acces din drumul nordic nu este exclus. Un astfel de acces ar fi condus parcursul spre castel prin amenajările parcului, într-un mod mai atractiv, în spiritul amenajărilor peisagere sau a componentelor peisagere din cadrul amenajărilor în stil mixt, în care, după cum vom vedea, considerăm că se înscrie parcul castelului Csáki din Almașu. La ora actuală, un astfel de acces există, de asemenea, sub forma unei poteci sinuoase de legătură între latura nordică a sitului și intrarea în castel. Dacă ea reprezintă sau nu urma unei foste amenajări nu putem spune cu certitudine, dar apropierea ei de latura vestică a sitului, mărginită oricum de drum, ne îndeamnă să considerăm că, în cazul prezenței ei în amenajarea de parc, mai degrabă ar fi avut caracterul unei alei de promenadă cu veleități ambientale, poate doar pedestră, decât cel al unei alei pentru vehicule, separându-se astfel accesul de reprezentare de cel la anexe.

În ceea ce privește dispunerea elementelor majore pe sit, cea de-a treia ridicare topografică militară a Austro-Ungariei și cartarea Regatului Maghiar (ambele din 1869-1887) (fig. 3-4) nu par să aducă modificări. Zonificarea funcțională, castelul, curtea anexelor, parcul cu lac și alei de promenadă se păstrează.<sup>10</sup>

Harta militară din 1941 oferă o reprezentare ceva mai sumară (fig. 5). O zonificare funcțională a sitului pare să fie încă semnalată, recurgând la o reprezentare convențională de arbori pe suprafața cunoscută deja ca fi-

<sup>10</sup> The alterations suffered by the landscaping itself will be discussed within the *Landscape design* section.

<sup>11</sup> The alterations suffered by the depiction of the manor house building will be discussed in *The manor house and its relationship with the landscape design*.

<sup>10</sup> Modificările survenite în amenajarea propriu-zisă a parcului vor fi discutate la *Amenajarea exterioară*.



ind a parcului. Castelul și curtea anexelor sunt bine definite.<sup>11</sup> În schimb, amenajările propriu-zise ale parcului lipsesc cu desăvârșire, fie că este vorba de lac, fie că este vorba de aleile de promenadă. Dacă ele fuseseră deja alterate sau nu în această perioadă, nu putem fi siguri pentru moment.

În prezent (fig. 6), nu mai putem vorbi despre o zonificare funcțională; probabil că întregul sit a devenit la un moment dat scena desfășurării activităților Cooperativei Agricole de Producție, estompând diferențele dintre fostele zonă utilitară și zonă agrementală. Castelul se păstrează ruinat, iar dintre clădirile anexe ce conturau pe vremuri curtea utilitară, se păstrează cele de pe latura vestică,<sup>12</sup> ruinele celor de pe latura estică, în timp ce anexele de pe latura sudică au dispărut. Lacul, secăt, își păstrează urma imprimată în teren; ceea ce pe vremuri era probabil o insulă în mijlocul lacului, acum apare ca o movilă proeminentă. Aleile de promenadă au dispărut. Drumurile și aleile de pe sit au rol strict funcțional, cele mai evidente fiind cele discutate deja ca fiind căi de acces pe sit. Pe alocuri, unele porțiuni de teren au primit alte utilizări și amenajări. Astfel, grădinile caselor situate la est de sit s-au extins peste fosta zonă utilitară a amplasamentu-

courtyard, those on the western side<sup>12</sup> and the ruins of the ones on the eastern side are still preserved, while the outbuildings on the southern side have disappeared. The lake, dried up, preserves its trace imprinted on the ground; what was probably long time ago an island in the middle of the lake now seems to be a prominent earth mound. The walkways have disappeared. The roads and alleys on the site have a strictly functional role, the most obvious being the ones already discussed as being access routes to the site. Here and there, some areas received other uses and developments. Thus, the gardens of the houses to the east of the site have expanded on the studied site's former utilitarian area, reaching next to what was once the park. A bordering of a utilitarian area also appears in the southern corner of the site, and a small built plot is cut out from the western side, being represented even in the 1941 military map. A concrete platform, accessible from the northern side of the site, was built to the east of the lake.

<sup>11</sup> Modificările survenite în reprezentarea clădirii castelului vor fi discutate la *Castelul și relația lui cu amenajările exterioare*.

<sup>12</sup> Fără să putem pentru moment aprecia în ce măsură au fost ele alterate în timp.

<sup>12</sup> We cannot estimate for the moment the degree in which these were altered over time.



■ **Foto 6.** Latura sudică a castelului, orientată spre fosta curte utilitară conturată de clădirile anexe. În prezent, un aliniament de pomi fructiferi este condus în paralel cu fațada castelului © Andreea MILEA, 2007

■ **Photo 6.** Southern side of the manor house, opening on the former utilitarian courtyard outlined by the outbuildings. At present, a fruit tree alignment is led parallel with the manor house's elevation © Andreea MILEA, 2007



### Access elements

■ Based on what was already discussed in *Local relief and the placement of major elements*, we consider plausible the hypothesis that the access to the site was located on the road that limits it to the west, facing the western elevation of the manor house.

The available maps do not give us any clues on the landscaping of the access area itself. The postcard from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Photo 2) is the only one that currently presents details of this area next to the western elevation, which houses the entrance to the manor house.

We see thus a round lawn in front of the manor house entrance and the creation of an intermediate space, preceding the entrance, as a covered terrace, raised from the ground, which, due to the pillars sustaining the roof, can be perceived as a portico.

The round lawn, as a minor element of the park's landscaping, was lost in time, and the portico, along with the entire building, is now in ruins.

### The manor house and its relationship with the landscape design

■ Both the Second and the Third Military Surveys (1806-1869, 1869-1877) (Figures 2 and 3) and also the mapping of the Kingdom of Hungary (1869-1887) (Figure 4) show the manor house through its U-shaped layout, with the open side facing the northern area of the park, where the lake was placed. We may suppose that the space framed by the building, facing the lake, had a role of intermediary between the interior of the residence and the landscaping, offering a secluded and shaded place, with a good view. The configuration of the openings of the ruin in this area (Photo 3) suggests the former existence of both direct connections between interior and exterior through doors, as well as visual connections favoured by the large windows facing the lake.

The postcard from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Photo 2) brings some information on the volume of the manor house's western side, which housed the main entrance. Thus, the manor house appears as a ground floor building,<sup>13</sup> having a tall roof with a break in the pitch, but also distinct, lower covers of the prominent parts, such as the entrance portico on the western elevation.

The portico, as an intermediary space, is clearly a device connecting the manor house building with the landscape design. Its orientation towards the supposed area of access on site would have allowed

lui studiat, ajungând până în dreptul a ceea ce a fost pe vremuri parcul. O delimitare de teren în folosință agricolă apare de asemenea în colțul sudic al amplasamentului, iar o mică parcelă construită este decupată din latura vestică, aceasta de altfel fiind deja reprezentată în harta militară din 1941. La est de lac, accesibilă de pe latura nordică a sitului, a fost amenajată o platformă betonată.

### Amenajările de acces

■ În baza celor deja discutate la *Relief local și dispunerea elementelor majore*, considerăm astfel plauzibilă ipoteza localizării accesului pe sit din drumul care îl mărginește la vest, în dreptul fațadei vestice a castelului.

Reprezentările cartografice nu ne oferă indicii despre amenajarea propriu-zisă a presupusei zone de acces. Ilustrata de la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului al XX-lea (foto 2) este singura care, la ora actuală, prezintă detaliile ale acestei zone, în imediata apropiere a fațadei vestice, de intrare în castel.

Observăm astfel o amenajare de tip rondou ornamental chiar în dreptul intrării în castel și crearea unui spațiu intermediar, premergător intrării, sub forma unei terase acoperite, înălțate de la teren, care, datorită stâlpilor de susținere a acoperișului, poate fi percepută ca un portic.

Rondoul ornamental, ca element minor al amenajării parcului, s-a pierdut în timp, iar porticul este în prezent ruinat, asemenea întregii clădiri.

### Castelul și relația lui cu amenajările exterioare

■ Atât cea de-a doua cât și cea de-a treia ridicare topografică militară (1806-1869, respectiv 1869-1887) (fig. 2-3), dar și cartarea Regatului Maghiar (1869-1887) (fig. 4) prezintă castelul prin planul său în formă de U, cu latura deschisă a configurației orientată spre partea nordică a parcului, unde se întindea lacul. Putem presupune că spațiul încadrat de clădire, orientat spre lac, avea un rol de intermediere între interiorul reședinței și amenajarea exterioară, oferind un loc retras și umbrit, cu o bună priveliște. Configurația golurilor ruinei actuale în această zonă (foto 3) sugerează existența, pe vremuri, atât a legăturilor directe dintre interior și exterior prin intermediul ușilor, cât și a legăturilor vizuale favorizate de ferestrele mari orientate spre lac.

Ilustrata de la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului al XX-lea (foto 2) ne aduce și câteva informații privind volumetria părții vestice a castelului, cea care adăpostea intrarea principală. Astfel, castelul apare ca fiind o clădire parter,<sup>13</sup> cu acoperiș înalt cu frângere de pantă, dar și cu acoperiri distincte, mai joase, ale părților proeminente precum porticul intrării de pe fațada vestică.

Porticul, ca spațiu intermediar, este un dispozitiv clar de relaționare a clădirii castelului cu amenajările exterioare. Orientarea sa spre zona presupusă de acces pe sit ar fi permis o bună observare a acesteia. Orientarea cardinală, spre vest, este de asemenea favorabilă folosirii lui ca încăpere deschisă, în timpul după-amiezilor călduroase de vară. Mobilarea porticului, vizibilă în ilustrata de epocă, adevărește această utilizare.

Dacă au existat și alte dispozitive de relaționare a clădirii castelului cu amenajările exterioare, pentru moment nu suntem în măsură a spune.

Harta militară din 1941 (fig. 5) sugerează, o extindere spre est a castelului, în prelungirea clădirii inițiale. Regăsim această extindere și în ruina actuală (foto 3, 9-11), indicând că și acest corp de clădire ar fi fost dez-

<sup>13</sup> The northern side of the manor house offers us clues on the existence of the basement as well, if not on the entire surface of the manor house, at least partially, on its western end (Photos 3 and 5).

<sup>13</sup> Latura nordică a castelului ne oferă indicii și despre existența subsolului, desfășurat, dacă nu pe toată suprafața castelului, totuși, măcar parțial, pe capătul său vestic (foto 3, 5).





■ **Foto 7.** Fosta curte utilitară conturată de clădirea castelului (în afara imaginii, în stânga) și clădirile anexe (aici, ruinele celor de pe latura estică a curții), populată încă de câteva exemplare de castan monumental (aici, cel din planul îndepărtat) © Andreea MILEA, 2007

■ **Photo 7.** The former utilitarian courtyard outlined by the manor house (outside the picture, to the left) and the outbuildings (here, the ruins of the ones on the eastern side of the courtyard), still populated with monumental chestnut specimens (here, the one in the background) © Andreea MILEA, 2007

■ **Foto 8.** Castani pe latura sudică a fostei curți utilitare © Andreea MILEA, 2007

■ **Photo 8.** Chestnuts on the southern side of the former utilitarian courtyard © Andreea MILEA, 2007



voltat doar pe parter. Golurile vizibile pe fațadele extinderii nu semnaleză existența vreunui dispozitiv deosebit de relaționare a clădirii cu exteriorul. În prezent, castelul este complet ruinat. Abandonul, vandalizarea și agresiunea factorilor naturali au adus construcția într-o stare în care o posibilă reabilitare este greu de imaginat.

## Amenajarea exterioară<sup>14</sup>

■ Cea de-a doua și cea de-a treia ridicare topografică militară (1806-1869, respectiv 1869-1887) (fig. 2-3), dar și cartarea Regatului Maghiar (1869-1887) (fig. 4) sugerează o amenajare cu intenții peisagere a parcului. Această apreciere ține cont de prezența lacului artificial<sup>15</sup> cu formă organică, dar și de traseul sinuos al aleilor reprezentate. Secolul al XIX-lea, în care aceste amenajări sunt consemnate grafic, corespunde de asemenea perioadei de largă adoptare a amenajărilor de factură peisageră în parcuri.<sup>16</sup>

Cele trei reprezentări cartografice prezintă unele diferențe în ceea ce privește amenajarea zonei de parc.<sup>17</sup> Astfel, cea de-a doua ridicare topografică militară a Imperiului Austriac (1806-1869) (fig. 2) prezintă, ca amenajări principale ale parcului, lacul artificial de formă organică, alungit pe direcția vest est și situat în partea nordică a parcului, de asemenea la nord de castel, și două bucle sinuoase de alei pentru promenadă, desfășurate în partea sudică, mai consistentă, a parcului, respectiv la est și sud de castel. Cele două bucle de alei par să constituie două trasee: un traseu de promenadă de mai scurtă durată (bucla mică, mai apropiată de castel) și un tra-

the area to be well observed. The cardinal orientation, to the west, is also favourable for its use as an open room during hot summer afternoons. The portico's furniture, visible in the period postcard, confirms this use.

We cannot say for the moment if there were any other devices that connected the manor house building with the landscape design.

The 1941 military map (Figure 5) suggests an extension of the manor house to the east, in the continuation of the initial building. We find this extension in the present-day ruin as well (Photos 3 and 9-11), indicating that this wing was also a ground floor building. The openings visible on the extension's elevations do not signal the existence of a special device for the connection of the building with the exterior. At present, the manor house is completely ruined. Abandonment, vandalising, and the aggression of natural factors brought the building to a state in which a possible rehabilitation is difficult to imagine.

## Landscape design<sup>14</sup>

■ The Second and Third Military Surveys (1806-1869, respectively 1869-1887) (Figures 2-3) and the mapping of the Kingdom of Hungary (1869-1887) (Figure 4) suggest a design with landscaped style intentions.

14 Luând în considerare specificul arhitecturii peisagere și a elementelor cu care ea lucrează, pentru studiul amenajărilor parcurilor istorice considerăm că sunt de interes următoarele aspecte: stilul amenajării parcului; delimitarea zonelor cu caracter diferit; principiile compoziționale la care s-a recurs în amenajare; dispunerea traseelor de circulație, ierarhia acestora și tratarea suprafeței de călcare; dispunerea vegetației, înălțimea exemplarelor vegetale și speciile întrebuintate; prezența construcțiilor ornamentale, a obiectelor ornamentale și a mobilierului de parc.

15 Inexistent în reprezentarea primei ridicări topografice militare a Imperiului Habsburgic (1763-1787) (fig. 1).

16 Pentru o prezentare detaliată a caracteristicilor stilului peisager de amenajare a grădinilor, a se vedea publicația lui Ana-Felicia ILIESCU (2003, 56-58).

17 Delimitarea zonei de parc, agrementală, a fost deja discutată la *Relief local și dispunerea elementelor majore*.

14 Taking into account the specifics of landscape architecture and of the elements with which it works, for the study of historical park landscaping elements we consider the following aspects to be of interest: the style of the park's landscaping; the delimitation of the areas with different characters; the compositional principles of the design; the placement of circulation routes, their hierarchy and the treatment of the stepping surfaces; the placement of the vegetation, the height of the specimens and species used; the presence of ornamental buildings, of ornamental objects, and of outdoor furniture.



This appraisal takes into account the presence of the artificial lake<sup>15</sup> with an organic shape and the winding course of the represented alleys. The 19<sup>th</sup> century, when these designs were graphically recorded, also corresponds to the period of widespread adoption of the landscaped style design for parks.<sup>16</sup>

The three maps show some differences regarding the landscaping of the park area.<sup>17</sup> Thus the Second Military Survey of the Austrian Empire (1806-1869) (Figure 2) shows, as main elements of the park, the organically shaped artificial lake, elongated on a west-east direction and situated in the northern area of the park, to the north of the manor house, and two winding promenade

15 Non-existent in the First Military Survey of the Habsburg Empire (1763-1787) (Figure 1).

16 For a more comprehensive description of the characteristics of the landscaped garden design style, see the publication of Ana-Felicia ILIESCU (2003, 56-58).

17 The limits of the park, the leisure area, was already discussed in *Local relief and the placement of major elements*.

seu de mai lungă durată (bucla mare, mai îndepărtată de castel). Observăm totodată că bucla mică a aleilor de promenadă se desfășoară parțial în lungul laturii sudice a lacului.

Considerăm că cea de-a treia ridicare topografică militară a Austro-Ungariei (1869-1887) (fig. 3) nu prezintă modificări substanțiale în amenajare, dar reprezentarea este mai puțin precisă și probabil ușor distorsionată prin introducerea unor simboluri grafice convenționale. Astfel, introducerea unei fațade simbolice semnificând castelul ca reședință importantă a așezării<sup>18</sup> a deplasat planul castelului înspre nord, îndepărtându-l de zona anexelor, determinând totodată o reprezentare micșorată a lacului și anulând reprezentarea buclei mici de promenadă, cea apropiată de castel. Întrucât cartarea Regatului Maghiar (1869-1887) (fig. 4), contemporană celei de-a treia ridicări topografice militare a Austro-Ungariei, revine la așezarea relativă a clădirilor și amenajărilor pe sit, asemănător celei de-a doua ridicări topografice militare a Imperiului Austriac, socotim întemeiată explicarea diferențelor ce apar în cea de-a treia ridicare topografică militară prin simpla distorsionare grafică și nu prin existența în mod real a unor diferențe.

18 Convenție adoptată consecvent în cea de-a treia ridicare topografică militară a Austro-Ungariei.



■ **Foto 9.** Partea estică a castelului (probabil o extindere de la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea sau începutul secolului al XX-lea), privită din fosta curte utilitară © Andreea MILEA, 2007

■ **Photo 9.** The eastern side of the manor house (probably an extension from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century), seen from the former utilitarian courtyard © Andreea MILEA, 2007





■ **Foto 10.** Vedere înspre fosta curte utilitară, privită de la capătul estic al castelului © Andreea MILEA, 2007

■ **Photo 10.** View on the former utilitarian courtyard, seen from the eastern end of the manor house © Andreea MILEA, 2007

Ceea ce cartarea Regatului Maghiar prezintă, totuși, diferit este modificarea amenajării aleilor de promenadă în partea sudică a parcului. Astfel, în timp ce bucla mică se păstrează, apropiată fiind de castel, bucla mare dispăre, înlocuită fiind de două trasee lineare intersectate. În acest fel, circuitul închis de promenadă se micșorează, iar noile trasee lineare creează legături spre părțile sudică și estică ale zonei utilitare a amplasamentului. Se prefigurează astfel o mai clară orientare stilistică a amenajării înspre stilul mixt.<sup>19</sup>

Alte particularități ale amplasamentului castelului Csáki din Almașu pot susține, de asemenea, încadrarea amenajării parcului mai degrabă în stilul mixt decât în cel peisager. Astfel, suprafața relativ mică a parcului propriu-zis<sup>20</sup> și prezența limitelor clare (două drumuri, dar și parcele construite și vecinătăți amenajate) exclud diluarea amenajării peisagere în peisajul propriu-zis natural, principiu esențial al amenajărilor de parc în stil peisager. Geometrizarea traseelor de promenadă semnalează cu atât mai mult intervenția umană, excluzând sentimentul de apartenență la natura pură, pe care stilul peisager și-ar propune să-l inducă. Astfel, domesticirea naturii este evidentă, chiar dacă formele acestei domesticiri sunt blânde.

În plus, ilustrata de la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului al XX-lea (foto 2) sugerează o formalizare a amenajărilor în apropierea castelului, precum rondoul ornamental în dreptul intrării de pe fațada vestică, dar și aliniamente de gard viu în dreptul fațadei sudice.

În epocă, aleile erau cel mai probabil prunduite; totuși, ilustrata de care dispunem nu oferă claritate asupra acestui detaliu. În imagine, rondoul pare să fie amenajat cu mici plante ornamentale, dar sunt prezente și suporturile pentru specii arbustive. Fațada vestică și pilaștrii porticului sunt îmbrăcate în spaliere servind drept suport pentru plante cățărătoare. În extrema dreaptă a imaginii se întrezărește frunzișul unei corone de castan.

<sup>19</sup> Pentru o prezentare detaliată a caracteristicilor stilului mixt de amenajare a grădinilor, a se vedea publicația lui Ana-Felicia ILIESCU (2003, 64).

<sup>20</sup> A se vedea nota 8, mai sus.

alley loops, in the southern, more consistent area of the park, respectively to the east and south of the manor house. The two alley loops seem to create two routes: a shorter promenade route (the smaller loop, closer to the manor house) and a longer route (the large loop, farther from the manor house). We also notice that the small promenade alley loop is partially unfolded along the southern side of the lake.

We believe that the Third Military Survey of Austro-Hungary (1869-1887) (Figure 3) does not show a substantial alteration of the landscape design, but the representation is less precise and probably slightly distorted by the introduction of conventional graphic symbols. Thus, the introduction of a symbolic elevation depicting the manor house as an important residence of the settlement<sup>18</sup> shifted the manor house to the north, farther from the outbuilding area, also causing a smaller depiction of the lake and cancelling the representation of the small promenade loop, the one closer to the manor house. As the mapping of the Kingdom of Hungary (1869-1887) (Figure 4), contemporary with the Third Military Survey of Austro-Hungary, returns to the relative placement of the buildings and landscaping elements on the site, similar to the one in the Second Military Survey, we consider justifiable the explanation of the differences that appear in the Third Military Survey through a simple graphical distortion and not through real differences.

<sup>18</sup> Convention consistently adopted in the Third Military Survey of Austro-Hungary.

What the mapping of the Kingdom of Hungary presents differently, however, is the change of the landscaping of the promenade alleys in the southern area of the park. Thus, while the small loop is preserved, being closer to the manor house, the large loop disappears, being replaced by two crossing linear routes. In this way, the closed promenade route becomes smaller and the new linear routes create connections to the southern and eastern parts of the utilitarian area of the site. Thus, there is a clearer stylistic orientation of the landscaping towards the mixed style.<sup>19</sup>

Other characteristics of the site of the Csáki Manor House in Almaşu can also support the idea that the park belongs to the mixed style, rather than to the landscaped style. Thus, the relatively small area of the actual park<sup>20</sup> and the presence of clear limits (two roads, but also built plots and developed neighbouring areas) exclude the dilution of the landscape design into the actual natural landscape, an essential principle of landscaped style park designs. The geometric alteration of the promenade routes signal human intervention in an even stronger way, excluding the feeling of belonging to pure nature, which the landscaped style aimed to induce. Thus, the domestication of nature is obvious, even if the forms of this domestication are mild.

Moreover, the postcard from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Photo 2) suggests a formalisation of the landscaping elements near the manor house, such as an ornamental round lawn next to the western elevation entrance, but also hedge alignments next to the southern elevation.

At the time, the alleys were most likely gravelled; still, the postcard we have access to does not offer clarity on this detail. In the image, the round lawn seems to be composed of small ornamental flowers, but stands for shrub species seem to be also present. The western elevation and the pilasters of the portico are covered in trellises for climbing plants. The leaves of a chestnut tree can be seen in the right extremity of the image.

The 1941 Military Map (Figure 5) does not refer in a specific way to the landscaping of the park, but it signals it as a distinct area.<sup>21</sup>

Few traces are preserved nowadays of the landscaping elements. The trace of the lake (Photos 3 and 4), with the bed overrun by weeds, is the most obvious. The prominent mound in the middle of the lake,<sup>22</sup> currently populated by poplars, could have been an island. In the spirit of landscaped designs or of landscaped elements of mixed designs, such an island increased the romantic character of the place, offering at the same time a visual accent to catch the eye, and became a preferred refuge for water loving birds.



■ **Foto 11.** Vedere încadrată din interiorul castelului înspre insula populată cu plopi a fostului lac artificial © Andreea MILEA, 2007

■ **Photo 11.** Framed view from inside the manor house to the poplar island of the former artificial lake © Andreea MILEA, 2007

Harta militară din 1941 (fig. 5) nu face referiri concrete la amenajarea parcului, dar îl semnalează grafic ca zonă distinctă.<sup>21</sup>

Dintre amenajările parcului, puține urme s-au păstrat până în zilele noastre. Urma lacului (foto 3-4), cu albia năpădită de buruieni este cea mai evidentă. Movila proeminentă din mijlocul lacului,<sup>22</sup> populată în prezent cu plopi, ar fi putut constitui o insulă. În spiritul amenajărilor peisagere sau a componentelor peisagere ale amenajărilor în stil mixt, o astfel de insulă sporea caracterul romantic al locului, oferea totodată un accent vizual care să rețină privirea, și devenea loc preferat de refugiu al păsărilor iubitoare de apă.

Aleile de promenadă au dispărut. Traseele de acces pe sit<sup>23</sup> nu prezintă la ora actuală vreo pavimentare: cel de pe latura vestică este un drum de pământ, cel care pornește de pe latura nordică este o potecă năpădită de ierburi.

Pe lângă plopii deja amintiți, pe sit se mai observă câteva exemplare monumentale de castan în zona fostei curți utilitare (foto 7-8), un aliniament de pomi fructiferi dispus în paralel cu latura sudică a castelului (foto 6, 10), dar și alte exemplare răzlețe de arbori foioși, ale căror specii, pentru moment, sunt neidentificate. Dintre exemplarele amintite, castanii și plopii ar putea avea o vârstă mai înaintată, posibili martori ai fostelor amenajări. Totuși, din nou, vârsta lor concretă nu este posibil de precizat pentru moment.

Construcții ornamentale, obiecte ornamentale, mobilier de parc, dacă vor fi existat odinioară, ele s-au pierdut cu totul.

19 For a more comprehensive description of the characteristics of the mixed garden design style, see the publication of Ana-Felicia ILIESCU (2003, 64).

20 See note 8, above.

21 See *Local relief and the placement of major elements*.

22 Not shown in any of the historical maps, which can be explained by its small size.

21 A se vedea *Relief local și dispunerea elementelor majore*.

22 Nereprezentată în niciuna dintre hărțile istorice, lucru care poate fi explicat prin mica ei dimensiune.

23 A căror problemă a fost discutată deja la *Relief local și dispunerea elementelor majore*.



## Concluzie

■ Ansamblul castelului Csáki din Almașu se află într-o stare avansată de degradare, atât în ceea ce privește clădirea castelului, practic ruinată, cât și în ceea ce privește parcul, din ale cărui amenajări s-au păstrat prea puține urme. Se poate constata la o simplă privire că starea actuală a clădirii castelului, dar și a unora dintre fostele clădiri anexe, se datorează în mare măsură vandalismului decât neîntreținerii ansamblului abandonat și expus agresivității factorilor naturali, cu toate degradările care decurg de aici în timp; tâmplăriile smulse, învelitoarea lipsă, șarpanta acoperișului cvasi-inexistentă nu pot fi, totuși, decât semne ale agresivității umane. Odată ajunsă în această stare, eventuala reabilitare a clădirii castelului nu poate fi decât problematică, implicând un volum de reconstrucție care ar atrage după sine interogarea validității demersului, îndeosebi din punctul de vedere al autenticității monumentului. Amenajările parcului, consemnate, chiar dacă sumar, în reprezentările cartografice din secolul al XIX-lea, au dispărut și ele, fapt în mod sigur favorizat și de modificarea funcțiunii ansamblului în perioada comunistă (CAP). Urma lacului artificial de formă organică, probabil actor principal al amenajării de factură peisageră a fostului parc, se citește încă imprimată în teren în zona nordică a sitului; la fel se poate încă citi urma unei mici insule în mijlocul fostului lac, la ora actuală o movilă proeminentă pe care sunt aliniate câteva exemplare de plop, a căror vârstă, pentru moment, nu o putem aprecia. Dintre rarele exemplare arborescente existente la ora actuală pe sit, câțiva castani masivi se mai remarcă la sud de castel, în zona fostelor anexe. Totuși, un aspect pozitiv al condiției actuale a sitului îl reprezintă foarte mica măsură a alterărilor produse prin reparcelări sau apariții de construcții contemporane, motiv pentru care structura amplasamentului, identificabilă în reprezentările cartografice din secolul al XIX-lea, este ușor recognoscibilă la fața locului.

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The walkways have disappeared. The routes of access to the site<sup>23</sup> are not paved in any way at this time: the one on the western side is a dirt road and the one starting from the northern side is a trail overrun by grass.

Besides the already mentioned poplars, there are several monumental chestnut specimens observed on the site, in the area of the former utilitarian courtyard (Photos 7 and 8), a fruit tree alignment parallel with the southern side of the manor house (Photos 6 and 10), but also other deciduous tree specimens, the species of which are for the moment unidentifiable. Of the mentioned specimens, the chestnuts and poplars could have a more advanced age, being possible witnesses of the former landscaping. However, again, their actual age cannot be determined at the moment.

If ever there were ornamental buildings, objects, or park furniture, they have been completely lost.

## Conclusion

■ The Csáki Manor House ensemble in Almașu is in an advanced state of decay, both regarding the manor house, practically in ruins, as well as regarding the park, with too few traces preserved of its former landscaping elements. It may be noticed at a glance that the current state of the manor house building, but also of some of the former outbuildings, was rather caused by vandalism than by the lack of maintenance of the ensemble, abandoned and exposed to the aggression of natural conditions, with all degradations caused by them, over time: the torn joineries, the missing roofing, the almost non-existent roof structure can only be signs of human aggression. Once it reached this state, the potential conservation of the building can only be problematic, implying a volume of reconstruction works that would bring along the question of the validity of the action, especially in terms of the historic building's authenticity. The landscaping of the park recorded, even if summarily, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century maps has also disappeared, a fact certainly favoured by the alteration of the ensemble's function during the communist period (C.A.P). The trace of the organically shaped artificial lake, probably a main actor of the landscaped style design of the former park, is still imprinted in the terrain, in the northern area of the site; in the same way, the trace of a small island in the middle of the lake can be still observed, at present a prominent mound with several poplar specimens, the age of which cannot be determined for the moment. Of the rare tree specimens that exist at this time, several massive chestnuts can be seen to the south of the manor house, in the area of the former outbuildings. Still, a positive aspect of the site's state at this time is represented by the small degree of alterations caused by replanting or new buildings, reason for which the site's structure, identifiable in 19<sup>th</sup> century maps, is easily recognisable.

<sup>23</sup> Their issue was already discussed in *Local relief and the placement of major elements*.

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## Reconstruction as a Measure for the Protection of Romanian Rural Sites Included on the World Heritage List

■ **Abstract:** Reconstruction (in fact “rebuilding” would be the appropriate term for built heritage) is implicitly provided in Romanian legislation as “restoration to the initial condition” to which the perpetrator of the destruction or degradation of a historical building is bound. In the – until now hypothetical – situation in which this legal provision would apply, the status of the resulted building becomes uncertain, and its place on the Historic Buildings List is no longer supported by its fulfilment of the classification criteria.

Reconstruction is even more problematic in the case of buildings (numbering in the hundreds) that are part of a historical rural site, concerting to support the coherence and authenticity attributes based on which, for example, the ones grouped in the UNESCO site “Villages with Fortified Churches in Transylvania” were included on the World Heritage List.

This article presents situations, cases, and debates triggered by appeals to reconstruction as a legitimate measure for the protection of a UNESCO site.

■ **Keywords:** reconstruction, world heritage, rural site, vernacular, monitoring, legislation

■ The site with reference number 596bis on the UNESCO World Heritage List (WHL) – Villages with Fortified Churches in Transylvania is composed of seven rural localities: Călnic (Alba Co.), Valea Viilor and Biertan (Sibiu Co.), Saschiz (Mureș Co.), Dârjiu (Harghita Co.), Viscri and Prejmer (Brașov Co.).

Along with its protection area, the site has a total surface of 3728 ha (Villages with Fortified Churches...) and has been granted the highest protection level, through national and international laws.<sup>2</sup>

Reconstruction is not one of the measures provided by Romanian legislation regarding historic building protection. However, it is included in the provision referring to restoration to the initial condition

## Reconstrucția ca măsură de protejare a siturilor rurale din România incluse în Lista Patrimoniului Mondial

■ **Rezumat:** Reconstrucția (de fapt „reconstruirea” este termenul adecvat pentru patrimoniul imobil) este prevăzută implicit în legislația din România ca „readucere la starea inițială” la care este obligat făptuitorul distrugerii sau degradării unui monument istoric. În situația – rămasă până acum ipotetică – în care această prevedere legală s-ar pune în aplicare, statutul imobilului rezultat devine incert, iar menținerea sa în Lista monumentelor istorice nu mai este susținută de îndeplinirea criteriilor de clasare.

Cu atât mai problematică devine reconstruirea în cazul imobilelor (de ordinul sutelor) care fac parte dintr-un sit rural istoric și care concertează pentru a susține atributele de coerență și autenticitate pe baza cărora, de exemplu, cele grupate în situl UNESCO „Sate cu biserici fortificate din Transilvania”, au fost incluse în Lista Patrimoniului Mondial.

Lucrarea de față expune situații, cazuri și dezbateri declanșate de recursul la reconstruire ca măsură legitimă de protejare a unui sit UNESCO.

■ **Cuvinte cheie:** reconstrucție, patrimoniu mondial, sit rural, vernacular, monitorizare, legislație

■ Situl cu poziția serială 596bis din Lista Patrimoniului Mondial UNESCO (LPM) – Sate cu biserici fortificate din Transilvania este compus din șapte localități rurale: Călnic (jud. Alba), Valea Viilor și Biertan (jud. Sibiu), Saschiz (jud. Mureș), Dârjiu (jud. Harghita), Viscri și Prejmer (jud. Brașov).

Împreună cu zona de protecție, situl totalizează o suprafață de 3728 ha (Villages with Fortified Churches...) și este investit, prin legislația națională și internațională<sup>2</sup> cu un grad de protecție maxim.

Reconstrucția nu face parte dintre măsurile prevăzute în legislația din România privitoare la protejarea monumentelor istorice. Ea este însă presupusă în prevederea de revenire la starea inițială (Legea nr. 422/2001, art. 24/2) pe care personalul de inspecție abilitat trebuie să o dispună în cazul distrugerii sau degradării unui monument istoric și în prevederea de reconstituire a monumentului sau a părților de monument lezat, la care este obligat făptuitorul (Legea nr. 422/2001, art. 55/2).

Reconstrucția este prevăzută cu multă rezervă în Ghidul Operațional UNESCO (Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World

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<sup>2</sup> In Romanian legislation called *Historic Buildings on the UNESCO World Heritage List*.

<sup>1</sup> Istoric de artă, cercetător științific la Institutul Național al Patrimoniului din București, România.

<sup>2</sup> În legislația din România sunt denumite *Monumente istorice* înscrise în Lista Patrimoniului Mondial UNESCO.



Heritage Convention)<sup>3</sup> la articolul 86, în relație cu *autenticitatea* – indicator fundamental pentru acceptarea în LPM: „Reconstrucția vestigiilor arheologice sau a clădirilor și zonelor istorice este justificabilă doar în circumstanțe excepționale. Reconstrucția este acceptabilă doar pe baza unei documentații complete și detaliate care exclude ipoteza”.<sup>4</sup>

Cu atât mai problematic devine recursul la *reconstrucție* în cazul imobilelor (de ordinul sutelor) care fac parte din cele șapte situri rurale, ale căror valori individuale concertează pentru a susține *valoarea universală excepțională* a sitului (Outstanding Universal Value), îndeplinind *Criteriul IV* de clasare în Lista Patrimoniului Mondial: „reprezintă un exemplu excepțional al unui tip de construcție, al unui ansamblu arhitectural sau tehnologic ori al unuia natural, care ilustrează o etapă semnificativă din istoria umanității”.

Mai mult, *reconstrucția* are poziții antagonice față de cei doi indicatori fundamentali ai *valorii universale excepționale*: dacă un imobil *reconstruit* poate contribui la menținerea *integrității* sitului, cu siguranță acesta nu trece testul *autenticității*.

Satele săsești sunt un microcosmos al Europei pre-industriale – o topografie armonioasă revolută a peisajului și a construcțiilor. Fondatorii lor le-au abandonat aproape în totalitate însă, în exodul febril din perioada post-Ceaușescu în 1990, când li s-a oferit cetățenia în Germania. De-a lungul a aproape trei decenii de neglijare, clădirile ce nu și-au găsit noi stăpâni sau rosturi s-au măcinat în iernile geroase și verile toride ale Transilvaniei lăsând, în fronturile compacte de gospodărie, ruine sau lacune desfigurante.<sup>5</sup>

Este comparabilă distrugerea cauzată de criza culturală și economică declanșată de plecarea sașilor din Transilvania cu distrugerea cauzată de război, în urma căreia au fost *reconstruite* în Europa orașe medievale? Este permisă aceeași derogare de la *autenticitate*?

Conform documentului de la Nara privind *autenticitatea* în legătură cu Convenția patrimoniului mondial (1999), responsabilitatea pentru asistența și gestionarea patrimoniului aparține în primul rând culturii care a produs-o. În cazul patrimoniului săsesc (cel vernacular, îndeosebi) din

(Legea nr. 422 2001, art. 24/2), which the authorised inspection staff must require in case a historic building was destroyed or damaged, and in the provision for the *rebuilding* of a damaged historic building or its parts, to which the perpetrator is obliged (Legea nr. 422 2001, art. 55/2).

*Reconstruction* is provided with much reserve within the UNESCO Operational Guidelines (Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention)<sup>3</sup> in article 86, in relation to *authenticity* – a fundamental indicator for the inclusion on the WHL: “The reconstruction of archaeological remains or historic buildings or districts is justifiable only in exceptional circumstances. Reconstruction is acceptable only on the basis of complete and detailed documentation and to no extent on conjecture.”<sup>4</sup>

The use of *reconstruction* becomes even more problematic in the case of buildings (numbering in the hundreds) that are part of the seven rural sites, with individual values concerting to support the *outstanding universal value* of the site, fulfilling *criteria IV* for inclusion in the World Heritage List: “an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history”.

Moreover, *reconstruction* has opposite positions from the two fundamental indicators of *outstanding universal value*: if a *reconstructed* building may contribute to the preservation of the site's *integrity*, surely it will not pass the test of *authenticity*.

Transylvanian Saxon villages are a microcosm of pre-industrial Europe – a harmonious fusion of landscape and buildings. However, their makers abandoned them almost completely, in the fevered exodus in

3 Forma revizuită în 8 iulie 2015.

4 Același document propune o bibliografie pe tema discuțiilor despre *reconstrucție* în contextul Convenției Patrimoniului Mondial (Operational Guidelines..., art. 83).

5 Subiectul arhitecturii vernaculare în regiuni multiculturale a fost abordat pe larg la întâlnirea anuală a CIAV (Comitetul Internațional de Arhitectură Vernaculară), organizată la invitația Comitetului Național Român al ICOMOS, la Rimetea, în cadrul *Seriei Simpozioanelor de Teoria și Practica Reabilitării Patrimoniului Construit – Tusnad*, 2009.

3 Version revised on July 8, 2015.

4 The same document proposes a bibliography on discussions about *reconstruction* in the context of the World Heritage Convention (Operational Guidelines..., 83).



■ Foto 1. Saschiz, nr. 30. Fotografie de monitorizare © Institutul Național al Patrimoniului (INP), 2011

■ Photo 1. House No. 30, Saschiz. Monitoring photograph © National Institute of Heritage (INP), 2011



■ Foto 2. Saschiz, nr. 30. Fotografie de inventariere, 1993

■ Photo 2. House No. 30, Saschiz. Inventory photograph, 1993

the post-Ceaușescu period in 1990, when they were offered German citizenship. During almost three decades of neglect, the buildings that did not find new owners or purpose were ground in the cold winters and hot summers of Transylvania, leaving disfiguring ruins or gaps in the compact fronts of households.<sup>5</sup>

Is the destruction caused by the departure of the Saxons from Transylvania comparable with the one caused by war, after which mediaeval towns were *reconstructed* in Europe? Is the same derogation from *authenticity* allowed?

According to the document of the Nara Conference regarding *authenticity* related to the World Heritage Convention (1999), the responsibility for the assistance and management of heritage belongs primarily to the culture that produced it. In the case of Transylvanian Saxon heritage (especially the vernacular one), the responsibility must be transferred to the new owners, along with the attitude of considering cultural and social values as belonging to all societies and to take on the responsibilities imposed by the international charters (The Nara Document..., 1994).

The six settlements in the *Villages with Fortified Churches in Transylvania* site have been selected based on the results of the Romanian-German Intergovernmental Project for the Inventory of Cultural Goods from Saxon Settlements in Transylvania (1991-1998)<sup>6</sup> and, along with Dârjiu, which

5 The subject of vernacular architecture in multicultural regions was extensively addressed at the annual meeting of CIAV (International Committee for Vernacular Architecture), organised at the invitation of the Romanian National Committee of ICOMOS, in Rimetea, during the *Conference Series on Theoretical and Practical Issues on Built Heritage Conservation – Tisnad*, 2009.

6 The scientific guidance of the project was provided by the German ICOMOS Committee, through a protocol with CNMASI (National Commission of Historic Buildings, Ensembles and Sites).



■ Foto 3. Saschiz, nr. 30. Fotografie de monitorizare © INP, 2004  
■ Photo 3. House No. 30, Saschiz. Monitoring photograph © INP, 2004

Transilvania, responsabilitatea trebuie transferată noilor deținători, împreună cu atitudinea de a considera valorile culturale și sociale ca aparținând tuturor societăților și de a-și însuși responsabilitățile impuse de cartele internaționale (The Nara Document..., 1994).

Cele șase localități săsești din situl *Sate cu biserici fortificate din Transilvania* au fost selectate pe baza rezultatelor Proiectului interguvernamental româno-german de inventariere a bunurilor culturale din localitățile de colonizare săsească din Transilvania (1991-1998)<sup>6</sup> și, împreună cu Dârjiu, care ilustrează transferul modelelor de fortificare între sași și secui, au fost documentate în *Dosarul de nominalizare* în Lista Patrimoniului Mondial (1997-1998)<sup>7</sup>.

Includerea în LPM în 1998 a fost urmată de adoptarea unei legislații speciale menite să protejeze *valoarea universală excepțională* și indicatorii săi, proces supus *monitorizării* (HG nr. 493/2004), una dintre atribuțiile Institutului Național al Patrimoniului.

Este documentația acumulată de-a lungul acestor etape – fișa de inventariere, dosarul UNESCO, fotografiile de monitorizare, studiile de fundamentare PUG și PUZ<sup>8</sup> – o bază, în spiritul Cartei de la Veneția, pentru legitimarea recurgerii la *reconstrucție* în cazul în care elementele distruse sunt de o valoare semnificativă și/sau când lipsuri majore afectează coerența sitului și diminuează atributul *integritate* ce a contat la includerea în Lista Patrimoniului Mondial?

Lucrarea de față expune situații, cazuri și dezbateri declanșate de recursul la *reconstrucție* ca măsură legitimă de protejare a sitului UNESCO.

### Situația I. Colaps și reconstruire. Recuperarea integrității și derogare de la autenticitate

**Cazul 1.** Valoare excepțională, incendiu, abandon și colaps (Saschiz, nr. 30)

Din ampla gospodărie cu casă și anexe pe patru laturi, se mai păstrează, în urma unui incendiu urmat de abandon, doar fațada ruinată a casei, până la nivelul cornișei (foto 1), o grindă din beci, cu inscripție „Leonhard 1809” – prăbușită, ruinele șopronului, bucătăriei de vară, șurii și ale fântânii. Însă, cunoaștem anvergura ansamblului și mai ales a casei, ce era

6 Îndrumarea științifică a proiectului a fost asigurată de către Comitetul German ICOMOS, printr-un protocol cu CNMASI (Comisia Națională a Monumentelor, Ansamblurilor și Siturilor Istorice).

7 Dosarul de nominalizare în LPM a fost elaborat de un colectiv al Centrului de Proiectare pentru Patrimoniul Cultural Național, din care am făcut parte (1997-1998).

8 Reglementate prin HG nr. 738/2008.



■ Foto 4. Saschiz, nr. 30. Fotografie de monitorizare. Detaliu nișă de pinion cu inscripție © INP, 2004  
■ Photo 4. House No. 30, Saschiz. Monitoring photograph. Detail of pinion niche with inscription © INP, 2004





■ **Foto 5.** Saschiz. Strada Principală (Markt). Front estic  
 ■ **Photo 5.** Saschiz. Main Street (Markt). Eastern front

încununată de unul dintre cele mai ample și complexe pinioane cu nișă în formă de peniță – marca inconfundabilă a Saschizului și expresivitatea fără egal a celor trei nișe cu inscripții pictate, prin intermediul fișei de inventariere și fotografiilor din 1993 (foto 2), al fotografiilor de monitorizare (foto 3-4) și al articolului lui Gerhard SCHUSTER conținând fotografia, releveul fațadei și analiza tipologică a pinionului (1992, 83-85).<sup>9</sup> Există deci surse pentru a *reconstrui* elementele definitorii ale acestei capodopere de arhitectură vernaculară, cu condiția unei intervenții de înaltă specializare care să recompună, într-un ansamblu cu gabaritul și amprenta la sol originale, tehnica, materialele și remarcabilul aparat decorativ.

#### **Cazul 2.** Colaps ca fond pentru o falsă *reconstrucție* (Saschiz, nr. 480)

Un proiect ce propunea o pastişă a unei „case săsești” pe locul acestei căsuțe retrase din aliniament, ale cărei ruine au dispărut fără explicație, a fost respins de Comisia Zonală a Monumentelor Istorice în 2016 și este trimis, cu contestație la Comisia Națională a Monumentelor Istorice. În PUZ este prevăzută *reconstruirea clădirii în forma inițială*.<sup>10</sup>

#### **Cazul 3.** Colaps și *reconstrucția* prevăzută prin reglementări urbanistice (Saschiz nr. 450 și nr. 451)

Fronturile compacte formate din fațade alipite, având înglobate porțile într-una dintre travee, sunt specifice zonei centrale (Markt) a satului Saschiz (foto 5). Lacunele sunt, în această configurație continuă, cu atât mai greu de acceptat. Proiectanții PUZ au propus completarea lacunelor (foto 6) prin *reconstituire* fidelă, iar documentația fotografică de la inventariere și monitorizare susțin soluția (foto 7).

#### **Cazul 4.** Colaps și *reconstrucție*-comandă socială (Viscri, nr. 163)

În anul 2000, o fisură gravă în zidăria casei mici de la nr. 163, locuită de Sara FERNOLEND (80 de ani) a determinat prima incursiune a Funda-

illustrates the transfer of fortification models between Saxons and Szeklers, were documented in the *Nomination file* for the World Heritage List (1997-1998)<sup>7</sup>.

The inclusion in the WHL in 1998 was followed by the adoption of special legislation meant to protect the *exceptional universal value* and its indicators, a process subject to monitoring (HG nr. 493/2004), one of the tasks of the Institute of National Heritage.

Is the documentation accumulated during these stages – the inventory sheet, the UNESCO file, the monitoring photos, the grounding studies for the General and Zonal Urban Plans<sup>8</sup> – a basis, in the spirit of the Venice Charter, for legitimising the use of *reconstruction* in case the destroyed elements have a significant value and/or when major gaps affect the site's coherence and diminish the *integrity* attribute that mattered for the inclusion on the World Heritage List?

This paper presents situations, cases and debates triggered by the use of *reconstruction* as a legitimate measure for the protection of the UNESCO site.

<sup>9</sup> Conform autorului, nișele pinioanelor din Saschiz ar reproduce silueta acoperișului turnului bisericii fortificate, la rândul său, replică a acoperișului Turnului „cu Ceas” din Sighișoara.

<sup>10</sup> Cristina NEAGU și Vladimir GRIGOROV ca șefi de proiect (Plan Urbanistic Zonal...); vezi și HG nr. 738/2008.

<sup>7</sup> The WHL nomination file was developed by a team of the National Cultural Heritage Design Center, of which I was a member (1997-1998).

<sup>8</sup> Regulated by a Government Decision (HG nr. 738/2008).

**Situation I. Collapse and rebuilding. Recovery of integrity and derogation from authenticity**

**Case 1.** Exceptional value, fire, abandonment, and collapse (House No. 30, Saschiz)

Of the large household with a house and outbuildings on four sides, after a fire followed by abandonment, there remained only the ruined elevation of the house, up to the level of the cornice (Photo 1), a beam from the basement with the inscription “Leonhard – 1809” – collapsed, the ruins of the shed, of the summer kitchen, of the barn, and of the well. However, we know the dimensions of the ensemble and especially those of the house, crowned by one of the largest and most complex pinions with pen-shaped niche – the unmistakable mark of Saschiz, and the unparalleled expressiveness of the three niches with painted inscriptions, through the inventory sheet and the photos from 1993 (Photo 2), the monitoring photos (Photos 3-4), and through Gerhard SCHUSTER’s article containing the photo, elevations survey, and the typology study of the pinion (1992, 83-85).<sup>9</sup> There are thus sources for *reconstructing* the defining elements of this masterpiece of vernacular architecture, provided a highly specialised intervention that restores the technique, materials, and the remarkable decorative apparatus, in an ensemble with the original dimensions and layout.

**Case 2.** Collapse as a basis for a false reconstruction (House No. 480, Saschiz)

A project proposing a pastiche of a “Saxon house” on the site of this small house, detached from the street alignment, the ruins of which disappeared without explanation, was rejected by the Zonal Commission for Historic Buildings and is sent, with an appeal to the National Commission for Historic Buildings. The Zonal Urban Plan provides for the *reconstruction of the building in its original form*.<sup>10</sup>

**Case 3.** Collapse and reconstruction provided by urban regulations (Houses No. 450 and 451, Saschiz)

The compact fronts created by connected elevations, with the gates embedded in one of the bays, are specific to the central area (Markt) of Saschiz Village (Photo 5). The gaps are much harder to be accepted in this continuous configuration. The developers of the Zonal Urban Plan proposed the completion of the gaps (Photo 6) through faithful *reconstruction* and the inventory and monitoring photographic documentation supports this solution (Photo 7).

**Case 4.** Collapse and reconstruction / social intervention (House No. 163, Viscri)

In 2000, a serious crack in the masonry of the small house at no. 163, inhabited



■ **Foto 6.** Saschiz, nr. 450. Lacună în casa cu spațiu comercial. Fotografie monitorizare © INP, 2011

■ **Photo 6.** House No. 450, Saschiz. Gap in the house with commercial space. Monitoring photograph © INP, 2011

ției Mihai Eminescu Trust în Viscri,<sup>11</sup> sat ce fusese inclus, înainte cu doi ani, în 1998, în Lista Patrimoniului Mondial. Au fost implicați specialiști britanici renumiți, care au intuit o bună ocazie de a promova principiile restaurării științifice și de a insufla optimism în privința salvării patrimoniului construit într-un sat devastat de emigrarea sașilor și de lipsa perspectivelor de redresare economică. Însă, înainte ca lucrările de restaurare să înceapă, în iarna 2000-2001, jumătate din casă s-a prăbușit sub greutatea zăpezii.

Acesta a fost momentul în care *reconstrucția* s-a impus ca obligatorie.

Mai mult decât refacerea integrității sitului UNESCO, angajamentul față de o venerabilă reprezentantă a civilizației fondatoare, rămasă singură și fără ajutor, a fost argumentul pentru care s-a recurs la *reconstituirea* minuțioasă a părții prăbușite și la restaurarea întregii gospodării, pentru a fi redată stăpânei ei așa cum era înainte (foto 8).

<sup>11</sup> Vezi și pagina de web a fundației (Viscri...).



■ **Foto 7.** Saschiz, nr. 450. Fotografie de inventariere, 1993

■ **Photo 7.** House No. 450, Saschiz. Inventory photograph, 1993

<sup>9</sup> According to the author, the niches of the pinions in Saschiz would reproduce the silhouette of the tower roof of the fortified church, in its turn a replica of the roof of the “Clock Tower” in Sighișoara.

<sup>10</sup> Cristina NEAGU and Vladimir GRIGOROV as heads of design (Plan Urbanistic Zonal...); see also HG nr. 738/2008.





■ **Foto 8.** Viscri, nr. 163. Gospodăria după reabilitare, cu casa din dreapta reconstruită  
 ■ **Photo 8.** House No. 163, Viscri. Household after conservation, with the house on the right reconstructed

Mai mult decât restaurarea unei gospodării locuite, proiectul a condus la resuscitarea tehnicilor tradiționale de construcție, conservate latent în zonă, dar neutilizate în perioada comunistă. Constructori și meșteri locali au amendat soluțiile specialiștilor în restaurare, implicându-se și antrenând în proiect zestrea de competențe moștenite din vechime<sup>12</sup>. Formula de restaurare a casei Fernolend s-a cristalizat, prin urmare, lent. Este posibil ca tocmai componenta de *reconstrucție* a imobilului să fi impus reconstituirea minuțioasă a sistemului tehnologic tradițional, obligându-l pe restaurator să se identifice cu constructorul original. De aceea, proiectul s-a prelungit de-a lungul a trei ani, însă a deschis calea altor zeci de intervenții salvatoare în satele săsești (înscrise sau nu în Lista Patrimoniului Mondial).

## Situația II. Strămutare și reconstruire în muzee în aer liber (Saschiz, nr. 208)

■ „Casa Băcișor, situată în fața bisericii ortodoxe Sf. Nicolae, a fost donată Muzeului Național al Satului din București de Dumitru BĂCIȘOR – casă bătrânească de bărne cu colțuri în cruce. Gospodăria a fost cumpărată de Floarea BĂJAN, nepoata de frate a donatorului; aceasta a demolat ruinele și a construit o casă nouă, zisă «Casa Florii», cu banii câștigați în Italia.” (BĂJAN 2012, 3)

Casa de lemn datând din secolul al XVIII-lea, exemplar unic al unui tip arhaic de construcție și element definitoriu pentru zona românească a localității, alături de ansamblul bisericii ortodoxe (foto 9), era parte a sitului UNESCO Saschiz. Strămutarea în Muzeul Național al Satului „Dimitrie Gusti” a scos-o din contextul gospodăriei cu șoproane și șură dispuse pe trei laturi și din cel al frontului compact de gospodării ce ilustrează adoptarea modelului urbanistic săsesc.

<sup>12</sup> A fost respectată recomandarea nr. 3 de bune practici din Cartea privind patrimoniul construit vernacular (1999): „Continuitatea tehnicilor tradiționale de construcție și a meseriilor asociate cu vernacularul este fundamentală pentru expresia acestuia și fundamentală pentru repararea și restaurarea acestor structuri.” (Charter on the Built Vernacular...).

by Sara FERNOLEND (80 years old), determined the first incursion of the Mihai Eminescu Trust in Viscri,<sup>11</sup> a village that had been included two years before, in 1998, in the World Heritage List. Renowned British specialists were involved, seeing a good opportunity to promote the principles of scientific conservation and to inspire optimism about saving built heritage in a village devastated by Transylvanian Saxon emigration and the lack of prospects for economic recovery. However, before the conservation works began, in the winter of 2000-2001, half of the house collapsed under the weight of snow.

This was the time when *reconstruction became mandatory*.

More than restoring the integrity of the UNESCO site, the commitment to a venerable representative of the founding civilisation, left alone and without help, was the argument for the thorough *reconstitution* of the collapsed part and the conservation of the entire household, to be returned it to its owner as it was before (Photo 8).

More than the conservation of an inhabited household, the project led to the resuscitation of latent traditional construction techniques, preserved in the area but not used during the communist period. Local builders and craftsmen have fine-tuned the solutions of the conservation specialists, involving and enlisting in the project the dowry of their inherited skills<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> See also the website of the foundation (Viscri...).

<sup>12</sup> Practice Guideline no 3. of the Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage (1999) was also re-



■ **Foto 9.** Saschiz, nr. 208. Fotografie de inventariere, 1993  
■ **Photo 9.** House No. 208, Saschiz. Inventory photograph, 1993



■ **Foto 10.** Saschiz, Mureș. Casă, 1762 (Casa nr. 208, transferată în Muzeul Național al Satului „Dimitrie Gusti”), 2012  
■ **Photo 10.** Saschiz, Mureș. House, 1762 (House no. 208, transferred to the “Dimitrie Gusti” National Village Museum), 2012

The Fernolend house conservation formula has therefore crystallised slowly. It is possible that precisely the *reconstruction* of the building imposed a thorough reconstitution of the traditional technological system, forcing the ones carrying out the conservation to identify themselves with the original constructor. That is why the project was extended during three years, but it has opened the way for other dozens of relief interventions in the Transylvanian Saxon villages (listed or not on the World Heritage List).

### Situation II. Removal and reconstruction in open-air museums (House No. 208, Saschiz)

■ “Casa Băcișor (Băcișor House – ed. note), located in front of the St. Nicholas Orthodox Church, was donated to the National Village Museum in Bucharest by Dumitru BĂCIȘOR – a traditional house built of timber beams, with crossed corners. The household was bought by Floarea BĂJAN, the donor’s niece; she demolished the ruins and built a new house, called ‘Casa Florii’ (Flower’s House – ed. note), with the money she earned in Italy.” (BĂJAN 2012, 3)

The wooden house dating from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a unique example of an archaic type of construction and a defining element for the Romanian area of the locality, along with the ensemble of the Orthodox church (Photo 9), was part of the UNESCO site in Saschiz. The relocation to the “Dimitrie Gusti” National Village Museum removed it from the context of the household with sheds and barn arranged on three sides, as well as from the compact front of house-

*Reconstrucția* casei în Muzeul Satului dovedește un grad de fidelitate remarcabil și putem aprecia că din substanța originală s-au conservat cel puțin prețioasele bărne de lemn și sistemul lor de îmbinare (foto 10).

Comparând-o cu soarta caselor abandonate ruinei sau denaturate din Saschiz, măsura strămutării în muzeu poate apărea drept salvatoare și cerută, în termenii Cartei de la Veneția (art. 7) *de necesitatea salvărdării monumentului*.<sup>13</sup> Însă, citând același articol, „monumentul este inseparabil de istoria căreia îi este mărturie și de amplasamentul în care se află”, iar măsura strămutării sale, în parte sau în întregime, nu este compatibilă cu apărarea autenticității și integrității pe care gestionarea unui sit UNESCO le impune și care au fost, astfel, grav afectate.<sup>14</sup>

Un exemplu de succes de restaurare *in situ* este de așteptat pentru gospodăria nr. 438 din Saschiz, donată Muzeului Național al Satului „Dimitrie Gusti” de către Consiliul Fundației Sașilor Transilvăneni din Germania.

### Situația III. Reconstrucția, subiect de dezbatere publică (Cetatea Saschiz)

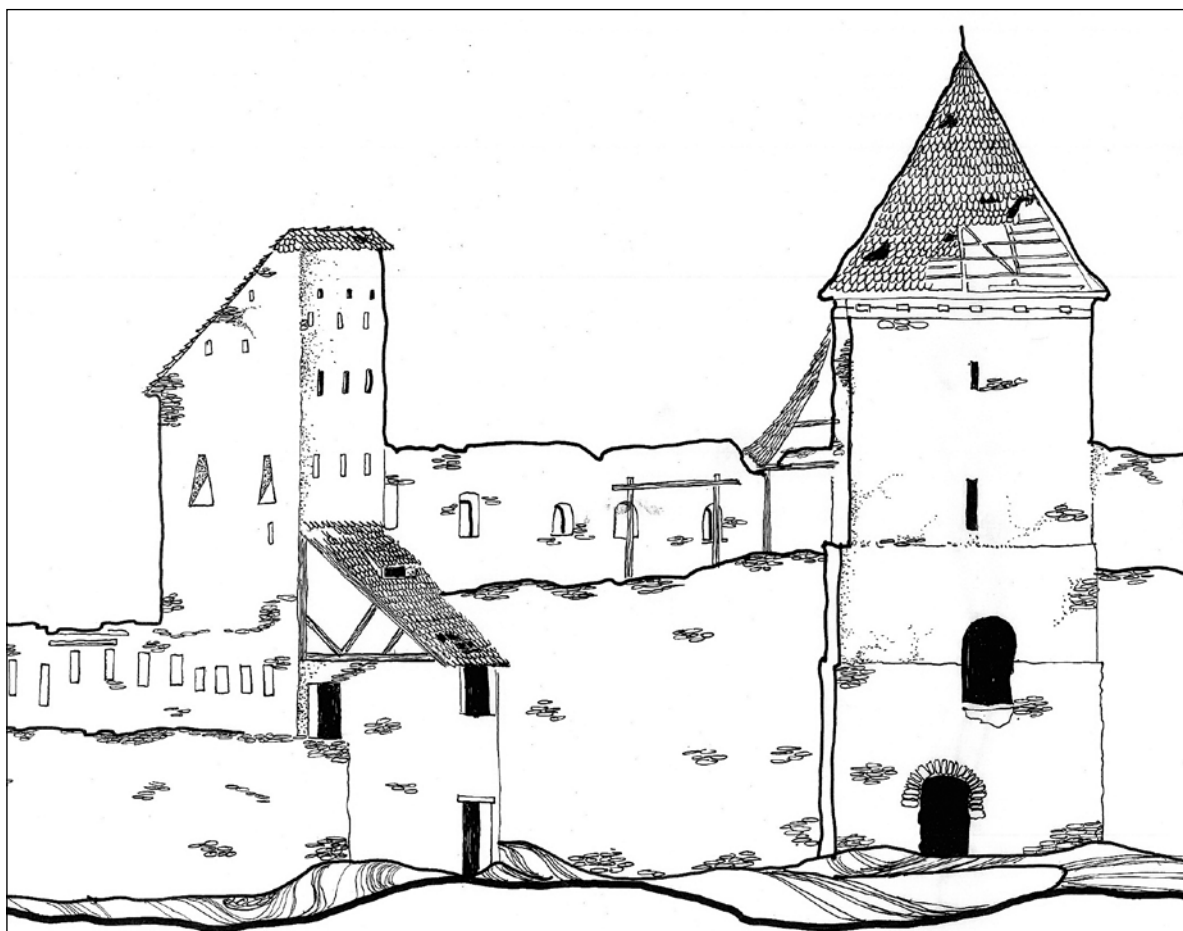
■ Vineri 11 martie 2016, la Saschiz (jud. Mureș) a avut loc dezbaterea publică pe tema proiectului *Restaurarea Cetății de refugiu Saschiz, sec. XIV și modernizarea drumului de acces*, care urma să fie depus de către Consiliul local, în vederea finanțării prin Programul Operațional Regional, Axa 5, Prioritatea de intervenție 5.1. *Conservarea, protejarea, promovarea și dezvoltarea patrimoniului natural și cultural*. Cu toate că apartenența la un sit înscris în Lista Patrimoniului Mondial UNESCO și existența unui proiect deja elaborat și avizat dădeau mari șanse cererii de finanțare, Primăria Saschiz, exersată în ultimii ani în gestionarea unui patrimoniu de valoare excepțională, a hotărât redeschiderea discuției asupra oportunității depunerii proiectului, într-o dezbatere publică, organizată împreună cu localnici, ONG-uri și Instituția Arhitectului șef din cadrul Consiliului Județean Mureș. Elaborat în faza DALI, în anul 2011, proiectul propune soluții cu un impact major asupra monumentului și a peisajului cultural al localității, între care și *reconstruirea* elementelor dispărute (ziduri, acoperișuri, galerii și drum de strajă).

spected: “The continuity of traditional building systems and craft skills associated with the vernacular is fundamental for vernacular expression, and essential for the repair and conservation of these structures.” (Charter on the Built Vernacular...).

13 „Strămutarea în întregime sau în parte a unui monument poate fi acceptată numai în cazul în care salvărdarea monumentului o cere sau când este justificată de un interes național sau internațional de o importanță covârșitoare.” (International Charter...).

14 Analiza și comentariul situației au fost prilejuate de consultața la elaborarea Studiului istoric de fundamentare pentru PUG Saschiz, 2015.





■ Fig. 1. Cetatea Saschiz. Turnul Școlii și Turnul Pulberăriei. Relevu, 1963  
 ■ Figure 1. Saschiz Castle. School Tower and Gunpowder Tower. 1963 survey

Sub impresia denaturării ireversibile prin *reconstruire* a monumentelor înrudite și învecinate, Cetatea Rupea și Cetatea Râșnov, produse prin intermediul aceluiași exercițiu financiar, concluzia cvasiunanimă a dezbaterii a fost că proiectul nu va fi depus în forma existentă.

În decursul lunii iulie 2016, Primăria Saschiz a postat un chestionar online cu privire la oportunitatea proiectului de restaurare a cetății de refugiu, cu întrebări printre care unele privitoare la propuneri de funcțiuni pentru turnurile cetății (ceea ce presupune *reconstruirea* planșeelor, acoperișurilor, galeriilor și a drumului de strajă).

Imaginea Cetății de refugiu din Saschiz (locuită de un paznic până prin anii 1960), cu acoperișuri pe turnuri, galerii și drum de strajă, pare accesibilă datorită documentarului grafic și fotografic relativ bogat, de la relevuul studenților Școlii Regale Superioare de Construcții din Budapesta din 1912 (FOERK 2002, 1-21), până la cele ale studenților Universității de Arhitectură „Ion Mincu” din București din anii 1960 (Relevu nr. Rv. 519, 1963) (fig. 1) sau de la fotografia publicată de Emil SIGERUS în 1900 până la cele ale unor vizitatori din anii 1960 (foto 11). În același timp, ea persistă în memoria locului, care poate fi valorificată pentru proiectarea *reconstrucției*.

Însă, simpla alăturare a variantelor de desen și a fotografiilor demonstrează diferențe de viziune și de interpretare ce lasă loc acelei „ipoteze” pentru *reconstrucție* interzisă de principiul Cartei de la Veneția.

Ratarea, de exemplu, a unghiului pantei acoperișului sau a pornirii curbării sale spre bază ar putea fi dezastruoasă pentru credibilitatea restaurării și traumatizantă pentru memoria individuală și colectivă.

De remarcat este faptul că exercițiul căpătat în timpul gestionării sitului UNESCO a modificat viziunea administrației locale și a determinat

holds illustrating the adoption of the Saxon urban model.

The *reconstruction* of the house in the Village Museum proves a remarkable degree of fidelity and we can appreciate that at least the precious timber beams and their joining system (Photo 10) have been preserved from the original substance.

Compared to the fate of other houses in Saschiz, abandoned to ruin or distorted, the measure of the transfer to the museum can appear as a saving and demanded, in terms of the Venice Charter (art. 7), by the *need to safeguard the historic building*.<sup>13</sup> However, quoting the same article, “a monument is inseparable from the history to which it bears witness and from the setting in which it occurs”. The measure of its displacement, in part or in full, is incompatible with the protection of the authenticity and integrity that the management of a UNESCO site requires and that have been thus severely affected.<sup>14</sup>

13 „The moving of all or part of a monument cannot be allowed except where the safeguarding of that monument demands it or where it is justified by national or international interest of paramount importance.” (International Charter...).

14 The analysis and the comment of the situation were occasioned by consulting on the development of the Historical Study for the Saschiz General Urban Plan, 2015.

■ **Foto 11.** Cetatea Saschiz. Turnul Școlii și Turnul Pulberăriei. Fotografie cca. 1960, arhiva Primăriei Saschiz

■ **Photo 11.** Saschiz Castle. School Tower and Gunpowder Tower. Photograph around 1960, Saschiz Town Hall Archives



■ **Foto 12.** Cetatea Saschiz. Turnul Școlii și Turnul Pulberăriei. Fotografie de monitorizare © INP, 2016

■ **Photo 12.** Saschiz Castle. School Tower and Gunpowder Tower. Monitoring photograph © INP, 2016



A successful example of an on-site conservation is expected for household no. 438 in Saschiz, donated to the “Dimitrie Gusti” National Village Museum by the Council of the German Transylvanian Saxon Foundation.

### Situation III. Reconstruction, subject for public debate (Saschiz Castle)

■ On March 11, 2016, in Saschiz, Mureș County, a public debate took place on the design *Conservation of Saschiz Refuge Castle, 14<sup>th</sup> century, and the modernisation of the access road*, to be submitted by the Local Council for financing through the Regional Operational Programme, Axis 5, Intervention Priority 5.1. *Conservation, protection, promotion and development of natural and cultural heritage*. Although its belonging to a UNESCO World Heritage Site and the existence of an already developed and approved design gave high chances for financing, the Saschiz Town Hall, trained in the previous years in the management of exceptional value heritage, decided to reopen the discussion on the opportunity of submitting the design in a public debate, organised with locals, NGOs, and the Institution of the Chief Architect of the Mureș County Council. Developed in 2011, the design proposes solutions with a major impact on the historic building and the cultural landscape of the locality, including the *reconstruction* of the missing elements (walls, roofs, galleries, and wall walk).

Under the impression of the irreversible distortion by *reconstruction* of the related and neighbouring historic buildings, Rupea and Râșnov castles, produced through the same financial exercise, the quasi-unanimous conclusion of the debate was that the design would not be submitted in the existing form.

o atitudine prudentă și transparentă a deciziilor, manifestată, între altele, și prin consultarea publică. În timp ce casele din situl UNESCO sunt valoroase prin număr și frecvență, Cetatea Saschiz este unică și ultima rămasă neatinsă de intervenții în ultimele patru secole. În cazul ei, *autenticitatea* trebuie să primeze *integrității* (foto 12).

## Concluzii

■ Se poate aprecia că, în cazul arhitecturii vernaculare, etosul locului, tradițiile constructive vii sau latente pot echivala, pentru *reconstrucție*, cu o *documentație completă și detaliată care exclude ipoteza*, cerută de Carta de la Veneția.

Având în vedere că problema cea mai sensibilă a sitului *Sate cu biserici fortificate din Transilvania* este că fondatorii săi nu se mai află în Transilvania, putem considera *reconstrucția* de către noii deținători ai patrimoniului construit săsesc o ocazie de înțelegere, însușire și perpetuare prin practică nemijlocită<sup>15</sup> a geniului și spiritului civilizației creatoare.

<sup>15</sup> În sensul Cartei privind patrimoniul construit vernacular (1999).



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In July 2016, Saschiz Town Hall posted an online questionnaire on the opportunity of the refuge castle's conservation design, including several questions regarding proposals for the functions of the castle towers (which implies *rebuilding* the floors, roofs, galleries and the wall walk).

The image of the Saschiz Refuge Castle (inhabited by a watchman until the 1960s), with roofs on towers, galleries, and on the wall walk, seems accessible due to the relatively rich graphic and photographic documentation, from the survey developed by the students of the Budapest Royal Superior School of Construction in 1912 (FOERK 2002, 1-21) to those developed by the students of the "Ion Mincu" University of Architecture and Urban Planning in Bucharest from the 1960s (Releveu nr. Rv. 519, 1963) (Figure 1), or from the photo published by Emil SIGERIUS in 1900 to those of visitors in the 1960s (Photo 11). At the same time, it persists in the memory of the place, which can be used for the *reconstruction* design.

However, the simple juxtaposition of drawings and photos demonstrates the differences in vision and interpretation that leave room for that "conjecture" for *reconstruction* forbidden by the principle of the Venice Charter.

Missing, for example, the angle of the roof slope or the start of its curvature towards the base could be disastrous for the conservation work's credibility and traumatising for the individual and collective memory.

It is worth noting that the exercise gained during the management of the UNESCO site has altered the local administration's vision and has led to a prudent and transparent attitude regarding decisions, manifested, among other things, also through public consultation. While the houses in the UNESCO site are valuable through number and frequency, the Saschiz Castle is unique and the last one untouched by interventions in the last four centuries. In its case, *authenticity* must prevail over *integrity* (Photo 12).

### Conclusions

■ It can be appreciated that, in the case of vernacular architecture, the ethos of the place, the living or dormant constructive traditions can equate, for *reconstruction*, with the *complete and detailed documentation that excludes conjecture* required by the Venice Charter.

Considering that the most sensitive issue of the *Villages with Fortified Churches in Transylvania* site is that its founders are no longer in Transylvania, we can consider the *reconstruction* by the new owners of the Saxon built heritage an opportunity for understanding, appropriation, and perpetuation through direct practice<sup>15</sup> of the genius and spirit of the creative civilisation.

<sup>15</sup> In the sense of the Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage (1999).

■ KLANICZAY Péter<sup>1</sup>

## Authenticity and Reconstruction in Historic Building Conservation

30-YEAR EXPERIENCE IN HISTORIC BUILDING INSPECTION

■ **Abstract:** In the past 30 years almost everything has changed in terms of the historic building-related practices and the theoretical groundings that were once considered appropriate. According to the earlier practice, the professional dilemmas were dealt with by the centrally managed authorities, with the guidance of the knowledgeable, experienced senior colleagues. The only operating office at the time (the National Inspectorate for Historic Building Conservation, henceforth OMF) was the one deciding in issues regarding conservation, done with some ministry control, but going over the heads of almost all local architectural authorities, and generally carried out the works that mostly lasted for years without any building permits.

The theoretical basis for the practice adopted after the war was given by the famous colleagues working in Hungary from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in accordance with the guidelines of the international charters. Moreover, in some cases certain Hungarian examples had even preceded them. By the time the Venice Charter was adopted, a new generation had already contributed with many a successful example to supporting the short and laconic definitions of the charter with practical examples. These historic buildings displayed in the "pure style" of the time, in a sound manner even in the international context, what was expected of them in the new technical, international architectural trends in line with the spirituality of the charters.

By the end of the '80s a lot was questioned also on an international level in the practice of historic building conservation, mostly due to the postmodern trends. In our country a whole series of debates lingered on, concerning the steps to be taken in historic building conservation, ending in 1986 with the short bulleted "catechism" of the OMF.

The new generation treated certain issues from a new perspective in the '90s. By the turn of the century the former principles had almost completely changed and the pursuit of deadlines, political commission,

## Hitelesség és rekonstrukció a műemlék-helyreállításban

HARMINC ÉV MŰEMLÉK-FELÜGYELETI MUNKA TAPASZTALATAI

■ **Kivonat:** Az utóbbi 30 évben igen sokat változott szinte minden, ami hozzájárult az egykor helyesnek vélt műemléki gyakorlathoz és elméleti megalapozottságához. A korábbi gyakorlat szerint a szakmai dilemmákat a központilag irányított hivatalok a régi, nagy tudású, tapasztalt kollégák iránymutatásával kezelték. Az akkor működő egyetlen hivatal (Országos Műemlékvédelmi Felügyelőség, a továbbiakban OMF) némi minisztériumi kontrollal, szinte minden más helyi építési hatóság feje fölött döntött helyreállítási kérdésekben, és általában építési engedély nélkül folytatta a sokszor évekig tartó kivitelezési munkákat.

A XIX. század végétől Magyarországon működő neves kollégák adták meg a háború utáni gyakorlat elvi alapjait, s ez összecsengett a nemzetközi karták által kidolgozott irányelvekkel, sőt némely esetben szinte azokat is megelőzték egyes magyar példák. A velencei karta idejére már egy újabb generáció is számos jól sikerült példával járult hozzá a karta rövid és lakonikus meghatározásainak gyakorlati példákkal való alátámasztásához. Ezek az emlékek a maguk korában „stílustisztán” mutatták be, akár nemzetközi összehasonlításban is helytállóan, hogy a karták szellemiségének megfelelően, mit is vártak el tőlük egy új technicista, internacionális építészeti áramlat keretei között.

A 80-as évek közepére nemzetközi szinten is sok minden megkérdőjeleződött a műemléki gyakorlatban, elsősorban a posztmodern áramlatok hatására. Itthon elnyúló vitasorozat indult a műemlék-helyreállítás további mikéntjéről, amelynek lezárásaként 1986-ban megjelent az OMF pontokba szedett kiskatéja.

Az újabb építészgeneráció már új szemlélettel kezelt bizonyos kérdéseket a 90-es években. Az ezredfordulóra már szinte teljesen megváltoztak a korábbi elvi alapok, és a határidőre, politikai megrendelésre, állami reprezentációra törekvés vált egyeduralgolóvá. Háttérbe szorultak a velencei karta axiomatikus előírásai, és a 2004-es évfordulón már számos jele mutatkozott nemzetközi téren is egy új áramlatnak. A turisztikai attrakció iránti igény váltotta fel a történeti adatokon nyugvó hiteles ki egészítéseket.

Ehhez az utóbbi három évtizedhez kapcsolódik a hivatalban eltöltött felügyelői és vezetői munkásságom, amiből néhány példával mutatom be a hitelesség és rekonstrukció sokszor számos dilemmával terhes kérdését. Noha az országszerte az utóbbi évtizedekben felépült turisztikai látványosságok előkészítésében csak néhány esetben vettem részt, de a kisebb kérdések is folyamatosan próbára teszik a szakembert, és sokszor csak gyötrelmes döntések sorozata révén képes az építetői és politikai igény ellenében, hosszabb távon is értékálló hiteles döntések meghozatalára.

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<sup>1</sup> Építész, Pest Megyei Kormányhivatal, Budapest, Magyarország.



■ **Kulcsszavak:** műemlékvédelem, rekonstrukció, hitelesség, szakmai tapasztalat

■ Már báró FORSTER Gyula 1907-ben írott cikkében megjegyezte, hogy „nem könnyű a fenntartás és helyreállítás helyes arányát meghatározni” (FORSTER 1907).

1986–2016 között igen sokat változott szinte minden, ami hozzájárult az egykor helyesnek vélt műemléki gyakorlathoz és elméleti megalapozottságához. A korábbi dilemmákat a központilag irányított hivatalok és a régi, nagy tudású tapasztalt kollégák próbálták eloszlatni, olykor – szinte megfellebbezhetetlen módon – egyetlen helyes útként a saját koruk és tapasztalatuk alapján helyesnek vélt irányt a szakma egésze, főként a fiatalabb kollégák számára akarták rögzíteni. Nem is nagyon lehetett volna másként, hisz az egyetlen hivatal (OMF) némi minisztériumi kontrollal, de szinte minden más helyi építési hatóság feje fölött építkezett, s hozott rendbe templomokat, várromokat, kastélyokat, népi és városi lakóházakat, restaurált falképet, konzervált romot és szobrot.<sup>2</sup>

A jól ismert magyarországi előzmények (SCHULEK, STEINDL, majd MÖLLER, később LUX, GOSZTONYI és GERŐ) adták meg a magyar gyakorlat elvi alapjait, s ez összecsengett a nemzetközi karták által kidolgozott irányelvekkel, sőt némely esetben szinte azokat is megelőzték egyes magyar példák.<sup>3</sup>

A velencei karta idejére már egy újabb generáció is számos jól sikerült megoldással járult hozzá a karta rövid és lakonikus meghatározásainak gyakorlati példákkal való alátámasztásához.<sup>4</sup> Ezek az emlékek a maguk korában „stílusistán” mutatták be, akár nemzetközi összehasonlításban is helytállóan, hogy a karták szellemiségének megfelelően mit is vártak el tőlük egy új technicista, internacionális építészeti áramlat keretei között.<sup>5</sup>

A 80-as évek közepére a helyreállítások korábbi felfogása megkérdőjeleződött, elsősorban a posztmodern áramlatok hatására. Magyarországon is elnyúló vitasorozat indult a műemlék-helyreállítás további mikéntjéről, elsősorban a töredékesen fennmaradt, hiányzó építészeti részletekkel bíró emlékek kiegészítése kapcsán. Az OMF 1986-ban közreadott, pontokba szedett kiskatéja, máig az egyetlen hivatalos, központi irányelv volt, noha soha nem előírásként, csak mihez tartásként volt ajánlatos kezelni (HORLER 1984).

Az újabb építészgeneráció talán egy nemzedéknyi kihagyással már új szemlélettel kezelt bizonyos kérdéseket a 90-es években. Egyes munkákon még érződött a nagy elődök anyagban és formában az eredetitől megkülönböztetni akaró szándéka, de egyre több esetben már csak a korábbi anyagokkal és vélhetően hiteles vagy csak annak beállított formákkal találkoztunk. Az ezredfordulóra már szinte teljesen felborultak a korábbi elvi alapok és a határidőre, politikai megrendelésre, állami reprezentációra törekvés vált egyeduralgoddá. Háttérbe szorultak a velencei karta axiomatikus előírásai, és a 2004-es évfordulón már számos jele mutatkozott nemzetközi téren is egy új áramlatnak, ahol a

and state representations became almighty. The axiomatic provisions of the Venice Charter were overshadowed, and many signs of a new trend also became visible internationally by the 2004 anniversary. The appetite for tourist attractions replaced the authentic completions based on historical data.

My work as a supervisor and manager with the Office has to do with the aforementioned three decades, from which I shall take some examples to depict the many dilemmas of authenticity and reconstruction. Although I have participated only in a few preparations of the tourist attractions built all over the country in the last decades, the small issues also constantly put the specialist to the test, and only by a series of agonising decisions can he/she take long-term value-certain and authentic decisions against the developers' or the political requirements.

■ **Keywords:** historic building conservation, reconstruction, authenticity, professional experience

■ Baron Gyula FORSTER already noted in an article written in 1907 that “it is not easy to determine the right ratio between preservation and conservation” (FORSTER 1907).

Between 1986 and 2016 almost everything that contributed to the historic building conservation practices and their theoretical groundings that were formerly thought to be correct, has changed a great deal. The centrally managed offices and the experienced, knowledgeable senior colleagues tried to resolve the earlier dilemmas, and, relying on their age and experience, they wished to set the direction they deemed right for the entire profession, and especially for the younger colleagues, sometimes almost unquestionably as the only right way. It could not have been otherwise, as the only authority (the OMF), with some ministry control, carried out building works going over the head of any other local building authority, carrying out, thus, conservation works on churches, castle ruins, manor houses, vernacular and urban dwellings, conserving mural paintings and preserving ruins and statues.<sup>2</sup>

The well-known Hungarian antecedents (SCHULEK, STEINDL, then MÖLLER, later LUX, GOSZTONYI, and GERŐ) had set the basic principles of Hungarian practice, which was in line with the guidelines of the international charters, some of these being even forerun by some Hungarian examples.<sup>3</sup>

2 A korszakra vonatkozóan bőséges szakirodalom áll rendelkezésre, ami alapján jól nyomon követhetők az egykor tervezett és megvalósult emlékek, a *Műemlékvédelem* folyóirat egyes számaiban és a *Magyar Műemlékvédelem* Évkönyv kötetekben, továbbá CSÁSZÁR László művében (1983).

3 Többek között HORLER, DERCSÉNYI, ENTZ, MERÉNYI összegző cikkei idegen nyelven is, továbbá GERŐ László műve (1958), valamint a BARDOLY István és HARIS Andrea által szerkesztett kötet (1996).

4 Lásd FERENCZY Károly, ERDEI Ferenc, SEDLMAYR János, KOPPÁNY Tibor, HORLER Miklós osztályvezetése alatt készült munkáit.

5 ICOMOS magyar tagozatának kiadványai, Budapest, 1967, 1972, 1977, illetve HORLER Miklós tanulmánya (1971).

2 There is a vast literature regarding this age, based on which one can trace properly the designed and the actually completed works in the issues of the *Műemlékvédelem* journal and the volumes of *Magyar Műemlékvédelem* annals, as well as in the work of László CSÁSZÁR (1983).

3 The articles written in foreign languages also, by HORLER, DERCSÉNYI, ENTZ, MERÉNYI among others, and the publication of László GERŐ (1958), as well as the volume edited by István BARDOLY and Andrea HARIS (1996).

By the time the Venice Charter appeared, a new generation had already contributed with many a successful solution in supporting the short and laconic definitions of the charter with concrete examples.<sup>4</sup> These historic buildings displayed in the “pure style” of the time, in a sound manner even in the international context, what was expected of them in the new technical, international architectural trends in line with the spirituality of the charters.<sup>5</sup>

By the mid-'80s, a lot was questioned in the field of historic building conservation, mostly due to the postmodern trends. A whole series of debates lingered on concerning the next steps to be taken in historic building conservation in Hungary, too, especially related to the completion of fragmentary historic buildings and of missing architectural elements. The short bulletin “catechism” published by the OMF in 1986 was and still is the only central official guideline, recommended to be used as a rough guide and not as a rule (HORLER 1984).

Probably one generation out, the following new generation of architects already handled certain issues from a novel perspective in the '90s. Certain works still displayed the great predecessors' intentions aimed at making a distinction from the original both in terms of materials and shape, but there were many cases in which one could only encounter earlier materials and presumably authentic shapes, or shapes that were said to be authentic. By the turn of the millennium, the former principles had almost completely changed, and the pursuit of deadlines, political commission, and state representation became almighty. The axiomatic provisions of the Venice Charter were overshadowed, and many signs of a new trend also became visible internationally by the 2004 anniversary, when a more integral historical state was demanded by tourism and cultural management on behalf of the general public. The perspective of favouring tourist attractions to the detriment of modern ruin conservation and specialist publications has become a national programme today. The egregious reconstruction fever of (especially) castle ruins, along with the “we don't want to walk among knee-high ruins any more” slogan, as well as solutions meant to improve the country image, created in rush for billions and from nothing, often override even the theoretically well-grounded conceptions of the outstanding professionals that occasionally visit some of the sites (CORRADO 2001; MEZŐS 2002).

My story has been connected with this line of ideas for three decades now. I would like to present a few edifying cases, where in many instances the absence of only a small element of a bigger whole disturbed

köznép nevében a teljesebb történeti állapotot követelték turisztikai és kulturális menedzsmenti berkekben. A turisztikai attrakciót a korszerű romkonzerválásnál és a szakmai publikációknál előbbre tartó szemlélet mára már országos programmá vált. A „nem akarunk többé térdig érő romokban járni” felkiáltással, főként a várromok minden eddigi elképzelést felülmúló újjáépítési láza még az olykor az egyes munkáknál felbukkanó kiváló szakemberek elméletileg megalapozott elképzeléseit is felülírják a rohamtempóban, sokszor a semmiből, milliárdokért felépítendő, az országimáaszt javító megoldások (CORRADO 2001; MEZŐS 2002).

Ebbe a vonulatba kapcsolódik személyes történetem immár három évtizede. Ebből az időszakból szeretnék bemutatni néhány tanulságos esetet, ami olykor csak egy kis eleme egy nagy egésznek, de ha hiánya az egész látványt zavarja vagy csorbítja, hosszas dilemma után mégis csak a kiegészítés mellett döntünk. Legyen az egy hiányzó falkép részlete, vagy egy korábban csúnyán elrontott párkány újrakészítése, esetleg egy elpusztult ablakforma, vagy a többszöri átalakítást követően a helyreállítandó ablaktípus analógiák alapján történő rekonstrukciója.<sup>6</sup> Ezekre még talán senki se mondaná, hogy nem hitelesek, hiszen legjobb szakmai felkészültséggel, az emlék és a hasonló példák alapos ismeretében tettünk javaslatot, sokszor egy-egy megmaradt töredék feltárása, vagy ábrázolás nyomán határoztuk meg a helyreállítandó állapotot.

A probléma sokszor ott kezdődött, amikor az emlék egyben használati tárgy is, lakják és egyéb közhasznú funkcióval bír, s így a régebben vagy újabban elvesztett korábbi állapot újbóli felidézéséhez nemcsak funkcionális, hanem érzelmi-esztétikai okok is hozzájárulnak (elpusztult toronysisak, tetőforma, portikusz stb.). Ezek a kisebb hiányok még mindig az emészthető kategóriába tartoznak, hiszen a meglévő építménynek csak egy kis töredékét érintik. A kiegészítés, amit odagondolnánk – főként, ha azt alapos előkészítés és kutatás előzi meg – az emléket használó közösség számára értékelhető pluszként örökíti tovább az emlék által sugárzott történelmi múlt üzenetét.

Természetesen az attrakció igényével fellépők és a sokszor félrevezetett közvélemény számára már csak egy ugrás a képlet megfordítása, és néhány szakmai ambíciótól is fűtött szakember megnyerésével a korábban csak papíron létező elméleti rekonstrukciós rajzokat a modern technika segítségével virtuális látványtervekké, 3D-s modellekké, a laikusok számára is emészthető rekonstrukciós rajzokká varázsolják. Ezekhez már csak országos és helyi politikai ambíciók, fejlesztési lehetőségek, uniós pénzforrások kellene, illetve néhány ábrázolástól eltekintve, esetleg egyes részletek szerencsés módon való kiásásával szerzett részinformációk birtokában épülnek fel, általában mai anyagokból és technikával, az eredetinek beállított tömegrekonstrukciók. Ezek színvonala sok esetben meg sem közelíti a XIX. századi historizáló rekonstrukciók szakmai színvonalát, vagy esetleg ugyan művesen kialakított, s akár réginek is hihető, de semmilyen hiteles adaton nem nyugvó részletmegoldásokat tükröz, s olyan tudathasadásos tér- és tömegformák jönnek létre, amiknek káros hatását leginkább csak évtizedek múlva fogjuk megérteni.

4 See the works carried out under the guidance of Károly FERENCZY, Ferenc ERDEI, János SEDLMAYR, Tibor KOPPÁNY, and Miklós HORLER.

5 The Hungarian ICOMOS publications, Budapest, 1967, 1972, 1977, respectively the publication of Miklós HORLER (1971).

6 A számtalan idevágó példa felsorolására nincs lehetőség, de megemlíthető a budajenői Szent Péter-Pál-templom Szent Benedek-kápolnájában feltárt barokk díszítőfestés kiegészítésének többszöri zsúvizése közbeni dilemmákkal terhes döntési folyamata, vagy a telki római katolikus templom hajóján a vakolat alól kibontott egykori párkányprofil töredékeinek értelmezése és végül a párkány végleges formájának meghatározása. Az ablakkérdés messzire vezetne, de tanulságos volt a gödöllői Grassalkovich-kastély barokk ablakainak rekonstrukciós terve.





■ 1-2. kép: A helyreállított hévízgyörki Szent Márton-templom  
 ■ Photo 1-2. The Saint Nicholas' church in Hévízgyörk, after conservation

Miután bekerültem az OMF-be, még 1986 őszén tartották az I. olasz-magyar műemlékvédelmi konferenciát (KLANICZAY 1987).<sup>7</sup> Az olasz nyelvi tudásomnak köszönhetően, a konferenciát követő [Magyarországon szervezett – szerk. megjegyz.] kirándulásra én kísérhettem el az olasz professzorokat.<sup>8</sup> Ekkor többek között eljutottunk Feldebrőre is, ami akkortájt lett kész, és az OMF egyik etalonpéldájává vált. Az olaszok nem voltak annyira elragadtatva ettől, hiszen a barokk belsőben megjelenített középkori boltozati részlet – valljuk be – meglehetősen idegen látványelem. Persze tudjuk, hogy ennél jóval merészebb átalakítási variációk is voltak korábban. Az úton ismertettem az olasz vendégeknek azt az ún. kiskátét, amit az előző évben, hosszas vita után adott ki az OMF vezetősége a szakmai mihez tartás végett. Ezt hallva ők nagyon értetlenkedtek azon, hogy a magyar szakemberek az építészeti kreativitást helyezték előtérbe, amit a műemlékek helyreállítási tervezésének egyik mozgatórugójának tekintettek, s ami méltán beleillett a magyar műemlékvédelmi gyakorlat akkor uralkodó és számos példában megnyilvánuló tendenciájába.<sup>9</sup> Az olasz professzorok már akkor óva intettek minden olyan beavatkozástól, ami az emlék konzerválásával kapcsolatos lépéseken túlmegy. Ez nekem elég jó lecke volt, ehhez próbáltam tartani magamat az elkövetkezendő, főként Pest megyében töltött évtizedekben, noha akkor még nem sejtettem, hogy a később eluralkodó építészeti kreativitás a hamis történelmi kép utáni vágyakozás nyomán még a XIX. századi mestereket is megpróbálja túlszárnyalni.

Első élményem talán a hévízgyörki középkori eredetű Szent Márton-templom helyreállítása (1. és 2. képek), háború utáni szinte teljesen rommá vált állapotának felélesztése volt. A XIII–XV. századi templomot a barokk időkben kétszer is javították, átalakították, és 1945-ig még templomként használták, majd a háború után csak 1986-ban kezdtek hozzá a romok kiegészítéséhez a megelőző régészeti feltárás után. A fiatal építészekből álló lelkes csapat, HOLNAPY Dénes építész, később premontrai

or impaired the whole sight, thus we decided to complete it after a longer thinking time. This element could be the missing detail of a mural painting or the reconstruction of a ruined moulding, perhaps a destroyed window shape, or even the analogy-based reconstruction of a certain window type, that was rehabilitated after series transformations.<sup>6</sup> Nobody would consider them unauthentic, as we gave our professional recommendation with the best know-how, after a thorough research of the historic buildings and the similar examples, determining in many cases the state in which the building should be rehabilitated based on the discovery of a remaining fragment or a representation.

The problems arose in many cases when the building was also used, meaning that it was inhabited and had other public functions, and thus the re-evocation of the former state lost in the more distant or recent past was not only functional, but it also had emotional and aesthetic grounds (a ruined steeple, roof shape, portico, etc.). These smaller shortcomings are still in the digestible category, as they involve only a smaller part of the existing construction. The completion that would almost come as natural, especially if preceded by thorough preparation and research, renders the message of the historical past reflected by the building as a valuable addition for its public use.

For those in need for attractions and the often misled public there is obviously only one step to reaching a reversed formula, and by gaining a few specialists heated by professional ambitions, these can magically transform the theoretical reconstruction drawings formerly existing only on paper into virtual design plans, 3D models, and reconstruction drawings digestible by the lay with the help of modern technology. Only national and local political ambitions, development opportunities, and EU funds are needed, and the so-called original mass reconstruction of the ruins can be carried out with modern techniques and materials, having available partial information from a few representations or some fragments dug out successfully. Their professional quality does not even come close to the professional standard of the 19<sup>th</sup> century historicising reconstructions, or they reflect some partial solutions that are not based on any genuine data, although they are minutely and nicely put in shape and could be taken for old, which gives rise to schizophrenic space and volume shapes

<sup>6</sup> There is no place for the countless examples, but we can mention the difficult decision-making process during the assessment of the completion works on the Baroque murals in the Saint Benedict Chapel found in Saint Peter and Paul's Church in Budajenő, or the analysis carried out on the former moulding discovered under the rendering of the nave in the Roman-catholic church in Telk and the eventual determination of the final form of the said moulding. The issue regarding the windows could go a great length, but the reconstruction design of the baroque windows of the Grassalkovich Manor House in Gödöllő was instructive.

<sup>7</sup> A konferencia előadásai magyar és olasz nyelvű kiadványban jelentek meg. A néhány napos konferenciát sajnos további nem követte az akkori átszervezések miatt, pedig a felkért szakemberek már az előadásukat is megírták, ami kéziratban maradt.

<sup>8</sup> Közöttük volt többek között Gennaro TAMPONE, Gaetano MIARELLI MARIANI, Arnaldo BRUSCHI professzor.

<sup>9</sup> Természetesen az olaszok azért nagyra értékelték a magyar eredményeket hosszú időn keresztül, amit bizonyít Giovanni CARBONARA több írása is (1978, 1997).

whose harmful influence will be understood only after some decades.

After I started working with the OMF, the 1<sup>st</sup> Italian-Hungarian conference on historic buildings was held in the autumn of 1986 (KLANICZAY 1987).<sup>7</sup> As I was quite proficient in Italian, I was appointed to accompany the Italian professors on the study field trip [organised in Hungary – ed. note] of the conference.<sup>8</sup> On that occasion, we also went to Feldebrő, which had recently been completed, becoming one of the outstanding examples of the OMF. The Italians were not that ecstatic about it, as the mediaeval vault fragment in the Baroque interior was quite a strange sight, to be honest. We do know, however, that there had been even more risqué transformation variations earlier. On our way, I presented to the Italian guests the so-called short catechism, which had been published a year earlier, following a long debate, by the OMF management as a guideline. Hearing it, they were quite puzzled that the Hungarian specialists brought into prominence architectural creativity, which they considered an actuator of historic building conservation design, and which rightly fitted into the currently valid trend of the Hungarian historic building conservation practices that were so manifest in many examples.<sup>9</sup> The Italian professors warned us back then of all interventions that went beyond the steps necessary for the preservation of historic buildings. It was quite a good lesson for me, and I tried to observe it in the following decades spent mostly in Pest County, although I did not even suspect that the architectural creativity that would later become dominant due to the aspirations towards a fake historical image would even try to outsoar the 19<sup>th</sup> century masters.

My first experience was probably the conservation work performed on Saint Nicholas' mediaeval church in Hévízgyörk (Photos 1 and 2), meant to revive it from its almost ruinous state after the war. The church dating back to the 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries was repaired and transformed twice during the Baroque period, and was still used as a church until 1945. Then, after the war, the completion of the ruins started only in 1986, after the preliminary archaeological excavations. Through the enthusiastic team of young architects, led by architect Dénes HOLNAPY, who later became a Premonstratensian monk, and the effective support granted by Frigyes PÁLOS, provost of Hatvan, the church regained its "original" state, as we say, in two years, and served the faithful again. The overall image

7 The proceedings were published in Hungarian and Italian. The conference organised over several days was not followed by any other because of the reorganisation, although the appointed experts had already written their presentations that remained manuscripts.

8 Professors Gennaro TAMPONE, Gaetano MIARELLI MARIANI, and Arnaldo BRUSCHI, among others.

9 The Italians of course had regarded the Hungarian solutions highly for a long time, proven by several articles by Giovanni CARBONARA (1978, 1997).

rendtag vezetésével és PÁLOS Frigyes hatvani prépost hathatós támogatásával, két év alatt – ahogy általában mondani szoktuk – a templom visszanyerte „eredeti” állapotát és újra a hívőket szolgálta. Az összkép akkor nagyon meggyőző volt és úgy érzem, hogy ma is elfogadható. A gondos tervezés során az amúgy is szinte teljesen elpusztult egykori barokk kiegészítések nélkül, a középkori részletek visszaadásával készült a helyreállítás, ami máig megőrizte korabeli hangulatát, noha már egy újabb felújítás is szükségessé vált negyed évszázad után. Véleményem szerint a hiányzó részek pótlása, a nyílászárók kialakítása, az új fedés elkészítése a legszigorúbb rostán is megállják a helyüket és a hitelesség kritériumainak is megfelelnek, noha valljuk be őszintén, hogy itt azért részben rekonstrukcióról beszélhetünk. Tehát a kérdés nem kerülhető meg, és szakmai pályám elejétől fogva e körül keringtem, a szabad vagy nem szabad, a hiteles és hamis között. Nyilván lakni, élni kell, és ebben az esetben rendelkezésre álltak azok a dokumentumok és a kutatások eredményei, amik alapján itt el lehetett fogadni a végeredményt azzal a szerény hozzáállással, ami a szakemberek tudása alapján a templom teljessé tételéhez még kellett. A gondos munka eredményeként elmondható, hogy ami az egészben új, az műszakilag szükséges volt és esztétikailag nem zavaró, sőt hihető is (HOLNAPY 1989; Egy kis mustra 2013).

Hasonló példaként említeném meg a háborúban szintén megsérült és a háború után évtizedekig fokozatosan romló állapotban lévő pusztazámori remeteszécsét (4. kép). A különleges építményre már a hetvenes években születtek tervek, de több próbálkozás után csak a 90-es években nyílt lehetőség az akkorra már tényleg rommá vált (3. kép) együttes helyreállítására. A korábbi felmérések felhasználásával készült tervek és a gondos kivitelezés ISTVÁNFI Gyula professzor tehetségét dicséri, aki tervezőként elejétől fogva részt vett a munkában. Az épület elpusztult szerkezeti részeit és tömegét rekonstruálni kellett, amihez a korábbi dokumentumok és a feltárt részletek hiteles támpontot biztosítottak. Mindaz, ami viszont a használhatósághoz még kellett (berendezés, liturgikus tárgyak stb.), nyilván újratervezendő volt. A kiváló társművészek bevonásával készült alkotás így már valamennyi új, hozzáadott értékkel vált magas művészi színvonalúvá. Csak örülhetünk, hogy valakinek sikerül 30 évnyi várakozás után ilyen színvonalon gazdagítani az értékes történelmi emlékek sorát és valóban helyreállítani egy részben elpusztult, s mondjuk ki bátran, hogy méltánytalanul kevésbé ismert és talán országosan is ritka együttest (ISTVÁNFI 1998).



■ 3. kép: A romos pusztazámori remeteszécsét

■ Photo 3. The ruins of the hermitage of Pusztazámor





■ **4. kép:** A helyreállított pusztazámori remetéség  
 ■ **Photo 4.** The hermitage of Pusztazámor, after conservation

A 80-as évek végén sok munka Váchoz kötött. Akkortájt még jelentős beruházási lázzal a belváros közepén, a főter szomszédságában hatalmas lakásépítés folyt, korábban lebontott házak helyén a Széchenyi utcában. Az elvégzett megelőző régészeti kutatás jelentős középkori maradványokat tárt fel. A feltárások rengeteg tárgyi lelet mellett középkori lakóházakat és egy rendkívül jó állapotú középkori pincét is felfedtek (5. kép). A lakóházak falmaradványai sajnos a mélygarázs építésekor áldozatul estek, mivel az alapozási síkok nem egyeztek, de a pince megtartásáért harcba szálltunk. A tervezők megértették a feladatban rejlő rendkívüli lehetőséget és TÓTH Dezső vezetőtervező irányításával, valamint MIKLÓS Zsuzsa régésszel sikerült olyan programot és módosított tervet kidolgozni, amivel a beruházási vállalatot és a megyei, illetve a tanácsi vezetést meggyőzve a pince megtartása, bemutatása, sőt egy kis helytörténeti múzeum kialakítása is lehetővé vált. A feladat nehézsége abban volt, hogy a pince boltozata az új épület egyik utcai homlokzati sarokpillére alá esett, és ennek a statikai megoldása okozta legnagyobb problémát, amit végül egy bravúros keretgerenda beépítésével lehetett megoldani. A középkori pince bejárati fele az épületbe került, míg a hátsó része az út alatt volt. A belső térbe került boltozott tér – noha szépen volt falazva – kívülről hamis érzetet keltett, mert korábban ez földben volt, de most a kiállítótér részévé vált a homlokfalal együtt, amiből csak a kőkeretes gótikus ajtónyílás látszott a korábbi évszázadokban. Ezt a helyzetet kellett oly módon kezelni, hogy az egykori állapot hiteles érzetét keltsük, amit végül úgy oldottunk meg, hogy a pincét takaró egykori földtömeg virtuális megjelenítését egy függőleges metszetsíkkal képeztük ki. A kiállítótérhez képest mélyebb szinten lévő pince előtti sávot is lemélyítettük, s ennek burkolati raszterjét a homlokfal előtt egy hasonló osztású fémhálóval követtük, amiben meghagytuk a középkori ablak és a lépcsővel megközelíthető ajtó kontúrját. A föld metszetét jelentő háló mögött a megmaradt pince kontúrja érzékelhető. Ezzel az áttetsző, úgymond virtuális nézettel úgy érzem sikerült hitelesen visszaadni, vagy legalább láttatni azt az állapotot, ami egykor a középkori pincét oly sok évszázadon át a város szerves részévé tette (6. kép). A kialakított kis múzeumban az utca egykori német városrészének leleteit állították ki (KLANICZAY 1991).

A váci barokk nagypréposti palota helyreállítása (7. és 8. képek) mintegy 12 éven át tartott. A korábban kisajátított épület lakóház volt

was truly convincing, and I feel that it is also acceptable today. By careful planning, the conservation work was carried out by returning the medieval parts without the completely destroyed old Baroque completions, which has kept the spirit of the age, although another conservation was needed a quarter of a century later. My opinion is that the replacement of the missing parts, the shaping of the openings, and the new roofing can pull through even the toughest criticism and also meet the authenticity criteria, although we must admit that here we can partially talk about reconstruction. So, the questions related to whether it is allowed or not, is it authentic or fake, cannot be avoided, and I have circled them from the very beginning of my career. Obviously, we must live somewhere, and in this case we possess the documents and researches based on which one can accept this outcome with the humble addition that was needed based on the specialists' knowledge, which was required to complete the church. As a result of the thorough work, one can say that the novelties in the structure were technically necessary, are not aesthetically disturbing, and what is more, they are plausible (HOLNAPY 1989; Egy kis mustra 2013).

As a similar example, I would like to mention the hermitage of Pusztazámor (Photo 4) that was also damaged and was constantly decaying for decades after the war. Designs for the outstanding construction had already been drafted in the '70s, but after several attempts, only in the '90s was it possible to rehabilitate the ensemble that had truly become a ruin by then (Photo 3). The designs drafted using the earlier researches and the careful implementation praise the skills and talent of Professor Gyula ISTVÁNFI, who participated in the works as a designer from the beginning. The destroyed structural elements and volume of the building, for which the earlier documents and excavated parts were an authentic evidence, had to be reconstructed. However, what was needed for usability (furniture, liturgical objects, etc.), had to be redesigned. The construction, completed with the help of remarkable artist peers, reached an outstanding artistic standard with all the new added values. We can but be happy that someone managed to enrich the range of valuable historic buildings at such a standard after 30 years of waiting, and rehabilitate this nationally rare and, let us be frank, unfairly forgotten, partially ruined architectural site (ISTVÁNFI 1998).

At the end of the '80s duty had called me to Vác. It was the time when residential buildings were being erected in the historic centre with a tremendous investment fever, built on the site of the demolished houses in Széchenyi Street. The archaeological excavations carried out earlier revealed important medieval traces. The excavations revealed medieval dwellings and a fantastically well preserved medieval basement (Photo 5), as well as a great many artefacts. Unfortunately, the wall remains of the houses were sacrificed when

the underground car park was built, as the foundation levels did not match, but we fought for maintaining the basement. The designers understood the inherent outstanding possibilities, and under the coordination of senior designer Dezső TÓTH and archaeologist Zsuzsa MIKLÓS, we managed to draft a programme and an altered layout, by which we convinced the investor as well as the county and local government to preserve the cellar and display it, and what is more, it was possible to create a small local history museum. The task was difficult because the vault of the basement was beneath one of the new building's street elevation corner-pillars, and the biggest problem was to solve this issue structurally, which was eventually achieved by building in a frame beam. The access side of the medieval basement got into the building and the back under the road. The vaulted space got into the inner space, and although it displayed a nice masonry, it gave a false sensation from the exterior, as it had been in the ground earlier, but then it became part of the exhibition room together with the face wall, from which only the stone framed Gothic doorway was visible in the earlier centuries. We had to deal with this situation in such a way as to render the authentic sensation of the original state, which we eventually solved by creating the virtual visualisation of the earth mass covering the basement as a vertical section plane. We deepened the area in front of the basement, which was below the level of the exhibition room, and we followed its cladding raster in front of the face wall with a similarly patterned metal mesh, in which we left out the outline of the medieval window and the door accessible via the stairs. Behind the mesh representing the ground-level section, one can notice the outline of the basement. By this transparent, so to say virtual perspective, I believe we managed to genuinely render, or at least exhibit the state which made the medieval basement the integral part of the city for many centuries (Photo 6). The small museum exhibits the artefacts of the former German quarter (KLANICZAY 1991).

The conservation of the Baroque Great Provost Palace in Vác (Photos 7 and 8) lasted for 12 years. The previously expropriated building became a residential building starting from the 1950s, and at the end of the '80s they wanted to turn it into the Vác unit of the county museum. The works were performed in several stages, as the relocation of the many residents was not an easy job at that time either. Luckily, the building was preserved almost entirely and reflected the transformations carried out in earlier centuries very well. But the designed transformation into a museum could have brought major changes. The multi-storey building featuring a closed street front wing and two shorter wings on the courtyard side was completed by a ground-floor wing stretching along the yard. The designed transformation would have meant the demolition of the inner

az 50-es évektől, de a 80-as évek végén a megyei múzeum váci egységét akarták benne kialakítani. A munka több lépcsőben folyt, hiszen a számos lakó elhelyezése abban az időben sem volt könnyű feladat. Az épület szinte egészben megmaradt és jól tükrözte a korábbi évszázadok változásait is. A múzeum tervezett kialakítása viszont jelentős változást hozott volna. Az utca felé zártosuló, az udvar felé két rövidebb beforduló szárnyal rendelkező emeletes épületet az udvarban hosszasan elnyúló földszintes szárnyak egészítették ki. A tervezett átépítés a belső termek egybenyitásán túl, új vasbeton zárófödémeket és az udvarban körbe emeletes új bővítést javasolt volna. Ez persze jelentősen megváltoztatta volna nemcsak az épület közlekedési rendjét, hanem a szinte egyedülként fennmaradt egyházi épület egykori struktúráját is. A főrangú városi házak működési modelljének egyik mintapéldája vészett volna el. Szerencsére a lassan induló beruházás során először csak a tető és zárófödém felújítására került sor, ahol a barokk fedélszék megőrzésén túl sikerült az eredeti csapos gerendafödémeket is megmenteni a vasbeton födém már elfogadott tervének elvetésével. Kiderült ugyanis,



■ **5. kép:** A váci középkori pince feltárása  
 ■ **Photo 5.** The revealed preserved medieval basement in Vác



■ **6. kép:** A helyreállított váci középkori pince  
 ■ **Photo 6.** The medieval basement in Vác, after conservation





■ 7-8. kép: A helyreállított váci nagypréposti palota  
 ■ Photo 7-8. The Great Provost Palace in Vác, after conservation

hogy a festőrestaurátori kutatások a teljes emeleti szinten jelentős díszítőfestést tártak fel (9. kép), ami a mennyezeten is több rétegben került elő, s ennek egyedüli megmentése az eredeti födém megtartásával volt lehetséges. A zárófödémét végül restaurátorok irányításával gerendánként hozták rendbe, és a beteg részek eltávolítása után a hiányzó méretnek megfelelő elemeket egyenként pótolva, ragasztva restaurálták a födémét. Ezt követően az egész épület visszakerült a váci egyházmegyéhez, és szerencsére a funkciót alapvetően nem akarták megváltoztatni. Egyházmegyei múzeum céljára kívánták hasznosítani, de úgy, hogy az épületen semmilyen új bővítés ne történjen. Ez volt a legjobb megoldás, ami a 90-es években egyedülálló eredményt hozott. Kiemelném, hogy a már a XVIII. században is többször átalakított udvari homlokzat, ami korábban részben nyitott loggiákkal rendelkezett, a kutatások során újra előkerült töredékek alapján visszanyerte a korábbi állapot legfontosabb részeit, ami ma az épület ékessége is egyben. Természetesen az emeleten feltárt többretegű, barokk-rokoko-klasszicista díszítőfestésből a legjobb megtartású és leginkább bemutatható réteg gondos elemzésével a teljes belső helyreállítása megtörtént, ami a kiegészített lépcsőházzal csak tovább erősíti a rekonstruált belső téregyüttes hitelességét (KLANICZAY 2005; SOMORJAY 2005).

walls, as well as a new reinforced concrete slab, and the construction of a new storey around the courtyard. Not only would it have obviously changed the access directions in the building, but it would have also altered the former structure of this almost uniquely preserved ecclesiastical building. It would have led to the disappearance of an example of the functioning model of noble urban dwellings. Fortunately, during the slow investment process, the roof and the roof slab were rehabilitated first, in which, beyond the preservation of the Baroque roof, we also managed to save the original slab of adjoining beams by rejecting the already approved reinforced concrete slab. As it turned out, the painting conservation works revealed a remarkable mural painting (Photo 9), which was discovered in several layers on the ceiling as well, and the only possible way to preserve this was by keeping the original slab. The roof slab was eventually rehabilitated under the restorers' supervision, and after having removed the decayed parts, they replaced and glued the missing elements individually in the required size, conserving thus the slab. Later the entire building returned to the Bishopric of Vác, and fortunately they did not intend to change its basic function. They wanted to use it as the museum of the diocese without performing any expansion works. It was probably the best solution that led to a unique outcome in the '90s. I would highlight that the yard elevation that had been transformed several times in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, featuring open loggias in the past, regained the main elements of its earlier state thanks to the fragments discovered during the research, which are the best feature of the building today. The interior was fully rehabilitated thanks to the careful analysis and conservation of the best preserved and most presentable layer of the multi-layer Baroque, Neoclassical, and Rococo murals discovered on the second floor, which strengthens even more the authenticity of the rehabilitated interior alongside with the additional works carried out in the stairway (KLANICZAY 2005; SOMORJAY 2005).

The Royal Waiting Hall of Gödöllő (Photo 10) was presumably built in 1884 in Neo-renaissance style on the site of a former pavilion, featuring a wooden structure being designed by the engineering office of the Hungarian National Railway Company (MÁV). The royal waiting rooms already existing at the two railway stations in Budapest served as models for the waiting hall. Being seriously damaged in World War II, the waiting hall in Gödöllő was turned into a passenger traffic building at the beginning of the '60s. Its roof had burnt down, and the original arched roof structure was not rebuilt. Its interior was simplified, significantly altered, receiving a new reinforced concrete slab featuring a modernist drop ceiling of concrete reinforced with Rabitz wire mesh. The Hungarian National Railway Company and the local Government of Gödöllő took advantage of the call for applications published by the Nor-

wegian Fund, which made the complete rehabilitation and the function shift possible. The works took place at quite a fast pace in 2011. The archive photos that had not been known in the design phase, but were discovered later, made the complete exterior rehabilitation possible.<sup>10</sup> Upon demolishing the former reinforced concrete structures, the imprints of the old elements were successfully found, and based on the discovered model surfaces, the originally rich architecture of the building was regained by the authentic reconstruction of all the elements. A compromise was made upon the interior rehabilitation, as the reinforced concrete slab built in earlier could not be torn down for financial reasons, as well as stability issues. The reinforced concrete slab had been built lower than the original height, but by the demolition of the drop ceiling of concrete reinforced with Rabitz wire mesh, the size of the inner space was significantly improved. However, only one photograph was available of the interior, based on which the exact position and size of the original interior cornice could be determined. Nevertheless, the cornice running under the new drop ceiling was carried out in a smaller size. But all the exterior and interior doors and windows were successfully reconstructed in an authentic manner, with the help of some designs of the Keleti Railway Station's waiting hall that were kept in the archives, as well as the old type plans made by MÁV. The rehabilitation of the cast iron platform roofs was helped, besides the archive photographs, by the existing or novel analogies, as well as the impressions of the old grips revealed in the walls. The layout was restored with the help of the surveys carried out in the '60s and the foundation of the former partitions discovered under the floor level. The biggest challenge was the reconstruction of the roof structure. In order to recreate the original as faithfully as possible, they had to insist on the noble aspect rendered by natural slate, and the incredibly minute ornamental tinwork elements shaped to the finest details. The attic above the projections that emphasised the central part of the main view, adorned in the past with precious reliefs, had to be rebuilt. According to the original idea, only the coats-of-arms in the central fields would have been redone, as there were insufficient documents at the time about the former ornaments on the sides, but based on the photographs discovered during the works, the elegant festoon decorations on the sides were recreated, at least on the more visible side facing the railway (HAJÓS 2013; DOBOSYNE ANTAL& NAGY 2016; Egy kis mustra 2011).

The former, highly valuable coffered ceiling in the Calvinist Church of Tök, almost unique in Pest County, had to be torn down at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century because of a fire, and the hardly a dozen



■ 9. kép: A feltárt díszítőfestés a váci nagypréposti palotában  
 ■ Photo 9. The revealed mural painting of the Great Provost Palace in Vác

A gödöllői királyi váró (10. kép) egy korábbi favázás pavilon helyére, feltehetően 1884-ben épült neoreneszánsz stílusban, a MÁV akkori mérnöki irodájának tervezésében. A váró előképei a két budapesti pályaudvaron kialakított királyi várók voltak. A gödöllői váró a II. világháborúban súlyosan károsodott. A 60-as évek elején jelentős átalakításokkal utasforgalmi épületté alakították. Teteje leégett, az eredeti íves tetőszerkezet nem épült vissza. Belsejét leegyszerűsítették, jelentősen átalakították, új vasbeton födémet kapott, modernista betonrabc álmennyezettel. A MÁV Zrt. és Gödöllő Város Önkormányzata a Norvég Alapból származó támogatásból az épület teljes helyreállítását és funkcióváltását megvalósította. A kivitelezés 2011-ben történt igen feszített ütemben. A tervezés idején még nem ismert, de időközben előkerült archív felvételek lehetővé tették a külső teljes helyreállítását.<sup>10</sup> A korábbi vasbeton szerkezetek elbontásakor sikerült rögzíteni az egykori tagozatok lenyomatait, s a megtalált mintafelületek alapján az összes tagozat hiteles helyreállításával az épület eredeti gazdag architektúrája is visszaállításra került. A belső helyreállítása során kompromiszumos megoldás született, mivel a korábban beépített vasbeton födémet a felmerülő költségek és állékonysági problémák miatt elbontani nem lehetett. A vasbeton födém az eredeti magasságnál lejjebb épült, de a betonrabc álmennyezet elbontása révén jelentősen sikerült a belső tér méretein javítani. A belsőről viszont csak egyetlen felvétel áll rendelkezésre, ami alapján rekonstruálható lett volna az eredeti belső párkányzat pontos helye és mérete. Ehhez képest csökkentett mérettel készült el az új álmennyezet alatt futó zárópárkány. Teljes mértékben sikerült viszont a külső és belső nyílászárók hiteles rekonstrukciója a Keleti pályaudvarban épült váró néhány megmaradt archív tervlapjának és a MÁV egykori típusterveinek segítségével. Az öntöttvas perontetők helyreállítását az archív felvételeken kívül a még létező vagy újabban készült analógiák és a falazatokban feltárt korábbi befogások lenyomatai segítették. Az alaprajz helyreállítását a 60-as évekből fennmaradt felmérési rajzok és a padlósínt alatti egykori válaszfalak alapozása tette lehetővé. A legnagyobb kihívást a tetőzet rekonstrukciója jelentette. Az eredeti megjelenés legjobb visszadása érdekében ragasz-

<sup>10</sup> The drawings were made under the coordination of architect Tibor HAJÓS, and many professionals took part in the preparations and the implementation works.

<sup>10</sup> A tervek HAJÓS Tibor építész vezetésével készültek és számos szakember vett részt az előkészítésben és a kivitelezési munkában.





10. **kép:** A helyreállított gödöllői királyi váró

11. **kép:** A helyreállított üllői római katolikus templom

12. **kép:** A helyreállított bagi templomtorony

■ **Photo 10.** The Royal Waiting Hall of Gödöllő, after conservation

■ **Photo 11.** The Roman-catholic church in Üllő, after conservation

■ **Photo 12.** The tower of the Bag's church, after conservation



kodni kellett a természetes pala nemes felületet biztosító látványához és a hihetetlen aprólékos díszműbádogos-munkák legapróbb részletekig való kidolgozásához. A fő nézetek közepét hangsúlyozó rizalitok feletti attikát újjá kellett építeni, amelyeket egykor igényes domborművek díszítettek. Az eredeti elképzelés szerint csak a középső mezőkben elhelyezkedő címerek készültek volna újjá, mivel akkor még nem volt elegendő dokumentum a szélső mezőkben található egykori díszítésekről, de a munkák során előkerült felvételek alapján legalább a jobban látható vasút felőli oldalon sikerült elérni a szélső mezők elegáns füzérdíszének rekonstrukcióját (HAJÓS 2013; DOBOSYNÉ ANTAL & NAGY 2016; Egy kis mustra 2011).

Tökön a református templomban az egykori értékes – és Pest megyében szinte egyedülálló – kazettás mennyezetet egy tüzeset miatt a XX. század elején elbontották, és a megmaradt alig egy tucat festett táblát az Iparművészeti Múzeumban helyezték el, majd később ezzel díszítették a Bartók-émlékházat. Az egyházközség, miután az eredetieket nem kaphatta vissza, kérelmezte, hogy a táblákat másolatban megfestessék, és a többi hiányzó, jelentős számú táblát hasonló motívumokkal megfestve, az egykori famennyezet rekonstrukcióját kívánta elvégezni. Az évekig tartó festési és elhelyezési munka néhány éve már befejeződött, de emlékszem, hogy az újonnan festett táblák tervezett szín- és formavilágának megítélése nem kevés szakmai fejtörést okozott a szakértőknek, hogy a hiteles másolatok mellett az új elemek ne kapjanak erősebb hangsúlyt, vagyis a meglévő táblák másolata domináljon. A megmaradt táblák pontos helyét nem lehetett megállapítani, de érthető módon, azok kerültek az Úr asztala fölé az új elrendezésben, hiszen azok voltak a leghitelesebb darabok. Hasonlóan érdekes kérdés volt ugyanitt egy elvágott festett padelőlappal nagyobbik darabja, aminek csak kiegészítő volt létjogosultsága. A meglévő rész restaurálása mellett az egykori virágmintás, madarakkal és gyümölcskosárral díszített, két mezőre osztott elrendezés bizonyos szimmetrikus sajátosságait kihasználva a motívum rekonstruálható volt. Viszont komoly szakmai

painted panels were transferred to the Museum of Applied Arts, later embellishing Bartók's memorial house. As the parish did not get the originals back, it requested the permission to have some copies of the panels repainted alongside with the many other missing panels that would feature similar patterns, in order to have the original ceiling reconstructed. The years-long painting and emplacement works were completed a few years ago, but I can remember that the designed colours and patterns of the newly painted panels gave a lot of headache to the specialists, so that the new elements that would accompany the true copies would not be highly toned, that is to say, the copies of the existing panels would dominate. The original placement of the remaining panels was unknown, however it is understandable that they were placed above the communion table in the new arrangement, as they were the more genuine pieces. There was also a similarly interesting issue that regarded a bigger piece of a painted parapet that had belonged to a cut up pew, which would have made sense only if completed. Along with the conservation of the remaining piece, the pattern could be reconstructed due to the somewhat symmetrical particularities of the two-part layout adorned with flowers, birds, and a fruit basket. But there were serious professional consultations as to the extent of the tone and formal completeness, and what is more, it also arose that the missing motifs should appear only as fragmented indications, but later the more concrete and complete appearance won, as the entire panel could be interpreted only in this manner, and the logic of the motif required it.

I would like to illustrate by a few examples the professional issues related to ecclesiastical historic buildings, more precisely church towers, which are already known but still arising in many cases today, as they are again on the agenda because of the need for rehabilitation and reconstruction of the former, later ruined or altered spires or the towers.

Many churches were destroyed in the country during World War II, but mostly during the battles around Budapest (BOTTYÁN 1950). The Roman Catholic church in Üllő (Photo 11) was a half ruin after World War II, its tower partially collapsed, but it was rebuilt in the '50s, as they had a picture of its original condition at hand. During the latest conservation we were able to verify the rehabilitated parts at a close range, which proved a better craftsmanship than the final results that we encounter as the outcome of multiple unprofessional, so-called repair works of many existing buildings (Egy kis mustra 2015). The bombed tower in Bag was also reconstructed, featuring significant simplifications and, as discovered later, a slight increase in height and the alteration of the elevation's original proportions (Photo 12). It regained its former architectural details, as well as the arch above the clock, only after the major conservation works carried out a few years ago. Thus, the architectural details at least remind us of the original state. It was however impossible to restore the original height of the tower because of earlier interventions with reinforced concrete. Nevertheless, it can be said that the earlier bleak aspect, which could be criticised from many points of view, became more genuine thanks to the professional design and careful implementation, but still it is not authentic from a strictly professional point of view. But more importantly, it gave back its general look to the local community, and being familiar with the whole process, I can state that they could not have done more from the professional point of view (Egy kis mustra 2012).<sup>11</sup> There were also other similar examples countrywide, such as the example in Hajdúbagos (Hajdú-Bihar Co.), where the tower of the Calvinist church was shelled in 1944 and the partial state of conservation was preserved until 1970, when they finally had the possibility to complete the works on the tower and the spire. We are also aware of the need to rebuild one of the towers of the Greek Catholic church on the bank of the Danube in Pest, shelled during the war, which was important not only from the point of view of the church, as it had been built with twin towers, but the building completed by Miklós YBL was also an essential element of the overall urban scenery. Based on the representations of the time, the two towers were identical, and thus the issue of authenticity could not have been questioned during the reconstruction of the missing tower. The tower proper has already been completed, but only the structure of the extremely rich, multi-levelled ornamental tinwork roof has been completed so far for lack of financial resources. The reconstruction of the mighty onion dome of

egyvezetések voltak, hogy az egyes részletek erőssége, formai teljessége meddig menjen, sőt felmerült, hogy a hiányzó motívumok csak foltszerűen jelenjenek meg, de végül a konkrétabb és teljesebb megjelenés győzött, hiszen csak így volt az egész tábla értelmezhető, és a motívum logikája is ezt kívánta.

Néhány példával illusztrálva szeretném bemutatni az egyházi templomtornyokkal kapcsolatban azt a nem csak szakmai kérdést, ami az egykori, de később elpusztult vagy megváltozott sisakok, olykor toronytestek visszaállítása, rekonstrukciós igénye miatt egyre inkább napirenden van.

Sok templom sérült meg a II. világháborúban országszerte, de különösen a Budapest környéki harcok alatt (BOTTYÁN 1950). Üllő római katolikus temploma (11. kép) a II. világháború után félig romokban volt, tornya részben leomlott, de már az 50-es években visszaépítették, amihez a korábbi állapot képe még rendelkezésre állt. A legutóbbi felújításkor közelebről is megvizsgálhattuk az akkor helyreállított részleteket, amelyek sokkal jobb mesterre vallanak, mint egyes álló épületeknél a többszöri szakszerűtlen, úgymond „eltatarozás” eredményeként ránk maradt végeredmény (Egy kis mustra 2015). Bagon is visszaépítették a lebombázott tornyot, ami jelentős egyszerűsítésekkel – és mint utóbb kiderült – kicsit megnövelt magassággal, valamint az eredeti homlokzati arányok megváltoztatásával történt meg (12. kép). Csak az utóbbi években folyt nagyarányú helyreállítás során kaphatta vissza részben az egykori tagozatait, valamint az óra ívét. Így legalább az építészeti részletképzés a korábbi állapotra utal. A torony eredeti magasságát visszaállítani a korábbi vasbeton erősítések miatt már nem volt lehetőség. Ezzel együtt elmondható, hogy a korábbi sivár és sok szempontból kifogásolható állapot a hozzáértő tervezés és gondos kivitelezés eredményeként hihetőbb lett, noha szigorúan vett szakmai szempontból nézve nem hiteles. De, ami a legfontosabb, hogy a templomot használó helyi közösség számára visszahozta a korábbi megszokott látványt és ismerte az egész folyamatot elmondhatom, hogy ennél többet szakmailag sem lehetett tenni (Egy kis mustra 2012).<sup>11</sup> De az országban máshol is volt hasonló példa, mint Hajdúbagoson (Hajdú-Bihar megye), ahol a református templom tornyát még 1944-ben érte találat, és a részleges állagvédelem egészen 1970-ig fennállt, amikor végre lehetőség volt a torony és a sisak teljes kiegészítésére. Ismert a pesti Duna-parton található görögkatolikus templom háborúban elpusztult egyik tornyának visszaállítási igénye is, ami nemcsak a templom szempontjából fontos, mivelhogy kéttornyú formában épült, de a városképnek is jellegzetes eleme volt az YBL Mikós által befejezett alkotás. A korabeli ábrázolások alapján a két torony teljesen egyforma volt, s így hitelességi kérdés nem merülhet fel a hiányzó torony felépítése kapcsán. A toronytest már vissza is épült, de a rendkívül gazdag kialakítású, többszintes díszműbádogos remekműből csak a szerkezeti váz épült meg eddig anyagi hiányában. Hitelesnek mondható a százhalombattai görögkeleti szerb ortodox templom tekintélyes kiülése hagymasisakjának visszaállítása, a háborúban megsérült toronyra épített egyszerű gúlaforma helyett, ugyanis a rendelkezésre álló fényképen kívül még előkerült az egykori császárfá is több darabban, amin az egykori csapolások helyei a magassági méretek meghatározását segítették. Így a megfelelő szerkesztési szabályok alapján a formai kialakítás lehetővé vált. A munka során a torony elpusztult tagozatai is visszakerültek, ami az egykori állapot teljesebb képével gazdagítja az együtttest. A nagy munka érdekessége volt, hogy a sisak elemeit elő-

11 Designer: architect Máttyás ÁGÓ.

11 Tervező: ÁGÓ Máttyás építész.



szőr a földön, a gödöllői építési telepen rakták össze, és a sikeres próba után szétszedve szállították a helyszínre, ahol már a végleges helyén állították fel (POMOZI 1999).<sup>12</sup>

A meglévő toronysisakok teljes vagy részleges cseréjére is alkalmanként sor kerül. Nem állítom, hogy mindig a szakmailag leginkább elfogadható megoldás történik, hiszen a jelentős költségű és időigényes munka függ a templomot fenntartó közösségtől. Az építetói oldalról érthető elvárás sokszor szakmai vitákat szül, hiszen az évszázados fakötések és formai megoldások – amennyiben műszakilag tarthatók – nagyszerű bizonyítékai az egykori mesterségbeli tudásnak. A megtartható elemekért való küzdelem nagy tapasztalatot igényel egyrészt a felügyelet részéről, másrészt csak jól felkészült ácsok tudják a régi szerkezetet a megfelelő kiegészítéssel megmenteni. Sokszor tapasztaljuk, hogy a munka kezdetén még megtartásra javasolt elemek is szép lassan eltűnnek, egyrészt mert a megrendelők félnek a régi elemeket benntartani, másrészt a pontatlan ácsmunka miatt a régi és új faanyag összedolgozása nehézkes, több időbe kerül. A vállalkozó jobb szeret teljesen újat készíteni, s ezért mindent megtesz, hogy bebizonyítsa a régi faanyag jelentős károsodását. Tanulságos volt a vácrátóti templom magas, többszörösen lépcsőző hagymasisakjának újjáépítése, ahol ugyan elemenkénti felmérés segítette a munkát, hogy minél több szerkezeti részlet és elem megmaradjon. A kivitelező viszont abban volt érdekelt, hogy minél több fát használjon fel, és folyamatosan vizsgálta a faelemeket, bizonyítandó korhadt vagy túlzottan károsodott voltát, s így a végére az alsó keretálláson és a császárfán kívül mindent kicseréltek, sőt még a hagymaívek egyébként alig károsodott ramonádjait is.<sup>13</sup> A közel három hónapig tartó munka épp az első hóesésre fejeződött be 2009-ben, s az újra elkészített keresztet karácsonyra helyezték fel a sisakra. A sisak faszerkezetének szétszedésekor több korábban nem látható átalakítás nyomát is felfedeztük, amit az újraszerkesztéskor nagyrészt kijavítottunk, de az egyik vízszintes keretálláson talált csaplyukak okára sajnos későn jöttem rá, és közben a régi méretek alapján már az ácsok leszabták az új anyagot, s így a későbbi átalakítást ezen a ponton nem tudtuk kijavítani, de ez az eredeti méretekben nem okozott eltérést. Ettől eltekintve az újjáépített sisak hiteles munkának bizonyult.<sup>14</sup>

Amennyiben a toronysisak újjáépítése mellett kell dönteni a faanyag állapota miatt, úgy gyakran a teljes sisak leemelését szorgalmazzák, mert akkor általában állványozási költség nélkül oldható meg a feladat.<sup>15</sup> Azonban sokszor ilyenkor nem gondolnak a toronytesthez és elsősorban a párkányhoz való csatlakozásra, s mivel ehhez nem férnek hozzá a sisak daruval történő leemelésénél, ezért számos későbbi probléma forrása lehet ez a kivitelezési gyakorlat. Gyakran a sisak faszerkezetének talpgerendái nincsenek vízszintben, a párkányok hullámosak, az óraív nem szabályos, és ezért a mérnöki módon újjáalkotott szerkezet

the Serbian Orthodox church in Százhalombatta can be considered genuine, instead of the simple pyramidal helm that had been built on the tower damaged during the war, as besides the available images, an old crownpost in several pieces was also discovered, on which the positions of the old joints helped in determining the height measurements. Thus, based on the appropriate design rules, the shaping became possible. During the works, the damaged parts of the tower were discovered enriching the whole construction with a fuller picture of its former state. An interesting aspect of the works was that the elements of the spire were assembled first on the ground at the building site in Gödöllő, and after a successful trial, they were dismantled and transported on the site to be mounted in their final position (POMOZI 1999).<sup>12</sup>

Existing spires have also been completely or partially replaced on occasion. I cannot state that the best professionally acceptable solutions are adopted every time, because the highly expensive and time consuming works depend on the community supporting the church. The investors' comprehensible expectations give rise to disputes in many cases, as the centuries old wooden joints and formal solutions, if they are technically sustainable, are great proofs of previous craftsmanship. The fight for the preservable elements requires vast experience from the inspectors on the one hand, while on the other hand, only highly skilled carpenters know how to save the existing structure with the appropriate new completions. Unfortunately, we have noticed many times that the elements proposed for conservation at the very beginning gradually disappear, partly because the beneficiaries are afraid to keep the old elements inside, and partly because of unprofessional carpentry works that render difficult the joining of the old and new timber elements, thus more time is needed. The contractors would rather build a new structure from scratch and go to great lengths to prove that the old timber is significantly decayed. The reconstruction of the tall, multi-levelled onion dome of the church in Vácrátó was an edifying case, during which the survey was carried out element by element, and we were on site almost all the way, so that more structural elements and parts could be preserved. However, the contractor was interested in using as much timber as possible and had the timber elements checked constantly, in an attempt to prove that they were rotten or extremely damaged, thus replacing everything but the lower frame and the crown post, even the slightly damaged circular formwork of the dome arches.<sup>13</sup> The works lasting for almost three months were completed by the first snowfall in 2009, and the remade cross was placed on the spire by Christmas. Upon dismantling the spire's timber structure, we discovered the traces of earlier transformations that we had not been aware of, which were rectified upon the restructuring works, but I realised the role of the mortises on the horizontal frame too late, and

12 A helyreállítás tervezője POMOZI István.

13 Mivel a gyönyörűen összeácsolt ramonádokból kettőt jelenleg otthon őrzök a pincében mentő gyanánt.

14 A templomtorony és a homlokzatok felújítási terveit JELENIK Katalin építész készítette, de sajnálatos halála miatt a kivitelezés alatti művezetés és a részletrajzok készítése rám maradt. A munka négy hónapja alatt szinte hetente a helyszínen kellett lenni a toronysisak szétszedésétől kezdve, a párkányok feltárásáig, azok pontos rögzítéséig. A toronysisak részletes felmérése, az egyes tagozati lépcsők és díszműbádogos részletek rajza is elkészült, továbbá az összes hiányzó homlokzati tagozat elhelyezését és újrakészítését egyenként kellett ellenőrizni.

15 Az utóbbi években ÓCSAI Sándor ács-bádogosmester több toronysisak leemelését és cseréjét végezte el a korábbi forma megtartásával Pest megyében: ráckevei római katolikus templom 2006-ban, bugyi-i református templom 2008-ban, tinnyei római katolikus templom 2010-ben, gyömrői református templom 2012-ben, albertirsai evangélikus templom 2015-ben.

12 The rehabilitation was led by István POMOZI.

13 Because I felt pity for the wonderfully assembled formworks, I keep two of them at home at present in my basement.

meanwhile the carpenters had already cut the new material to measure, thus the subsequent transformations could not be rectified from here on, but it did not deviate from the original measurements. Apart from this, the newly reconstructed spire proved to be an authentic work.<sup>14</sup>

If a decision is made to reconstruct the spire because of the state of the timber, people often push to remove the entire spire, because in this case the works can be carried out without additional scaffolding costs.<sup>15</sup> But in many such cases they do not think about the manner in which it is joined to the tower and the cornice, and as the area is not accessible when the spire is removed by crane, this can cause several implementation-related problems later. Often the lower plates of the spire's timber structure are not perfectly levelled, the cornices are wavy, the clock's arch is irregular, and that is why the newly engineered structure simply does not fit into its place or hardly fits into its place, and the problems it causes requires further masonry works. It may occur that the formal shaping of the cornice was simplified earlier and thus the drip edges of the meanwhile renewed roofing become shorter, too. If it is not paid attention to, then in the case of a missing professional solution, the mistake will be recreated, which would later prevent the genuine rehabilitation of the cornice. We were able to thoroughly analyse the arched spire shape in Tinnye only after having removed it. Unfortunately, most of the timber had to be replaced, but formally it could be reconstructed authentically. The completed spire was repositioned without scaffolding, with the help of a crane, when it turned out that the new tower was adjusted to the size of the formerly improperly repaired cornice and arch of the clock, and what was more, the surface was not levelled either because of the uneven settling of the tower. Thus, during the works on the elevations done years later, it was tremendously painstaking to acceptably repair the elements, to bring completions to the height differences, i.e. as the specialists say, to bring the cornice together. Nevertheless, the outcome after many years of decay and desolation was much better for

<sup>14</sup> The conservation drawings of the church tower and the elevations were made by architect Katalin JELENIK, but because of her unfortunate death, the coordination of the implementation works and the preparation of the detailed drawings became my duty. During the four months the works lasted for, I had to be on site almost every week, from the dismantlement of the spire and the uncovering of the cornices to the exact determination of their position. The detailed analysis on the spire, the drawings of the steps in the elements and the details of the ornamental tinworks were completed, then I had to check the position of each elevation element and the reconstructions thereof.

<sup>15</sup> In the past years carpenter and tinsmith Sándor OCSAI carried out around Pest County the unroofing and replacement of several spires by preserving their earlier shape: the Roman-catholic Church in Ráckeve 2006, the Calvinist Church in Bugyi 2008, the Roman-catholic Church in Tinnye 2010, the Calvinist Church in Gyömrő 2012, and the Lutheran Church in Albertirsa 2015.

egyszerűen nem, vagy csak erőszakoltan megy a helyére, és a keletkező problémák a későbbi kőművesmunkára maradnak. Előfordul még, hogy a párkány formai kialakítását már korábban leszegényítették, és az időközben megújított toronyfedés vízorrképzése így rövidebbé válik. Amennyiben erre nem figyelnek, akkor a szakszerű megoldás hiányában a hibás részeket újrakészítik, ami később a párkány hiteles helyreállítását akadályozza meg. Tinnyén a nyomott, íves sisakforma részletes vizsgálatát a leemelést után tudtuk csak elvégezni. Sajnos a faanyag túlnyomó részét cserélni kellett, de formailag hitelesen újrakészíthető volt. A kész sisakot állványozás nélkül, daruval helyezték vissza, ekkor derült ki, hogy a régebben rosszul kijavított párkány és óraív méretéhez igazodott az új torony, sőt a fogadószint sem volt vízszintes a torony egyenetlen süllyedése miatt. Így az évekkel későbbi homlokzati munkák során rettenetes kínlódás volt a tagozatok elfogadható kijavítása, a magassági eltérések pótlása, vagyis – ahogy szakberkekben mondják – a zárópárkány összezsugorodása. Mégis a végeredmény, az évtizedek óta elárvult és elhanyagolt állapot után, nagyságrendileg jobb lett mindenki számára és szakmai szempontból is vállalható (Egy kis mustra 2014).<sup>16</sup>

Különösen nehéz feladat az egykori, akár 100–200 évvel ezelőtt elpusztult toronysisakok kérdése. Számos esetet ismerünk, amikor csak az emlékekben maradt fenn, vagy néhány korabeli metszet, illetve – már a XIX. század végén – néha képeslap áll rendelkezésre az egykori torony kinézetéről. Több esetben vihar, tűzvész, esetleg földrengés, vagy csak a fizikai avulás az oka a toronysisak pusztulásának, és általában pénzhiány miatt épült újjá egyszerűbb formában. Számolni kell azzal az esettel, hogy a helyi közösség újból az egykori szebb formát szeretné látni, ami a használatban lévő, épnek mondott emlékek összképét jelentősen megváltoztató lépéshez vezet, és nehéz dilemma elé állítja a döntéshozókat. A kérdés megválaszolására még nem született országos összesítés. A döntés is többféle a tapasztalatok alapján. Egyes esetekre jellemző, hogy az újjáépítési elképzelés mellé nem sikerült megfelelő színvonalú javaslatot készíteni, s így – a helyi közösség legnagyobb sajnálatára – az adatok hiányában a kellően megalapozott hiteles megoldást nem lehetett kidolgozni és az újjáépítést el kellett vetni. Ilyen volt a Bugyin található római katolikus templomnak az esete 2000-ben, ahol az egyszerű gúla formájú sisak helyett a korabeli képeslap bélyeg nagyságú képe alapján szerették volna a hagymasisakot visszaállítani, de mivel ezen kívül semmilyen adattal nem rendelkeztek az egykori sisakról, így a kérést nem lehetett elfogadni. Még külön szerencse, mert az egyébként újjáépítendő gúlasisak olyan csapnivaló minőségben készült, hogy vélhetően a bonyolultabb sisak építése is kudarcba fulladt volna. Viszont ismert olyan eset is, mint a ma már Dabas részét képező Sárin található római katolikus templom, ahol talán már a 70-es években lecserélték a korábbi hegyes gúlasisakot egy gömbformával gazdagított sisakra, de a végeredmény mai szemmel sajnos nagyon lehangoló, hiszen sem formailag, sem pedig részletképzésében nem mondható a templomhoz illő kialakításúnak.<sup>17</sup> Jobban sikerült, legalábbis vonalvezetésében a galgahévízi római katolikus templom új hagymasisakja 2013-ban, ahol a korábbi, még 1972-ben készült gúlasisakot a faanyag tönkremenetele miatt amúgy is el kellett bontani, s helyette a

<sup>16</sup> Tervező: PÁVA Mária építész. Azért hozzátartozik, hogy sajnos a kőművesek az előírt szemle előtt végezték el a vakolatok leverését és egyeztetés nélkül kezdték el a párkányok kihúzását. Már csak igen határozott fellépéssel lehetett bármit elérni, újrakészíttetni a sablonokat, ha szükséges volt, és a torony minden oldalán megtalálni a lehetséges legjobb megoldást a sisak méretéből adódó kényszerűség miatt.

<sup>17</sup> A sisakcsere tényleges okát még nem sikerült kideríteni, de feltételezhető, hogy itt is a háborúban elpusztult igényesebb sisak helyetti ideiglenes megoldást gondolták igényesebb formájúra változtatni – kevés sikerrel.



közösség a háború előtti barokk formavilágú állapotot kívánta ismét látni, s ehhez az archív felvételek adtak támpontot (Egy kis mustra 2013).<sup>18</sup>

Máshonnan is vannak információk a korábbi egyszerű formájú sisakok helyett barokk formavilágot tükröző toronysisakok újabb kiépítéséről, de ezek hitelességére nincsenek elegendő adatok. Például Bujákon (Nógrád megye) a Szent Márton-plébániatemplom gúla formájú sisakját 2013-ban cserélték barokkos vonalvezetésűre. Továbbá a tiszainokai református templom is új sisakot kapott 2014-ben, mivel a háborúban elpusztult sisak helyett csak egy ideiglenes sisak került annak idején.

Jelentős szakmai ellenállásba ütközött a váci Fehérek templomán, a XIX. század eleji tűzvész óta fennálló lapos gúlasisak gazdag hagymasisakkal való helyettesítésének igénye 1999-ben. Ez az elképzelés egyrészt a templomhoz tartozó történeti állapot megbontásával és a közel 200 éves tetőforma elpusztításával járt volna, s másrészt egy néhány mm-es korabeli metszetre alapozva javasolta a fennálló forma – legkevésbé sem hitelesnek mondható – új elemmel való helyettesítését. S noha Vác városa tudvaleg igen gazdag barokk építészete esetleg meg is kívánta volna az igényes kialakítást, de az akár emlékezetből is születhetett metszeten kívül semmilyen adat nem támasztotta alá az elképzelést. A műemléki tervtanács két tervező javaslatát bírálta el és a legkielelthetőbb megoldást is élénk vita után végül elutasította, ahol az alapos terv a tűzvészre utaló – a sisak alsó részén vörösrézből lángnyelveket idéző – eltérő anyaghasználatban rejlő gondolatiságot fogalmazott meg, s egyben hangsúlyozta, hogy a tendencia veszélyes precedenst teremthet, és a 200 éves forma újraalkotása nem lehet a XX. század végének építészeti felfogása. SEDLMAYR János egy későbbi írásában (1999) megjegyezte, hogy ezek a kísérletek soha nem lehetnek hitelesek.

A legutóbbi még terv formájában lévő hasonló elképzelés, a piliscsai római katolikus templom meglévő gúlasisakjának egy gazdagabb és vélhetően a korábbi formájához hasonló új hagymasisakkal való helyettesítése. A korábbi hagymasisak 1865-ben pusztult el, és fennmaradt az akkori plébános rajzvázlata, ami a korábbi forma megadásával próbálta a remélt eredeti állapot visszaállításához a szükséges pénzügyi háttérrel a püspökségtől megkapni. Sajnos már akkor sem volt mindenre fedezet, s így egyszerű gúla épült, amit a XX. században többször is módosítottak és mára rendkívül rossz állapotba került. Mégis, talán ez az új torony megépülhet a közeljövőben, ami a XIX. századi vázlat szerinti formát veszi alapul, de a fedés anyaga és fedési rajzolata határozottan mai lesz. Azt nem állíthatjuk, hogy hitelesek tudnánk lenni, de roppant alapos tervezői hozzáállással az építész rendkívüli technikai bravúrral igazolta, hogy a templom jellegéből és a korabeli szerkesztési módokból szinte csak az elképzelt verzió építhető meg.<sup>19</sup> A részletes kutatás ellenére sem sikerült perdöntő bizonyítékot találni a templom tervezőjére, bár valószínűsíthető az Esztergomban is sokat foglalkoztatott építész szerzősége, de már Esztergomban is más sisak készült, és egyetlen templom esetében sem sikerült bebizonyítani a templom formájától függő, akár rajzon vagy a valóságban megépült sisakok kizárólagosságát (OPRA & GAYLHOFFER-KOVÁCS 2016; DERCSÉNYI 1958, 646–647). Általában a legritkább esetben épült meg az a sisak, ami a kevés fennmaradt templomterven egyáltalán látható. Úgy tűnik, hogy az építőmesterek és ácsok a legkevésbé sem dolgoztak össze, s nyilván a templom felépülése után később kivitelezett sisakok már nagyjából az éppen ott dolgozó ácsmester szakmai tudásának termékei. Az átépítés indokai között még nyomós érv volt, hogy a jelenlegi toronysisak formai és szerkezeti vizsgálata az ép, korabeli elemek minimális voltát bizonyította be, s nem utolsósor-

everyone and can be professionally assumed (Egy kis mustra 2014).<sup>16</sup>

The issue of the old spires destroyed 100–200 years ago is a highly difficult task. We know many cases in which only memories have preserved the image of the old tower, perhaps a few period sketches or some postcards dating back to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In many cases these spires were damaged by storms, fires, earthquakes, or merely physical decay, and they were reconstructed in a more simple form mostly because of the lack of financing. One has to take into account that the local community would like to recreate the former, more beautiful shape, which would lead to a step significantly altering the general aspect of the so-to-say intact historic building in use, and faces the decision-makers with a dilemma. There are no nationally centralised data that would answer this question, and the decisions are manifold based on the experiences. It might be typical for some cases, that no proper quality recommendations and designs exist for the envisaged reconstruction and thus, unfortunately for the community, a well-founded authentic solution cannot be elaborated because of the lack of data, and the reconstruction has to be dismissed. Such was the case of the Roman Catholic Church in Bugyi in 2000, where they wanted to reconstruct the old onion dome instead of the simple pyramidal spire based on a stamp-sized the picture on an old postcard, but because there were no additional data on the former spire, the commission could not have been accepted. And it was mere luck, because the pyramidal spire that was planned to be reconstructed was of such poor quality that the construction of a new, more complex spire might have failed, too. But we know of other cases as well, such as the Roman Catholic Church of Sári, where the pointy pyramidal spire was replaced by one enriched with a spherical shape in the '70s, the outcome being unfortunately quite depressing for the modern taste, because it cannot be considered as matching the church neither in shape nor in terms of partial design.<sup>17</sup> The new onion dome of the Roman Catholic Church in Galgahévíz reconstructed in 2013 looked better, at least in terms of design, as the pyramidal spire built in 1972 had to be demolished because the timber had rotted, and instead of it the community wanted to see the Baroque shape that had existed before the war, and the archival images were a starting point thereof (Egy kis mustra 2013).<sup>18</sup>

16 Designer: architect Mária PÁVA. It is to be pointed out in this case that unfortunately the masons removed the rendering before the required inspection, and started forming the cornices without prior consultation. We had to be very determined in order to obtain any results, to remake the profiles, where necessary, and to find the best solution on each side of the tower because of the limitations due to the size of the spire.

17 We did not manage to find out the true reason for the replacement of the spire, but presumably it was because they wanted to change the temporary spire built instead of the more lavish one bombed in the war with a higher quality spire, with little success.

18 The designer of the pyramidal spire completed in 1972 was architect Tamás DRAGONITS, the spire was designed by architect Ágnes PATAY and structural engineer András SNABL.

18 Az 1972-ben készült gúlasisak tervezője DRAGONITS Tamás építész volt, a sisakot PATAY Ágnes építész és SNABL András statikus tervezte.

19 Az új toronysisak terveit HORVÁTH Róbert Ervin építész készítette.

There is other information as well about the reconstruction of the spires in Baroque style instead of previous, simpler shaped spires, but there is not sufficient data about their authenticity. For example, in Buják (Nógrád County), the pyramidal spire of the Saint Martin's Parish Church was replaced in 2013 by a Baroque-shaped spire. Furthermore, the Calvinist Church in Tiszainoka received a new spire in 2014, as the one bombed during the war was replaced with only a temporary roof.

There was a significant professional reluctance with regards to the need to replace the flat pyramidal spire of the White Friars' Church in Vác, in place since the fire that had burst out at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, by a lush onion dome in 1999. This conception would have meant partly the destruction of the historic state of the church and the nearly 200-years-old roof structure, and it would have suggested the replacement of the existing shape with a new element based on a period print of a few millimetres, which could have been hardly called authentic. And although the highly rich Baroque architecture in Vác would have required such a transformation, there were no real data supporting this ambitious conception but the aforementioned print that could have been drawn by memory. The historic building committee assessed the proposals submitted by two designers, but, following a heated debate, eventually rejected even the solution with the highest scoring, as the thorough design suggested a concept lying in the use of different materials, namely the flame-like copper elements on the lower part of the spire alluding to the fire, and it also emphasised that this trend would have created a precedent, as the recreation of a 200-year-old shape cannot follow the architectural trends and concepts valid at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In a later article by János SEDLMAYR (1999), he noted that such attempts can never be authentic.

The latest similar conception, still on paper, is the replacement of the pyramidal spire of the Roman Catholic Church in Piliscsaba with a richer onion dome, presumably resembling the earlier state. The old onion dome was destroyed in 1865, and what was left was a sketch drawn by the parish priest of the time, who tried to raise the necessary financial support required for the restoration of the envisaged original state from the archbishopric, based on the sketch reflecting the old condition of the church. Unfortunately, there were no financial resources for everything at that time either, and that was why a simpler pyramidal roof was built, which was altered several times during the 20<sup>th</sup> century and is in an extremely poor condition today. This new tower might get rebuilt in the near future, which will rely on the 19<sup>th</sup> century sketch, but the roofing material and design will be modern. We do not state that we could be authentic, but with an outstandingly thorough designer approach, the architect's high technical competence proved that, given the features of the church and the structural approaches

ban a helyi egyházi, lakossági és egyházmegyei óhaj is egy szebb és igényesebb toronysisak építését kívánja.

Így talán ebben a szinte egyedüli esetben mintegy másfél éven át tartó előkészítés, szakmai egyeztetés, és nem utolsósorban a feladattal való részleges azonosulásom nyomán lehetőség lesz a jelenleg tönkrement, a hatalmas templom méreteihez és formavilágához nagyon szerény kialakítású közel 150 éves gúlisíak elbontására, és egy barokk síak formáját követő új síakkal való helyettesítésére, amit talán ez a kiváló templom megérdemel és teljesebb látványt óhajtó közössége elvár.<sup>20</sup>

A konzerválás és a kiegészítés más típusainak részletes ismertetésétől el kell tekintenem, de gondolataim zárásaként remélem, sikerült rávilágítani a bemutatott és kevésbé ismert példák alapján, hogy még a legkisebb hiányzó részek pótlása is olykor jelentős megfontolásra készíti a felelős szakembert. Látható, hogy az egyes esetek oly mértékben különböznek, hogy csak a kérdés összes vonzatát mérlegelve lehet meghozni az éppen elfogadható döntést, ami néha hosszabb távon is tartósnak, illetve hitelesnek és ritkán elismerésre méltónak is bizonyul.<sup>21</sup>

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20 A konferencia megtartása és a cikk megjelenése közötti időben a piliscsabai egyházközség hivatkozva arra, hogy a székesfehérvári egyházmegye anyagi támogatását csak abban az esetben kapja meg amennyiben a betervezett és jóváhagyott PREFA festett alumínium lemez helyett a kétségtelenül tartósabb, hagyományos vörösréz lemezből készül a síak új borítása, kezdeményezte a korábbi döntés felülvizsgálatát. Elzárkózásunkat látva minden fórumot (értsd politikait is) felhasználtak, hogy ne az eredeti koncepció érvényesüljön. A változtatás áttervezése minden szakmai ellenkezésünk ellenére folyamatban van.

21 Visegrádról a Mátyás király Múzeum régészeti monográfiáin túl fontos elemzést nyújt DARAGÓ László (2002) és az ezredfordulóig elkészült jelentős kiegészítések kritikája olvasható 2001–2002-ben megjelent szakmai folyóiratokban és napi sajtókiadványokban. Zsámbékról LÓVEI Pál és MAROSI Ernő cikkei (HORLER & LÁSZLÓ, 1996) és DARAGÓ László (2001), valamint Maria Piera SETTE (1992) írása jelent meg, az egész romkiegészítés problematikájáról, s benne számos hivatkozással, lásd ROSTÁS Tibor művét (2003).



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of the time, only the designed version can be built.<sup>19</sup> In spite of the thorough research, we did not manage to find any sound proof regarding the architect of the church, however it is highly likely that it was an architect who had been very active in Esztergom, too, but the church in Esztergom that might have been adapted to this location received a different spire, and we could not prove, in any case, the exclusiveness of a spire conditioned by the shape a church, whether built or only existing on paper (OPRA & GAYLHOFFER-KOVÁCS 2016; DERCSÉNYI 1958, 646–647). In general, only rarely were those spires built that are featured on the few surviving church designs. It seems that the master builders and the carpenters did not work together at all, and obviously the spires built after the completion of the church were mostly the product of the carpenters' skills working on site. Another strong argument in favour of reconstruction was that the formal and structural inspections carried out on the existing spires proved the existence of very few undamaged old elements, and last but not least, the local religious community and the archbishopric wishes for a nicer, more spectacular spire.

Thus, in this probably unique case, after preparations and professional consultation lasting for one and a half years, and last but not least my partial involvement with the task, it will be possible to have the ruined 150-year-old pyramidal spire demolished, as it is modest and austere as compared to the size and shape of the huge church, and have it replaced with a new spire similar to the original Baroque one that this outstanding church would deserve and the community wishing for a more complete scenery expect.<sup>20</sup>

I have to overlook the other types of conservation works, but as a conclusion of my ideas, I hope that based on the less known presented examples, I have managed to cast a light on the fact that the replacement of the smallest missing pieces compel the expert to consider the issue thoroughly. It is visible that the individual cases differ from each other to such an extent that one has to consider all the implications of the problem in order to adopt the most appropriate decision that would prove sustainable, authentic, and rarely even creditable in the long run.

<sup>19</sup> The designs of the new spire were made by architect Róbert Ervin HORVÁTH.

<sup>20</sup> In the period between the conference and the publication of this article, the Diocese of Piliscsaba initiated a review of the previous decision, claiming that it will only receive the financial support of the Diocese of Székesfehérvár if instead of the PREFA painted aluminium sheet provided in the design and approved as such, the spire's new covering will be made of the undoubtedly more durable, traditional copper sheet. Seeing our reservations, they used all forums (including political ones) so that the original concept would not prevail. The re-design of this modification is under way, in spite of all our professional contrariety.

■ Zsuzsanna EKE<sup>1</sup>

## A bagoly és a pestis. Egy faragott kép kontextusba helyezése

■ **Kivonat:** A Medgyestől (Medias, Mediasch)<sup>2</sup> északkeletre, Dicsőszentmárton (Tárnáveni, Sankt Martin) közelében fekvő völgyben található kis falu, Szászbogács (Băgaciu, Bogeschdorf) evangélikus temploma őrzi a történeti Erdély stallumain található egyik legérdekesebb faragott ábrázolást. A gazdagon díszített stallumon számos valós és képzeletbeli állat látható, némelyikük növényi motívumokkal átszőve. Azonban a legszembetűnőbb ábrázolás a stallum mellvédjére frontálisan elhelyezett bagolyé, amely egy köréje bevésített felirattal együtt rejtélyes üzenetet közvetít mindazoknak, akik képesek elolvasni és megérteni a szöveget. Jelen cikk a kép és feliratának egy tágabb, európai összefüggések és kapcsolatok kontextusában igyekszik felderíteni a különös ábrázolás lehetséges értelmét és használatát.

■ **Kulcsszavak:** stallum, faragott díszítés, bagoly, XVI. század, Erdély

### A falu és evangélikus temploma

■ Szászbogács első írásos említése 1359-ből származik, egy Salamon *comes* és a falu előljárói közötti jogi vitát tárgyaló dokumentumban (FABINI 1999, 79). Szűz Mária tiszteletére emelt egykori katolikus plébániatemploma 1380-ban jelenik meg először írott forrásokban (ENTZ 1996, 447). A templom három építkezési szakaszban készült jelenlegi formáját. Az első, román kori bazilikális szerkezetű épületet a XV. század első negyedében módosították (FABINI 1999, 80).<sup>3</sup> Később, 1500 körül a templomot megerősítették, vagyis egy masszív támpillérekre futó vakárkádorra támaszkodó védelmi szintet emeltek a szentély fölé. Zömök nyugati tornya és az épületet körülvevő védelmi fal kiegészítette az erődítést. A harmadik építkezési szakaszban a hajót is megemelték, amely ekkor kapta késő gótikus hálfóboltozatát. Habár 1766-ban elbontották

1 Művészettörténész, doktorandusz a Közép-Európai Egyetemen, Budapest, Magyarország.  
2 A települések magyar nevei melletti zárójelbe a hivatalos (román, illetve szlovák) és a szász neveket tartalmazták.  
3 A beavatkozást a diadalíven található 1421-es évszám jelzi, illetve a szentélyben és a hajóban található freskótöredékek ugyanebben az időszakban keletkeztek, amely ugyancsak alátámasztja az építkezés keltezését.

## The Owl and the Plague. Contextualising a Carved Image

■ **Abstract:** The Lutheran Church of Băgaciu (Szászbogács, Bogeschdorf),<sup>2</sup> a small village situated in a valley close to Tárnáveni (Dicsőszentmárton, Sankt Martin), northeast of Medias (Medgyes, Mediasch), holds one of the most curious depictions to be found on choir stalls throughout the territory of historical Transylvania. A number of real and imaginary beasts, some of them in combination with vegetal ornaments, adorn the richly decorated choir stall. However, the most striking image is that of an owl, positioned frontally on the stall parapet, which, together with an inscription carved around it, conveys an interesting message to those who can read and understand the text. The article tries to elucidate the possible meaning and use of this depiction by placing the image and text in a broader European context of meaning and connections.

■ **Keywords:** choir stall, carved decoration, owl, plague, 16<sup>th</sup> century, Transylvania

### The village and the Lutheran Church

■ The first written evidence of Băgaciu's existence dates back to 1359, in a legal conflict between Count Salomon and the community leaders of the village (FABINI 1999, 79). Its former parish church, dedicated to the Holy Virgin, was first mentioned in written documents in 1380 (ENTZ 1996, 447). The church obtained its present form as a result of three construction phases. The first construction, a Romanesque basilica, was modified during the first quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (FABINI 1999, 80).<sup>3</sup> Later, around 1500, the church was heavily fortified by adding a defensive superstructure to the choir, supported by blind arcades running down on large buttresses, while the massive western tower and the curtain walls further enhanced its fortified character. During the third construction phase, the nave was heightened and received late Gothic net vaulting. Although in 1766 the superstructure was demolished (FABINI 1999, 81), the church keeps its massive, fortified appearance even today.

The interior of the church, composed of a western tower – included in the nave –, a choir and a sacristy, is simple. The choir consists of two spans of cross vaulting and a polygonal ending, where the church's most valuable piece of furnishing, a winged altar from 1518 and attrib-

1 Art historian, PhD student at Central European University, Budapest, Hungary.  
2 The settlement names are given in the official language of the country they are part of (i.e. Romanian and in certain cases Slovak), followed in brackets by their Hungarian and Saxon names.  
3 The year 1421 on the triumphal arch dates the intervention, and fresco fragments found in the choir and the nave, dating from the same period, are further evidence of this building phase.





■ **Photo 1.** The choir stall of Johannes REYCHMUT in Băgaciu, 1533 © Zsuzsanna EKE, 2006

■ **1. kép:** Johannes REYCHMUT szászbogácsi stalluma, 1533 © EKE Zsuzsanna, 2006

uted to Johannes STOSS, is standing (FIREA 2010, II 31-40). Two 16<sup>th</sup> century choir stalls are set at both sides of the choir, probably in their original position.

## Johannes REYCHMUT's choir stall

■ The choir stall that we are examining stands on the southern side of the choir, between the semi-circular niche of the *sedilia* and the south-eastern entrance gate. The piece is particularly significant for the richness of information it offers us, being the only piece of furniture bearing the name of the master joiner, Johannes REYCHMUT. Based on stylistic analysis, Viktor ROTH attributed similar pieces from the region to the same master (ROTH 1915, 253), most importantly those of the Lutheran churches in Sighișoara (Segesvár, Schässburg) and Biertan (Berethalom, BIRTHÄLM). His theory is accepted to this day, and Master REYCHMUT, respectively his circle, is one of the best known joiner workshops in Transylvania, who among others manufactured altar structures as well (SARKADI 2011). ROTH also argued, based on the characteristics of the text surrounding the image of the owl, that Master REYCHMUT was of Austrian origin, which might explain the almost exceptional character of the representation in a region where such kinds of depictions, especially in combination with texts, are rare.

a szentély feletti védelmi szintet (FABINI 1999, 81), a templom mai napig megőrizte masszív, erődített formáját.

A hajóból és ennek tömegébe épített nyugati toronyból, szentélyből és sekrestyéből álló templom belseje egyszerű kiképzésű. A templom legértékesebb berendezési tárgya, az 1518-ból származó és Johannes STOSSnak tulajdonítható szárnyasoltár (FIREA 2010, II. 31–40) a keresztboltozattal fedett két boltszakaszos, sokszögű záródással rendelkező szentélyben található. A szentély két oldalán egy-egy XVI. századi stallum látható, valószínűleg eredeti elhelyezésben.

### Johannes REYCHMUT stalluma

■ Az általunk vizsgált stallum a szentély déli fala mentén helyezkedik el a félköríves papi ülőfülke és a délkeleti kapu között. A darab nemcsak részletbeli gazdagsága miatt jelentős, hanem azért is, mert ez az általunk ismert egyetlen stallum, amelynek felirata megnevezi Johannes REYCHMUT asztalos mester nevét. Stílusbeli analógiákra hivatkozva, Viktor ROTH

több hasonló darabot tulajdonított ennek a mesternek (ROTH 1915, 253). Ezek közül a segesvári (Sighișoara, Schässburg) hegyi templomban, illetve a berethalmi (Biertan, Birtihalm) evangélikus templomban található talán a legjelentősebbek. ROTH elmélete máig elfogadott, és REYCHMUT mester, illetve mesterkőre a korabeli Erdély egyik legismertebb asztalosműhelyévé vált, amely többek között oltárszerkezeteket is gyártott (SARKADI 2011). ROTH, a bagoly körül futó szöveg nyelvi sajátosságaira hivatkozva arra a következtetésre jutott, hogy REYCHMUT mester osztrák származású volt, amely tán magyarázatot adhatna az ábrázolás szinte kivételes jellegére egy olyan környezetben, ahol az ilyen jellegű ábrázolások ritkák, kivált szöveggel társítva.

A négyülékes stallum állati és növényi motívumokkal, néha e kettő kombinációjával díszített, amely geometriai mintázatot és építészeti elemeket (pl. tornyokat) felsorakoztató intarziával egészül ki. A késő gótika és a korai reneszánsz díszítőelemeinek ily kombinációja alapján a stallum összefüggésben áll a besztercei (Bistrița, Bistritz) evangélikus, egykori Szent Miklós-plébániatemplom bútoraiával, valamint a Segesvár környékén fellelhető bútordarabokkal (ahol a mester tevékenykedett). Egy 1533-as évszámmal ellátott címer kiemeli pártázatos baldachinjának középtengelyét. A gyártási körülményekre utaló felirat a stallum mennyezetének belső felületén olvasható: „HOC OPVS PERFECTVM PER ME JOHANNEM REYCHMVT ME[n] SATOREM / SCHEGES VARIENSEM AD LAVDEM ET HONOREM MARIE VIRGINIS A[nno] 1533.”<sup>4</sup>

A stallum mellvédjének betétlapjait laposfaragással (Flachschnitzerei) díszítették, amely valós vagy mítikus állatokat ábrázol, többek között baziliskuszt, griffet, delfint, illetve a betétlapokat közrefogó kereteket rügyekkel és levelekkel ellátott indadíszítés borítja. Mindazonáltal a legérdekesebb betétlap a hajóhoz legközelebb található. A kompozíciót egy vastag ágon ülő, nagyméretű fülesbagoly (*Bubo*) uralja. Arcát karcolások borítják, világos jeleként azoknak az indulatoknak, amelyeket az ábrázolás kiváltott az emberekben, ez tán némileg ahhoz a jelenséghez hasonlít, amely a korábbi katolikus templomok festett szentjeit megcsonkította a templomok protestánsná válása után. A bagoly alakját egy körbe írt mondatszalag keretezi. A mondatszalag által elhatárolt teret kisebb méretű, csupaszig ágak töltik ki. A két regiszterre osztott mondatszalagon a következő szöveg olvasható: „ICH PIN EYN FOGEL VND HEYS DI AYL VND VER / MICH HASSET DEN SCHENT DI PAYL.”<sup>5</sup>

4 Szabad fordítás: Ezt a művet én, Johannes REYCHMUT segesvári asztalos készítettem, 1533-ban, Szűz Mária dicséretére és tisztelésére.

5 Szabad fordítás: Madár vagyok, és a nevem bagoly, és azt, aki gyűlöl engem, verje meg a pestis.

The choir stall of four seats is decorated with animal and vegetal motifs, sometimes the two types being intertwined, and with wooden inlay (*intarsia*) depicting geometrical patterns and architectural elements such as towers. The combination of late Gothic and early Renaissance decorative elements connects this piece to the furniture in the Lutheran, formerly Saint Nicholas Parish Church in Bistrița (Beszterce, Bistritz), as well as to furniture pieces found in the area of Sighișoara, from where the master had arrived. A coat of arms reading 1533 accentuates the central part of the baldachin. The inscription that refers to the circumstances of manufacture runs along the interior of the baldachin's ceiling, where we can read the following: “HOC OPVS PERFECTVM PER ME JOHANNEM REYCHMVT ME[n] SATOREM / SCHEGES VARIENSEM AD LAVDEM ET HONOREM MARIE VIRGINIS A[nno] 1533.”<sup>4</sup>

The parapet panels of the choir stall are decorated with carvings (Flachschnitzerei), depicting such real or mythical animals as basilisks, griffins, dolphins, and sinuous tendrils with buds and leafs. Nevertheless, the most interesting panel is the one closest to the nave. The composition is dominated by a large horned owl (*Bubo*) sitting on a thick branch. Its face has been damaged by scratch marks, a clear indication to the feelings this image aroused in people, perhaps in a similar way to what happened with the painted images of saints in Catholic churches that had become protestant. A scroll of parchment runs around the bird, framing it in a circle. The space inside the scroll is filled with smaller, bare branches. On the scroll, which is divided into two registers, the following text may be read: “ICH PIN EYN FOGEL VND HEYS DI AYL VND VER / MICH HASSET DEN SCHENT DI PAYL.”<sup>5</sup>

4 Approximate English translation: This work was done by me, Johannes REYCHMUT, joiner of Sighișoara, in 1533, for the praise and honour of the Virgin Mary.

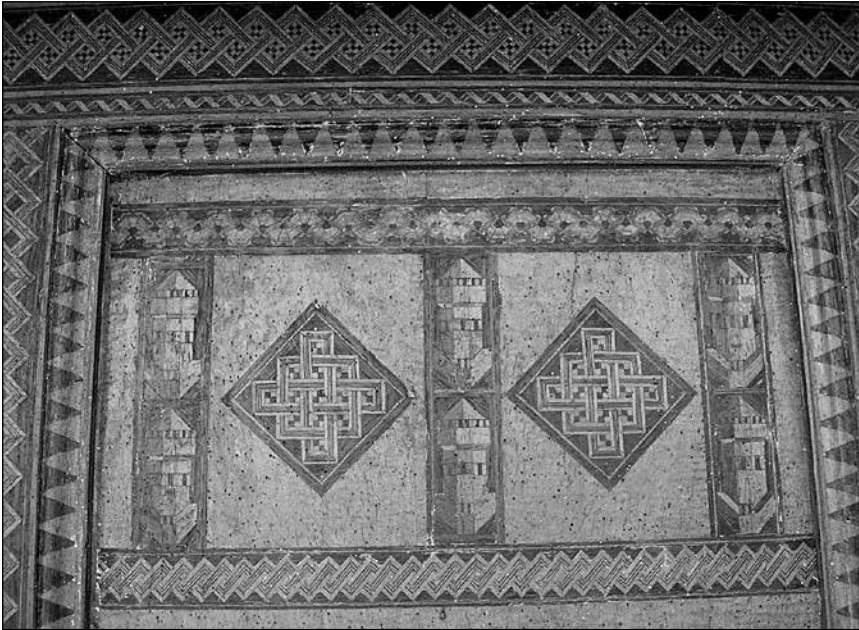
5 Approximate English translation: I am a bird, my name is owl, and the one who hates me is flayed by the plague.



■ Photo 2. Decoration on one of the parapet panels © Zsuzsanna EKE, 2006

■ 2. kép: A mellvéd egyik betétlapjának díszítése © EKE Zsuzsanna, 2006





■ **Photo 3.** Intarsia decoration on the choir stall's back © Zsuzsanna EKE, 2006

■ **3. kép:** Intarziadísz a stallum hátlapján © EKE Zsuzsanna, 2006

## Owl depictions on furniture in mediaeval Hungary

■ Descriptions of the furniture have usually omitted to speak more about the significance of this image and text. Animal depictions on Transylvanian choir stalls are not too common. Vegetal ornamentation was much more preferred. However, at a closer examination, birds do appear on some of the stalls. Most of these have mainly ornamental function, and are usually dispersed among the foliage and Gothic tendrils of the entablatures or ends of stalls. Owls, which can be easily discerned among them, are rare in the region. Overall, we know of three such bird depictions in Transylvania, including the one in Băgaciu. Another owl, not more than ten centimetres high, is depicted on the end of a stall fragment in the Lutheran Church of Bistrița. Finally, a door kept in the History Museum of Sighișoara represents an owl with spread wings, placed among two foxes.

Erzsébet VADÁSZI mentioned the example of Băgaciu in connection with other depictions of owls, found on choir stalls in Upper Hungary, more precisely in Gelnica (Gölnichány, Göllnitz), Smerčany (Szmrecsán), and Levoča (Lőcse, Leutschau). In her article (VADÁSZI 1979), she stated that the owl – the sacred bird of the ancient goddess Minerva, who was among others patron of the artisans – functioned in the case of Gelnica as an attribute, indicating that the stalls were intended for the leaders of the guilds and the members of the council (VADÁSZI 1979, 64). She mentioned the image at Băgaciu in connection with another probable use of the owl figure, the apotropaic function, i.e. giving protection against misfortune (VADÁSZI 1979, 64). Although owl depictions were indeed often invested with protective powers in the Middle Ages (see MELLINKOFF 2004), we think that this depiction contains more meaning than attributed to it by VADÁSZI. The symbol of the owl in itself has contradictory meanings (although more often negative ones), but these become clearer when interpreted together with the text.

## Bagolyábrázolások bútordarabokon a középkori Magyarországon

■ A bútor leírását tartalmazó szövegek legtöbbször átsiklanak az ábrázolás és a szöveg jelentőségének részletesebb tárgyalása felett. Az erdélyi stallumokon nem túl gyakori az állatok ábrázolása, ebben az értelemben a növényi díszítés sokkal inkább előnyben részesült, de egy közelebbi vizsgálódásra nem ritka, hogy madarakat is felfedezünk a növényi ornamentika közt. Ezek legtöbbször főként díszként került a darabokra, és általában a stallumok baldachinját és halántékfalait kitöltő, gótikus jellegű leveles indák közt találjuk őket. Az ezek között amúgy könnyen megkülönböztethető baglyok ábrázolása ritka. Összességében három erdélyi példát ismerünk, a bogácsit beleértve. Egy másik, legfeljebb tíz centiméter magasságú bagoly a beszercei evangélikus templom egyik stallumtöredékén látható, illetve egy, a Segesvári Történelmi Múzeumban kiállított késő gótikus ajtón is megjelenik két róka közt egy széttárt szárnyú bagoly.

VADÁSZI Erzsébet egyéb, a felvidéki Gölnichányán (Gelnica, Göllnitz), Szmrecsánban (Smerčany) és Lőcsén (Levoča, Leutschau) található stallumok bagolyábrázolásaival kapcsolatosan említette Bogácsot. Tanulmányában (VADÁSZI 1979) azt igyekezett kimutatni, hogy a bagoly – az ókori Minerva istennő szent madara, aki többek között a kézművesek védelmezője is volt –, Gölnichányán esetében tulajdonképpen attribútumként szerepelt, mintegy jelezve, hogy a stallumokat a céhek vezetői és a tanács tagjai használták (VADÁSZI 1979, 64). A bogácsí ábrázolást a bagoly alakjának egy másik lehetséges használatával, az apotropaikus, vagyis bajelhárító funkcióval összefüggésben említette (VADÁSZI 1979, 64). Habár a középkorban a bagoly alakját gyakran ruházták fel oltalmazó erővel (lásd MELLINKOFF 2004), úgy gondoljuk, hogy a bogácsí ábrázolás jelentése egyéb jelentéseket is rejthet. A bagoly szimbóluma önmagában ellentmondásos jelentésekkel bír (amelyek azonban többnyire negatívak), de ezek az értelemek sokkal egyértelműbbé válnak, amennyiben a szöveggel társítva értelmezzük őket.

## A bagoly szimbóluma a középkorban

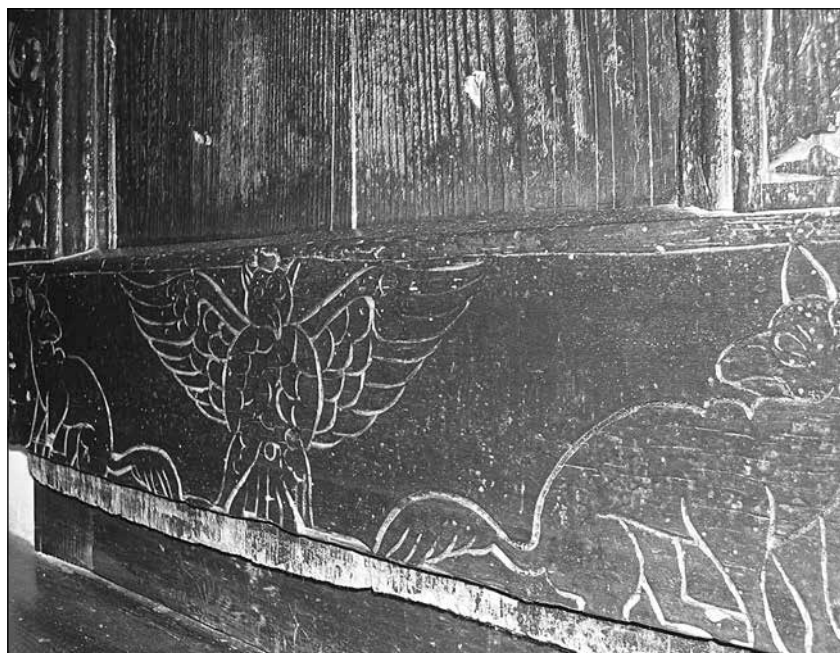
■ A bagoly jelentése némileg kétértelmű a keresztény művészetben, mivel egyaránt pozitív és negatív példaként is alkalmazható, bár a második, negatív értelem sokkal gyakrabban alkalmazták.<sup>6</sup> Ez a kettősség már az antikvitásban is megfigyelhető, habár Görögországban a baglyot

<sup>6</sup> Hatalmas mennyiségű szakirodalom áll rendelkezésünkre az állatok középkori szimbolikájáról illetően, a bagolyét is ideértve; általánosabb áttekintést illetően lásd Joyce E. SALISBURY (1994), Wilkne B. CLARK és Meradith T. McMUNN (1990), vagy Debra HASSIG (1999) erre vonatkozó munkáit.



■ **Photo 4.** The carved image of the owl and its inscription © Zsuzsanna EKE, 2006

■ **4. kép:** A bagoly ábrázolása és felirata © EKE Zsuzsanna, 2006



■ **Photo 5.** Depiction of an owl between two foxes on a door in the History Museum of Sighișoara © Zsuzsanna EKE, 2006

■ **5. kép:** Bagoly ábrázolása két róka közt a Segesvári Történeti Múzeumban kiállított ajtón © EKE Zsuzsanna, 2006

általában Pallasz Athéné istennővel társították, a római id. PLINIUS meglehetősen negatív mellékjelentésekkel tett említést róla, temetkezési madárnak nevezte, rossz előjelnek és egy háborzongató éjjeli teremtménynek. A Biblia is tisztátalan madárként említette a baglyot (3Móz 12, 17–18).

A kereszténység a baljós társításokat átörökölte, illetve továbbfejlesztette őket. A Hrabanus MAURUS értelmezésére épülő középkori bestiáriumok szerint a bagoly egy olyan bűnös, gyakran zsidókkal azonosított ember jellemzőivel rendelkezett, aki megtagadta Jézust mint megmentőjét, ezért inkább a vakság mellett döntött az igazság elfogadása helyett, hasonlóan a baglyokhoz, amelyek vakok a napfényben (CALMANN 1960, 67). A miniatúrákon található baglyokat gyakran emberszerű arccal ábrázolták, amelyek hangsúlyos, görbe orral rendelkeztek, ezt a sztereotípiát pedig a zsidók ábrázolásánál is használták (The Medieval Bestiary). SEVILLAI Izidor *Etymologies* című művében bemutatja a különböző típusú baglyokat. Leírása szerint a fülesbagoly vagy uhu (*bubo*) az általa kiadott hangok miatt kapta nevét, amely egy halálos madár, valamint éjjel és nappal sírok között vándorol. Bár a madár néha pozitív értelemmel is megjelenik (pl. az Aberdeen Bestiáriumban Krisztus szimbólumaként), ábrázolása általában negatív jelentéssel társul.

A XVI. és XVII. századi fametszeteken a bagolyhoz többnyire negatív jellemzők kapcsolódtak, és mint ilyen találkozunk velük különböző emblémákon. Alakja sok esetben a vaksághoz, a tévedéshez és a tudatlansághoz kapcsolódott (CALMANN

## The significance of the owl in the Middle Ages

■ The image of the owl is somewhat ambiguous in Christian art, as it could be used either with positive or negative meaning, although the latter was more commonly used.<sup>6</sup> Already in ancient Greece, even if it was commonly associated with the goddess Pallas Athene, the Roman author PLINY the Elder mentioned it with connotations that are rather negative, calling it a funeral bird, a bad omen and a weird creature of the night. The Bible also mentions the owl as an unclean bird (Leviticus XII 17-18).

Christianity has taken over these ominous connotations and has further enhanced them. According to medieval bestiaries, based on an interpretation by Hrabanus MAURUS, the owl had the characteristics of a sinful man, usually associated with Jews, who denied Jesus as their saviour, preferring to be blind to the truth, just as owls were blind in daylight (CALMANN 1960, 67). In manuscript illumination, the depiction of the owl's face became human-like, often envisioned with an accentuated, crooked nose, a stereotype used in connection with Jewish people (The Medieval Bestiary). Isidore OF SEVILLE, in his *Etymologies*, describes the different types of owls. According to him, the screech owl (*bubo*) took its name from the sound of its voice, being a deadly bird and wandering in tombs day and night. Although sometimes the bird appears with positive connotations (as symbol of Christ in the Aberdeen Bestiary), we find more negative connotations in depictions.

In 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century woodcuts, the owl appeared mostly connected with negative characteristics, and was incorporated in emblems as such. In many cases it was associated with blindness, error and ignorance (CALMANN 1960, 67); in other cases, being a solitary bird, it was depicted being attacked or mocked by other birds, even becoming the

6 A vast literature is available on animal symbolism in the Middle Ages, dealing also with the figure of the owl; for more general discussions see the works of Joyce E. SALISBURY (1994), of Wilkene B. CLARK and Meradith T. McMUNN (1990), or that of Debra HASSIG (1999).



symbol of temptation (but through its suffering some interpreted it as a symbol of Christ).

Another association of the owl, mostly to be found in popular beliefs, was that between the owl and fools or vagabonds. As Greta CALMANN pointed out, “its isolation among its own kind, attacked and mocked by other birds, gave it a strong resemblance to the fool who was stoned and ridiculed by the vulgar whose credulity and fear were easily imposed upon.” (CALMANN 1960, 68) Two 16<sup>th</sup> century engravings illustrate beggars as owls, having as caption the following: “they hate me and I give them cause for it.” (CALMANN 1960, 68) An owl and a mirror are the attributes of Till Eulenspiegel, the conventional author of the tales popular in medieval German territories. Moreover, several studies deal with the association of the owl with folly, as for example in the works of Hieronymus BOSCH (MELNIKOVA-GRIGORJEVA & BOGDANOVA 2012) or Master E.S. (MOXLEY 1980).



■ Figure 1. Owl depictions in Upper Hungary (VADÁSZI 1979, 63)

■ 1. ábra: Baglyok ábrázolásai Felvidéken (VADÁSZI 1979, 63)

1960, 67), míg más esetekben, mivel magányosan élő madár volt, egyéb madarak társaságában, viszont ezek által támadva vagy zaklatva ábrázolták, sőt a kísértés szimbólumaként is használták (viszont szenvedése által ugyanakkor néha Krisztus szimbólumaként is megjelent).

A bagoly és a bolondok vagy a csavargók társítása főként a népi kultúrában jelent meg, amire Greta CALMANN is rámutatott: „a saját fajtája [madarak] körében való elszigeteltsége miatt, valamint a többi madár általi támadások és gúnyolódás elszívódása következtében, [a bagoly alakja] erős hasonlóságot mutat a bolonddal, akit a féltékenység és a félelem által könnyen megbabonázott köznép megkövezt és kinevet” (CALMANN 1960, 68). Két tizenhatodik századi metszet bagoly képében ábrázol koldusokat, a következő felirattal: „gyűlölnék engem, és okot adok nekik erre” (CALMANN 1960, 68). A bagoly és a tükör Till Eulenspiegel, a középkori német területeken népszerű történetek népi hőséneke attribútuma. Mi több, számos cikk foglalkozik a bagoly és az ostobaság társításával, például Hieronymus BOSCH (MELNIKOVA-GRIGORJEVA & BOGDANOVA 2012) vagy E.S. mester (MOXLEY 1980) munkáiban.

#### A szászbogácsi stallum baglyának jelentése

■ Egyértelmű, hogy ez az ábrázolás nem pusztán díszítő céllal keletkezett, amely például a beszercei vagy egyéb madarak esetében nyugodtan feltételezhető. Ez nyilvánvaló az ábrázolás elhelyezéséből, hisz azonnal észrevehető, ugyanakkor a méretéből is, valamint a szöveg és az ábrázolás közötti kapcsolatból. A madár jelenlétét az alakja köré írt üzenet indokolja. A szöveg elolvasása során a rímelő szavak válnak hangsúlyossá: *ayl* és *payl*, bagoly és pestis.

A baglyok és a pestis társítása világosabbá válik, ha megvizsgáljuk a madár latin nevét: *bubo*. A bubópestis és a madár közötti kapcsolat így könnyen megállapítható, különösen, ha figyelembe vesszük a madár baljós társításait. Amint azt egyes a kutatók megjegyezték, „amikor a baglyot kéziratok lapszélein ábrázolják, ez a pestishez kötődik”, és „John Ardene elmagyarázta, hogy amint a baglyok szerették a sötét, eldugott helyeket, ugyanúgy a bubók is a test azon helyein jelentek meg – a hónalj vagy ágyék környékén” (MACDOUGALL 1996, 97).

Ez az ábrázolás nem egyedülálló, bár eddig csak korlátozott mennyiségű hozzá kapcsolódó tárgyat sikerült találni. A Sotheby’s Aukciósház katalógusában található egy 1582-ből származó, cseh zománcozott bagoly alakú üvegflaska, amely a következő feliratot viseli: „ICH BIN EIN VOGEL UND HEISSE EULE WER MICH HASSET DER HABE DIE BEULE 1582” (Sotheby’s). A szöveg rendkívül közel áll a stallumon levő ábrázolás feliratához, a különbségek valószínűleg a nyelvjárásból és a rím használatából adódnak. A katalógusban található leírás két további

bagolyalakú darabot említ, amelyek hasonló feliratokkal rendelkeznek, de későbbi időszakokból maradtak fenn. Kevésbé rokonítható, viszont ugyancsak érdekes a Metropolitan Museum of Artban őrzött német eredetű, lovagi tornákban használt pajzs, körülbelül 1500-ból, amelyen egy vastag ágon ülő bagoly ábrázolása jelenik meg, feje fölött mondatszaggal: „bár egy gyűlölt madár vagyok, fölöttébb élvezem ezt” (NICKEL 1973–1974, 87). Az ilyen jellegű ábrázolások másik példája egy 1529-es fametszet, amely egy madarakkal körülvevett baglyot ábrázol a következő felirattal: „Minden madár gyűlöl és mindazok akik gyűlölnék, szenvedniük kell ezért” (CALMANN 1960, 50. lábjegyzet). Hogy milyen mértékben lehetett egy ilyen fametszet az ábrázolásunk előképe, még tisztázásra vár. Viszont nagyon valószínű, hogy ez a mondas és változatai széles körben ismertek és alkalmazottak voltak a XVI. században, mivel Rudolf SCHAAF (2013, 49) megjegyzi, hogy egy ma is létező német szöveg (amely egy átkból származik) összefüggést teremt egy másik személy gyűlölete, és annak elátkozása közt (vagyis ha valakit gyűlölünk, azt kívánjuk, hogy pestis sújtsa).<sup>7</sup> Azonban további kutatásokra van szükség annak felderítésére, hogy milyen formában érkezhettek ez az ábrázolás és szöveg Erdélybe.

Másrészt, egy rövid kitérő erejéig érdemes megemlíteni hasonló üzenetű (és főleg hangvételi) feliratokat, amelyek máig megőrzött erdélyi faberendezéseket díszítenek, nevezetesen az egykori segesvári Szent Miklós-plébániatemplom (a mai hegyi templom) szentélyének északi oldalán található és a hagyománynak megfelelően REYCHMUT mesternek tulajdonított, 1523-as stallum feliratát. E darab hátlapján a következő gótikus minuszku-lás mondat olvasható: „Wer yn dys gestul will stan Und nit latyn reden kan der solt bleiben draus das ma(n) ym nit mit Kolben raus.”<sup>8</sup> Hasonló szöveg található az egykori nagyszebeni (Sibiu, Hermannstadt) Altenberger-ház Brukenthal-könyvtárának ajtaján: wer . i(n) . das . gmach . get . vn(n) . nit . dari(n) . ze . schafe(n) / hat . de(r) . ma . woll . bli(ben) dy . ds . ich . i(n) . nit . mt . de(m) . kolbe(n) . lvs (ALBU 2002, 27). Habár ezek tartalmilag nem kapcsolódnak a bogácsi ábrázoláshoz és szöveghez, humoros, gúnyolódó hangvételük a XVI. századi Erdély bizonyos körökben fennálló attitűdjét illusztrálják, amelyet érdemes lenne alaposabban megismerni és tágabb kontextusba helyezni.

<sup>7</sup> Mindemmellett, amint láthatjuk, ezek az ábrázolások és szövegek más megközelítést választanak, vagyis visszahárítják az átkot arra, aki rosszat kíván, vagy gyűlöletet táplál a bagoly iránt, tehát egy némileg különböző tárgycsoporthoz tartoznak.

<sup>8</sup> Szabad fordítás: Az aki ebben a székben akar ülni és nem ért latinul, inkább kinn kellene tartózkodjon, hogy ne legyen egy füttykössel kihajtva.

## The meaning of the owl on the Băgaciu stall

■ It is clear that this image is not purely a representation with decorative purposes, which might be supposed in the case of Bistrița or in the instances involving other birds. This is obvious from its position, visible at a first glance, its size, as well as the connection of image and text, symbol and explanation. The presence of the bird is justified by the message inscribed around it. When reading the text, the two rhyming words are stressed: *ayl* and *payl*, owl and plague.

The link between owls and the plague becomes clearer when we look at the bird's Latin name: *bubo*. A connection to bubonic plague can be easily made, especially considering the sinister associations of the bird. As it was noted by scholars, “when the owl is depicted in manuscript marginals it is linked with *pestis*”, and “John of Ardene explained that just as owls loved dark, secluded places, so the buboes appeared in those of the body – the armpit or groin.” (MACDOUGALL 1996, 97)

This representation is not singular, although up to this point I was only able to find a limited amount of objects related, through their message, to our depiction. Sotheby's Auction House Catalogue lists a Bohemian enamelled glass owl flask, dating back to 1582, which bears the inscription: “ICH BIN EIN VOGEL UND HEISSE EULE WER MICH



■ **Photo 6.** German tournament shield, around 1500, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 69.196. Public Domain

■ **6. kép:** Német származású, lovagi tornán használt pajzs, 1500 körül, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 69.196. Nyilvánosan hozzáférhető



HASSET DER HABE DIE BEULE 1582” (Sotheby’s). The text is extremely close to the one found on the choir stall. The changes are due probably due to dialects and the use of rhyme. The catalogue’s description mentions two further owl-shaped pieces with similar inscriptions, dating back to later periods. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art a German tournament shield from around 1500 depicts an owl sitting on a thick branch, with a scroll above it having the motto “although I am the hated bird, I rather enjoy that” written on it (NICKEL 1973-1974, 87). Another example for this type of representation is a woodcut executed in 1529 of an owl surrounded by birds with the caption: “All birds hate me and those that hate me must suffer for it.” (CALMANN 1960, footnote 50) To what degree was such a woodcut a source for our representation still needs to be cleared. It is highly probable that this phrase was well known and employed during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, as Rudolf SCHAAF (2013, 49) notes that a German idiom (originating from a curse) still existing today links hating someone with wishing them to catch the plague.<sup>7</sup> However, further research is needed to elucidate under which form has this representation and text arrived in Transylvania.

On the other hand, the message of the text (and its tone) may be somewhat linked to a few surviving pieces of Transylvanian wooden furnishing, namely the choir stall on the northern side of the choir of the former Saint Nicholas Parish Church in Sighișoara, traditionally attributed to master REYCHMUT and created in 1523. On the back of this piece one can read the following sentence in Gothic minuscules: “Wer yn dys gestul will stan Und nit latyn reden kan der solt bleiben draus das ma(n) ym nit mit Kolben raus.”<sup>8</sup> A similar text can be found in the former town hall of Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt) as a decoration of a door in the Brukenthal Library: wer . i(n) . das . gmach . get . vn(n) . nit . dari(n) . ze . schafe(n) / hat . de(r) . ma . woll . bli(ben) dy . ds . ich . i(n) . nit . mt . de(m) . kolbe(n) . lvs (ALBU 2002, 27). Although not related in content, the humorous tone of these inscriptions might be linked to a certain mocking attitude prevalent in 16<sup>th</sup> century Transylvania, which would need to be set into a wider context.

## Conclusions

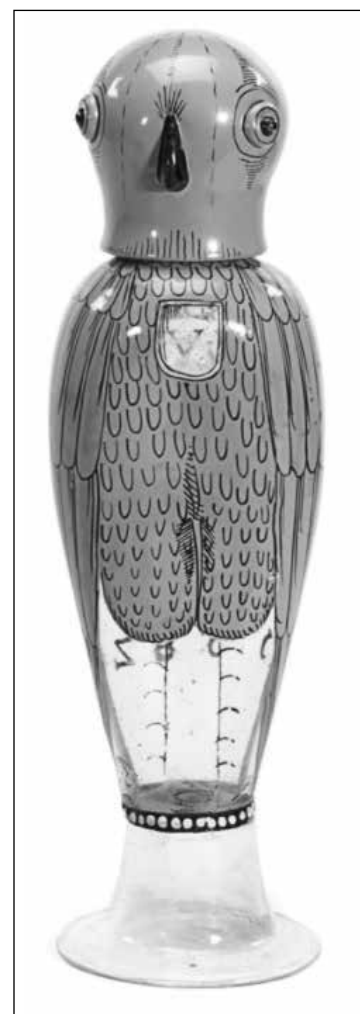
■ As we have seen, the image and the text on the Băgaciu choir stall is not a solitary representation, having close connections to different types of objects originating from Central Europe. The negative connotations of the owl, in particular its connection with the bubonic plague, are embedded in mediaeval beliefs, perpetuated throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Furthermore, there is a connection between the figure of the owl and folly, the periphery, as well as the prejudice against this periphery, our example being a mirror reversed. Through its moralising tone it can be connected with the inscription on the mentioned choir stall in Sighișoara, being presumably the work of the same master. The image and text are probably not the result of a local tradition, they were probably imported, most likely via woodcuts or other types of drawn representations. Further research is needed (if at all possible) to elucidate the exact provenance and meaning of the image and text in question. A further question to be elucidated is related to the intentions of those who commissioned these pieces, the role of the artisan in the creation

<sup>7</sup> Although, as we can see, these depictions and texts have a different approach, reverting the curse upon those who wish harm to or nurture hatred towards the owl, and by this they constitute a different group of objects.

<sup>8</sup> Approximate English translation: He who wants to stand in this chair and does not know Latin should remain outside so that he will not be taken out with a cudgel.

## Következtetések

■ Amint láthattuk, a szászbagácsi stallum felirattal társított ábrázolása nem egyedi, hiszen szoros kapcsolatban áll különböző típusú közép-európai tárgyakkal. A bagoly negatív társításai és különösen a bubópestishez való kapcsolódása mélyen beágyazódott a középkori hiedelmek világába, illetve átöröklődött a XVI. századba is. Ugyanakkor összefüggés található a bagoly és az ostobaság, a periféria, valamint a periféria ellen irányuló előítéletek között, amit a bogácsi példa üzenetében megfordít, tehát az előítéletek ellen irányítja az átkot. Moralizáló és gúnyolódó hangnemén keresztül kapcsolatba állítható az említett segesvári stallum feliratá-



■ **Photo 7a.** Enamelled glass owl flask from 1582, in Sotheby’s Auction House Catalogue © Sotheby’s. (Front view)

■ **7a. kép:** Bagoly alakú zománcozott üvegflaska 1582-ből, Sotheby’s Aukciósház katalógusa © Sotheby’s. (Előlnézet)

val, amely valószínűleg ugyanazon mester munkája. A kép és a szöveg valószínűleg nem a helyi hagyomány terméke, hanem feltételezhetően más régiókból került ide, nagy valószínűséggel fametszetek vagy másfajta rajzolt ábrázolások révén. További kutatásra lenne szükség (ha ez egyáltalán lehetséges) a szóban forgó kép és szöveg pontos eredetének és jelentésének tisztázásához. Ezen kívül pedig további kérdések merülnek fel: mi volt a szándéka a darabok megrendelőjének(inek), milyen szerepet játszott a kézműves és műhelye a darabok létrehozásában, illetve az ún. közönségről sem feledkezhetünk meg, hiszen egy bizonyos társadalmi réteg bizonyosan értette és értékelte ezeket a feliratokat.



■ **Photo 7b.** Enamelled glass owl flask from 1582, in Sotheby's Auction House Catalogue © Sotheby's. (Rear view)  
■ **7b. kép:** Bagoly alakú zománcozott üvegflaska 1582-ből, Sotheby's Aukciósház katalógusa © Sotheby's. (Hátulnézet)

process, and, of course, that of the audience. A certain social stratum was certainly able to understand and appreciate these inscriptions.

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## 17. International Conference on Historic Structures

### 17. Conferința Internațională de Structuri portante istorice

### 17. Történeti tartószerkezetek nemzetközi konferencia

■ The Transsylvania Nostra Foundation will organise in Cluj-Napoca (Romania), between October 19 and 20, 2017, the 17<sup>th</sup> edition of the *International Conference on Historic Structures*. The present edition's topic is *Protection of Historic Structures in Case of Emergency Situations*.

Heritage values must be assessed and protected, both processes requiring socio-political grounding. The conference will take place in this context. *Protection of Historic Structures in Case of Emergency Situations* aims to approach the issues of protection for historic load-bearing structures, especially in case of emergency situations (caused by natural or anthropogenic factors, for example earthquakes, floods, fires, thunderstorms, explosions, etc., which also endanger human lives), including the specific aspects of sustainable protection.

The multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approach to the topic *Protection of Historic Structures in Case of Emergency Situations*, in the vision of the conference's Scientific Committee, implies the tackling of the two fundamental characteristics related to any heritage value: the research (investigation and inventory) of historic buildings' heritage values and their protection (interventions aiming at preserving the built heritage related to historic buildings). It is evident that the social parameters must be taken into account (in other words, the sustainable development of historic buildings and their perspectives in the next decades must also be discussed).

■ Fundația Transsylvania Nostra organizează în perioada 19-20 octombrie 2017, la Cluj-Napoca, cea de a 17-a ediție a *Conferințelor Internaționale de Structuri portante istorice*. Tematica propusă pentru prezenta ediție este *Protecția structurilor portante istorice în situații de urgență*.

Valorile de patrimoniu trebuie evaluate, respectiv protejate, iar ambele procese necesită suport social-politic. Prezentul eveniment se va desfășura în acest context. Conferința *Protecția structurilor portante istorice în situații de urgență* își propune abordarea problematicii protecției structurilor portante istorice, în special în situații de urgență (provocate de factori naturali sau antropici – cum ar fi seismul, inundațiile, incendiile, furtuni, explozii etc., punând în pericol inclusiv oamenii), luând în discuție inclusiv aspecte specifice ale protecției sustenabile.

Prezentarea multidisciplinară și interdisciplinară a tematicii *Protecția structurilor portante istorice în situații de urgență*, în viziunea Comitetului științific al conferinței, presupune abordarea celor două caracteristici de bază ale tratării oricărui valori de patrimoniu: cercetarea (investigarea, inventarierea) valorilor de patrimoniu ale clădirilor istorice, precum și protejarea acestor valori (intervenții în vederea păstrării patrimoniului construit legat de clădiri istorice). Este de la sine înțeles că trebuie abordați parametrii sociali (adică trebuie luat în discuție viitorul sustenabil al clădirilor istorice, respectiv perspectivele

■ A Transsylvania Nostra Alapítvány 2017. október 19–20. között szervezi meg Kolozsváron a *Történeti tartószerkezetek nemzetközi konferencia* 17. ülészakát, *A történeti tartószerkezetek védelme katasztrófahelyzetekben* tematikával.

Az örökségértékeket fel kell tárni, illetve meg kell védeni. Mindkét folyamatnak társadalmi-politikai háttere van. A konferencia ebben a kontextusban veti fel a témát. *A történeti tartószerkezetek védelme katasztrófahelyzetekben* konferencia a történeti tartószerkezetek katasztrófavédelmi kérdéskörével kíván foglalkozni (természeti vagy emberi tényezők által okozott katasztrófák, mint pl. földrengés, árvíz, tűz, vihar, robbanás stb., ami emberi életet veszélyeztet), hangsúlyos helyet biztosítva az örökségértékek fenntarthatóságának.

*A történeti tartószerkezetek védelme katasztrófahelyzetekben* tematika multi- és interdiszciplináris megközelítése – a konferencia tudományos tanácsának értelmezésében – a két alapvető, bármely örökségértékhez kapcsolódó jellegzetesség bemutatását feltételezi: a történeti épületek örökségértékeinek kutatását (feltárását, felleltározását stb.), illetve ezen értékek védelmét (a történeti épületekhez kapcsolódó épített kultúra megtartását célzó beavatkozásokat). Ezek szellemében kötelező figyelembe venni a társadalmi paramétereket is (pontosabban a történeti épületek fenntartható fejlődéséről szükséges értekezni, illetve ezek jövőjéről a következő évtizedekben).

There are international and national regulations related to interventions on historic structures in case of emergency situations. The questions to be asked are: to what extent are these regulations adequate for emergency situations and how much of the heritage values do they sacrifice by making the load-bearing structures safe to emergency situations?

The 17<sup>th</sup> edition of the International Conference on Historic Structures will contain plenary lectures related to a general approach to built heritage in case of emergency situations (earthquakes, floods, fires, thunderstorms, explosions, which also endanger peoples' lives), case studies, and round table discussions.

Topics suggested for debate, all of them approached from the angle of protection for historic load-bearing structures in case of emergency situations:

### 1. *Synthesis papers*

The main guidelines of heritage friendly protection in case of emergency situations:

- 1.1. International regulations related to interventions on historic load-bearing structures in case of emergency situations.
- 1.2. National regulations related to interventions on historic load-bearing structures in case of emergency situations.
- 1.3. Regulations which ensure the protection of historic buildings' heritage values in case of emergency situations.
- 1.4. Loss of heritage values during emergency interventions.

### 2. *The practise of formulating technical prescriptions for the behaviour of historic load-bearing structures in case of emergency situations: inventory, survey, heritage values*

- 2.1. Different types of historic load-bearing structures and their development in space and time, in the context of the criteria for the identification

acestora în următoarele decenii).

Există reglementări internaționale și naționale privind intervențiile în situații de urgență la structuri portante istorice. Se pune întrebarea în ce măsură aceste reglementări sunt suficiente din punct de vedere al situațiilor de urgență, respectiv câte valori de patrimoniu sunt sacrificate atunci când se asigură protecție în situațiile de urgență.

Ediția a 17-a a Conferinței Internaționale de Structuri Portante Istorice va cuprinde în programul său prelegeri în plen legate de o abordare generală a protecției patrimoniului construit în situații de urgență (seism, inundații, incendii, furtuni, explozii, punând în pericol locuitorii) precum și studii de caz și dezbateri la masa rotundă.

Tematici propuse, toate abordate prin prisma protecției structurilor portante istorice în situații de urgență:

### 1. *Referate de sinteză*

Liniile directoare ale protecției în situații de urgență pro patrimoniu:

- 1.1. Reglementări internaționale de intervenții în situații de urgență la structuri portante istorice.
- 1.2. Reglementări naționale de intervenții în situații de urgență la structuri portante istorice.
- 1.3. Reglementări de protecție a valorilor de patrimoniu la intervenții în situații de urgență la monumente istorice.
- 1.4. Valorile de patrimoniu distruse în cadrul intervențiilor în situații de urgență la structuri portante istorice.

### 2. *Practici de elaborare a reglementărilor tehnice de comportare a structurilor portante istorice în situații de urgență: inventarieri, relevee, valori de patrimoniu*

- 2.1. Diferite tipuri de structuri portante istorice și evoluția lor, cu coordonate în spațiu și timp, în contextul criteriilor de identificare a comportării

Léteznek országos és nemzetközi előírások, amelyek a történeti tartószerkezetek katasztrófhelyzetekben való beavatkozásaira vonatkoznak. A kérdés az, hogy ezek az előírások mennyire elégségesek katasztrófák esetén, illetve hogy mennyi örökségértéket áldoznak fel akkor, amikor katasztrófavédelmi beavatkozásra kerül sor.

A Történeti tartószerkezetek nemzetközi konferencia 17. ülészakának programját plenáris előadások alkotják, amelyek az épített örökség védelmének kérdéskörével foglalkoznak katasztrófhelyzetek esetén (pl. földrengés, árvíz, tűz, vihar, robbanás, ami emberi életet is veszélyeztet), valamint esettanulmányok és kezesztal-beszélgetések.

Javasolt témakörök, mindegyik a történeti tartószerkezetek katasztrófavédelmi megközelítéséből:

### 1. *Összefoglaló előadások*

Az örökségbarát katasztrófavédelmet érintő fő irányvonalak:

- 1.1. A történeti tartószerkezeti beavatkozások nemzetközi előírásai.
- 1.2. A történeti tartószerkezeti beavatkozások országos előírásai.
- 1.3. A műemlékek örökségértékeinek védelmét biztosító előírások.
- 1.4. Gyorsbeavatkozáskor pusztított/veszélyeztetett örökségértékek.

### 2. *Katasztrófavédelmet érintő műszaki előírások megfogalmazásának gyakorlata a történeti tartószerkezeti beavatkozások esetében: inventáriumok, felmérések, örökségértékek*

- 2.1. A történeti épületek különböző típusai, ezek fejlődése, tér és idő koordinátáik, a tartószerkezeti beavatkozások esetében az örökségbarát katasztrófavédelmet érintő alapelvek figyelembe vételével.
- 2.2. Történeti tartószerkezetek saját örökségértékei a történeti tartószerkezetek ka-



of the behaviour of historic load-bearing structures in case of emergency situations.

2.2. The intrinsic heritage values of historic load-bearing structures in case of emergency interventions.

### 3. International regulations regarding interventions on historic load-bearing structures

3.1. The history of international regulations and the manner in which these regulations detail the provisions on the behaviour of historic load-bearing structures in case of emergency situations.

3.2. The manner in which international regulations are put into practice on building conservation sites in case of emergency interventions.

### 4. National regulations regarding interventions on historic load-bearing structures

4.1. How detailed are the national regulations regarding the behaviour of historic load-bearing structures in case of emergency situations.

4.2. The “consequences” of applying the current national regulations.

### 5. Interventions on historic buildings in seismic areas

5.1. Evolution/history of seismic design.

5.2. International and national regulations and their efficiency.

5.3. Seismic retrofitting on historic load-bearing structures. Does heritage friendly seismic protection exist?

### 6. Case studies

#### Publication possibilities for lecturers

The conference’s Scientific Committee will select the most successful lectures to be published in the *Transsylvania Nostra* scientific journal, which is indexed in the SCOPUS international database. The selected lectures will be edited by the authors according to the editing

în situații de urgență a structurilor portante istorice.

2.2. Valori proprii de patrimoniu ale structurilor portante istorice în cazul intervențiilor în situații de urgență a structurilor portante istorice.

### 3. Reglementări internaționale de intervenții la structuri portante istorice

3.1. Punerea în discuție a istoricului prescripțiilor internaționale, modul în care aceste prescripții detaliază prevederile comportării în situații de urgență a structurilor portante istorice.

3.2. Modul de aplicare a prescripțiilor internaționale în situații de urgență pe șantierele de restaurare.

### 4. Reglementări naționale de intervenții la structuri portante istorice

4.1. Cât de detaliate sunt prescripțiile naționale cu privire la comportarea în situații de urgență a structurilor portante istorice.

4.2. „Consecințele” aplicării reglementărilor naționale actuale.

### 5. Intervenții la monumente istorice în zone seismice

5.1. Evoluția/istoria proiectării antiseismice

5.2. Prescripțiile internaționale sau naționale și eficiența lor.

5.3. Protecții antiseismice la structuri portante istorice. Există protecție antiseismică pro patrimoniu?

### 6. Studii de caz

#### Posibilitate de publicare pentru conferențieri

Comitetul științific al conferinței va selecta prelegerile cele mai reușite în vederea publicării lor în revista *Transsylvania Nostra*, recunoscută de CNCS, cotate B și indexată în baza de date internațională SCOPUS. Prelegerile selectate vor fi editate de autori în forma unui articol după normele de redactare care pot fi găsite pe site-ul revistei:

tasztrófavédelmi beavatkozások alkalmával.

### 3. A történeti tartószerkezeti beavatkozások nemzetközi előírásai

3.1. A nemzetközi előírások története, valamint annak a módja, ahogy ezek az előírások részletezik a történeti tartószerkezetek viselkedését katasztrófavédelmi helyszíneken.

3.2. Milyen mértékben kerülnek alkalmazásra a nemzetközi előírások a helyreállítási építőtelepeken.

### 4. A történeti tartószerkezeti beavatkozások országos előírásai

4.1. Az országos előírások mennyire részletezik a történeti tartószerkezetek viselkedését katasztrófavédelmi helyszíneken.

4.2. A jelenlegi országos előírások buktatói.

### 5. Műemlék-beavatkozások szeizmikus övezetekben

5.1. A földrengésbiztos tervezés fejlődéstörténete.

5.2. Nemzetközi vagy országos előírások és hatékonyságuk.

5.3. Történeti tartószerkezetek szeizmikus védelme. Létezik örökségbarát katasztrófavédelem?

### 6. Esettanulmányok

#### Publikálási lehetőség előadókna

A konferencia tudományos tanácsa a legsikeresebb előadásokat kiválasztja a *Transsylvania Nostra* tudományos folyóiratban való közlésre. A folyóirat CNCS által akkreditált, B kategóriával ellátott, valamint indexelve van a SCOPUS nemzetközi adatbázisban. A szerzők a kiválasztott előadásokat tudományos cikk formájába szerkesztik a folyóirat honlapján megtalálható szerkesztési követelmények alapján: <http://www.transsylvania.nostra.eu/tjournal/hu/tartalom/publik%C3%A1ci%C3%B3s-felt%C3%A9telek>.

instructions, which can be found on the journal's website: <http://www.transylvanianostra.eu/tjournal/en/content/instruction-authors>.

The lectures not selected for publication in the journal will be published online on the Historic Structures Conference's website. The online publication will be accessible at <http://www.transylvanianostra.eu/conferinta-en-structuripublicatii.html> and will receive an ISSN number. The editing requirements for the online publication can be found at <http://www.transylvanianostra.eu/conferinta-en-structuriconditii.html>.

Please indicate your intention of participating at the conference until *October 1, 2017*, by completing the online registration form at <https://goo.gl/forms/c1PcKBbVHmJarTa83>.

The organisers will provide simultaneous interpretation in Romanian, Hungarian, and English for the conference's entire duration.

*Contact details:* Mailing address: RO-400253 Cluj-Napoca, 14 Breaza St., Tel.: +40-264-435489, Fax: +40-264-436805, Mobile: +40-730-909630, +40-730-909636, Email: [hs@transylvanianostra.eu](mailto:hs@transylvanianostra.eu), [heritageconferences@gmail.com](mailto:heritageconferences@gmail.com).

<http://www.transylvanianostra.eu/tjournal/ro/con%C8%9Binut/condi%C5%A3ii-de-publicare>.

Prelegerile care nu au fost selectate spre publicare în revistă vor fi publicate on-line pe site-ul conferinței Structuri Portante Istorice. Publicația on-line va fi accesibilă pe adresa <http://www.transylvanianostra.eu/conferinta-ro-structuripublicatii.html> și va primi număr ISSN. Normele de redactare pentru apariția on-line pot fi găsite pe adresa <http://www.transylvanianostra.eu/conferinta-ro-structuriconditii.html>.

Intenția de participare la conferință se va comunica până la data de *1 octombrie 2017*, prin trimiterea formularului de înregistrare on-line <https://goo.gl/forms/VOcrdZfL7LHmOYfs1>.

Pe toată durata conferinței se va asigura traducerea simultană a prelegerilor în limbile română, maghiară și engleză. Intrarea la conferință este liberă!

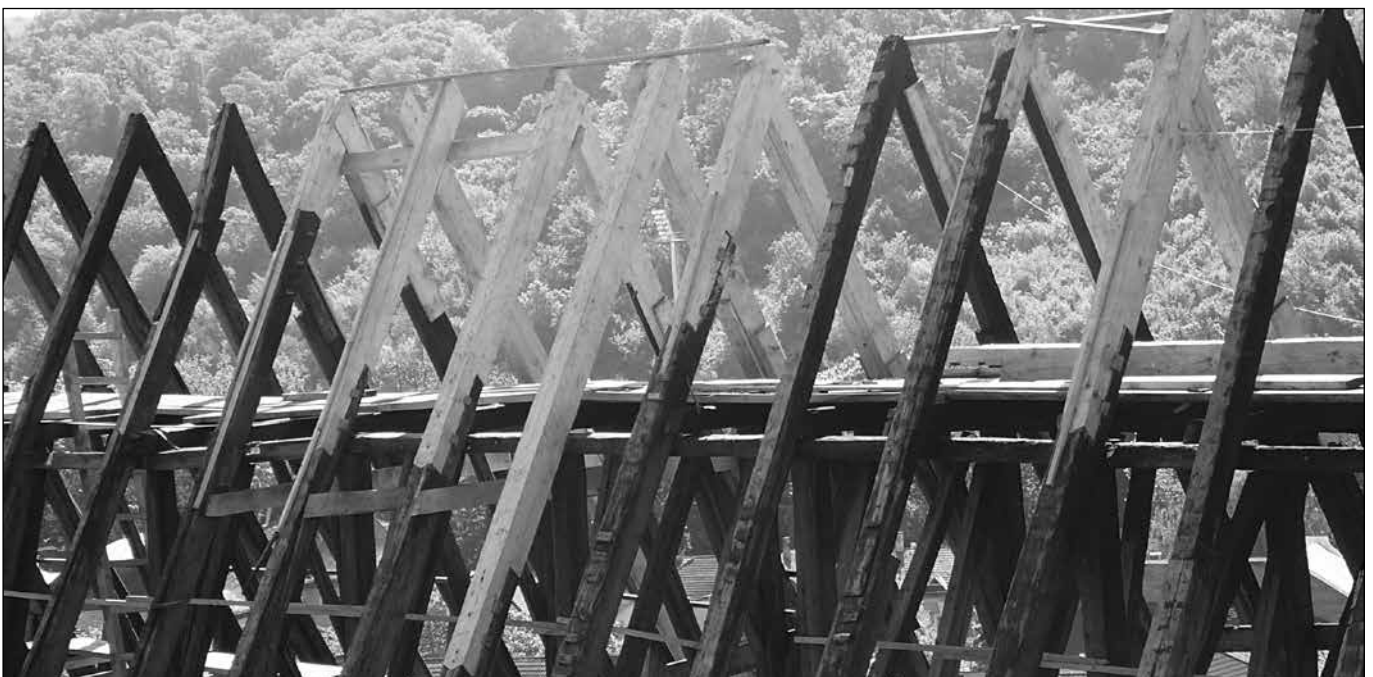
*Date de contact:* Adresa de corespondență: RO-400253, str. Breaza nr. 14, Cluj-Napoca, Tel./fax: +40 264 435489, Fax: +40 264 436805, Mobil: +40 730 909630, +40 730 909636, E-mail: [hs@transylvanianostra.eu](mailto:hs@transylvanianostra.eu), [heritageconferences@gmail.com](mailto:heritageconferences@gmail.com)

Azok az előadások, amelyek nem publikálhatók a folyóiratban, megjelennek az online publikációban a Történeti Tartó szerkezeti Konferencia honlapján. Az online publikáció a <http://www.transylvanianostra.eu/conferinta-hu-structuripublicatii.html> címen lesz elérhető, valamint ISSN számmal fog rendelkezni. Az online publikáláshoz szükséges szerkesztési követelményeket a <http://www.transylvanianostra.eu/conferinta-hu-structuriconditii.html> címen találják.

Kérjük, hogy részvételi szándékát közölje *2017. október 1-ig*, kitöltve az online regisztrációs nyomtatványt: <https://goo.gl/forms/UwcsiLIBHFLC2Yuv2>.

A konferencia teljes időtartama alatt az előadások szinkrontolmácsolása biztosított magyar, angol és román nyelveken. Az eseményen a részvétel díjmentes!

*Elérhetőség:* Levelezési cím: RO-400253, Breaza u. 14. sz., Cluj-Napoca/Kolozsvár, Tel +40-264-435489, Fax.+40-264-436805, Mobil: +40-730-909630, +40-730-909636, E-mail: [hs@transylvanianostra.eu](mailto:hs@transylvanianostra.eu), honlap: [www.transylvanianostra.eu](http://www.transylvanianostra.eu).







## Alexander BALEGA has left us

### Alexander BALEGA ne-a părăsit

### Elment BALEGA Sándor

### (1935-2017)

■ In Hungary, as well as in Transylvania, not only has Alexander seen a lot of beautiful historic buildings, but he also made many good friends, and he was very happy to see them again at a later time. He had precise notions about what is right and wrong, both within the professional field and outside of it, and he could explain this quite plainly and clearly whenever he found it necessary. His humour, which had helped him out in difficult times, often shined through even his more serious words. And since many people only knew this smiling side of him, at least now, while remembering him, it would be good to have a more complete picture of his life.<sup>1</sup>

Alexander BALEGA was born in Malá Trňa, in the Slovak part of the Tokaj wine region. He went to high school in Košice and Trebišov, where he also graduated. Having failed to pursue his university studies without hindrance, he first became a teaching assistant at the elementary school in Veľká Ida, and later he studied history at the Faculty of Arts of Bratislava University.

After graduating from university, he returned to the eastern part of the country: as a novice researcher and educator, he developed the freshly founded Faculty of Arts in Prešov, and, upon continuing his archival research, he noticed, with some surprise, that prior to him nobody had read / cut open the periodicals published in our territory during the time of Emperor Joseph II.

Following the publication of several articles and a promising study, the

■ În Ungaria, cât și în Transilvania, Alexander nu numai că a vizitat multe monumente istorice frumoase, dar a și câștigat mulți prieteni, fiind foarte bucuros când i-a putut revedea la o dată mai târzie. A avut idei foarte precise cu privire la ce este corect și greșit, atât în domeniul profesional precum și în afara acestuia, ceea ce putea explica foarte clar și limpede când considera acest lucru necesar. Umorul său care l-a ajutat în vremuri dificile se ivea chiar și din vorbele sale mai grave. Și, din moment ce mulți oameni îi cunoșteau doar această față zâmbitoare, cel puțin acum, când ne reamintim de el, ar fi frumos să ne formăm o imagine mai completă asupra vieții sale.<sup>1</sup>

Alexander BALEGA s-a născut în Malá Trňa, partea slovacă a regiunii viticole Tokaj, a fost licean la Košice și Trebišov, unde a dat examenul de bacalaureat. Deoarece nu a reușit să-și continue nestingherit studiile universitare, prima dată a lucrat ca ajutor de învățător la școala elementară din Veľká Ida, după care a studiat istoria la Facultatea de Arte de la Universitatea din Bratislava.

După anii de facultate a revenit în partea estică a țării: ca tânăr cercetător și pedagog, a dezvoltat nou-înființata Facultate de Arte din Prešov, iar la continuarea cercetărilor de arhivă a constatat cu surprindere, că periodicele publicate în timpul împăratului Iosif II în regiunea noastră nu au fost citite / tăiate de nimeni înaintea lui.

După publicarea mai multor articole și a unui studiu promițător, înce-

■ Mind Magyarországon, mind Erdélyben, Sándor nemcsak sok szép műemléket látott, de sok jó baráttra is szert tett, s nagyon örült, ha ismét találkozhatott velük egy következő alkalomkor. Pontos elképzelései voltak a helyes és nem helyes dolgokról, szakmai területen és szakmán kívül egyaránt, s ezt nagyon világosan és érthetően meg is tudta fogalmazni, ha ezt szükségesnek találta. Komoly mondataiból is sokszor kivillant humora, amely átsegítette a nehéz időkön. S mivel sokan csak ezt a mosolygós oldalát ismerték, legalább most, visszaemlékezéskor, jó lenne egy teljesebb képet kapni az életéről.<sup>1</sup>

BALEGA Sándor a tokaji borvidék szlovákiai részén született Kistoronyán (Malá Trňa), gimnáziumba Kassán és Terebesen járt, itt is érettségizett. Mivel nem sikerült zökkenőmentesen folytatnia tanulmányait az egyetemen, először a nagyidai (Veľká Ida) elemi iskolában volt kiegészítő tanító, majd a pozsonyi egyetem bölcsészkarán hallgatott történelmet.

Egyetemi éveit után visszament az ország keleti részébe: kezdő kutatóként és pedagógusként a frissen alapított Eperjesi (Prešov) bölcsészkarát fejlesztette, s a levéltári kutatásai folytatásakor meglepetéssel vette észre, hogy a II. József császár idejében a területünkön kiadott periodikákat még előtte senki sem olvasta / vágta fel.

Több cikk és egy ígéretes tanulmány megjelentetése után a fiatal történész szépen induló pályafutását az ún. normalizáció tette tönkre: miután nem volt hajlandó „önkritika” kere-

<sup>1</sup> A complete bibliography can be found at: <http://www.pamiatky.sk/Content/Data/File/ARCHIV/Monument-1-2014.pdf>, pages 68-69.

<sup>1</sup> Bibliografia sa completă se poate găsi aici: <http://www.pamiatky.sk/Content/Data/File/ARCHIV/Monument-1-2014.pdf>, pag. 68-69.

<sup>1</sup> Teljes bibliográfia itt: <http://www.pamiatky.sk/Content/Data/File/ARCHIV/Monument-1-2014.pdf>, 68-69. old.

start of the young historian's career was trampled down by the so-called normalisation period: after refusing to acknowledge, in the spirit of "self-criticism," the legitimacy of the "brotherly" Soviet invasion of our country in 1968, he lost his job. Alexander BALEGA was without work for two years, trying to apply for any job announcement, even as a driver, but all his attempts were hindered by the secret police, so as not to "endanger the socialist republic" with his views. Later he was allowed to work at the regional cultural centre – as a nature conservation referent. When the cultural centre was reorganised and the staff members were transferred to the cultural department belonging to the national committee of the district, here he was able to work with the historic buildings of the area, and in a subsequent reorganisation in 1988, Alexander BALEGA became a member of the Košice Regional Monument Board of the Slovak Republic. At first he was a very quiet staff member, working diligently on his typewriter: primarily he could only conduct archival and library research for historic buildings that were considered for conservation in the coming years.

Following the changes in 1989, Alexander BALEGA became reinvigorated, got involved in the feverish debates, and soon it became evident not only that he had a good overview of all that we were doing in our institute for the sake of historic buildings, but that he also had a notion of what we have not done so far and a vision of what we should do in the future, as well as the way in which we should proceed.

At the end of 1991, the Hungarian professionals in the field of historic building conservation invited several of us for a three-week professional seminar in Ráckeve, with attendees from Romania, the former Yugoslavia, Ukraine, and the Slovak Republic. Here, for the first time, we met and talked with our Hungarian colleagues, and this seminar established the basis of the two countries' future professional cooperation. Alexander BALEGA suggested the possibility of a cooperation between the two institutions' specialists already in Ráckeve. In the following year, he organised a working meeting at Domică (the Slovak side of the Hungarian Aggtelek), where the experts of the two countries

putul carierei tânărului istoric a fost zdrobit de așa-numita normalizare: după ce a refuzat în cadrul „autocriticii” să recunoască legitimitatea invaziei sovietice „frățești” a țării noastre în 1968, și-a pierdut locul de muncă. Alexander BALEGA a fost șomer timp de doi ani, încercând să răspundă la orice anunț, de exemplu chiar și ca șofer, dar orice tentativă a fost zădărnicită de poliția secretă, ca nu cumva opiniile sale să „compromită republica socialistă”. Mai târziu a fost lăsat să lucreze la centrul cultural regional – ca referent de protecție a mediului. Când s-a reorganizat centrul cultural și personalul a fost mutat la departamentul cultural al comitetului național districtual, aici s-a putut ocupa inclusiv de monumentele istorice din zonă, iar cu ocazia unei noi reorganizări din 1988, Alexander BALEGA a devenit membru al Oficiului Regional al Monumentelor Istorice din Cașovia. La început a fost un coleg foarte liniștit, lucrând sârguincios la mașina de scris: în primul rând s-a putut ocupa doar de cercetare de arhivă și de bibliotecă pentru acele monumente istorice care urmau să fie restaurate în următorii ani.

După schimbările din 1989 Alexander BALEGA a reinviat, s-a implicat în dezbaterile aprinse și în curând s-a dovedit nu doar că avea o privire de ansamblu bună asupra ceea ce făceam la institutul nostru pentru monumentele istorice, dar și o idee despre ceea ce nu am făcut încă, respectiv despre ce și cum trebuie să facem în viitor.

La sfârșitul anului 1991, cei de la monumentele istorice din Ungaria au invitat mai mulți dintre noi la un seminar profesional de trei săptămâni la Ráckeve, la care au participat colegi din România, teritoriul fostei Iugoslavii, Ucraina și Slovacia. Aici, pentru prima dată, am avut posibilitatea de a întâlni și de a discuta cu colegii din domeniul protecției monumentelor istorice din Ungaria, iar acest seminar a pus bazele unei cooperări profesionale viitoare între cele două țări. Alexander BALEGA a sugerat posibilitatea unei cooperări între profesioniștii celor două instituții deja la Ráckeve. Anul următor a organizat o întâlnire de lucru la Domică (partea slovacă a regiunii Aggtelek), unde specialiștii celor două țări s-au ocupat de cercetarea și restaurarea frescelor medievale din bisericile construite pe teritoriul co-

tében elismerni az 1968-as „testvéri” szovjet bevonulás jogosultságát hazánkba, elveszítette az állását. BALEGA Sándor két évig állás nélkül volt, bármely álláshirdetésre igyekezett jelentkezni, pl. akár gépkocsivezetőnek is, viszont valamennyi próbálkozását megghiúsította a titkosrendőrség, nehogy nézeteivel „veszélyeztesse a szocialista köztársaságot”. Később megengedték, hogy a kerületi művelődési központban dolgozzék – természetvédelmi referensként. Amikor átszervezték a művelődési központot és a munkatársak a járási nemzeti bizottság kultúrosztályára kerültek, itt már foglalkozhatott a terület műemlékeivel is, s egy következő átszervezésnél 1988-ban BALEGA Sándor a Kassai Műemléki Hivatal munkatársa lett. Eleinte nagyon csendes munkatárs volt, szorgalmasan kopogtatta írógépét: elsősorban kizárólag levéltári és könyvtári kutatást végezhetett olyan műemlékek esetében, amelyek a következő években helyreállításnak néztek elébe.

Az 1989-es változások után BALEGA Sándor feléledt, bekapcsolódott a lázas vitákba és hamarosan kiderült, hogy nemcsak jó áttekintése van afelett, mit csinálunk valamennyien az intézetünkben a műemlékek érdekében, de van elképzelése arról is, amit nem csináltunk eddig, és arról is, mit és hogyan kellene a jövőben végeznünk.

1991 végén a magyarországi műemlékesek meghívtak többünket egy háromhetes szakmai szemináriumra Ráckevére, ahol Romániából, a volt Jugoszlávia területéről, Ukrajnáról és Szlovákiából voltak hallgatók. Itt először lett alkalmunk találkozni és beszélgetni magyarországi műemlékes kollégákkal, s ez a szeminárium alapozta meg a két ország jövődöbéli szakmai együttműködését is. Már Ráckeven javasolta BALEGA Sándor a két intézmény szakembereinek együttműködésének lehetőségét. A következő évben már szervezett egy munkatalálkozót Domicán (Aggtelek szlovákiai oldala), amelyen a történelmi Gömör megye területén épült templomok középkori freskóinak kutatásával és restaurálásával foglalkoztak a két ország szakemberei. Megegyeztek, hogy a határ két oldalán levő kijelölt templomok freskóin a magyar oldal végzi el a laboratóriumi vegyta-



were concerned with the research and conservation of the mediaeval frescoes of churches built in the area of historic Gömör County. They agreed that in regards to the frescoes of the churches designated on both sides of the border, the Hungarian side will carry out the in the physical and chemical laboratory research, while the Slovak part will produce the graphic documentation. This cooperation continued for several years, as a result of which the documentation of 14 church frescoes was carried out.

When our institute underwent a reorganisation at the end of 1991, as a result of which the colleagues that were technical supervisors in the preceding period were let go, we, a smaller group remained in the position of historic buildings' supervisor under the Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic, and Alexander BALEGA, aided by his natural standing, became the director of the Košice Centre. The "position" of director did not trigger any other changes in him: his office door was always open for us, we did not have to "request audiences", we just needed to knock on the door-post if we needed to discuss or to get advice on a professional matter. For him, it was primarily the exact cognition and research that was normative, and he led us in that direction as well, as he was reserved with zealous people who wanted to carry out historic building conservation works based on enthusiasm, immediately and at all costs, sometimes without solid scientific preparation. He did not judge historic building conservation works based on aesthetics, but on their truthfulness. And since he knew that the protection of historic buildings could not be taught as a separate profession at the university, as it requires the cooperation of specialists of many different professions, it was his every attempt that his colleagues consult with each other as specialists every morning.

In addition to his work as a director, he continued the Hungarian-Slovak cooperation, moreover, he managed to conclude, over several years, a cooperation agreement with the Transylvanian colleagues, which involved primarily participation in conferences, study filed trips, exchange of experiences, and organisation of exhibitions (e.g. the travelling exhibition entitled *The life*

mitatului istoric Gömör. Au căzut de acord ca pe frescele bisericilor desemnate pe ambele părți ale graniței partea maghiară să efectueze cercetarea fizică și chimică de laborator, iar cei din Slovacia să pregătească documentația grafică. Această cooperare a continuat timp de mai mulți ani, fiind întocmite documentațiile pentru frescele a 14 biserici.

Când la sfârșitul anului 1991 instituția noastră a trecut printr-o reorganizare, în urma căreia s-a renunțat la colegii care în perioada anterioară erau inspectorii tehnici și am rămas noi – un grup mai mic – în poziția de inspector de monumente istorice în cadrul Oficiului Regional al Monumentelor Istorice din Slovacia, Alexander BALEGA, fiind ajutat de prestigiul său firesc, a devenit director al Centrului din Košice. „Calitatea” de director nu a adus nicio altă schimbare în el: ușa biroului său a fost întotdeauna deschisă pentru noi – nu trebuia să „cerem audiențe”, doar să batem în tocul ușii atunci când simțeam nevoia să discutăm sau să cerem sfaturi privind o problemă profesională. Principiul său guvernator era în primul rând cunoașterea exactă și cercetarea, și încerca să ne îndrume și pe noi pe această cale, deoarece avea rezerve în privința oamenilor zeloși, care doreau să restaureze monumente istorice fiind conduși de entuziasm, imediat și cu orice cost, chiar și fără o pregătire științifică solidă. El judeca reabilitarea și restaurarea monumentelor istorice nu pe baza aspectelor estetice ale acestora, ci pe baza veridicității lor, și deoarece știa că protecția monumentelor istorice nu poate fi predată la universitate ca o profesie separată, fiindcă presupune cooperarea mai multor specialiști de profesii diferite, încerca din răspuțeri ca colegii săi să se consulte reciproc ca profesioniști în fiecare dimineață.

Munca de director nu l-a împiedicat să continue cooperarea dintre Ungaria și Slovacia, mai mult, a reușit să încheie un acord de cooperare cu colegii din Transilvania de-a lungul a mai multor ani, ceea ce presupunea în primul rând participare la conferințe și excursii de studiu, schimburi de experiență, precum și organizarea unor expoziții (de exemplu, expoziția itinerantă cu titlul de *Viața și opera lui Viktor Miškovský* a fost expusă în mai multe orașe transilvănene).

ni és fizikai kutatást, a szlovák pedig a grafikai dokumentációt készíti el. S ez az együttműködés több évig folytatódott, eredményeként összesen 14 templom freskóinak a dokumentációját készítettük el.

Amikor 1991 végén az intézetünk átszervezésen esett át, amelynek következtében lemorzolták az előbbi időszakban műszaki ellenőrként működő kollégáinkat, s maradtunk – egy kisebb csoport – a műemléki felügyelők beosztásában a Szlovák Műemléki Hivatal keretében, akkor BALEGA Sándor tekintélyének köszönhetően a Kassai Központ igazgatója lett. Igazgatói „minősége” nem váltott ki benne semmi egyéb változást: számunkra mindig nyitva volt az irodája ajtaja – nem kellett „audienciát kérni”, csak kopogni az ajtófélfán, ha szükségünk volt megbeszélni, tanácsot kapni valamilyen szakmai problémára. Számára elsősorban az egzakt megismerés, kutatás volt az irányadó, s erre vezetett rá minket is, mivel tartózkodott az olyan lelkes emberektől, akik főleg felbuzdulás alapján akartak műemlék-helyreállításokat véghezvinni, azonnal és mindenáron, akár szolid tudományos felkészülés nélkül is. A műemléki helyreállítást, restaurálást nem aszerint ítélte meg, hogy szép-e, hanem hogy igaz-e. S mivel tudta, hogy a műemlékvédelmet nem lehet mint különálló szakmát az egyetemen kitanulni, hanem sok különféle végzettségű szakember együttműködése szükséges hozzá, minden igyekezete azon volt, hogy minden reggel a kollégái mint szakemberek tudjanak konzultálni egymással.

Az igazgatói munka mellett nem hagyta félbe a magyar–szlovák együttműködési munkát sem, sőt több éven keresztül sikerült együttműködési szerződést kötni az erdélyi kollégákkal is – ez elsősorban konferenciákban való részvételt jelentett, tanulmányi kirándulást, tapasztalatcserét és kiállítás szervezést (pl. a *Myskovszky Viktor élete és műve* című vándorkiállítást több erdélyi városban tekinthették meg).

Nyugdíjba vonulás után 1996 óta még tizenöt évig szervezte BALEGA Sándor a szlovák–magyar együttműködést: személyesen készítette az aktuális évi egyeztetését az éppen illetékes magyarországi kollégával együtt, segített a közös programok és találko-

and work Viktor Myskovszky could be seen in several Transylvanian towns).

Following his retirement, from 1996, Alexander BALEGA organised the Slovak-Hungarian cooperation for 15 years. He personally prepared the current year's agreement with the relevant Hungarian colleague, assisted during joint programmes and meetings, interpreting for the colleagues of the two institutions. This cooperation has been useful for both sides: the Hungarian colleagues, who until now were primarily acquainted with the archival, photographic and design documentation of the historic buildings in the Slovak Republic, were able to study the buildings on site and to get acquainted with the results of the Slovak researches related to historic building protection and conservation, perchance with the quality of the finished conservation works. On the other hand, the Slovak professionals were able to check the putative authenticity of our historic buildings in the light of the 19<sup>th</sup> century documentation, which was unknown to them before. And more importantly, both sides were able to share their experiences and problems with each other, as our cultural heritage has the same artistic and historical background on both sides of the border.

In addition to the mentioned documentation of the medieval frescoes in Gömör County, the most important results of the many years of cooperation between the Slovak Republic and Hungary were: a collective, four-language exhibition with the title of *Mediaeval wall paintings in the heart of Europe*, which was exhibited in 2000 at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg and has since been seen in 37 towns of 10 European countries; two international conferences (*The life and work of Imre Henszlmann* – 1996, *The life and work of Viktor Myskovszky* – 1998), a Hungarian-Slovak-English-language collection of articles was also produced for the latter, as well as an exhibition of MYSKOVSZKY's documentation work, which could be seen in 12 cities of three countries; furthermore, six professional seminars, a double issue of *Műemlékvédelem* (no. 3-4 of 2001) with articles from Slovak authors and an issue of *Pamiatky a múzeá* (no. 2 of 2003) with Hungarian authors. Alexander BALEGA set aside this organisational work in 2011, when he transferred his responsi-

După pensionare, începând din 1996, Alexander BALEGA a continuat să organizeze cooperarea slovacă-ungară pentru cincisprezece ani: a condus personal negocierile anului curent cu colegul competent din Ungaria, a ajutat în timpul programelor comune și reuniunilor, interpretând pentru colegii celor două instituții. Această cooperare a fost utilă pentru ambele părți: colegii din Ungaria, care cunoșteau în primul rând documentația privind documentele, fotografiile și planurile de arhivă ale monumentelor de pe teritoriul Slovaciei, au avut șansa de a studia clădirile la fața locului, precum și rezultatele restaurărilor și cercetărilor monumentelor în Slovacia, sau chiar de a evalua calitatea restaurărilor finite. Pe de altă parte, specialiștii din Slovacia au putut verifica autenticitatea presupusă a monumentelor noastre pe baza documentației din secolul al XIX-lea, necunoscută lor până atunci. Pe lângă acestea, mai important, ambele părți au avut ocazia de a-și împărtăși experiențele și problemele, fiindcă patrimoniul nostru cultural de pe ambele părți ale graniței dispune de același fundal artistic și istoric.

În afara documentației menționate a frescelor medievale din comitatul Gömör, cele mai importante rezultate ale acestor ani de cooperare au fost: o expoziție colectivă în patru limbi cu titlul de *Picturi murale medievale în inima Europei*, care a fost expusă în 2000 la sediul din Strasbourg a Consiliului Europei, și care de atunci a putut fi văzută în 37 de orașe din 10 țări europene; două conferințe internaționale (*Viața și opera lui Imre Henszlmann* – 1996, *Viața și opera lui Viktor Miškovský* – 1998), pentru cea din urmă fiind elaborată inclusiv o colecție de studii în limbile maghiară, slovacă și engleză, respectiv o expoziție pe baza documentației lui Viktor MIŠKOVSKÝ, care a fost expusă în 12 orașe din trei țări; șase seminarii profesionale, un număr dublu al revistei *Műemlékvédelem* (nr. 3-4 din 2001) cu studiile unor autori din Slovacia și un număr al revistei *Pamiatky a múzeá* (nr. 2 din 2003) dedicat complet autorilor din Ungaria. Alexander BALEGA a încetat această activitate de organizare în 2011, când și-a predat responsabilitățile colegilor mai tineri pentru a dedica mai mult timp nepoților. Atunci încă nu a putea bănui că anul următor nu

zások idején, tolmácsolt a két intézmény kollégái közt. Ez az együttműködés mindkét oldal számára hasznos lett: a magyarországi kollégák, akik eddig elsősorban a Szlovákia területén levő műemlékek levéltári, fotótári és tervtári dokumentációját ismerték, tanulmányozhatták az épületeket helyben, megismerhették a szlovákiai műemléki és restauratori kutatások eredményeit, esetleg a kész helyreállítás minőségét. A szlovákiai műemlékesek pedig ellenőrizhették a műemlékeink vélt autenticitását az addig számukra ismeretlen XIX. századi dokumentáció szerint. És ami még fontosabb: mindkét fél megoszthatta tapasztalatát és problémáit a másikkal, hiszen kulturális örökségünknek a határ mindkét oldalán ugyanaz a művészeti és történeti háttere van.

Az említett Gömör megyei középkori freskók dokumentációján kívül a szlovák-magyar sokéves együttműködés legfontosabb eredményei: közös négy nyelvű kiállítás *Középkori falfestmények Európa szívében* címmel, amely 2000-ben lett kiállítva az Európa Tanács strasbourgi székhelyén, s azóta 10 európai ország 37 városában láthatták; két nemzetközi konferencia (*Henszlmann Imre élete és műve* – 1996, *Myskovszky Viktor élete és műve* – 1998), az utóbbinak magyar-szlovák-angol nyelvű tanulmánykötete is megjelent és kiállítás is készült MYSKOVSZKY dokumentációs munkáiról, ezt 3 ország 12 városában láthatták, továbbá 6 szakmai szeminárium, a *Műemlékvédelem* 3-4/2001 kettős száma szlovákiai szerzők tanulmányaival és a *Pamiatky a múzeá* 2/2003 teljes száma magyarországi szerzőkkel. Ezt a szervezési munkát BALEGA Sándor 2011-ben hagyta abba, átadva a stafétát fiatalabb kollégáknak, hogy több időt szentelhessen unokáinak. Ekkor még nem sejtette, hogy a következő évben az utolsó évi munkaprogramot már nem volt ki befejezve a magyarországi oldalon és a rá következő évben már nem is volt kivel együttműködni, tekintettel az akkori Kulturális Örökségvédelmi Hivatal feloszlására.

Aki az említett két évtizedben részt vett nálunk akár csak az egyiken is az említett közös rendezvények közül, amelyeket BALEGA Sándor szervezett, az tudja értékelni azt a személyes belevetést (vagy felvilágosodás-célú munkát?), amelyet tanúsított



bilities to younger colleagues in order to devote more time to his grandchildren. At that time, he could not have foreseen that there would be no one to complete the next year's work programme on the Hungarian side and that the year following that there would be no one to cooperate with, in view of the dissolution of the then Hungarian Office of Cultural Heritage.

Those that had participated during these two decades in at least one of these joint events organised by Alexander BALEGA could truly appreciate the personal dedication (or work aiming at enlightenment) that he manifested in the interest of the research, as well as the discussion of the practical and theoretical issues of conservation in regards to our historic buildings found on both sides of our border. As a sign of appreciation, in 2002 our colleagues in Hungary awarded Alexander BALEGA the István Schönvisner Prize, in 2008 the Hungarian ICOMOS handed him the István Möller Medallion, and in 2011 his many years of work for historic buildings were recognised through awarding him the Balassa Iván Medallion near his homeland, by the Cultural Association in Bodrogköz. In 2014 the Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic gave him the Alžbeta Güntherová Mayerová Award as a recognition for his many years of work in the field of historic building conservation.

He appreciated all the recognition, but he was truly happy when he met his friends and acquaintances, as well as when he was working with them. As a full-time pensioner, he has often visited our office in Košice in recent years, inquiring about our work, and not feeling it a burden when we discussed our problems with him. If he had time, he came to inspect the building archaeology research or the conservation work. He also taught us, through his own example, that it is possible to follow uncompromising principles as a rigorous historic buildings' specialist, and still remain a kind and good person. We strive, with a grateful heart, to meet life as Alexander BALEGA had taught us!

Tina MARKUŠOVÁ  
Regional Monuments Board,  
Košice, Slovak Republic

va mai fi cine să finalizeze programul de lucru pe partea maghiară, respectiv că în anul care urma după aceea nu va mai fi cu cine să se coopereze, având în vedere dizolvarea Oficiului Patrimoniului Cultural al Ungariei.

Cei care au participat în timpul acestor două decenii la cel puțin unul dintre evenimente comune menționate, organizate Alexander BALEGA, au putut aprecia cu adevărat dedicarea personală (sau munca cu scopul luminării?) de care a dat dovadă pentru cercetarea monumentelor istorice de pe ambele laturi ale graniței, respectiv pentru a discuta aspectele practice și teoretice ale restaurării acestora. În semn de recunoaștere, colegii noștri din Ungaria i-au acordat în 2002 Premiul István Schönvisner, în 2008 ICOMOS Ungaria i-a predat Medalia István Möller, iar în 2011 anii săi de muncă în domeniul protecției monumentelor au fost recunoscute în apropierea locului său de naștere, prin acordarea Medaliei Iván Balassa de către Asociația Culturală din Bodrogköz. În 2014, în semn de recunoaștere pentru activitatea sa de mai mulți ani în domeniul protecției monumentelor, Oficiului Monumentelor Istorice al Republicii Slovacie i-a acordat Premiul Alžbeta Güntherová Mayerová.

El s-a bucurat de toate aceste recunoștințe, însă adevărata plăcere pentru el consta din acele momente când s-a putut întâlni cu prietenii și cunoștințele – și a putut lucra împreună cu ei. Ca pensionar, în ultimii ani a vizitat de multe ori birourile noastre din Cașovia, ne-a întrebat despre munca noastră și nu era o povară pentru el să discute cu noi despre probleme ivite. Dacă avea timp, venea să asiste la cercetarea de parament sau la restaurare. Ne-a învățat prin exemplul propriei sale persoane că cineva poate fi un specialist strict în domeniul monumentelor, urmărind principii fără compromisuri, dar rămânând în același timp o persoană amabilă și bună. Ne străduim, cu inimi recunoscătoare, să răspundem provocărilor vieții așa cum ne-a învățat Alexander BALEGA!

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a határunk két oldalán levő műemlékeink megismerése, helyreállításuk gyakorlati és elméleti kérdéseinek megvitatása érdekében. Magyarországi kollégáink 2002-ben elismerésként a Schönvisner István-díjjal tüntették ki, s 2008-ban a magyarországi ICOMOS a Möller István-émlékéremet adta át BALEGA Sándornak, 2011-ben pedig sokéves műemlékes munkáját szülőföldje közelében a Bodrogközi Művelődési Egyesület a Balassa Iván-émlékérem átadásával fejezte ki. 2014-ben kapta a Szlovák Műemléki Hivatal elismerése jeléül az Alžbeta Güntherová Mayerová-díjat sokéves munkájáért a műemlékvédelem terén.

Valamennyi elismerésnek örvendett, de igazi öröm az volt számára, ha találkozhatott barátaival és ismerőseivel – és együtt munkálkodhatott velük. Teljes idejű nyugdíjasként gyakran bejárt az utóbbi években a kassai hivatalunkba, rákérdezett a munkánkra és nem vette tehernek, ha megtárgyaltuk vele a problémákat. Ha volt ideje, eljött megnézni a falkutatást vagy restaurálást is. Saját példájával tanított minket is arra, hogy lehetséges szigorú műemlékesként kompromisszum nélküli elveket követni, s közben kedves és jóságos embernek maradni. Igyekszünk hálás szívvel megfelelni az életnek úgy, ahogy BALEGA Sándor tanított bennünket!

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