

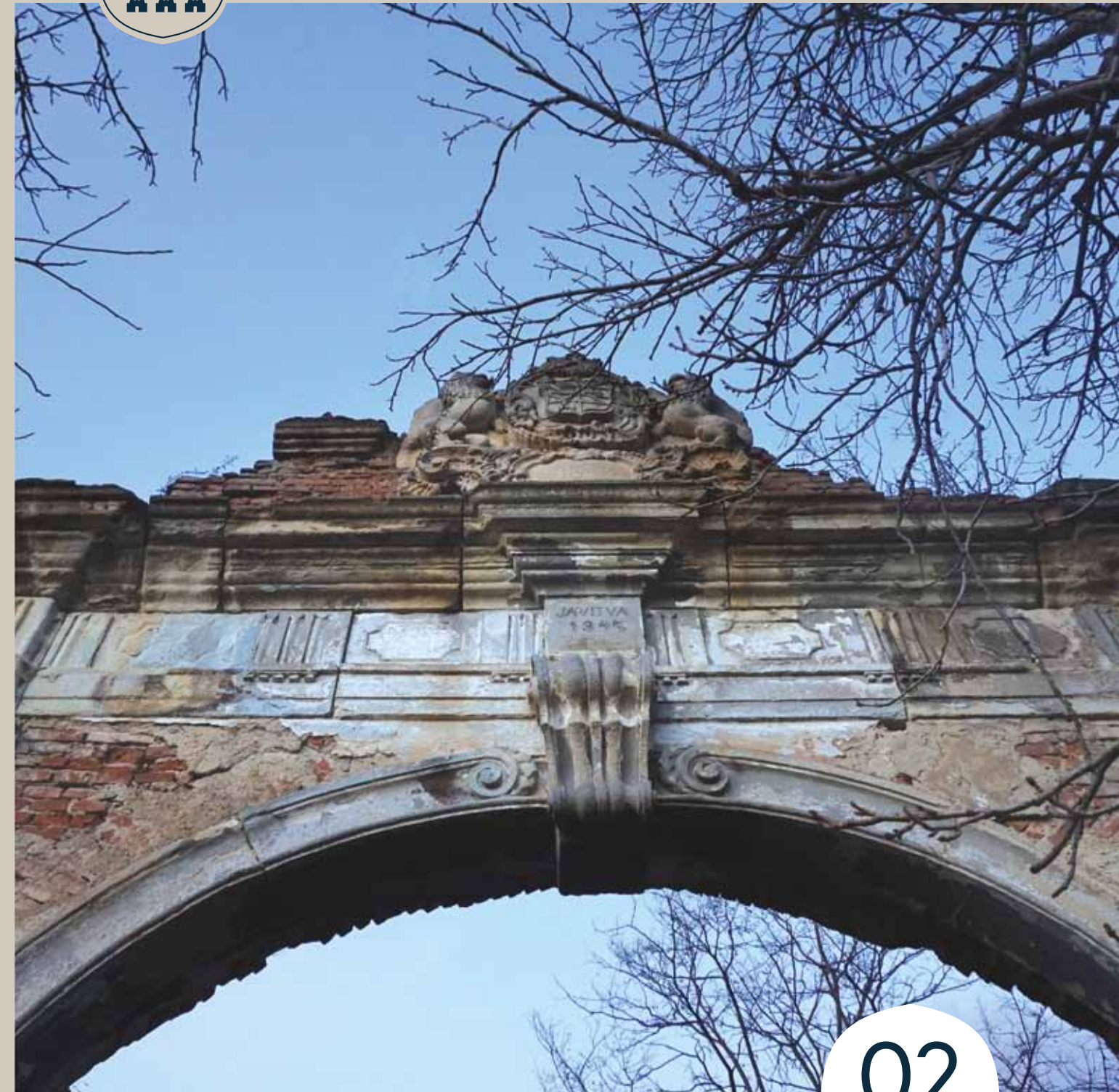
- The Calvinist Wooden Church in Valea Voinești.  
Additions to the History of Calvinist Churches in the Trei Scaune Region  
The article may be found on pages 32-46.
- Biserica de lemn reformată din Valea Voinești.  
Contribuții la istoria bisericilor reformate din Regiunea Trei Scaune  
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- A vajnafalvi református fatemplom.  
Adalékok a háromszéki református templomok történetéhez  
A cikk 32–46. oldalakon olvasható.

# Transsylvania

# nostra

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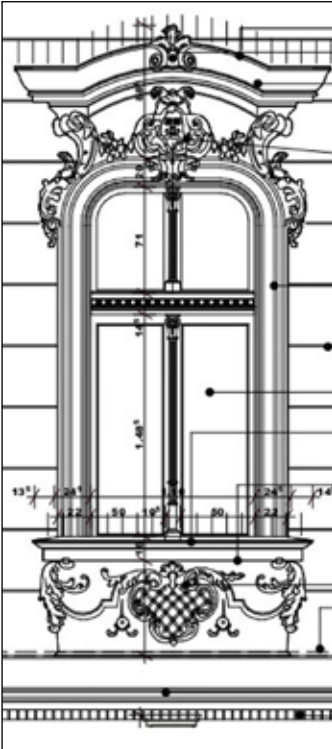
BUILT HERITAGE  
PATRIMONIU CONSTRUIT  
ÉPÍTETT ÖRÖKSÉG



02  
2019



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The article investigates the state of decay of the conservation of the former Palace of the Pension Fund in the Iosefin Quarter, Timișoara. After a number of separate interventions on the building, it is for the first time that the building is studied and treated as a whole. The full design deals with both structural consolidation and architectural rehabilitation. The provided reversible consolidation solutions are respectful of the composition and style of the elevations and aim at reviving the building's former atmosphere.

(Brîndușă Raluca HAVASI)

Articolul investighează starea de degradare a fostului palat al fondului de pensii din cartierul Iosefin din Timișoara. După mai multe intervenții punctuale asupra clădirii, este pentru prima dată când clădirea este studiată și tratată integral. Proiectul în ansamblul său are în vedere atât consolidarea structurală, cât și reabilitarea arhitecturală. S-au stabilit soluții de consolidare reversibile, care să nu afecteze compoziția și stilistica fațadelor și care să redea clădirii atmosfera de odinioară.

(Brîndușă Raluca HAVASI)

A cikk a temesvári Józsefváros negyedben található egykori nyugdíjalap bérpalotája állapotát, károsodásának mértékét méri fel. Ez az első alkalom, amikor az épület egészét tanulmányozzák és kezelik, a több, szórványos beavatkozás után. A terv figyelembe veszi mind a szerkezeti megerősítést, mind az építészeti rehabilitációt. Olyan visszafordítható megerősítési megoldásokat hoztak létre, amelyek nem befolyásolják a homlokzatok összetételét és stílusát, és amelyek visszaadják az épület egykori hangulatát..

(HAVASI Brîndușă Raluca)

- **Front cover photo:** Detail of the Baroque gate, 2018 © Maria Alexandra SAS
- **Back cover photo:** Detail of the Turgot map (1734-1739) of Paris displaying the landscape arrangement, including the tree-lined alleys of the fortifications © public domain
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- **Hátsó fedél képe:** A Párizst ábrázoló Turgot-térkép (1734–1739) részlete, amely az erődítmények tájépítészeti rendezését, fákkal szegélyezett sétányok kialakítását ábrázolja © közkinccs

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## Transsylvania nostra



Nemzeti Kulturális Alap



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■ Our faithful readers and not only hold the 50<sup>th</sup> issue of our journal.

Since its launch in 2007, the journal has been already redesigned two times. The Editorial Board hopes that the new early 2019 design would be much more attractive and more appropriate to the increasing scientific content.

Publication space for young specialists and researchers, as well as the long-established columns are maintained, and new space is reserved for newly launched columns.

The 50 issues of our journal have hosted 289 articles written by 223 specialists of 18 different countries. A number of 176 authors have published once, 16 authors have published twice, and 31 authors have published more than two times.

We shall continue publishing all articles in English, accompanied by a second version in Romanian, German or Hungarian.

13 issues of the journal dedicate space to the selection of papers presented during the Tusnad International Scientific Conferences or the Historic Load-Bearing Structures Conferences, and a number of 18 students in Heritage Studies can thus read the summary of their published theses.

We say good bye to our colleagues who have left us and who used to work in the area of the built heritage.

Last but not least, we launch the invitation to the 18<sup>th</sup> edition of the International Conference on the Historic Load-Bearing Structures.

This edition approaches the European principles of quality for EU-funded interventions with potential impact upon cultural heritage, with focus on quality in the conservation of historic load-bearing structures, and with a special chapter dedicated to quality in the interventions on historic roof structures.

In line with the document drafted by the ICOMOS experts<sup>1</sup>, which focuses on the general issue of quality in all EU-funded interventions, including the interventions on the built heritage, the debates under the current edition will provide a summary of the international concepts, charters, and directives, of the European and international conventions, and of the changes in their interpretation and in the practice of heritage conservation. Under the quality concept, a stress will be put on the environmental, cultural, social and economic benefits resulting from the implementation of appropriate conservation measures.

**Imola KIRIZSÁN**  
 Member of the Editorial Committee

1 European quality principles for EU-funded interventions with potential impact upon cultural heritage. Manual. ICOMOS International.

■ Cititorii fideli și nu numai țin în mână a 50-a apariție a revistei noastre.

De la lansarea sa în 2007, revista a cunoscut deja două remodelări, cu speranța Comitetului Redacțional ca forma nouă de la începutul anului 2019 să fie mult mai atractivă, combinată fiind și cu conținutul științific crescând.

În continuare se asigură cadru de publicare pentru tinerii specialiști și cercetători, se asigură continuarea rubricilor deja consacrate și se dedică spațiu unor rubrici nou lansate.

În cele 50 de apariții ale revistei, au fost publicate un număr de 289 de articole scrise de un număr de 223 de specialiști din 18 țări diferite. Un număr de 176 de autori au publicat o singură dată, 16 autori de două ori, iar un număr de 31 de autori au mai mult de 2 publicări.

Vom păstra în continuare specificul revistei constând în publicarea articolele în limba engleză, în mod obligatoriu, însoțită de varianta într-o a doua limbă dintre română, germană sau maghiară.

Un număr de 13 apariții ale revistei asigură spațiu pentru selecția prelegerilor prezentate la conferințele internaționale științifice Tusnad și privind structurile portante istorice, respectiv un număr de 18 cursanți la Specializarea în patrimoniul pot citi sinteza disertațiilor lor publicate.

Ne luăm rămas bun de la colegii noștri care ne-au părăsit și care activau în domeniul patrimoniului construit.

Nu în ultimul rând, transmitem invitația la cea de a 18-a ediție a conferinței internaționale pe tematica structurilor portante istorice.

Această ediție abordează principiile europene ale calității pentru intervențiile finanțate cu fonduri europene și cu posibil impact asupra patrimoniului cultural, acordând atenție sporită calității în restaurarea structurilor portante istorice, dedicând un capitol separat calității intervențiilor la șarpantele istorice.

În consens cu documentul întocmit de experții ICOMOS<sup>1</sup>, care se concentrează asupra problemei generale a calității în cazul tuturor intervențiilor finanțate de Uniunea Europeană, inclusiv intervențiile asupra patrimoniului construit, dezbaterile în cadrul prezentei ediții vor oferi un rezumat al conceptelor, al cartelor, directivelor internaționale, al convențiilor europene și internaționale, și al schimbărilor în privința interpretării acestora și a practicii în conservarea patrimoniului. Prin conceptul de calitate vor fi subliniate beneficiile de mediu, culturale, sociale și economice care rezultă din punerea în practică a măsurilor adecvate de conservare și restaurare.

**Imola KIRIZSÁN**  
 membru al Comitetului de redacție

1 Principii europene de calitate pentru intervenții finanțate din fonduri europene cu potențial impact asupra patrimoniului cultural

■ A folyóirat hűséges olvasói, de nem csak ők, az 50. kiadványt tartják kezükben. 2007-es megjelenése óta a folyóirat kétszer váltott dizájnt, de remélhetőleg a 2019-es év új formája sokkal tetszetősebb, és emellett pedig egyre növekvő tudományos szinttel is párosul.

Továbbra is keretét biztosítunk a fiatal kutatók számára, de folytatódnak a már bevált rovatok is, vagy újak beindítására is sor kerül.

Az eddigi 50 számban mindössze 289 cikk jelent meg, mindez 223 szerzőtől, 18 különböző országból. 176 szerző egyszer publikált, 16 szerzőnek 2, 31-nek pedig kettőnél több cikke jelent meg.

A folyóirat külön specifikuma, hogy a kötelező angol nyelv mellett a cikkek román, magyar vagy német nyelven is megjelennek.

A folyóirat 13 lapszáma biztosít teret a Tusnad épített örökségi, illetve a történeti tartószerkezetekkel foglalkozó nemzetközi tudományos konferenciákon elhangzott előadások válogatásának számára, valamint a szakmérnöki diákok közül 18-an olvashatják a folyóiratban közölt szakdolgozatuk szintézisét.

Megemlékezünk az örökségvédelem szakterületén tevékenykedő, elhunyt kollégáinkról is.

Nem utolsósorban közzétesszük meghívásunkat a 18. alkalommal megrendezésre kerülő Történeti tartószerkezeti konferenciára is.

A jelen kiadás az európai alapokból támogatott és a kulturális örökségre esetlegesen hatást gyakorló beavatkozások minőségének európai alapelveivel foglalkozik, nagyobb figyelmet fordítva a történelmi tartószerkezetek restaurálásának minőségére, külön fejezetet szentelve a történelmi tetőszerkezeti beavatkozások minőségének.

Az ICOMOS szakértői<sup>1</sup> által összeállított dokumentummal egyetértésben, amely az Európai Unió által támogatott beavatkozások általános minőségi problémájára összpontosít, beleértve az épített örökséggel kapcsolatos beavatkozásokat is, a jelen ülészak vitái a fogalmak, a karták, a nemzetközi irányelvek, európai és nemzetközi egyezmények összefoglalását, illetve ezek értelmezésének és gyakorlatának megváltoztatását célozzák meg az örökségvédelemben. A minőség fogalmán keresztül hangsúlyozásra kerülnek a környezeti, kulturális, szociális és gazdasági előnyök, amelyek a megfelelő megőrzési, helyreállítási intézkedések végrehajtásából származnak.

**KIRIZSÁN Imola**  
 szerkesztőbizottsági tag

1 Az EU által finanszírozott, a kulturális örökséget potenciálisan befolyásoló beavatkozások európai minőségi elvei.

■ KELEMEN Bálint Zoltán<sup>1</sup>

## Szádvár – Tiéd a vár!

■ **Kivonat:** Az alig ismert magyarországi Szádvár modern kori történetének egy újabb jelentős fejezetéhez érkezett. A Nemzeti Várprogram keretében megvalósuló beruházással a romvár biztonságosan látogatható lesz, emellett jelentős volumenű fal menekül meg a pusztulástól. A legújabb helyreállítási tervek elkészültek, hamarosan kezdetét veszi ezek kivitelezése. Ehhez nagyban hozzájárult a bő egy évtizede létesült Szádvárért Baráti Kör tevékenysége nyomán kialakult széles körű társadalmi és szakmai összefogás. Ennek a bemutatásán túl a tanulmány felvillantja azokat a döntéseket, amelyek alapjaiban befolyásolták a legújabb műemlék-helyreállítási koncepciót.

■ **Kulcsszavak:** Szádvár, romkarakterológia, örökségturisztikai fejlesztés, vármentés, Nemzeti Várprogram, örökségvédelmi tervezés

■ A szádvári vár modern kori története korántsem tekinthető átlagosnak. Az, hogy a romvárról ma egyáltalán szó esik, nagyban köszönhető egy amatőr vármentő egyesület, a Szádvárért Baráti Kör több mint egy évtizedes állagmegóvó, ismeretterjesztő tevékenységének, aminek eredménye egy széleskörű társadalmi és szakmai összefogás lett. Munkájukat nem csupán díjakkal ismerték el, hanem tevékenységük híre állami döntéshozói körökig ért el, aminek köszönhetően az alig ismert Szádvár bekerült a Nemzeti Várprogramba.

A TUSNAD 2018 konferencián elhangzott előadásom<sup>2</sup> és jelen tanulmány Szádvár rövid történetét mutatja be a legújabb, a Nemzeti Várprogram keretében megvalósult kutatással és építészeti tervezéssel bezáróan.

### Az alig ismert Szádvár

■ A szádvári vár impozáns romja Magyarország északkeleti részén, Aggtelektől keletre, Szögliget községtől mintegy 2 km-re északra található egy érintetlen, gyönyörű természeti környezetben, egy 150 m magasra kiemelkedő mészkőhegy tetején. A kb. 11 000 m<sup>2</sup> alapterületű vár Magyarország legnagyobb középkori hegyi romvára, túlnyomórészt még feltárára váró, hatalmas, összefüggő régészeti lelőhely, egyúttal természetvédelmi terület is. A várom egy 178 hektáros erdőművelés alatt álló telken fekszik. A rom személygépkocsival Szögliget irányából csak a Szalamandra-házig – az egykori határórlaktanyáig – közelíthető meg. Innen gyalogosan haladhatunk tovább nyugati irányba, majd az út a várhegy nyugati lejtőjén kettéágazik. A déli út a Felső-vár kapujához vezet, míg az északin az

1 Építésmérnök, műemlékvédelmi szakmérnök, Közti Zrt., Budapest, Magyarország.

2 Az előadás a 2018. október 18–20. között Kolozsvárott zajló, Az épített örökség mint a kulturális örökség kivételes része – örökség és védelem a XXI. században tematikával megszervezett Az épített örökség felújításának elméleti és gyakorlati kérdései nemzetközi konferenciasorozat – TUSNAD 19. ülészakának második napján hangzott el. [szerk. megj.]

## Szádvár – The Castle is Yours!

■ **Abstract:** The barely-known Hungarian Szádvár Castle has arrived at yet another significant chapter of its modern history, as, with the investment provided by the National Castle Project, the castle ruin will be safe for visiting, moreover, a large portion of the walls will be saved from destruction. The latest conservation designs have already been prepared, and their execution will begin shortly. The extensive social and professional cooperation that emerged from the activities of the group called Friends of Szádvár, formed more than a decade ago, has greatly contributed to this process. In addition to its presentation, the article highlights the decisions that had a fundamental impact on the latest historic building conservation concept.

■ **Keywords:** Szádvár Castle, characterology of ruins, heritage tourism development, safeguarding castles, National Castle Project, heritage conservation design

■ The modern history of Szádvár Castle is far from being common. The fact that the castle ruin is currently even talked about is mostly due to the more than a decade-long activity of an amateur association for the safeguarding of castles, called Friends of Szádvár, aiming at the castle's preservation and promotion, which has resulted in a broad social and professional cooperation. Not only was their work acknowledged through awards, but also the news of their activity also reached state decision-making circles, as a consequence of which the barely-known Szádvár was included in the National Castle Project.

My lecture at the 2018 TUSNAD conference,<sup>3</sup> as well as this study present the brief history of Szádvár Castle, completed with the latest research and architectural design carried out within the National Castle Project.

1 Architect, specialist in the field of historic building conservation, Közti Ltd., Budapest, Hungary.

2 A play on words in reference to a popular children's game, the Hungarian equivalent of King of the Hill or King of the Castle. [ed. note]

3 The lecture was delivered on the second day of the 19<sup>th</sup> edition of the International Scientific Conference on Theoretical and Practical Issues of Built Heritage Conservation TUSNAD, organised between October 18 and 20, 2018 at Cluj-Napoca, with the topic Built Heritage, an Exceptional Part of Cultural Heritage – Heritage and Protection in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Trends and Tendencies. [ed. note]

## The barely-known Szádvár Castle

■ The imposing ruins of Szádvár Castle are located in the north-east of Hungary, more precisely east of Aggtelek and about 2 km north from Szögliget Village, in a pristine and beautiful natural environment, on top of a 150-meter high limestone hill. Having a surface area of approx. 11,000 m<sup>2</sup>, the fortification is the largest mediaeval upland castle ruin in Hungary, an immense and coherent archaeological site that is still predominantly waiting to be excavated, as well as a nature reserve. The castle ruins are located on a 178-hectare silvicultural plot. By car, the ruin can be reached from the direction of Szögliget, but only as far as the Salamander House, i.e. the former border guardhouse. From here one needs to walk westward, until the road splits in two on the castle hill's western slope. The southern route leads to the gate of the Upper Castle, while the northern one heads towards the Lower Castle. The Lower Castle can also be reached through the forest, via the educational trail that starts from the Salamander House and goes round the castle hill from the east.

The castle ensemble consists of two parts: the Upper Castle on the hill and the Lower Castle, situated 70 m below, at the northern foot of said hill. The connection between the castle's two parts was once ensured by a ropeway elevator, which has subsequently been destroyed. The walls of the 65×40 m Lower Castle, built between natural rocks, surround two baileys: the northern, lower part has an irregular ground plan, while the southern, upper bailey is square in shape.

The Upper Castle stretches on an area of about 200×85 m, having been formed around four large baileys: the Outer Bailey, Middle Bailey, respectively the Eastern and Western Inner Baileys.

The exact construction date of Szádvár Castle is unknown, but it was probably erected as the result of a royal commission in the area of the former Torna Forest County.<sup>4</sup> The first written mention of the Arpadian royal castle is found in a 1269 charter relating the conflict between King Béla IV and his son, Duke Stephen. Szádvár also played a role in the civil war, as its disloyal castellan handed over the castle to the troops of King Béla IV. During the last third of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, presumably until the territorial expansion of Amadeus ABA, which also affected Torna County, Szádvár Castle was owned by the descendants of *comes* Tekus. Following the defeat, by King Charles Robert, of the oligarch from Upper Hungary, Amadeus ABA, Szádvár became and remained a royal domain. In 1407 King Sigismund gave the castle to the BEBEK family as a

<sup>4</sup> A "forest county" (erdőispánság in Hungarian) was a mediaeval royal administrative unit, established in the Hungarian Kingdom around the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century in scarcely populated forest areas. They mostly disappeared around the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. [ed. note]



■ 1 ábra: Szögliget – Szádvár elhelyezkedése © KELEMEN Bálint Zoltán

■ Figure 1. Szögliget – location of Szádvár Castle © Bálint Zoltán KELEMEN

Alsó-várhoz jutunk. Az Alsó-vár megközelíthető még a Szalamandra-ház-tól a várhegyet keletről megkerülő erdei tanösvényen át is.

A várkomplexum két részből, a hegytetőt elfoglaló Felső-várból és a várhegy északi lábánál 70 m-rel lejjebb elterülő Alsó-várból áll. A két várrész között az összeköttetést egy mára elpusztult felvonó biztosította. A természetes sziklatömbök közé épült, 65×40 m-t befoglaló méretű Alsó-vár falai két udvart zárnak közre: az északi alsó rész szabálytalan alaprajzú, míg a déli felső udvar négyzetes formájú.

A Felső-vár mintegy 200×85 m területen fekszik, amely négy nagy várudvar – Külső-vár, Középső-vár, illetve a Belső-vár keleti és nyugati udvara – köre szerveződően alakult ki.

Szádvár pontos építési ideje nem ismert, feltehetően királyi építés eredményeként jött létre az egykori tornai erdőispánság területén. Az Árpád-kori királyi vár első írásos említése egy 1269-es oklevélből származik, amelyben IV. Béla király és fia, István ifjabb király konfliktusáról olvashatunk. A belháborúban Szádvár is szerepet kapott, ugyanis hűtlen várnagya átadta a várat IV. Béla csapatainak. Szádvár a XIII. század utolsó harmadában, feltételezhetően egészen ABA Amadé Torna megyét is érintő területfoglalásáig a Tekus-leszármazottak birtokában volt. Károly Róbert királynak a felvidéki oligarchával, ABA Amadéval folytatott

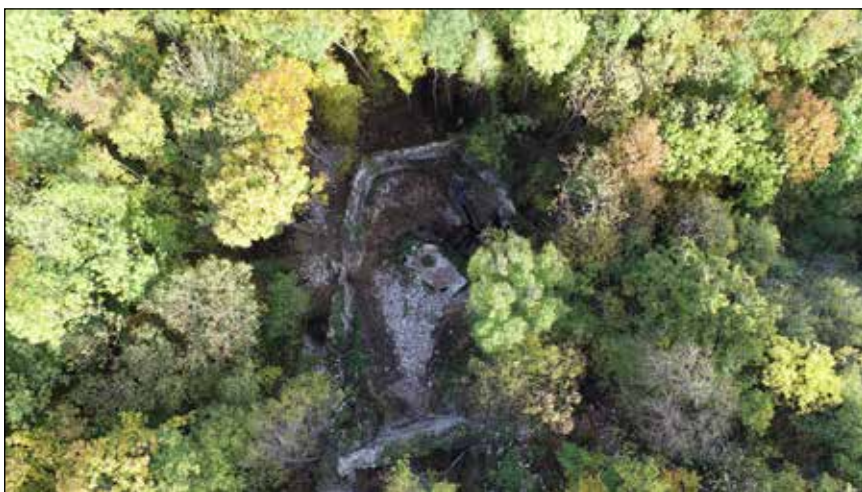


■ 1 kép: Szádvár, a Felső-vár keleti része © FÜRJES János

■ Photo 1. Szádvár Castle, the eastern part of the Upper Castle © János FÜRJES



■ **2 kép:** Szádvár, a Felső-vár nyugati része © FÜRJES János  
■ **Photo 2.** Szádvár Castle, the western part of the Upper Castle © János FÜRJES



■ **3 kép:** Szádvár, Alsó-vár © FÜRJES János  
■ **Photo 3.** Szádvár Castle, Lower Castle © János FÜRJES

győztes harcait követően Szádvár királyi birtokba került és maradt is. 1407-ben Zsigmond király adományként a várat a BEBEK családnak adta. A BEBEK és a SZAPOLYAI-családok között 1470-ben megkötött házassági szerződés értelmében az uradalom később a SZAPOLYAI-család birtokába került. Az 1526-os mohácsi csatavesztést követő zűrzavaros időszakban BEBEK Ferenc újra megszerezte a várat és a hozzá tartozó birtokot a SZAPOLYAI-családtól, majd azt tovább öröközte fiára, BEBEK Györgyre. 1567-ben BEBEK György felesége, PATÓCSY Zsófia feladni kényszerült a várat a SCHWENDI Lázár vezérletével ostromló, túlerőben lévő császári csapatoknak. Az ostromban súlyosan megsérült vár és a hozzá tartozó uradalom ezt követően a Szepesi Kamara tulajdonába került. A bérbeadás feltétele az 1567-es ostrom okozta sérülések kijavítása volt, amely csak lassan haladt, mivel a vár ezt követően több, egymással rendszerint perben álló zálogbirtokosok kezén fordult meg.

A XVII. században Szádvár a végvári rendszer második vonalának tagjaként már nem töltött be jelentős, országos katonai funkciót. A zálogbirtokként 1612–1647 között PETHE Lászlónál, majd örököseinél lévő erősségekben 1633-ban nagyobb lakóépület és védműépítés történt, az ostrom sérüléseit feltehetően csak ekkor javítják ki maradéktalanul. Ezt követően a CSÁKY család, majd 1678-tól ESTERHÁZY Pál birtoka. Az északkeleti országrészben kibontakozó THÖKÖLY Imre vezette felke-

royal donation. The estate later became the possession of the SZAPOLYAI family, pursuant to the marriage contract concluded between the BEBEK and the SZAPOLYAI families in 1470.

In the turbulent times following the 1526 defeat at Mohács, Ferenc BEBEK retrieved the castle, along with its estate, from the SZAPOLYAI family, and then bequeathed it to his son, György BEBEK. In 1567, György BEBEK's wife, Zsófia PATÓCSY, was forced to give up the castle to its overpowering besiegers, the imperial troops lead by Lazarus VON SCHWENDI. The castle, which was heavily damaged in the siege, as well as its estate, became the property of the Spiš Chamber. The condition for its lease was the repair of the damage caused by the 1567 siege, which was advancing at a very slow pace, as during this time the castle passed through the hands of several litigant pledge holders.

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, as part of the second line of the country's border defensive system, Szádvár Castle no longer played a significant stately military function. In 1633 a larger residential building was raised and defensive constructions were carried out in the castle, which at that time, from 1612 to 1647, was the pledge property of László PETHE and of his heirs; presumably it was only then that the damages of the siege were fully repaired. Thereafter it became the property of the CSÁKY family and then, from 1678, of Pál ESTERHÁZY. During the uprising in the country's north-eastern part, led by Imre THÖKÖLY, the insurrectionist kuruc troops seized Szádvár in early 1682. Following its retaking (November 5, 1685), as a consequence of the resistance movements, on April 25, 1686 the Viennese Aulic War Council decided to destroy the castle, which probably took place two years later.

Thereafter the castle became a ruin, but the inventories produced after its destruction inform us that the areas surrounding the castle (granges, meadow, fishpond, orchard, various types of gardens, mill, brewery) were undoubtedly still in use in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, however, the castle itself was no longer renovated.

The border established in the 1920 Treaty of Trianon was drawn near the castle hill. World War II projectiles were also recovered from the castle area. Between 1950 and 1955, the new border guardhouse was built in the valley of the Ménes Stream, at the southern foot of the castle hill. The idea of saving the ruins from destruction was first raised in the 1960s, perhaps due to the impressive sight of the walls after felling the surrounding trees, in preparation for which a geodetic survey covering the entire castle was carried out in 1965. Unfortunately, there are no traces – neither in the archives, nor while examining the stone walls – that would indicate whether there have been any design or preservation works after completing the survey. Around 1990, a caving team cleared the southern part of the castle hill from the newly spreading vegetation.

However, as the castle's territory remained a border area until the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, it was once again overgrown with vegetation.

### Conjoining to save the castle

■ After the 320-year-long dilapidation of the castle, in 2006 the group called Friends of Szádvár was established with the aim of saving and preserving the monumental ruins of Szádvár Castle, with the help of people coming from different parts of the country, of different professions, but who are committed to the cause of castles. As a result of this conjoining, the volunteers cut the vegetation and clear the castle area twice a year, and they participate in the archaeological excavations organised every year in early August. In addition to continually promoting the castle, in 2007 their activities led to a new geodetic survey, and thanks to their successful applications submitted to the National Cultural Fund of Hungary, a total of three bastions and six wall sections have already been saved from destruction.

In addition to the physical preservation of the walls bearing heritage value, the cooperation between the owner of the territory, the nature and historic building conservation authorities, the museum carrying out the archaeological research, the local government, the foundations managing the applications, as well as professionals, civil sponsors, and volunteers, which has formed as a consequence of the group's activities, is as, if not more important.

Perhaps it is also due to this wide-ranging social cooperation that our largest castle ruin was included in the National Castle Project. The aim of the cultural and tourist development to be implemented within this framework is to ensure that the largest possible area of the castle is safe for visiting. As the investment is carried out entirely from domestic sources, it was possible to adapt the initial concepts to the results of the archaeological and architectural research, as well as to those of the load-bearing structural analysis in a flexible way. This has greatly benefited the castle ruin, as, unlike many other forms of financing, it was not mandatory to adhere to the concepts that have emerged in the initial planning phase, but which have inevitably become obsolete after obtaining the research results.

### The research

■ The first major research related to the castle's construction was carried out by Mihály DÉTSHY, the results of which were published in 1969 and 2004. He based his essential contribution on archival research, on his on-site observations, as well as on the aforementioned geodetic survey, as no archaeological excavations had been carried out up to that point. The castle's systematic and thoroughly published archaeological research began in 2010 (under the direction of Viktor GÁL,

lős során 1682 elején Szádvárat elfoglalják a kurucok. Visszavétele után (1685. november 5.), az ellenállási mozgalmak hatására a bécsi Udvari Haditanács 1686. április 25-én a vár lerombolásáról dönt, amelyre két év múlva kerülhetett sor.

A vár ezt követően rom, de a pusztulás után keletkezett inventáriummokból tudjuk, hogy a vár körüli területeket (majorságok, kaszáló, halastó, gyümölcsös, különféle típusú kertek, malom, sörfőzőház) a XVIII. században még biztosan használják, magát a várat azonban már nem újítták fel.

A trianoni határt 1920-ban a várhegy közelében húzták meg. A vár területéről II. világháborús lövedékek kerültek elő. 1950–1955 között a várhegy déli lábánál, a Ménes-patak völgyében épült fel az új határórlaktanya. Az 1960-as években merül fel először komolyabban a várrom megmentése – talán az 1960-as fakivágással előtűnő impozáns falak látványa miatt –, amelynek előkészítéseként 1965-ben elkészül egy, a teljes várra kiterjedő geodéziai felmérés. Annak, sajnos, nincs nyoma – sem az archívumokban, sem a kőfalakat vizsgálva –, hogy a felmérést követően tervezésre, illetve állagmegóvó munkákra sor került volna. 1990 körül egy barlangászcsapat megtisztította a várhegy déli részét az újfent elburjánzó növényzettől.

A vár területe a XXI. század elejéig határvonára maradt, amelyet újra benőtt a növényzet.

## Összefogás a vár megmentéséért

■ A vár mintegy 320 éven át tartó pusztulása után 2006-ban a Szádvárért Baráti Kör azzal a céllal alakult meg, hogy az ország különböző területeiről érkező, eltérő szakmájú, de a várak iránt elkötelezett várbarátok összefogásával megmentse és ápolja Szádvár monumentális romjait. Az összefogás eredményeként évente két alkalommal önkéntesek sarjazzák és megtisztítják a vár területét, augusztus elején pedig részt vesznek a régészeti feltáráson. Amellett, hogy folyamatosan népszerűsítik a várat, tevékenységük nyomán 2007-ben elkészült egy újabb geodéziai felmérés, illetve a Nemzeti Kulturális Alapnál elnyert pályázataiknak köszönhetően napjainkig három bástya és hat falszakasz menekült meg a pusztulástól.

A műemléki falak fizikai megmentése mellett legalább ilyen fontos – ha nem fontosabb – a baráti kör tevékenysége nyomán kialakuló összefogás a földterület tulajdonosa, a természetvédelmi és műemléki hatóság, az ása-



■ 4 kép: Önkéntesek a feltáráson © KELEMEN Bálint Zoltán

■ Photo 4. Volunteers during the excavation © Bálint Zoltán KELEMEN

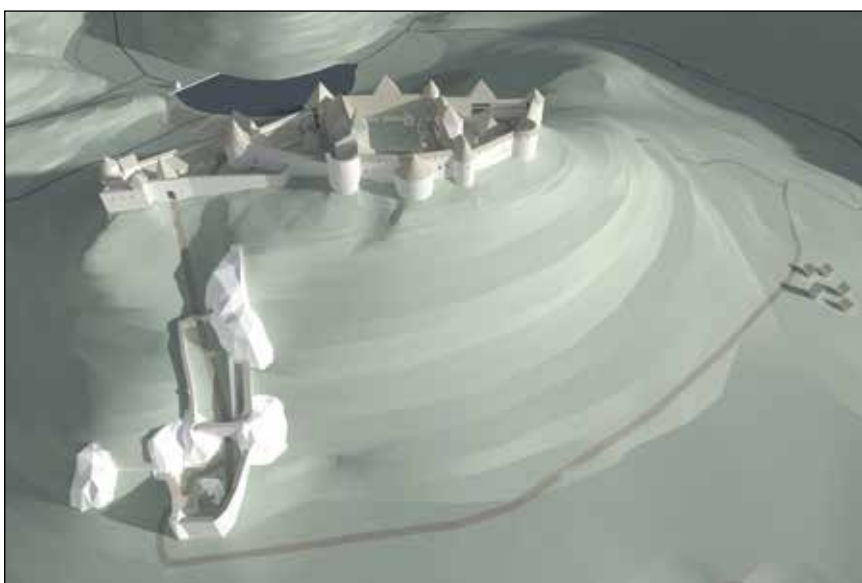




■ **5 kép:** Az összefogás eredménye: rendezett várudvarok, falázáshoz összehordott kövek  
© KELEMEN Bálint Zoltán  
■ **Photo 5.** The result of the cooperation: ordered baileys, stones gathered for masonry work  
© Bálint Zoltán KELEMEN

tást végző múzeum, a helyi önkormányzat, pályázatkezelő alapítványok, szakemberek, civil adományozók és önkéntesek között.

Talán ennek a széles körű társadalmi összefogásnak is köszönhető, hogy legnagyobb romvárunk bekerült a Nemzeti Várprogramba. Az ennek keretében megvalósuló kulturális és turisztikai fejlesztés célja, hogy a vár területe a lehető legnagyobb mértékben, biztonságosan legyen látogatható. Mivel a beruházás tisztán hazai forrásból valósul meg, így lehetőség nyílt a kezdeti elképzeléseket rugalmasan a régészeti, építészettörténeti kutatás, illetve a tartó szerkezeti vizsgálat eredményeihez igazítani. Mindez a romvár javára vált, mivel – több egyéb finanszírozási formával ellentétben – itt nem kellett a kezdeti tervfázisban felmerült, a kutatási eredmények alapján később óhatatlanul elavulttá váló elképzeléshez ragaszkodni.



■ **2 ábra:** Elméleti rekonstrukciós modell északról, 1686 © KELEMEN Bálint Zoltán  
■ **Figure 2.** Theoretical reconstruction model, viewed from north, 1686 © Bálint Zoltán KELEMEN

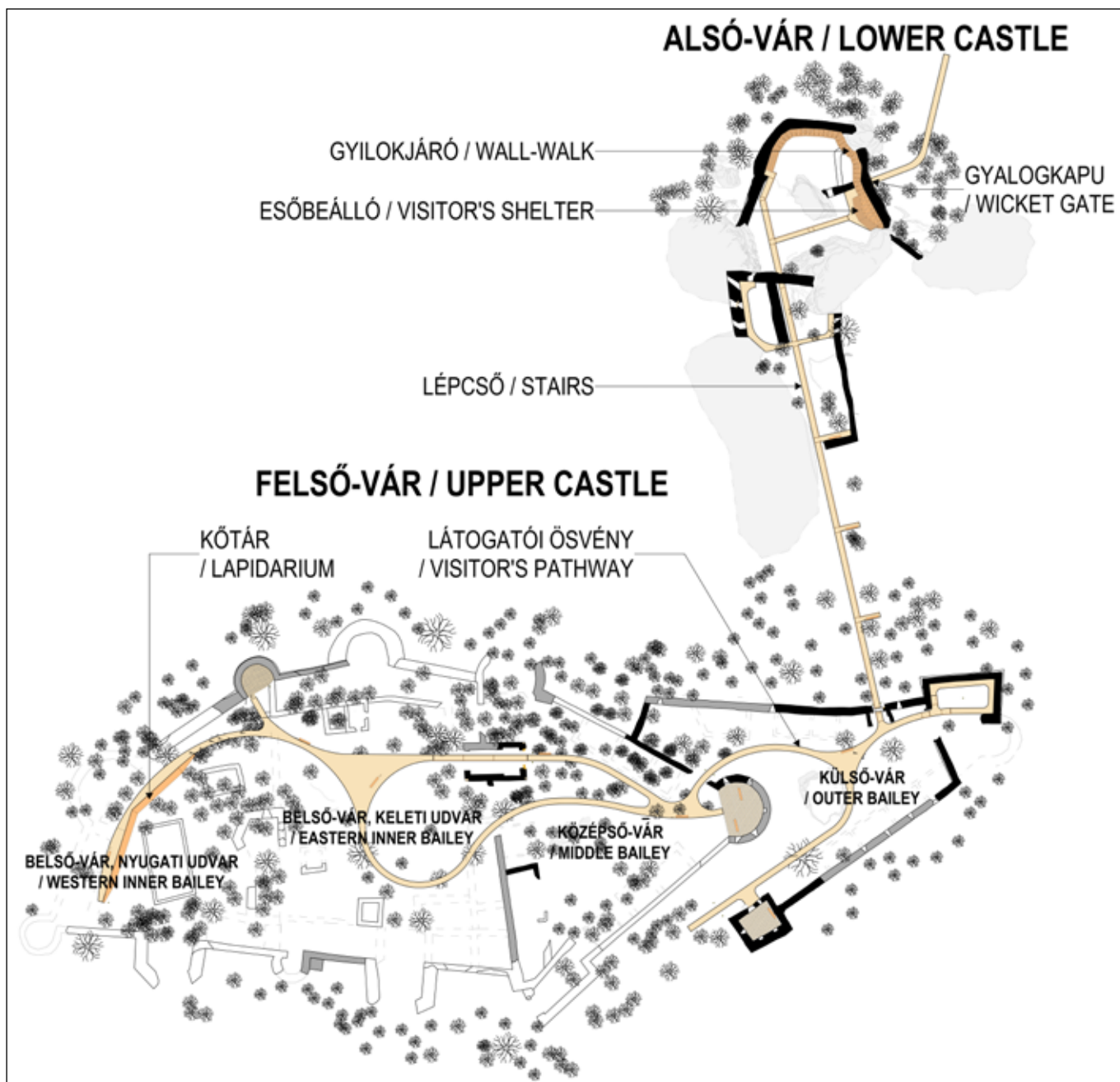
archaeologist at the Ottó Herman Museum in Miskolc), in the form of planned excavations, as well as through preventive excavations and archaeological observations while surveying the preservation works carried out by the aforementioned group. In the course of the research, based on the approximately 45 trenches that were excavated by the end of 2017, our knowledge related to the castle has been greatly increased. Thus, in 2014 we were able to create the castle's first volume reconstruction model on the basis of these archaeological findings, as well as on the 2007 geodetic survey.

The design phase implemented within the National Castle Project was preceded by a several-months-long archaeological excavation in 2018. During this period, the surface of the researched area – which affected the planned intervention areas – was extended by an additional 26 trenches. The results of the archaeological excavations required the re-evaluation of our hypothesis regarding the castle's construction, since several unforeseen wall masses were discovered in unexpected places, which were not anticipated at all on the basis of the mediaeval written and pictorial sources. Perhaps the most remarkable of these are the gate of the Lower Castle (instead of a large cart gate on the western side, we found a wicket gate on the eastern side) and the wall crowning type of the Lower Castle (instead of a wall with battlements, the findings suggest the former existence of a covered wall-walk, with straight wall crowning and keyhole-shaped arrow-slits). Unfortunately, during the archaeological excavation, several wall crownings could not be examined, due to their dangerous state of preservation, which will take place during the implementation phase, after being propped.

In parallel with the excavations, we have re-examined and analysed, using the method of source criticism, the currently known 16 inventories, 12 letters, two land terriers, five historical maps, six historical floor plans, 12 vedute, as well as the period photographs available from 1965. The periodisation ground plan regarding the castle's construction history was completed, and the construction periods and names of several elements were specified.

As a summation of the research work, we have also "updated" our theoretical reconstruction model that presents the castle's last, pre-destruction phase, which synthesizes the results of the previous research. The model displays the last construction period (1686), in line with the level of research and to the degree of our accumulated information. Modelling earlier periods or creating a more detailed model would have been misleading, due to our current lack of knowledge. Preparing the theoretical reconstruction model served several research and design purposes:

– It served as an excellent tool for the spatial summation of the scientific



■ **3 ábra:** Átnézeti alaprajz a Nemzeti Várprogram keretében készülő fejlesztésekkel © KELEMEN Bálint Zoltán  
 ■ **Figure 3.** Site plan with the developments prepared in the framework of the National Castle Project © Bálint Zoltán KELEMEN

## Kutatás

results and for inspecting the functional relations of the rooms described in the inventories.

- It provided an opportunity, prior to the start of the design, thus already during the research phase, for weighing the possibility of an authentic reconstruction for each architectural element, as well as the possible reconstruction's justification and scientific validity, which we took into account during the design process.
- It served as a point of reference for determining the exact location of certain architectural features (openings, slabs) that have already been

■ A vár első jelentős építéstörténeti kutatását DÉTSHY Mihály végezte, amelynek eredményét 1969-ben és 2004-ben is publikálta. Hiánypótló építéstörténeti művének az alapja levéltári kutatás, helyszíni megfigyelés és a fent említett geodéziai felmérés volt, régészeti feltárás ekkor még nem történt. Rendszeres, jól publikált régészeti kutatás (a miskolci Herman Ottó Múzeum régésze, GÁL Viktor irányításával) 2010-től történik a vár területén tervásatás, illetve a baráti kör állagmegóvó munkáit kísérő régészeti megfigyelések és megelőző feltárások formájában. Mindezek során a 2017-ig bezáróan nyitott, mintegy 45 darab kutatóárok alapján jelentősen pontosodtak a várra vonatkozó ismereteink. Ezen régészeti eredmények és a 2007. évi geodéziai felmérés alapján 2014-ben elkészítettük a vár első tömegrekonstrukciós modelljét.



■ **6 kép:** Romkarakterek – az Alsó-vár masszív fala és sziklái  
© KELEMEN Bálint Zoltán

■ **Photo 5.** *Ruin characteristics – the massive wall of the Lower Castle and its rocks*  
© Bálint Zoltán KELEMEN



■ **7 kép:** Ligetes-parkos romvár © KELEMEN Bálint Zoltán

■ **Photo 7.** *Castle ruin with its grove- or park-like area*  
© Bálint Zoltán KELEMEN

A Nemzeti Várprogram keretében zajló tervezést 2018-ban több hónapos régészeti feltárás előzte meg. E során a kutató terület nagysága – amely a tervezett beavatkozási területeket érintette – további 26 kutatóárokka bővült. A régészeti feltárások eredménye nyomán át kellett értékelni a várra vonatkozó építéstörténeti elképzelésünket, hiszen több esetben nem várt volumenű falak kerültek elő váratlan helyeken, amelyekre a középkori írott és képi források alapján egyáltalán nem számítottunk. Közülük talán a leginkább figyelemre méltó az Alsó-vár kapuja (a nyugati oldal nagy szekérkapuja helyett a keleti oldalon egy kisméretű gyalogkapu került elő) és az alsó-vári falkorona típusa (pártázatos várfal helyett feltehetően fedett gyilokjárós várfal lehetett itt, egyenes falkorona-lezárással és kulcslyuk alakú lőrésekkel). Sajnos a régészeti feltárás során több falkorona – annak veszélyes állapota miatt – nem volt vizsgálható. A feltárás ezekben az esetekben a stabilizáló dúcolatok elkészülte után, a kivitelezési munkák során fog megtörténni.

A feltárásokkal párhuzamosan újra megvizsgáltuk és forráskritikai módszerrel elemeztük a jelenleg ismert 16 db inventáriumot, a 12 db levelet, 2 db urbáriumot, 5 db történeti térképet, 6 db történeti alaprajzot, 12 db vedutát, illetve az 1965-től rendelkezésre álló archív fotókat. Elkészült a vár építéstörténeti periodizációs alaprajza, valamint több objektum építési kora és elnevezése pontosodott.

A kutatómunka összegzéseként a vár utolsó, pusztulás előtti építési periódusát bemutató elméleti rekonstrukciós modellünket is „frissítettük”, amely az eddigi kutatások eredményeit szintetizálja. A modell a kutatás szintjéhez, az ismeretanyaghoz igazodóan az utolsó építési periódust (1686) jeleníti meg tömegmodellszinten. Korábbi periódusok modellezése, illetve részletgazdagabb modell készítése az ismerethiány miatt jelenleg még félrevezető lett volna. Az elméleti rekonstrukciós modell elkészítése több kutatási és tervezési célt is szolgált:

- A tudományos eredmények térbeli összegzéséhez és az inventáriumokban leírt helyiségek funkcionális kapcsolatainak ellenőrzéséhez szolgált kiváló eszközként.
- A tervezés megkezdése előtt, még a kutatás szakaszában eldönthető volt objektumként a hiteles rekonstrukció lehetősége, ennek alátámasztottsága, tudományos szempontú realitása, amelyet a tervezés során figyelembe vettünk.
- Támpontul szolgált a mára már elpusztult építészeti részletek (nyílások, födémek) helyének meghatározásához, így a statikai megerősítés

destroyed, thus we could take care, when designing the structural reinforcement, not to hinder the subsequent reconstruction of authentic details.

- The modelling also involved the localisation of the mediaeval elements around the castle (fishpond, game preserve, grange buildings, orchard, etc.), as these were once an integral part of the castle. Thus, the research gave rise to the possibility of moving the castle ruin on one plot with a number of its former dependencies during a future regulation of the castle's plot, allowing for their joint development.

The research results were summarised in the Scientific Documentation of Construction History, which is part of the design documentation, in accordance with the Hungarian legal regulations. Furthermore, we have also prepared a Value Inventory and Researcher's Conservation Proposal for the entire castle. In addition to the written, drawing, and photographic documentation of the still visible individual features (used materials, typical walls, slabs, opening types, other structures, furnishing, etc.) found in the latter document, the contents of which are also regulated by law, it also contains the historic building conservation aspects to be observed during the implementation works.

## The survey and load-bearing structural analysis

- The design process of the development carried out within the National Castle Project and the archaeological research were preceded by a geodetic survey conducted with 3D spatial scanning technology in March and April of 2018. The laser scanning, which was carried out before vegetation growth, covered the entire castle area,

producing a coloured, digital point cloud that recorded the castle's state prior to the intervention with high precision (average point density of 10-20 mm) and as authentic as possible in terms of scientific accuracy. Detailed 2D elevation survey drawings, created based on the point cloud, were carried out only of the elements affected by the intervention.

However, we have completely updated the castle's ground plan, as it will serve as base map for future archaeological excavations. During the processing of the point cloud, I thought it important that the 2D survey drawings be made by the architect in charge of designing, as he was the one with the knowledge to interpret the architectural elements, and thus got acquainted with and "learned about" the individual wall ruins and their unique characteristics in depth.

Since the laser scanning survey preceded the archaeological research, we expected that the survey drawings of the individual elements will need to be updated after the archaeological excavation. The connection between the archaeological survey drawing, also based on the geodetic survey, and the spatial scanning was provided by the geodetic reference network set up by the geodesists and retained during the excavation works.

The laser scanning point cloud was highly useful in the course of the load-bearing structural design as well. With the aid of the high-density point cloud, the structural designer was informed, with high accuracy, about the true structural cross-section of the elements that were considered to be dangerous, as well as on the walls' degree of leaning. By taking these into consideration, a load-bearing structural "hazard map" was drawn up, supplemented with a soil mechanics assessment, which identified particularly dangerous areas. The route of the visitor's pathway was also determined based on this map, so as to avoid the walls that, due to financial reasons, were not included in

tervezése során figyelemmel tudtunk lenni arra, hogy a későbbiekben ne akadályozzuk a hiteles részletek visszaépítését.

- A modellezés kiterjedt a vár körüli középkori objektumok (halastó, vadaskert, majorsági épületek, gyümölcsösök stb.) lokalizálására is, hiszen ezek a vár elválaszthatatlan részei voltak egykoron. Ezzel a kutatással lehetőség nyílt arra, hogy a vár saját telkének jövőbeli ki-  
szabályozása során a várrom számos egykori tartozékával együtt egy telekre kerüljön, lehetőségét biztosítva azok együttes fejlesztésére.

A kutatási eredményeket a magyar jogszabályi előírásoknak megfelelő, a tervdokumentáció részét képező Építéstörténeti tudományos dokumentációban foglaltuk össze. Emellett elkészítettük a teljes vár Értékleltár és kutatói helyreállítási javaslatát is. Ez utóbbi, szintén jogszabályban meghatározott tartalmú munkarész a látható egyedi jelenségek (alkalmazott anyagok, jellemző fal, földem, nyílástípusok, egyéb szerkezetek, berendezések stb.) objektumonként történő írásos, rajzi és fotódokumentálásán túl tartalmazza a helyreállítás során betartandó műemlékvédelmi szempontokat is.

## Felmérés és tartószerkezeti vizsgálat

■ A Nemzeti Várprogram keretében megvalósuló fejlesztéstervezést és régészeti kutatást 2018 március-áprilisában 3D-térszkennelési technológiával elvégzett geodéziai felmérés előzte meg. A növényzet sarjadása előtt végzett lézerszkennelés kiterjedt az egész vár területére, amelynek színezett, digitális pontfelhőállománya nagy pontossággal (átlagos pontsűrűség 10-20 mm), tudományos szempontból is a lehető leghitelesebben rögzítette a vár beavatkozás előtti állapotát. A pontfelhőállomány alapján részletes 2D-homlokzati felmérési rajz csak a beavatkozással érintett objektumokról készült. A vár alaprajzát azonban teljes egészében aktualizáltuk, hiszen ez az alaprajz lesz a jövőben a régészeti feltárások alaptérképe is. A pontfelhőállomány feldolgozása során fontosnak tartottam, hogy a 2D-felmérési rajzokat maga a terveket készítő építész végezze, hiszen ő rendelkezik az építészeti jelenségeket értelmezni tudó ismerettel, illetve ezáltal alaposan megismeri, „megtanulja” az egyes romfalakat és azok egyedi jellegzetességeit is.

Mivel a lézerszkenneléses felmérés megelőzte a régészeti kutatást, ezért számítottunk rá, hogy egyes objektumok felmérési rajzát a régészeti feltárás után aktualizálni kell majd. A szintén geodéziai felmérés alapján készített régészeti felmérési rajz és a térszkennelés közötti kapcsolódási pontot a geodéták által kitűzött és a feltárási munkák során megőrzött geodéziai alaphálózattal adta.



■ **8 kép:** Kílátás délkeletre © KELEMEN Bálint Zoltán  
■ **Photo 8.** View towards south-east © Bálint Zoltán KELEMEN



■ **9 kép:** Az Alsó-vár a tervezett gyalokjáróval és esőbeállóval.  
Látványterv © KELEMEN Bálint Zoltán  
■ **Photo 9.** The Lower Castle with the designed wall-walk and visitors' shelter.  
Perspective © Bálint Zoltán KELEMEN



■ **10 kép:** A Külső-vár főkapu-konzerválása, információs tábla. Látványterv © KELEMEN Bálint Zoltán  
■ **Photo 10.** Preservation of the main gate in the Outer Bailey, information board. Perspective © Bálint Zoltán KELEMEN

A lézerszkennelés pontfelhőjének a felhasználása a tartószerkezeti tervezés során is kiemelkedő fontosságú volt. A nagy sűrűségű pontfelhőállomány alapján a veszélyesnek ítélt objektumok valós szerkezeti keresztmetszetről, a falak dőléséről rendkívül pontos képet kaphatott a tartószerkezet tervező. Ez alapján készült el – kiegészítve talajmechanikai szakvéleménnyel – egy tartószerkezeti „veszélytérkép”, amely kijelölte a különösen veszélyes helyeket. Ennek a térképnek figyelembevételével határoztuk meg a látogatói útvonal nyomvonalát is, elkerülve a pénzügyi okok miatt beavatkozással jelenleg nem érintett, de továbbra is veszélyes falakat.

## Romkarakterológiai vizsgálat

■ A romkarakterológiai vizsgálat célja, hogy a tervezett és meglévő karakterelemek erősítsék, szervesen kiegészítsék egymást, ezzel teremtve meg egyfajta kontinuitást régi és új között. A műemlékvédelmi szakmérnöki szakdolgozatom keretében kidolgozott romkarakterológia a harmónia-keresésről szól, annak „tudományos” eszközökkel történő leírása, amely nem teszi le a voksát egyik helyreállítási módszer mellett sem: harmonikus lehet egy romból kiépülő rekonstrukció, egy kortárs kiépítés, egy konzerválás is. A karakterológiai vizsgálatom módszertani előzményének CSÁGOLY Ferenc és munkatársainak 1992-ben született karakterológiai műve (*Budapest: karakterterv metodika*) tekinthető. Ebben a kiváló műben a kutatók felismerték, hogy a karakter nem csupán materiához kötődik, hanem számos hangulati-érzelmi elemet is magában hordoz, ráadásul időben változik, csakúgy, mint esetünkben maga a rom is, amely egy korábbi épület pusztulásával alakult ki. Az épületre jellemző épített karakterelemek (pl. határozott, szabályos formák) a rommá válás során fokozatosan eltűntek, túlsúlyba kerültek a pusztuláshoz köthető karakterjegyek (szabálytalan, töredékes formák, elburjánzó növényzet stb.). A pusztulás karaktereit a legkisebb emberi (régészeti és építőtevékenység) már megváltoztatja, a materián újból épített karakterjegyek jelennek meg. Az, hogy milyen az újonnan megjelenő karakter, nem csupán az anyagban rejlő lehetőségektől függ. Nagy szerepe van a materiától független, úgynevezett immateriális hatásoknak is, mint például a beruházás célkitűzése, a jogszabályi lehetőségek, rendelkezésre álló pénzügyi forrás stb. Egy egyszerű



■ **11 kép:** Az Alsó-vár és a Felső-vár közötti tervezett lépcső. Látványterv © KELEMEN Bálint Zoltán  
■ **Photo 11.** The stairs designed between the Lower and Upper Castles. Perspective © Bálint Zoltán KELEMEN

the current intervention and are still dangerous.

### Analysis regarding the characterology of ruins

■ The purpose of the analysis regarding the characterology of ruins is for the planned and the existing characters to enhance and complement each other in an organic way, creating a certain kind of continuity between old and new. The characterology of ruins, developed in my thesis for the specialisation in the field of historic building conservation, is aimed at the search for harmony and its description with “scientific” means, without making a stand for any of the conservation methods: the reconstruction of a ruin, a contemporary construction, or a conservation work can all be harmonic. The methodological foundation of my analysis was provided by the characterological work of Ferenc CSÁGOLY and his colleagues from 1992 (*Budapest: karakterterv metodika*), in which the researchers have recognised that character is not only bound to matter, as it also carries a number of psycho-intellectual elements, moreover, it changes over time, in the same way that, in our case, the ruin itself changes, coming into being by the destruction of a former building. The typical characters of a building (e.g. definite, regular shapes) gradually disappear during the dilapidation process, i.e. the process of becoming a ruin, and the characters associated with destruction (irregular, fragmented shapes, flourishing vegetation, etc.) start to prevail.

The characteristics of destruction can be altered by the smallest human (archaeological and construction) intervention, reintroducing in the material the presence of built characteristics. What the newly appearing character will be like depends not only on the potential found within the material, as non-material, so-called intangible effects, such as the objective of the investment, the legal possibilities, the available financial resources, etc., have a great role to play as well. To give a simple example from Szádvár Castle: the members of the Friends of Szádvár carry out the wall preservation in sections of 10 m, because they are able to provide financial coverage for conserving only a wall of such length.

Unlike many of our castles from the region, Szádvár still strongly maintains the naturalistic ruin character that it gained with its destruction, which was left deliberately unaltered by the archaeological excavations and wall preservation works of the recent years. Today, the castle displays a unified character, which is based on the dominant presence of limestone (via the masonry and the material of the castle hill), on the massive castle walls and rocks that emanate strength even in their fragmented, ruined state, as well as on the park-like character of the area. The imposing walls and rocks of the Lower Castle were revealed as a result of felling prior to the archaeological excavation carried out in this part of the castle.

### The design

■ As of yet, the authentic reconstruction of the buildings is not possible on the basis of the results of the archaeological excavations and of the research related to its construction history. However, the possibility of reconstruction still stands; its earliest target area might be the Lower Castle, insofar as the wall crownings that could not be investigated due to their life threatening state, as well as the entire bai-

szádvári példával élve: a baráti kör tagjai azért végeznek alkalmanként állagvédelmi munkákat kb. 10 m hosszú falszakaszokon, mert ekkora fal helyreállításához tudnak pénzügyi fedezetet biztosítani.

Szádvár több környékbeli várunkkal ellentétben még erősen őrzi a pusztulással fennmaradt naturalisztikus romjelleget, amit az elmúlt évek régészeti feltárásai és falkonzerváló munkái szándékosan nem változtattak meg. A vár ma egységes karaktert mutat, amelynek alapja a dominánsan jelen lévő mészkő anyag (falazat és a várhegy anyaga is ez), a töredékes romformák, a romos állapotban is masszív, erőt sugárzó várfalak és sziklatömbök, valamint a terület parkos jellege. Az Alsó-vár impozáns falai és sziklatömbjei a várrész régészeti feltárását megelőző fakivágás eredményeként tárultak fel.

## Terv

■ A régészeti feltárások és az építéstörténeti kutatások eredményei alapján épületek hiteles rekonstrukciója jelenleg még nem kísérelhető meg. A rekonstrukció lehetősége azonban továbbra is fennáll, ennek a legkorábban megvalósítható célterülete az Alsó-vár lehet, amennyiben az életveszély miatt még nem vizsgált falkoronák és a teljes várudvar feltárára kerülnek. A kőrestaurátori szakvélemény alapján egyes nyílásokon hiteles (rész)rekonstrukciók már most is megvalósíthatók.

A konferencián bemutatott, a Nemzeti Várprogram keretében a közeljövőben megvalósuló beruházás célja a vár kulturális, örökségvédelmi és turisztikai fejlesztése. A beavatkozás gerincét egy biztonságos látogatói útvonal kialakítása és a várfalak mintegy 440 m hosszon történő stabilizálása – konzerválása, illetve rejtett megerősítő szerkezetek alkalmazása – adja. A konzerválás, védőkorona-ráfalazás során cél a várban korábban is használt konzerválási módszer követése az egységes építészeti megjelenés biztosítása érdekében. Kivágásra csupán a falakat közvetlenül veszélyeztető és a használatot akadályozó fák kerülnek, a terület mára kialakult romos, ligetes-parkos jellege mint domináns karakterjegy továbbra is megmarad.

Az új gyalogos útvonal bevonja a vár vérkeringésébe az eddig méltatlanul elfeledett Alsó-várat is, illetve kivezet a legszebb kilátással rendelkező helyekre. A romvár megközelítése – egészen addig, amíg el nem készül a Felső-vár teljes déli várfalának stabilizálása – a Szalamandra-háztól a várhegyet keletről megkerülő tanösvényről letérve, az Alsó-váron keresztül történhet. Ezzel az Alsó-vár lesz a szabadon látogatható várkomplexum fogadópontja, ahol rendelkezésre áll majd egy esőbeálló is a várba látogatók számára. Ugyanitt egy



■ **12 kép:** A tervezett Belső-vár nyugati udvara a kőtár építményével. Látványterv © KELEMEN Bálint Zoltán  
■ **Photo 12.** The designed Western Inner Bailey with the building of the lapidarium. Perspective © Bálint Zoltán KELEMEN



■ **13 kép:** Belső-vár, nyugati udvar, kilátópont. Látványterv © KELEMEN Bálint Zoltán  
■ **Photo 13.** The Western Inner Bailey, lookout point. Perspective © Bálint Zoltán KELEMEN

tölgyfa gyilokjárón bejárható lesz a 8–12 méter magasan fennmaradt, hatalmas sziklatömbök közé beékelt keleti és északi várfal falkoronája.

Az Alsó-várból az egykori „Csiga” nyomvonalán haladva, pihenőterületekkel sűrűn kísért lépcsőn jutunk majd fel a Felső-várba. A vár keleti végén, a Német-bástyán, északi oldalán, a Szabó-ház melletti bástyán (korábbi elnevezésekben Csonka-bástya), míg nyugati végén, a délnyugati bástya előterében kilátópont létesül. A Lisztes-bástya és a Külső-vár főkapujának belsejében pedig további sík pihenőterületek készülnek, amelyek kisebb várbeli rendezvényekre is jól hasznosíthatók.

A látogatói útvonal a továbbra is veszélyes falaktól, pincéktől, ciszternáktól védőtávolságot tart. A Belső-vár nyugati váruvarában lévő Sybilla-pince mellett a terepi és régészeti adottságok miatt az út egy szakaszon védőtávolságon belül halad el. Itt a védőkorlát szerepét egy hosszú, karakteres, faanyagú kőtárépitmény látja el, amelynek a megépülte egyúttal egy régi örökségvédelmi „adósságot” is leró: végre bemutatható lesz fedett helyen a várban évszázadok óta szétszórva heverő, nagyszámú és nagyméretű faragott kőanyag.

A ligetes-fás romterületen új elemként jelennek meg a pihenőpadok, az információs táblák, a zászlótartó rudak, a kőtár, az esőbeálló és a gyilokjáró. Ezek létjogosultságát a „kortárs” használat indokolja: a váraknak ma már nem védelmi, hanem örökségturisztikai szerepe van, ezen elemek az idelátogató turisták tájékoztatását, kényelmét szolgáló eszközök. Az elpusztult alsó-vári gyilokjárónak ma már csupán a nyomvonala ismert, azonban a romfalak eredeti helyére történő „visszaépítése” mégis indokolt: különleges kilátást biztosít, illetve valós képet ad a látogatóknak az egykori várfalak magasságáról, a várrész méretéről. Az új elemek kialakításai – a középkori vár szerkezeteihez hasonlóan – egyszerűségekre törekvő, masszív, erőt sugárzó szerkezetek. Megjelenésük azonban szándékoltan kortárs formavilágú, ami a régi és új elemek közötti megkülönböztetés műemlékvédelmi igényét biztosítja. A tölgyfa használata pedig nem csupán a történeti-természeti környezetbe való illeszkedést szolgálja, hanem mint tradicionális középkori építőanyag az egykori épület irányába is gesztust tesz, építészeti kontinuitást teremt.

## A vár jövője

■ Szádvár modern kori története egy újabb fejezetéhez érkezett, hamarosan kezdetét veszi a tervek kivitelezése, megvalósítása. A jelenlegi fejlesztés azonban korántsem tekinthető végállomásnak. Sokkal inkább a jövő építése, egy következő jelentős előrelépés a vár megmentése irányába, ami által a későbbiekben akár már nagyobb mértékű kiépítések is helyet kaphatnak. A vár méreténél fogva azonban nehezen képzelhető el, hogy egyszerre, egy ütemben valósuljon meg a teljes helyreállítás. A további fejlesztések során – legyen szó hiteles rekonstrukcióról vagy kortárs jellegű kiépítésről – a műemlékvédelmi szempontok mellett szem előtt tartandó, hogy minden ütem lezárulta után a vár mint egységes építészeti mű harmonikus egész alkosson.

„Tiéd a vár!” – a Szádvárért Baráti Kör jelmondata kifejezi, eddigi tevékenységük pedig jól példázza, hogy egy műemlék mindannyiunké, a Tiéd is, érdemes tenni a megmentésért!

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ley will be uncovered. Authentic (partial) reconstructions of some of the openings are possible even now, on the basis of the Stone Conservation Assessment.

The aim of the investment presented at the conference and to be implemented in the near future within the National Castle Project is the cultural, heritage conservation, and tourist development of the castle. The backbone of this intervention is the creation of a safe visitor's route and the stabilisation, i.e. the preservation and reinforcement with the use of hidden structures, of the castle walls on a length of about 440 m. During the preservation work and the building of the protective crowning, the goal is to continue using the preservation methods previously implemented in the castle, to ensure a unified architectural appearance. Only the trees that endanger the walls directly and that obstruct their use will be felled, and the area's ruinous, grove- or park-like quality will remain the dominant character trait.

The new pedestrian route will incorporate the so far undeservedly undervalued Lower Castle into the castle's circulation and will lead to the areas that have the most beautiful views. Reaching the castle ruins – until the reinforcement of the entire southern wall of the Upper Castle is completed – will be possible through the Lower Castle, by going off the educational trail that starts from the Salamander House and goes round the castle hill from the east. Thus, the Lower Castle will be the reception area of the freely accessible castle ensemble, where a visitors' shelter will be available for the tourists. In the same area, the wall crowning of the eastern and northern castle wall, preserved to a height of 8-12 m and wedged between enormous rocks, will be accessible via an oak wall-walk.

The Upper Castle will be reachable via the stairs provided with frequent resting areas, heading from the Lower Castle on the trail of the former “Csiga”.<sup>5</sup> Lookout points will be set up at the castle's eastern end, on the German Bastion, at its northern end, on the bastion next to the Tailor's house (formerly named Truncated Bastion), as well as at its western end, in the foreground of the south-western bastion. Moreover, further resting areas, with levelled surfaces, will be created inside the Flour Bastion and the Outer Bailey's main gate, for use during smaller events in the castle.

The visitors' route will keep a protective distance from the still dangerous walls, cellars, and cisterns. In the Western Inner Bailey, next to the Sybilla cellar, due to the terrain's characteristics and the archaeological features, the pathway passes, on a section, within the protective distance. Here, the role of guardrail will be played by the long, striking timber

<sup>5</sup> The Hungarian word csiga has several meanings, most often it denotes a snail, but here it refers to the pulley of the ropeway elevator. [ed. note]

building of the lapidarium, the construction of which settled, at the same time, an old “debt” of heritage conservation: a great number of large carved stones, laying scattered in the castle for centuries, can finally be displayed in a covered area.

The benches, information boards, flagpoles, the lapidarium, the visitor’s shelter, as well as the wall-walk will be introduced as new elements in the grove-like, wooded ruin area. Their presence is justified by the “contemporary” use: the castle no longer plays a defensive, but rather a heritage tourist role, and these elements constitute the means of informing and providing comfort for visiting tourists. Nowadays, only the trail is known for the destroyed wall-walk of the Lower Castle, however, its “reconstruction” on the ruined walls’ original location is still justified: it offers a spectacular view and gives the visitor a real picture of the former castle walls’ height and of the size of this part of the castle. The design of the new elements – similarly to the mediaeval castle’s structures – takes the form of massive structures that emanate power and strive for simplicity. Their appearance, however, is deliberately contemporary, which provides the historic building conservation requirement of distinction between the old and new elements. Furthermore, the use of oak serves not only the structure’s integration in the historical and natural environment, but, as a traditional mediaeval building material, it is also a gesture made towards the former building, creating architectural continuity.

### The castle’s future

■ Szádvár Castle has arrived at a new chapter of its modern history, as the implementation, the carrying out of the designs is about to begin. However, the current development is far from marking the end of the road. Rather, it stands for building the future, being another major forward step in saving the castle, which will set the foundations for further, perhaps even larger developments later on. However, due to the castle’s size, it is difficult to imagine that a full conservation would be possible to perform at once, in a single phase. In the course of further development – whether in the form of authentic reconstruction or that of contemporary construction – it is important to keep in mind, besides the aspects related to historic building conservation, that after completing all the stages, the castle should constitute a harmonious whole, as a unified architectural work.

“The castle is yours!” – the motto of the Friends of Szádvár expresses it, and their activity so far has exemplified well that a historic building belongs to all of us, and that it is worth acting for its safeguarding!

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■ Andreea MILEA<sup>1</sup>

## Parcuri publice urbane în listele monumentelor istorice

■ **Rezumat:** Inspirat de interesul internațional afirmat pentru parcurile publice urbane istorice – dovadă, discutarea în cadrul celei de-a 19-a Adunări generale ICOMOS (11-15 decembrie 2017) a Documentului ICOMOS-IFLA privitor la Parcurile Publice Urbane Istorice-, dar și de proiectul de cercetare doctorală demarat de autoare în toamna anului 2017 și intitulat „Începuturile parcurilor publice urbane transilvănene. Modelarea spațiului public ca mijloc de reprezentare”, articolul își propune să investigheze măsura în care parcurile publice urbane istorice sunt prezente în lista patrimoniului mondial, în listele naționale ale monumentelor istorice din Franța<sup>2</sup> și România și, totodată, să identifice posibile criterii de clasare și mijloace de protejare a acestora.

■ **Cuvinte cheie:** lista monumentelor istorice, parc public urban istoric, patrimoniu construit, patrimoniu cultural

■ Tema prezentului articol este inspirată de cercetarea doctorală pe care am demarat-o în toamna anului 2017 despre *Începuturile parcurilor publice urbane transilvănene*.<sup>3</sup> Argumente în plus care mi-au susținut demersul au fost, pe de o parte, discutarea în decembrie 2017 a documentului ICOMOS-IFLA privitor la *Parcurile Publice Urbane Istorice*, iar pe de altă parte tot mai pronunțatul interes autohton pentru parcurile publice urbane și pentru petrecerea timpului, liber sau nu, în cadrul lor.

În Cluj, știm bine că acest interes s-a manifestat în ultimii ani prin lobby pentru crearea și întreținerea spațiilor verzi, prin folosirea intensă a acestora îndeosebi în timpul verii, dar și prin organizarea de festivaluri în cadrul lor. Parcul Central este, anual, scena a nu mai puțin de două festivaluri de amploare: *Jazz in the Park* și *Untold*. Mai mult, concursuri au fost organizate pentru reamenajarea sau amenajarea de parcuri și alte tipuri de spații verzi, cele mai relevante dintre acestea fiind *Rethinking Someș* din 2017 (*Rethinking Someș...*) și *Parcul Feroviar* din 2018 (*Parcul Feroviar...*).

De bună seamă, faptul că parcurile publice urbane sunt folosite este un lucru bun, demonstrând atât necesitatea existenței lor în oraș, cât și atașamentul locuitorilor față de ele. Pe de altă parte, nu arareori auzim și comentarii privind suprasolicitația unora dintre parcurile publice urba-

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

2 Țară cu tradiție în construirea parcurilor publice urbane, și cu care țara noastră a avut bune legături în perioada "clasică" pentru introducerea parcurilor publice în orașe (secolul al XIX-lea).

3 Problematika discutată, cea a *prezenței parcurilor publice urbane în listele monumentelor istorice*, continuă prezentarea problematicei generale a *începuturilor parcurilor publice urbane transilvănene*, expusă deja în articolul cu același nume publicat în *Transsylvania Nostra* (MILEA 2018). Încadrarea problematicei discutate în mai ampla cercetare doctorală poate imprima, desigur, prezentării un caracter de subcapitol. Totuși, problematica poate fi urmărită, înțeleasă și cercetată independent, îndeosebi în contextul unui jurnal adresat publicului de specialitate, familiarizat deja cu noțiunile de bază ale domeniului.

## Urban Public Parks on the Lists of Historic Monuments

■ **Abstract:** Inspired by the international interest currently expressed in historic urban public parks – as proven by the discussion of the ICOMOS-IFLA Document on Historic Urban Public Parks in the 19<sup>th</sup> General Assembly of ICOMOS (December 11-15, 2017)-, but also by the doctoral research project initiated by the author in the fall of 2017 entitled "The Beginnings of Transylvanian Urban Public Parks. Shaping Public Space as Means of Representation", the present article wishes to investigate the extent to which historic urban public parks are present on the World Heritage List and on the national lists of historic monuments in France<sup>2</sup> and Romania, as well as to identify possible listing criteria and the means of protecting them.

■ **Key words:** list of historic monuments, historic urban public park, built heritage, cultural heritage

■ The topic of the present article draws inspiration from my doctoral research started in the autumn of 2017 on *The Beginnings of Transylvanian Urban Public Parks*.<sup>3</sup> Additional arguments supporting my approach are, on the one hand, the discussion of the ICOMOS-IFLA Document on *Historic Urban Public Parks* in December 2017 and on the other, the increasing interest shown in our country for urban public parks and spending time (free or

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

2 This country has a tradition in designing urban public parks and had good relations with Romania in the "classical" period of introducing public parks in towns (19<sup>th</sup> century).

3 The issue under discussion, that of the *presence of urban public parks on the lists of historic monuments*, continues the presentation of the general topic of the *beginnings of Transylvanian urban public parks*, already discussed in the article with the same title published in *Transsylvania Nostra* (MILEA 2018). Naturally, the inclusion of the present topic in the more comprehensive doctoral research could give this presentation the character of a subchapter. However, the topic can be investigated, understood, and researched independently, especially in the context of a publication meant for a specialised readership, already familiar with the basic notions of the field.

not) in them. We know very well that in Cluj-Napoca this interest has been manifested through lobbying for the creation and maintenance of green areas, through the intense use of these areas especially in summer, and by organising festivals in them. Every year, the Central Park is the venue of no less than two major festivals: *Jazz in the Park* and *Untold*. Moreover, contests have been organised for the re-design or design of parks and other types of green areas, the most relevant being *Rethinking Someș* in 2017 (*Rethinking Someș...*) and *Railway Park* in 2018 (*Parcul Feroviar...*).

Naturally, the fact that urban public parks are being used is a good thing, proving both the need for their existence in the city and the people's attachment to them. On the other hand, we do hear quite often comments on the overuse of some of the urban public parks, overuse<sup>4</sup> that is perceived negatively, as an excess of some sort. Thus, it seems legitimate to ask ourselves whether there should be some restraint in the use of urban public parks, or at least a difference in the way we use a historic urban public park, as compared to a more recently founded urban public park.<sup>5</sup> Without setting myself the goal of proving something specific, these questions have made me try, for the time being, to discover the extent to which historic urban public parks are protected by being listed, as well as what exactly determines their inclusion on that list and what their protection consists of.

We know that, unlike a square or a street, the urban public park is a relatively recent type of public space, marking its presence in towns and cities throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>6</sup> We can therefore

ne, suprasolicitare<sup>4</sup> percepută negativ, ca un exces. Astfel, pare legitim să ne întrebăm dacă ar trebui să existe o măsură în folosirea parcurilor publice urbane sau o diferență în felul în care folosim un parc public urban istoric față de un parc public urban de dată recentă.<sup>5</sup> Fără a-mi propune să demonstrez ceva anume, aceste întrebări m-au determinat, pentru moment, să încerc să descopăr măsura în care parcurile publice urbane istorice sunt protejate prin clasarea lor ca monumente, ce anume determină clasarea lor și în ce constă protecția lor.

Știm că, spre deosebire de piață și de stradă, parcul public urban este un tip de spațiu public de dată recentă, care își afirmă prezența în oraș pe parcursul secolului al XIX-lea.<sup>6</sup> Ne putem aștepta, prin urmare, ca reprezentarea sa în listele monumentelor istorice să nu fie una bogată.

Mi-am propus să urmăresc prezența parcurilor publice urbane în *Lista UNESCO a patrimoniului mondial*, în *Lista monumentelor istorice* din Franța, dar și în *Lista monumentelor istorice* din țara noastră.

Franța<sup>7</sup> are o tradiție remarcabilă în arta amenajărilor peisagistice, inclusiv a parcurilor publice urbane. Parisul prezintă, la mijlocul secolului al XVII-lea, modelul convingător de amenajare, ca promenadă publică aliniată cu arbori, a sistemului de fortificații al orașului, învechit moral și apropiat oricum de locuitori în scopul destinderii în aer liber (fig. 1).



■ Fig. 1. Detaliu din planul Turgot (1734-1739) al Parisului arătând amenajarea peisagistică, prin alei aliniate cu arbori, a fortificațiilor © domeniu public

■ Figure 1. Detail of the Turgot map (1734-1739) of Paris displaying the landscape arrangement, including tree-lined alleys, of the fortifications © public domain

4 Overuse is a phenomenon that can be encountered both in the case of recently founded parks and in that of historic parks. Generally, we can consider a park overused when the way it is used (continuously or intensively for a short period of time) impacts the surroundings in a negative way and has persistent effects, like material damage, which require specific rehabilitation interventions. If in the case of a common park, whose material substance is not exceptional, the losses may not be necessarily big, in the case of a historic park, and especially in the case of a listed park, the deterioration of the material substance can decrease the park's historic value considerably, and sometimes question the validity of its listing. At the same time, the deterioration of a historic park's environment is comparable to the loss of function in the case of a listed historic building. It is difficult to establish the precise moment the overuse started, as it depends on the character of each park individually, as well as on the situation.

5 In order to better understand the specificity of historic gardens in general and that of historic urban public parks in particular, see: The Florence Charter of 1981 (*Historic Gardens...*), respectively the 2017 ICOMOS-IFLA Document on Historic Urban Public Parks (ICOMOS-IFLA...).

6 Since it became a necessity in the dense, crowded and polluted urban context of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the urban public park's main function is relaxation, naturally associated to leisurely walks, sporting, and cultural activi-

4 Fenomenul suprasolicității poate fi întâlnit atât în cazul unui parc de dată recentă, cât și în cazul unui parc istoric. În general, putem considera că un parc este suprasolicitat atunci când modul în care este folosit (în mod continuu sau concentrat pe o perioadă scurtă de timp) produce degradarea ambianței și uzura materială ca efecte persistente și care cer intervenții specifice recuperatorii. Dacă pentru un parc oarecare, a cărui substanță materială nu este una de excepție, poate că pierderile nu sunt neapărat mari, în cazul unui parc istoric, și mai ales în cazul unui parc monument istoric, uzura substanței materiale poate scădea considerabil valoarea istorică a parcului, ajungând uneori să chestioneze valabilitatea clasării drept monument istoric. Totodată, degradarea ambianței unui parc istoric este o pierdere comparabilă cu pierderea funcțiunii unei clădiri monument istoric. O limită precisă a momentului instalării suprasolicității este dificil de stabilit, depinzând de caracterul fiecărui parc în parte, la fel ca și de caracterul situației.

5 Pentru buna înțelegere a specificului grădinilor istorice în general și a parcurilor publice urbane istorice în special, a se vedea: Carta Grădinilor Istorice, Florența, 1981 (*Historic Gardens...*), respectiv documentul ICOMOS-IFLA privitor la Parcurile Publice Urbane Istorice, 2017 (ICOMOS-IFLA...).

6 Devenit o necesitate în contextul urban dens, aglomerat și poluat al secolului al XIX-lea, parcul public urban are ca funcțiune principală destinderea, asociată în mod firesc promenadei, activităților sportive și culturale. Parcul public urban se afirmă ca element necesar pentru restabilirea legăturii cu natura, pentru promovarea unui mediu sănătos și pentru prilejuierea întâlnirii dintre clase, destinat fiind poporului în ansamblul său. Cu precedente precum câmpurile suburbane, parcurile private puse la dispoziția publicului, fortificațiile de pământ transformate în promenade urbane și piețele plantate, parcurile publice urbane au devenit componente indispensabile ale orașelor, ajungând, în cele mai fericite cazuri, să facă parte din adevărate sisteme de spații verzi.

7 Alături de alte țări europene, dintre care cele mai semnificative pentru subiect sunt Germania și Anglia.



■ **Foto 1.** Detaliu din Grădina Kiseleff, în București, amenajată începând cu 1844, după proiectul arhitectului peisagist Carl Friedrich MEYER și cu contribuția grădinarului Franz HÖRER, ambii chemați de la Viena în acest scop © Alex GĂLMEANU / www.muzeuldefotografie.ro  
 ■ **Photo 1.** Detail from the Kiseleff Garden in Bucharest, set up in 1844, according to the design of landscape architect Carl Friedrich MEYER and with the contribution of gardener Franz HÖRER, both called in from Vienna to this purpose © Alex GĂLMEANU / www.muzeuldefotografie.ro

Secolele XVIII și XIX vor însemna răspândirea acestui model în întreaga Europă. Pentru Paris, secolul XIX a însemnat de asemenea crearea programatică a unui număr semnificativ de parcuri publice urbane, odată cu realizarea marilor lucrări de modernizare a orașului din timpul celui de-al Doilea Imperiu (1852-1870) (KOSTOF 1992, 33, 34, 170). Chiar dacă, prin comparație, țara noastră nu are o tradiție deosebit de semnificativă în arta amenajărilor peisagistice, secolul XIX reprezintă totuși un secol de inspirație occidentală, de import de creatori și de realizări (ILIESCU 2003, 70-80).<sup>8</sup> (foto 1)

Astfel, am considerat interesantă o alăturare, dacă nu o comparație, a măsurii în care fiecare dintre cele două țări și-a propus să protejeze, prin clasare, parcurile publice urbane.<sup>9</sup> În listele monumentelor istorice există o varietate de tipuri de grădini și parcuri:

- parcuri rezidențiale;
- parcuri private accesibile publicului în virtutea interesului suscitată de amenajare;
- parcuri care, în timp, au devenit publice;
- parcuri aferente unor instituții;
- parcuri specializate (cum ar fi grădinile botanice sau parcurile termale);
- parcul public urban propriu-zis, proiectat astfel de la bun început.

Dintre acestea, interesul meu s-a concentrat strict pe ultimul tip.

Parcul public urban este un parc proiectat în mediul urban, în principiu pe teren public (deși pot exista și excepții), și destinat destinderii

8 Pentru o discuție despre cele două tipuri de grădini (franceze și românești, cu asemănările și diferențele lor, deși nu neapărat publice) a se vedea capitolul „Două tipuri de grădini” din volumul lui Dolores TOMA (2001, 11-50). Pentru informații despre primele promenade și grădini „cu adevărat publice în București”, dar și pentru trecerea în revistă a surselor istoriografice, a se vedea capitolul „Date istorice despre grădinile naturale și amenajate din București în secolul al XIX-lea” din același volum (TOMA 2001, 127-200).

9 În paranteză fie spus, îmi propusesem, de fapt, să consult listele monumentelor istorice pentru un număr mai mare de țări europene cu o creație relevantă în domeniul parcurilor publice urbane istorice, dar nu multe liste sunt accesibile direct și, desigur, fiecare este în limba sa. Tot în paranteză aș spune, cu această ocazie, că în scopul cercetării, o centralizare accesibilă a listelor monumentelor istorice ar putea fi foarte utilă. Primele candidate la această cercetare extinsă ar fi fost, deja amintitele Germania și Anglia, căci ambele își revendică meritul (disputa nefiind, până la urmă, tranșată) de a fi creat primul parc public modern, prin Englischer Garten din München (amenajată începând cu 1804), respectiv prin Victoria Park din Estul Londrei (amenajată începând cu 1842).

expect its representation on the lists of historic monuments not to be a particularly rich one.

I have decided to track the presence of urban public parks on the *UNESCO World Heritage List*, the *list of historic buildings* in France, as well as the *list of historic buildings* in Romania.

France<sup>7</sup> has a remarkable tradition in the art of landscaping, which includes urban public parks. In the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, Paris provided a convincing landscaping model, with the tree-lined public promenade of the city's fortification system, obsolete but nevertheless appropriated by the city dwellers for outdoor recreational purposes (Figure 1). In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, this model spread across all Europe. For Paris, the 19<sup>th</sup> century also meant the programmatic creation of a significant number of urban public parks, since major city modernisation works were carried out during the Second Empire (1852-1870) (KOSTOF 1992, 33, 34, 170).

Even though, by comparison, our country does not have a very significant tradition in the art of landscaping, the 19<sup>th</sup> century still represents a century of western inspiration, characterised by an import of creators and accomplishments

ties. Urban public parks became necessary in order to re-establish a connection with nature, to promote a healthy environment, and to allow the classes to mingle, as it is available to people from all categories. With precedents like suburban fields, private parks made available to the public, earthen fortifications transformed into urban promenades, and planted squares, urban public parks have become indispensable in towns and cities and, in the happiest of cases, are part of vast systems of green areas.

7 Similarly to other European countries, among which the most significant for this particular topic are Germany and England.

(ILIESCU 2003, 70-80).<sup>8</sup> (Photo 1)

Thus, I considered interesting to adjoin, if not to compare, the extent to which each of the two countries has set the objective of protecting urban public parks by listing them.<sup>9</sup> The lists of historic monuments comprise a wide range of types of gardens and parks:

- residential parks;
- private parks accessible to the public by virtue of the interest aroused by their landscaping;
- parks that, in time, have become public;
- parks belonging to institutions;
- specialised parks (such as botanical gardens or thermal parks);
- but also, the urban public park itself, designed as such from the very beginning.

Of all these, my interest is focused strictly on the latter.

The urban public park is a park designed to be in an urban environment, in principle on public land (although there can be exceptions), meant for the leisure and recreation of the general public. It is not part of some residence or institution; it stands independently.

The buildings in it are typical for a park: usually not very large, meant as well for general leisure and recreation (ICOMOS-IFLA...).

The *UNESCO List of World Heritage* (World Heritage...) includes a single specimen of this type: Parque Güell in Barcelona, built between 1900 and 1914 according to the design of Antoni GAUDÍ. In fact, the park is not listed individually, but together with other works by Antoni GAUDÍ.

The *List of historic monuments* in France (Carte des Monuments...; Liste des parcs...) includes 507 parks and gardens in some form of public property, both in urban and rural areas, belonging to a variety of types. I only refer to the European territory of France. Most of them – 467 – are estate gardens connected to castles

8 For a discussion on the two types of gardens (French and Romanian, with their resemblances and differences, although not necessarily public gardens), see the chapter „Două tipuri de grădini” of Dolores TOMA’s publication (2001, 11-50). For information on the first promenades and gardens that were „truly public in Bucharest”, and also for an overview of historiographical sources, see the chapter „Date istorice despre grădinile naturale și amenajate din București în secolul al XIX-lea” of the same volume (TOMA 2001, 127-200).

9 As parenthesis, I had intended to consult lists of historic monuments for a greater number of European countries relevant for their historic urban public parks, but not many of those lists are directly accessible and, of course, each is in its own language. Also as parenthesis, I would say that for research purposes, an accessible centralisation of the lists could be very useful. The first candidates of this extended research would have been, as previously mentioned, Germany and England, as both claim (this dispute has not reached yet any conclusion) to have created the first modern public park: Englischer Garten in Munich (laid out starting from 1804), respectively Victoria Park in Eastern London (laid out starting from 1842).

și agrementului publicului larg. El nu formează cadrul vreunei reședințe sau instituții, ci este de sine stătător. Construcțiile din cadrul lui sunt construcții de parc, de obicei de anvergură modestă, destinate de asemenea destinderii și agrementului tuturor (ICOMOS-IFLA...).

*Lista UNESCO a patrimoniului mondial* (World Heritage...) cuprinde un unic exemplar de acest tip: Parque Güell din Barcelona, construit între 1900-1914 după proiectul lui Antoni GAUDÍ. De altfel, parcul nu este clasa de sine stătător, ci într-un grup al operelor lui Antoni GAUDÍ.

*Lista monumentelor istorice* din Franța (Carte des Monuments...; Liste des parcs...) conține un număr de 507 parcuri și grădini aflate într-o formă de proprietate publică, atât în mediul urban cât și în mediul rural, aparținând unei diversități de tipuri. Mă refer doar la teritoriul european al Franței. Dintre acestea, cea mai mare parte – 467 – sunt grădini domeniiale, de castel sau de palat, de stabilimente bisericesti intrate în proprietate publică, alături de grădini de instituții publice, iar 18 sunt parcuri specializate (grădini botanice, arheologice, parcuri termale, memoriale, cimitire). Doar 22 sunt parcuri publice urbane proiectate de la bun început a fi astfel; patru dintre ele sunt în Paris. Nu toate au amploarea unui parc; unele sunt grădini, altele sunt scuaruri, altele simple promenade. Dat fiind numărul lor mic, ele pot fi enumerate: ALBERT – jardin public et parc des Rochers, BELFORT – square Emile Lechten, BESANÇON – jardin public dit «square Castan», BÉZIERS – jardin du plateau des poètes, BOURGES – jardin des Prés Fichaux, DIJON – parc Darcy, DOLE – jardin et promenade du cours Saint-Mauris, GUEBWILLER – parc de la Marseillaise, ILLIERS-COMBRAY – jardin du Pré Catelan, JOSSELINE – promenade dite Le Mail, LYON 6 – éléments du parc de La Tête d’Or, MAUGUIO – jardin de la Motte, MONTPELLIER – promenade du Peyrou, MURET – parc Clément Ader, PARIS 4 – square public, place des Vosges, PARIS 8 – éléments du parc Monceau, PARIS 13 – square René Le Gall, PARIS 15 – square Saint-Lambert, STRASBOURG – parc de l’Orangerie, STRASBOURG – éléments du parc de la Citadelle, TOULOUSE – jardin de la place Wilson, TOURS – jardin des Prébendes d’Oé.

Această proporție ne arată că atunci când necesitatea parcului public urban s-a impus, exista deja un fond de parcuri gata constituit, care din diverse motive (ținând inclusiv de consecințele Revoluției Franceze), a putut fi preluat și introdus în circuitul public.

Este interesant de observat faptul că parcuri precum Parc Montsouris sau Parc des Buttes Chaumont din Paris, proiectate și realizate în timpul lucrărilor haussmanniene, nu își găsesc locul în listă deși sunt proiecte de referință, pe care istoria parcului public modern nu ratează ocazia de a le prezenta.

Dar de ce ar trebui făcută o diferență între parcurile devenite publice și parcurile publice urbane propriu-zise? Diferențele există prin însăși natura amenajărilor, iar aceste diferențe țin de complexitatea funcțională, de gradul de accesibilitate sau de gradul de elaborare a amenajărilor.

*Lista monumentelor istorice* din România (Lista Monumentelor...) conține 53 de parcuri situate în mediul urban, fie ele de agrement, specializate sau aferente unor instituții laice (dintre care unele sunt adăpostite de foste reședințe). 15 dintre acestea sunt parcuri publice urbane proiectate de la bun început a fi astfel; șapte dintre ele fiind în București. Cea mai mare parte dintre cele 15 parcuri publice urbane sunt realizate de proiectanți străini (francezi, germani, maghiari). Din nou, numărul lor mic permite enumerarea: ARAD – parcul „Reconcilierii româno-maghiare”, BUCUREȘTI – parcul Ioanid, BUCUREȘTI – grădina Icoanei, BUCUREȘTI – parcul Plumbuita, BUCUREȘTI – parcul Herăstrău, BUCUREȘTI – grădina Cișmigiu, BUCUREȘTI – parcul Kiseleff, BUCUREȘTI – parcul Carol, BUZĂU – parcul Crâng, CARACAL – parcul Poporului, CLUJ-NAPOCA – parcul Central, CRAIOVA – parcul Nicolae Romanescu (fost Bibescu),

DEVA – parcul oraşului, GALAŢI – grădina publică, GALAŢI – parcul municipal Mihai Eminescu.

Cu rare excepţii, parcurile nu şi-au prea găsit locul în oraşele noastre înainte de secolul XIX, nici măcar în cadrul rezidenţial. Astfel, atunci când necesitatea parcului public urban s-a impus, a trebuit ca ele să fie create.

Este nevoie ca parcurile publice urbane să fie protejate prin clasarea lor ca monumente istorice? Desigur, dacă în contextul cultural în care se află, reprezintă valori. Valoarea este relativă; ea depinde de loc şi împrejurări. Să fi avut un *Parc des Buttes-Chaumont* în context autohton, ar fi reprezentat o super-valoare. La Paris, încă nu este destul. Pe de altă parte, chiar şi în prezenţa unor valori mai modeste, clasarea poate însemna salvarea unui sit de agresivitatea unor investitori care nu înţeleg încă rostul parcurilor sau a unei culturi care valorifică parcurile.

Care sunt valorile unui parc public urban istoric? Fără să intrăm în prea multe detalii, aceste valori sunt atât estetice (depinzând de proiectul propriu-zis şi de atmosfera creată), cât şi ecologice, horticole, sociale, civice. Caracterul deosebit al parcului public urban istoric poate fi dat de spaţiu, topografie, vegetaţie, privelişti, lumină, mediu în ansamblul său (ICOMOS-IFLA...). (foto 2)

Protecţia ar trebui să asigure, în primul rând, lipsa intruziunii în parcul public urban istoric. De asemenea, prezervarea elementelor care asigură caracterul deosebit al amenajării. În calitatea lui de spaţiu public, parcul public urban istoric este un spaţiu expus folosirii, uneori intense, atât de

or palaces, church establishments gardens that become public property, along with public institutions gardens, and 18 are specialized parks (botanical gardens, archaeological gardens, thermal parks, memorial parks, cemeteries). Only 22 of them are urban public parks designed as such from the very beginning, and four of these are in Paris. Not all of them have the dimensions of a park; some are gardens, others are squares, others simple promenades. Given their small number, they can be enumerated: ALBERT – jardin public et parc des Rochers, BELFORT – square Emile Lechten, BESANÇON – jardin public dit «square Castan», BÉZIERS – jardin du plateau des poètes, BOURGES – jardin des Prés Fichaux, DIJON – parc Darcy, DOLE – jardin et promenade du cours Saint-Mauris, GUEBWILLER – parc de la Marseillaise, ILLIERS-COMBRAY – jardin du Pré Catelan, JOSSELIN – promenade dite Le Mail, LYON 6 – éléments du parc de La Tête d'Or, MAUGUIO – jardin de la Motte, MONTPELLIER – promenade du Peyrou, MURET – parc Clément Ader, PARIS 4 – square public, place des Vosges, PARIS 8 – éléments du parc Monceau, PARIS 13 – square René Le Gall, PARIS 15 – square Saint-Lambert, STRASBOURG – parc de l'Orangerie, STRASBOURG – éléments du parc de la Citadelle, TOULOUSE – jardin de la place Wilson, TOURS – jardin des Prébendes d'Oé.

This ratio proves that at the time when the need for the urban public park became compelling, several parks had already been built which, for various reasons (pertaining also to the consequences of the French Revolution), could be taken and introduced into the public circuit.

It is interesting to notice that parks like Parc Montsouris or Parc des Buttes Chaumont in Paris, designed and created during the Haussmannian works, are not listed, albeit they are reference projects which any history of modern public park presents.

But why should a difference be made between parks that became public and proper urban public parks? Differences exist, by the very nature of the arrangements, and these differences are related to the functional complexity, the degree of accessibility, or the degree of elaboration of the arrangements. The *List of Historic Monuments* in Romania (Lista Monumentelor...) includes 53 parks situated in urban environment, whether recreational, specialized or affiliated with secular institutions (some of which are part of former residences). 15 of them are urban public parks designed from the very beginning as such; seven of these are in Bucharest. Most of the 15 urban public parks were created by foreign designers (French, German, Hungarian). Again, their small number allows for their enumeration: ARAD – the Park of the „Romanian-Hungarian Reconciliation”, BUCHAREST – Ioanid Park, BUCHAREST – the Garden of the Icon, BUCHAREST – Plumbuita Park, BUCHAREST – Herăstrău Park, BUCHA-



■ **Foto 2.** Insula de pe lac, în Parcul Central din Cluj, înfiinţat în 1838 © Andreea MILEA, 2016  
 ■ **Photo 2.** The island on the lake in the Central Park in Cluj-Napoca, founded in 1838  
 © Andreea MILEA, 2016

REST – Cișmigiu Garden, BUCHAREST – Kiseleff Park, BUCHAREST – Carol Park, BUZĂU – Grove Park, CARACAL – the Park of the People, CLUJ-NAPOCA – Central Park, CRAIOVA – Nicolae Romanescu (formerly Bibescu) Park, DEVA – City Park, GALAȚI – Public Garden, GALAȚI – Mihai Eminescu Municipal Park.

With rare exceptions, parks did not really find their place in our towns before the 19<sup>th</sup> century, not even in residential environments. Therefore, when the need for the creation of the urban public park imposed itself, they had to be created.

Do urban public parks need to be protected by being listed? Certainly, if they represent a value in the cultural context in which they are located. But value is relative, it depends on the place and the circumstances. Had we had a *Parc des Buttes-Chaumont* in Romania, it would have been an extremely valuable asset. In Paris, it is still not enough. On the other hand, even in the presence of more modest values, listing a site could mean saving it from the aggressive behaviour of investors who do not yet understand the purpose of parks or that of a culture valuing the parks.

Which are the values of a historic urban public park? Without going in too many details, these values are both aesthetic (depending on the project itself and on the created atmosphere) and ecological, horticultural, social, civic. The special character of a historic urban public park can be provided by the spaces, topography, vegetation, vistas, light, the environment as a whole (ICOMOS-IFLA...). (Photo 2)

Protection should ensure, firstly, the lack of intrusion in the historic urban public park and secondly, the preservation of the elements ensuring its special character. Being a public space, a historic urban public park is sometimes used intensively both by those who are aware of its value, and by those who are not. However, the overuse of historic urban public parks must be avoided to the same extent in which accessibility must be provided to everyone. The overuse of a historic urban public park can be detrimental both to the pleasure of using it and to the preservation of its character, quality, and historic elements. Overuse can negatively impact vegetation and biodiversity (squirrels, birds, insects) (ICOMOS-IFLA...).

Naturally, there must be a balance and an agreement between what people want and what is beneficial for the park; sometimes this can even mean monitoring the number of visitors and selecting a convenient range of activities (ICOMOS-IFLA...). If in other contexts such regulations do not appear to be inopportune obstacles, in our country we are still most often satisfied if a historic urban public park made it on the list of historic monuments, hoping that this way it will survive and be regularly maintained.

către cei care îi conștientizează valoarea, cât și de către cei care nu o conștientizează. Dar, în aceeași măsură în care accesibilitatea tuturor într-un astfel de parc trebuie asigurată, suprasolicitarea parcului public urban istoric trebuie evitată. Suprasolicitarea parcului public urban istoric poate dăuna atât plăcerii de a-l folosi, cât și păstrării caracterului, calității și părților sale componente istorice. Suprasolicitarea poate deranja vegetația și biodiversitatea (veverițe, păsări, găze) (ICOMOS-IFLA...).

Desigur, un echilibru și o concordanță trebuie stabilite între ceea ce oamenii își doresc și ceea ce face bine parcului; uneori acest lucru poate să însemne inclusiv monitorizarea numărului de vizitatori și selectarea unei palete de activități oportune (ICOMOS-IFLA...). Dacă în alte contexte, astfel de reglementări nu apar drept încorsetări inoportune, în contextul autohton suntem încă, cel mai adesea, mulțumiți dacă parcul public urban istoric a ajuns pe lista monumentelor istorice, în speranța că în acest fel va supraviețui, și dacă face obiectul unei întrețineri de bază.

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■ Maria Alexandra SAS<sup>1</sup>

# Reconsiderarea unei ruine. Studiu pentru valorificarea ansamblului Castelului Haller-Jósika din Gârbou

■ **Rezumat:** Articolul prezintă câteva repere istorice ale ansamblului Haller-Jósika din Gârbou (județul Sălaj), dar conturează și figura celei mai marcante personalități care a deținut acest domeniu, baroneasa Rozália JÓSIKA (născută contesă CSÁKY). Ansamblul castelului este clasat drept monument istoric în Listele Monumentelor Istorice din 2004, 2010, respectiv 2015. Acesta este alcătuit din două castele, unul baroc (1766) cu fântână (1781) și capelă (1783) și unul neoclasic (1830). Cea mai semnificativă modificare, atât din punct de vedere arhitectural, cât și cultural, pe care ansamblul a avut-o, se datorează Rozáliei JÓSIKA (CSÁKY). Ansamblul a suferit distrugerii majore în urma înstrăinării de familia JÓSIKA, astăzi (2019) rămânând doar poarta barocă, fântâna și capela. Articolul descrie principalele elemente care defineau ansamblul nobiliar, încercând să recreeze pentru cititor o imagine de ansamblu cât mai fidelă, valorificând astfel cercetarea de arhivă a fondului familial, prin documentele familiei JÓSIKA, precum și lucrări de specialitate care au tratat subiectul castelului în decursul timpului.

■ **Cuvinte cheie:** Castelul Haller-Jósika din Gârbou, castel, valori culturale, Rozália JÓSIKA, castel baroc, castel neoclasic

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■ **Fig. 1.** Reprezentarea satului Csáki gorbó. Zona amplasamentului studiat este reprezentată (de către autoare) cu linie albă © Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., 2019

■ **Figure 1.** Representation of Csáki gorbó Village. The area of the site under study is marked (by the author) in white line © Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., 2019

## The Reconsideration of a Ruin. Study on Enhancing the Haller-Jósika Manor House Ensemble in Gârbou

■ **Abstract:** The article presents certain historical benchmarks of the Haller-Jósika Ensemble in Gârbou (Sălaj County), while describing the most significant owner of this property, i.e. Baroness Rozália JÓSIKA (born Countess CSÁKY). The manor house ensemble is classified as a historic building in the Lists of Historic Buildings from 2004, 2010, and 2015. The ensemble is composed of two manor houses, i.e. a Baroque one (1766), with a well (1781) and a chapel (1783), and a Neoclassical one (1830). The most significant change brought to the ensemble in both architectural and cultural terms is owed to Rozália JÓSIKA (CSÁKY). The ensemble has suffered major destructions after its alienation from the JÓSIKA family. The only elements left today (2019) are the Baroque gate, the well, and the chapel. The article describes the main elements that used to define this aristocratic ensemble and tries to recreate for the reader a most faithful image of the ensemble, by using archival research on the family fonds, the JÓSIKA family's documents, and specialised papers having approached the manor house's subject over time.

■ **Keywords:** Haller-Jósika Manor House in Gârbou, manor house, cultural values, Rozália JÓSIKA, Baroque manor house, Neoclassical manor house

### Introduction

■ During the university year 2017-2018, the author chose the *Haller-Jósika Manor House in Gârbou* as topic for her thesis in the field of architecture. In order to make a proposal in line with the conservation principles, the author started a wide research activity in archives, libraries, and on the field, in order to find the defining features and the historical image of the architectural ensemble (Figure 1).

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The ensemble is classified on the List of Historic Buildings<sup>2</sup> and is known in the scholarly literature as the *Haller Manor House in Gârbou*. However, the study has revealed that the Gârbou estate was owned successively by three significant Transylvanian noble families, i.e. CSÁKY, HALLER, and JÓSIKA (BICSOK & ORBÁN 2012, 254-257). It is the last of these three families that left its mark on the ensemble, both from an architectural and a cultural point of view, we have therefore completed the name of the manor house, which resulted in *Haller-Jósika Manor House*. The former aristocratic ensemble is now in an advanced state of ruin (Castelul Haller...) (Figures 2 and 3).

Moreover, we point out that the name of the village is of Slavonic origin, where *grb*, *grob* means "the ridge of a mountain", adapted in Hungarian as *Gorbó*. During the Dualist Era, the name of the village was "Csákigorbó" (KELEMEN 1982, 212-213), which proves that the property originally belonged to the CSÁKY family.

### History of the place, development

■ The Haller-Jósika Manor House in Gârbou Village, Sălaj County, is found 43 km away from the municipality of Zalău and 65 km away from the municipality of Cluj-Napoca. It is located on a hill and has a dominant position in relation with the settlement that surrounds it (Photo 1)<sup>3</sup>.

The ensemble reveals a remarkable historical stratification. It preserves to date traces of buildings developed in successive stages, which enhance its value. Initially a *villa rustica* was located here (SABIN & GUDEA 2010, 53-54), then a Baroque mansion with a chapel (KELEMEN 1982, 212-214), and eventually an impressive Neoclassical manor house (B. NAGY 1977, 83-84), placed opposite to the Baroque building. For these reasons, the Haller-Jósika Manor House was mentioned in a number of publications dedicated to Transylvanian art history and architecture. Old illustrated postcards and photographs reveal its atmosphere in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (Photo 2)<sup>4</sup>.

### The Haller-Jósika Manor House

■ The access is made via an alley bordered by secular chestnut trees and lindens,

<sup>2</sup> At position 405 of the Sălaj County list, The Haller Manor House Ensemble, Code LMI SJ-II-a-B-05055, (dated back to the mid-18th century) (Lista Monumentelor...).

<sup>3</sup> The photograph was taken in the 1920s, being the only one found so far (2019) that shows both the Baroque and the Neoclassical manor houses in good condition. The angle of the photograph is atypical, as most of the photographic evidence is frontal, focused on the Neoclassical building.

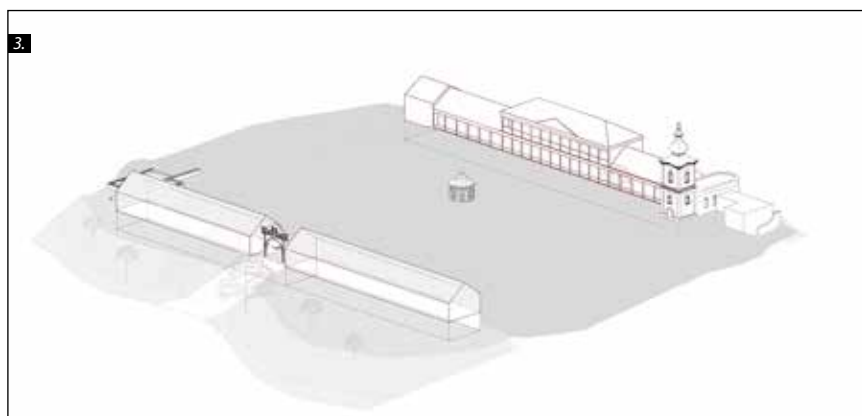
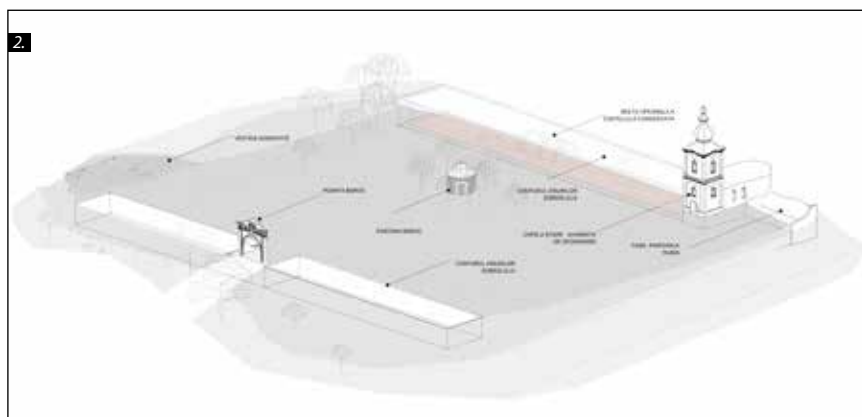
<sup>4</sup> The photograph, a postcard by Foto-Film Cluj, was taken in the 1940s, being the only one to show the manor house's inner courtyard while in good condition. We can see the abundant vegetation (fir-tree, linden, lilac), as well as the idyllic atmosphere created by the portico of the Neoclassical manor house.

## Introducere

■ În anul universitar 2017-2018, pentru elaborarea lucrării de diplomă în arhitectură, autoarea a ales ca amplasament *Castelul Haller-Jósika din Gârbou*. Astfel, pentru ca propunerea să fie în concordanță cu principiile restaurării, a fost demarată o cercetare amplă în arhive, biblioteci și pe teren, pentru a putea identifica caracteristicile definitorii și imaginea istorică a ansamblului arhitectural (fig. 1).

Acest ansamblu este clasat pe Lista Monumentelor Istorice<sup>2</sup> și este cunoscut în literatura de specialitate sub denumirea de *Castelul Haller din Gârbou*. Cu toate acestea, în urma studiului, s-a putut observa faptul că domeniul din Gârbou a fost deținut succesiv de trei familii nobiliare importante din Transilvania: CSÁKY, HALLER și JÓSIKA (BICSOK & ORBÁN 2012, 254-257). Astfel, ultima familie și-a pus amprenta asupra ansamblului atât din punct de vedere arhitectural, cât și cultural, ceea ce ne-a determinat să completăm numele castelului, rezultând astfel sintagma *Castelul Haller-Jósika*. Fostul ansamblu nobiliar este acum în stadiu avansat de ruină (Castelul Haller...) (fig. 2-3).

De asemenea, facem precizarea că denumirea satului este de origine slavonă *grb*, *grob* însemnând „creasta muntelui”, transpus în limba maghiară drept *Gorbó*. În perioada dualistă acesta purta denumirea de „Csákigorbó” (KELEMEN 1982, 212-213), evidențiind faptul că domeniul aparținea la origini familiei CSÁKY.

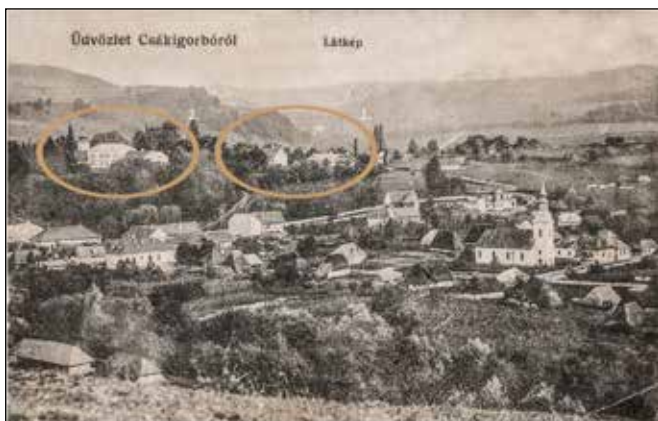


■ Fig. 2-3. Situația actuală și reconstituirea volumetrică. Analiza situației actuale prin transpunere grafică, pusă în antiteză cu o reconstituire volumetrică a situației celei mai caracteristice a ansamblului © Maria Alexandra SAS

■ Figures 2-3. Current situation and volumetric reconstruction. The analysis of the current situation based on graphic transposition, as compared to a volumetric reconstruction of the ensemble's most typical state © Maria Alexandra SAS

<sup>2</sup> La poziția 405 a listei județului Sălaj, Ansamblul castelului Haller, Cod LMI SJ-II-a-B-05055 (datare mijl. sec. XVIII) (Lista Monumentelor...).





■ **Foto 1.** Castelul Haller-Jósika pe colină, anii 1920. Zona castelului neoclasic și baroc este reprezentată (de către autoare) cu linie crem © Colecția Maria Alexandra SAS – Aiud  
 ■ **Photo 1.** The Haller-Jósika Manor House on the hill, the 1920s. The area of the Neoclassical and Baroque manor houses is marked (by the author) in cream line © Collection of Maria Alexandra SAS – Aiud



■ **Foto 2.** Castelul Haller-Jósika, curtea interioară în anii 1940, carte poștală Foto-Film Cluj © Colecția Daniel MUREȘAN – Zalău  
 ■ **Photo 2.** The Haller-Jósika Manor House, inner courtyard in the 1940s, Foto-Film Cluj Postcard © Collection of Daniel MUREȘAN – Zalău

## Istoria locului, evoluție

■ Castelul Haller-Jósika din satul Gârbou, județul Sălaj, este situat la o distanță de 43 km de municipiul Zalău și la 65 km de municipiul Cluj-Napoca. Acesta este amplasat pe o colină, ocupând o poziție dominantă în raport cu așezarea în mijlocul căreia se află (foto 1)<sup>3</sup>.

Ansamblul evocă o stratificație istorică remarcabilă, deținând și în prezent urme de construcții realizate în etape succesive, fapt care îi amplifică valoarea: inițial, a fost aici o *villa rustica* (SABIN & GUDEA 2010, 53-54), apoi o curie barocă cu capelă (KELEMEN 1982, 212-214) și, finalmente, un castel neoclasic impresionant (B. NAGY 1977, 83-84), dar amplasat opus corpului baroc. Din aceste considerente, Castelul Haller-Jósika a fost evidențiat în numeroase lucrări de specialitate de istoria artei și arhitecturii transilvănene. Cărțile poștale ilustrate și fotografiile de epocă evocă atmosfera de la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea, respectiv din secolul al XX-lea (foto 2)<sup>4</sup>.

## Castelul Haller-Jósika

■ Accesul se face prin intermediul unei alei de castani și tei seculari, care sunt încă prezenți. Pe platforma colinei situate în centrul satului, se găsesc astăzi urmele castelului neoclasic, capela castelului baroc, cu pavilion, fântână și poarta incintei realizată în stil baroc.

### Castelul Haller

Construit în stil baroc, castelul avea un regim de înălțime parter, camerele erau dispuse în anfiladă, astfel planimetria rezultată era una liniară. Datorită schimbărilor aduse de istorie, acesta a fost distrus, singurul element păstrat și de altfel cel mai distinctiv al ansamblului fiind poarta barocă (JULEAN 2010, 13) (foto 3)<sup>5</sup>. Aceasta a fost realizată de către Anton

which are still present. The remains of the Neoclassical manor house, the chapel of the Baroque manor house, with a pavilion, the well, and the Baroque gate to the courtyard can be found on the hill platform located in the centre of the village.

### The Haller Manor House

Built in Baroque style, the manor house had one storey, with the rooms in enfilade, and thus with a linear layout. Due to historical changes, this manor house was destroyed. The only element left, which is also the most distinctive element of the ensemble, is the Baroque gate (Photo 3)<sup>5</sup>. This gate was created by Anton SCHUCHBAUER (BICSOK & ORBÁN 2012, 257) in 1766 (KELEMEN 1982, 212-214), in Baroque style, with elements revealing "the spirit of Transylvanian late Renaissance, with the particularity in Gârbou of a frieze marked with triglyphs and a triangular pediment wreathed with statues" (ȚOCA 1986, 121), with mythological motifs and the coat of arms of the HALLER family, bearing the following text: *ILLMUS D.C. IOA: HALLER A MDCCLXVI*.<sup>6</sup>

When Rozália CSÁKY (BIRÓ 1996, 162-167), JÓSIKA DE BRANYICSKA after marriage, inherited the property, the Baroque manor house became a dwelling for servants.

On the opposite side to the proper manor house, a chapel was built in Baroque style, completed in 1783 (BIRÓ 1996, 162-167). To its right, there used to be a presbytery. These two buildings later become part of the Jósika Manor House. The chap-

3 Imaginea a fost realizată în anii 1920, fiind singura imagine identificată până în prezent (2019) cu castelul baroc și neoclasic într-o stare bună. Unghiul din care a fost surprins ansamblul este atipic, majoritatea măturilor fotografice fiind frontale, canalizate pe corpul neoclasic.

4 Imaginea, o carte poștală Foto-Film Cluj, a fost realizată în anii 1940, fiind singurul clișeu din curtea interioară a castelului în stare bună. Se poate observa abundența vegetației (brad, tei, liliac), precum și atmosfera idilică pe care o crea porticul castelului neoclasic.

5 În fotografie, poarta barocă străjuită de castani deschide prin portalul său o imagine care în prezent (2019) este eradicată. Se poate observa că partea dreaptă a castelului baroc în 1965 lipsea complet. Fotografia a fost realizată în 1965 de Béla KAJCSA, Dosar DMI 881/1955 verso. comanda nr. 881, Obiectiv: Burgul azi magazie de cereale.

5 The Baroque gate featured in the photograph, bordered by chestnut trees, opens on a view that no longer exists today (2019), revealing, also, that the right side of the Baroque manor house was completely missing in 1965. The photograph was taken in 1965 by Béla KAJCSA. File DMI 881/1955 verso. Order no. 881, Subject: Burg [German for castle, ed. note], today a cereal warehouse.

6 *Illustrissimus dominus comes Joannes Haller, Anno 1766* (KELEMEN 1982, 213).



■ **Foto 3.** Castelul Haller-Jósika, poarta barocă în 1965 (Gârbou – Haller...) © CC-BY-NC

■ **Photo 3.** The Haller-Jósika Manor House, the Baroque gate in 1965 (Gârbou – Haller...) © CC-BY-NC

el interior was decorated with the coat of arms of the HALLER family, as well as with the coats of arms of the related families. It had a simple altar and a small pipe organ (KELEMEN 1982, 212-214). None of the above-mentioned elements exist any more; the only remains of the religious building are the perimeter walls and the tower, with a Baroque roof structure, which still dominates over the village.

### **The Jósika Manor House**

The Jósika Manor House was built in 1830. As the Baroque style was already out of fashion, the family ordered a Neoclassical manor house, in line with the demands and taste of the time. The manor house had eleven rooms placed successively at the ground floor and three imposing rooms upstairs (KELEMEN 1982, 212-214). The door joinery and the stairs to the upper floor were in Empire style, painted in black and brown. As a distinctive architectural element, the Neoclassical pavilion formerly had a portico with oak columns imitating stone ones (in Tuscan style), painted in white. On its upper side, it had a tympanum hosting a sundial (KELEMEN 1982, 212-214). (Figure 4)<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The figure presents the only version found in original in the JÓSIKA family's fonds of the three designs that were submitted at the request of the family, with a view to refurbishing the manor house.

SCHUCHBAUER (BICSOK & ORBÁN 2012, 257) în anul 1766 (KELEMEN 1982, 212-214), decorată în stil baroc, cu elemente ce evocă „spiritul renașterii transilvănene târzii, cu mențiunea că acela de la Gârbou are friza marcată de triglife și este încălcat de un coronament triunghiular încununat de statui” (ȚOCA 1986, 121), cu motive mitologice și blazonul familiei HALLER, având inscripția *ILLMUS D.C. IOA: HALLER A MDCCLXVI.*<sup>6</sup>

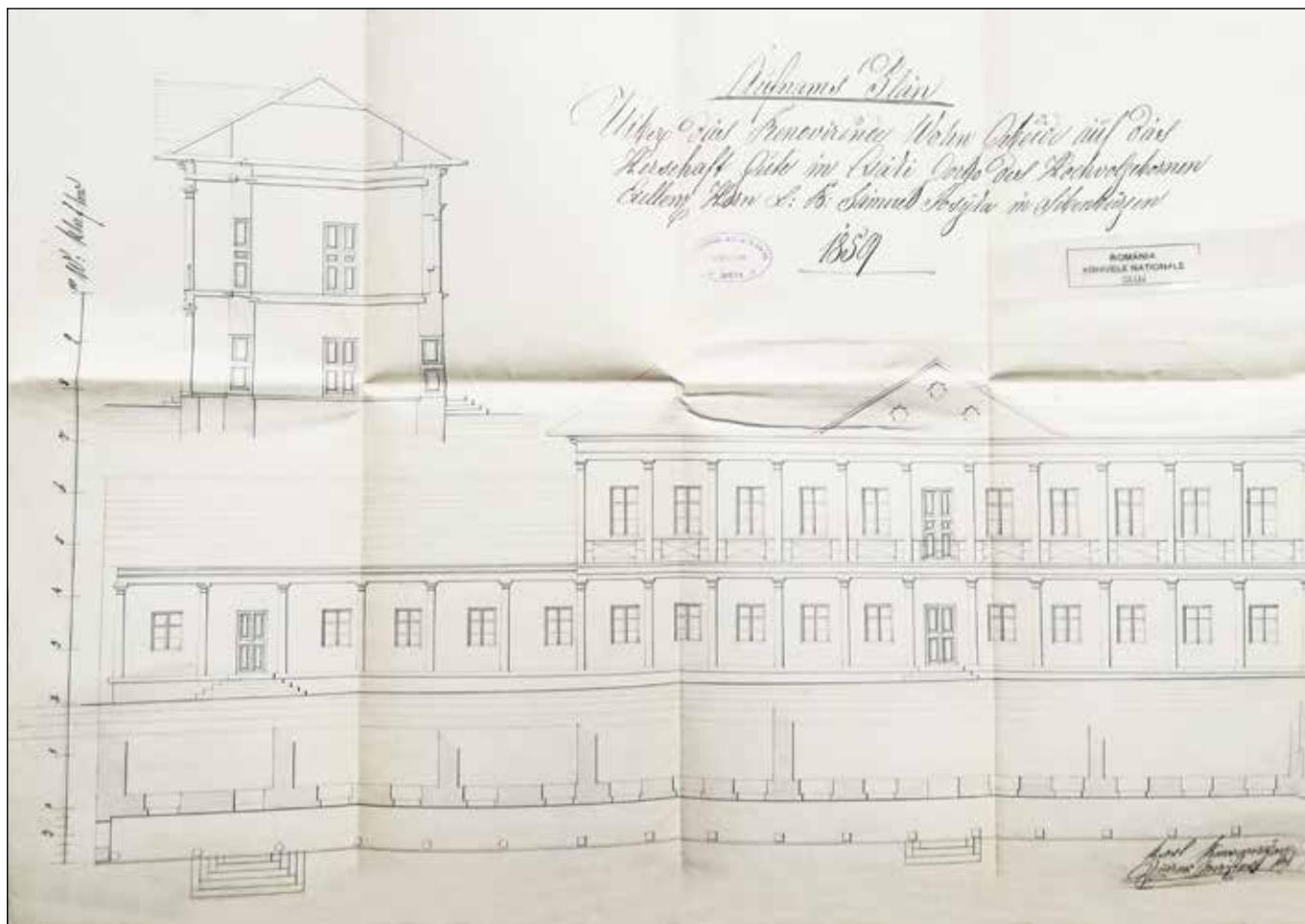
După ce proprietatea a fost moștenită de Rozália CSÁKY (BIRÓ 1996, 162-167), căsătorită JÓSIKA DE BRANYICKA, castelul baroc a devenit locuință pentru servitori.

Pe partea opusă castelului propriu-zis se afla o capelă construită în stil baroc, finalizată în 1783 (BIRÓ 1996, 162-167). Aceasta avea în partea dreaptă o casă parohială. Ulterior acestea devin parte integrantă a Castelului Jósika. Interiorul capelei era decorat cu blazonul familiei HALLER și blazoanele familiilor înrudite, avea un altar simplu și o orgă de dimensiuni reduse (KELEMEN 1982, 212-214). Astăzi, toate cele enumerate anterior sunt dispărute, din edificiul de cult rămânând doar pereții perimetrali și turla prevăzută cu o șarpantă în stil baroc, care încă domină satul.

### **Castelul Jósika**

Castelul Jósika a fost realizat în anul 1830 și, având în vedere că moda barocului era apusă, familia a comandat un castel în stil neoclasic, care să corespundă cerințelor și gusturilor epocii. Acesta avea 11 camere la parter, dispuse succesiv, și trei camere impunătoare la etaj (KELEMEN 1982, 212-214). Tâmplăria ușilor, precum și scara de acces către etaj erau în stil empire, vopsite în negru și maro. Ca element arhitectural distinctiv, pavilionul neoclasic avea un portic realizat cu coloane din lemn de stejar,

<sup>6</sup> *Illustrius dominus comes Joannes Haller, Anno 1766* (KELEMEN 1982, 213).



■ **Fig. 4.** Planșă realizată în urma solicitării familiei JÓSIKA pentru modernizarea castelului (Arhivele Naționale..., Dosar 1021, f. 564)  
 ■ **Figure 4.** Design created at the request of the JÓSIKA family with a view to refurbishing the manor house (Arhivele Naționale..., Dosar 1021, f. 564)

care imitau coloanele din piatră (stil toscan) vopsite în alb, iar în partea superioară avea un timpan, unde se afla un ceas solar (KELEMEN 1982, 212-214), (fig. 4)<sup>7</sup>.

În vizitele sale de cercetare în Transilvania, Lajos KELEMEN (BOAR 2014, 125-130) trece și pragul castelului din Gârboiu, realizând astfel o descriere fidelă a domeniului, precum și a valorilor acestuia. Aceasta reprezintă cea mai fidelă mărturie, fără de care astăzi nu am putea recrea atmosfera de altădată.

## Rolul cultural și valorile domeniului

■ Precizăm că, asemenea altor reședințe nobiliare contemporane, și Castelul Haller-Jósika și-a definit un rol cultural semnificativ. Aici s-a aflat depozitat un adevărat tezaur documentar, materializat printr-o bibliotecă de dimensiuni impresionante, arhivă, colecții arheologice și botanice.<sup>8</sup>

During his research visits in Transylvania, Lajos KELEMEN (BOAR 2014, 125-130) also passed through the manor house in Gârboiu. He wrote down a faithful description of the property and of its values. This is the most faithful evidence of the manor house, without which a recreation of the atmosphere of those old times would not be possible today.

### The cultural role and values of the property

■ Similarly to other contemporary aristocratic residences, the Haller-Jósika Manor House had a significant cultural role. A real documentary treasure could be found here, materialised in an impressive library, archives, as well as archaeological and botanical collections.<sup>8</sup>

7 Figura prezintă singura planșă identificată în original în fondul familiei JÓSIKA din cele trei variante înaintate în urma solicitării familiei pentru modernizarea castelului.

8 Fondul Fideicomisionar Jósika 1594-1960, aflat la Direcția Județeană Cluj a Arhivelor Naționale ale României din Cluj-Napoca (ANR), deține documente care reflectă statutul familiei, situația financiară și imobiliară, precum și corespondența purtată de-a lungul timpului de membrii familiei, studii aprofundate realizate de aceștia, care au legătură cu domeniul istoriei, al botanicii și al arhitecturii.

8 The Jósika Fee Tail Fonds 1594-1960, held at the Cluj County Directorate of the National Archives of Romania in Cluj-Napoca (ANR), includes documents showing the family's status, its financial and property situation, as well as the correspondence the family members had over time and their advanced studies, which are related to history, botany, and architecture.



■ **Foto 4.** Baroneasa Rozália JÓSIKA DE BRANYICSKA (CSÁKY), portret de Ferenc SIMÓ DE KISSOLYMOSSI, 1844 (Arhivele Naționale..., Dosar 1285, f. 1)  
■ **Photo 4.** Baroness Rozália JÓSIKA DE BRANYICSKA (CSÁKY), portrait by Ferenc SIMÓ DE KISSOLYMOSSI, 1844 (Arhivele Naționale..., Dosar 1285, f. 1)

### Rozália JÓSIKA DE BRANYICSKA (CSÁKY)

The most remarkable owner of the estate was Baroness Rozália JÓSIKA DE BRANYICSKA (Brănișca) (Photo 4)<sup>9</sup>, born Countess CSÁKY (1784-1850) (BUDAY 1929). She grew up in Vienna and was given an excellent education, due to her social status. She loved studying history and botany. She put up a wide collection of books, archaeological objects, and plants (PAPP 2011, 180-220). In 1802 (PAPP 2017) she married Baron János JÓSIKA DE BRANYICSKA (1778-1843).<sup>10</sup> Their descendants actively contributed to the political and cultural life in Transylvania in the following years, and helped the development of the Transylvanian Museum through a number of donations.<sup>11</sup>



■ **Foto 5.** Imagine cu o parte din grădina castelului, anii 1940 © Colecția Maria Alexandra SAS – Aiud  
■ **Photo 5.** Photograph including part of the manor house garden, the 1940s © Collection of Maria Alexandra SAS – Aiud

9 The image presents the portrait of the baroness. Rozália was always in line with European fashion and put a great stress on jewellery. The records of the jewellery were found – genuine lost treasures.

10 "A Kir. Felső Aranykulcsos Hive Az Erdélyi Nagy Fejedelemség Felső Kir. Fő Kormány-széke XII Esztendeig Volt Rendes Elnöke, Telyes Hatalmu Kir. Biztos" [Treasurer at the royal court, Governor of Transylvania for 12 years, official with full powers in the kingdom] (SAS 2007, 172).

11 After the death of their parents, they donated to the Transylvanian Museum their mother's herbaria (as they were important for the *Flora Transilvanica*), 28 gold coins, 57 silver coins, Romanian and Hungarian old coins, as well as 10,000 florins on their behalf. The whole donation was supplemented with 2,500 volumes from the family library.

### Rozália JÓSIKA DE BRANYICSKA (CSÁKY)

Cea mai însemnată proprietară a domeniului a fost baroneasa Rozália JÓSIKA DE BRANYICSKA (Brănișca) (foto 4)<sup>9</sup>, născută contesă CSÁKY (1784-1850) (BUDAY 1929). Crescută la Viena, având o educație aleasă, datorită statutului său social, aceasta a îndrăgit studiul istoriei și botanicii, realizând o vastă colecție de cărți, obiecte arheologice și plante (PAPP 2011, 180-220). În anul 1802 (PAPP 2017), s-a căsătorit cu baronul János JÓSIKA DE BRANYICSKA (1778-1843).<sup>10</sup> Moștenitorii lor au contribuit activ la viața politică și culturală a Transilvaniei în anii următori, ajutând la dezvoltarea Muzeului Ardelean, prin numeroasele donații făcute.<sup>11</sup>

### Considerații relevante

Trebuie să avem în vedere încă de la început că baroneasa JÓSIKA a corespondat cu cercetători<sup>12</sup> europeni, a făcut schimb de semințe pentru a spori colecția botanică (ANR, Dosare 413-418) și a îmbogățit colecția de literatură de specialitate.

Baroneasa a făcut planuri foarte ambițioase pentru modernizarea domeniului. Planul ei pentru Gârbou prevedea, în primul rând, realizarea unei grădini botanice – mult mai ample decât cea care fusese plănuită anterior (nerealizată) (ANR, Dosare 411, 1265, f. 5). Lajos KELEMEN<sup>13</sup> a identificat planurile originale (1982, 212-214). În al doilea rând, baroneasa a dorit con-

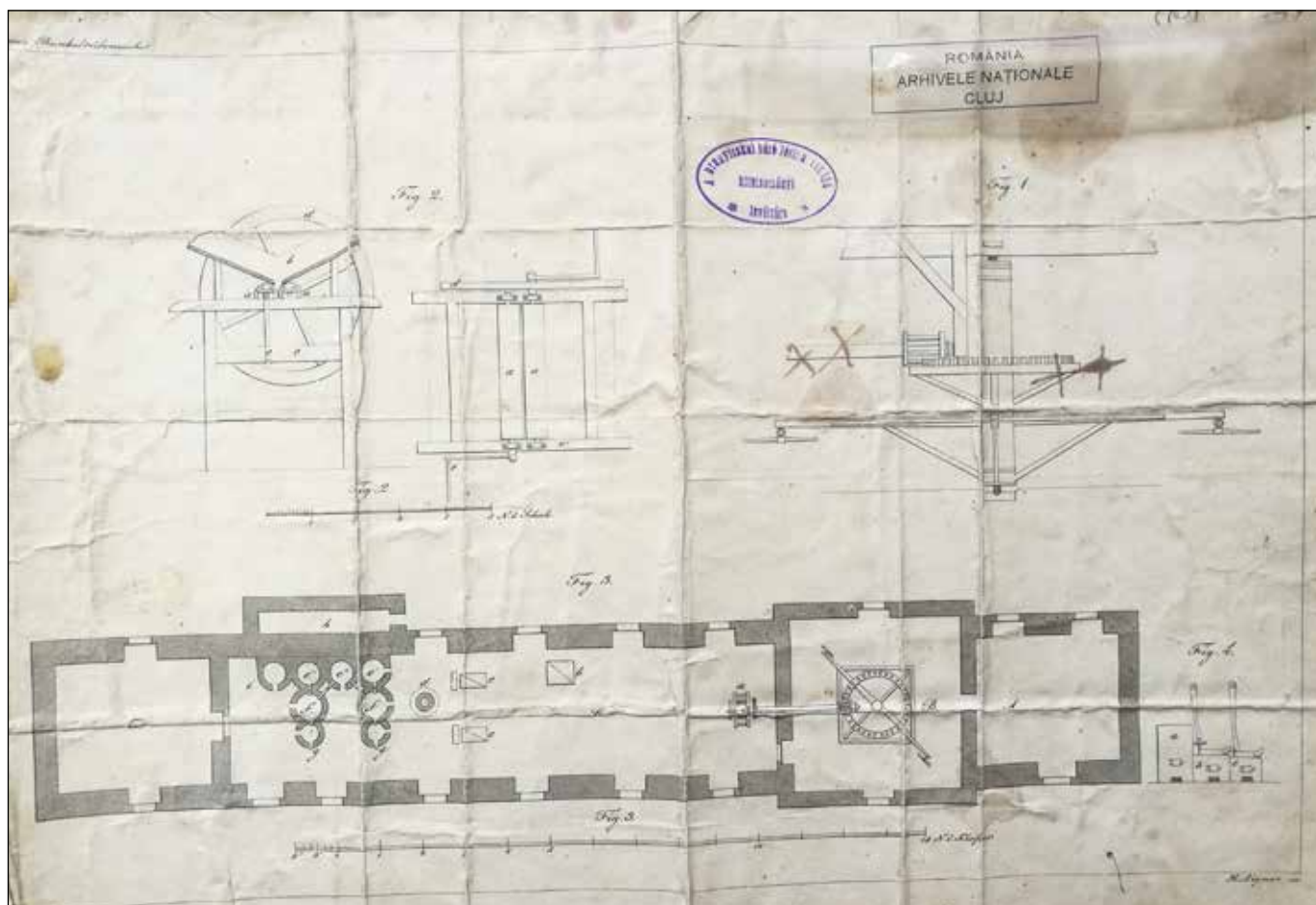
9 Imaginea prezintă portretul baronesei. Rozália era mereu în pas cu moda europeană și pune mare accent pe bijuterii. Au fost găsite inventarele bijuteriilor – adevărate comori pierdute.

10 „A Kir. Felső Aranykulcsos Hive Az Erdélyi Nagy Fejedelemség Felső Kir. Fő Kormány-széke XII Esztendeig Volt Rendes Elnöke, Telyes Hatalmu Kir. Biztos” [Trezorier la curtea regală, Guvernator al Transilvaniei 12 ani, responsabil cu puteri depline în regat] (SAS 2007, 172).

11 Au donat Muzeului Ardelean după decesul părinților: ierburile mamei (deoarece erau importante pentru *Flora Transilvanica*), 28 de monede de aur, 57 de monede de argint, monede vechi românești și maghiare, precum și 10.000 de forinți din partea lor. Întreaga donație a fost completată de donarea a 2.500 de volume din biblioteca familiei.

12 Jean Baptiste LAJARD, Membre de l'Institut royal en France (1828-1843) [Membru al Institutului Regal din Franța]. Au fost identificate zece scrisori, trimise între 1830 și 1841, cuprinzând discuții purtate cu Rozália JÓSIKA.

13 Lajos KELEMEN (1877-1963), fost director al Arhivei Muzeului Ardelean, luptător pentru istoria monumentelor, a obiectelor de artă, dar și pentru salvarea valorilor istorico-artistice, a întreprins vizite în Transilvania la aproape toate castelele sau reședințele



■ Fig. 5. Planul fabricii de zahăr (Arhivele Naționale..., Dosar 1276, f. 10)  
 ■ Figure 5. Design of the sugar plant (Arhivele Naționale..., Dosar 1276, f. 10)

struirea unei fabrici de zahăr (realizată) (fig. 5) (ANR, Dosar 1276). În al treilea rând, a plănuit realizarea unei crescătorii de viermi de mătase (realizată) (ANR, Dosar 1279). În al patrulea rând, dorea să înființeze un spital la Gârbou pentru a eradica sifilisul, boală care era foarte răspândită la vremea respectivă în zonă (rămas nerealizat) (PAPP 2011, 222) (foto 5)<sup>14</sup>.

### Valori culturale

Dintre cele mai importante valori ale castelului, biblioteca a fost transmisă ca moștenire, din generație în generație (KELEMEN 1982, 212-214), patrimoniul ei ajungând în anul 1865 la 5.000 de volume. Valoarea acesteia consta în importante lucrări rare. Enumțăm în cele ce urmează câteva titluri semnificative: *Tripartitum* de István WERBŐCZI, 1581 (apărută în condiții grafice deosebite și cu traducere în trei limbi)<sup>15</sup>, *Kalauz* de Péter PÁZMÁNY, Biblia în traducerea iezuitului György KÁLDI, *Historia* de Farkas BETHLEN și biografia lui Ignacio DE LOYOLA, ediția a II-a, 1650-1655 (publicată de către călugării iezuiți din Tyrnavia,<sup>16</sup> o operă atât de rară încât în seria bibliografică Biblioteca Veche Maghiară – Régi Magyar Könyvtár – sunt

nobiliare, în urma vizitelor sale consemnând cele întâlnite, în jurnale. Documentele lăsate de acesta au un caracter de unicat, deoarece multe dintre aceste valori s-au pierdut în totalitate astăzi (BOAR 2014, 125-130).

14 Imagine realizată în anii 1940, care surprinde relația de vecinătate dintre grădina castelului și sat. Vegetația este joasă, fapt ce se poate datora ultimului proprietar al familiei JÓSIKA, Samu.

15 Volum cumpărat de Katalin ERDÓDY DE MONYORÓKERÉK ET MONOSZLÓ, căsătorită CSÁKY, și care a ajuns la Rozália prin moștenire datorită faptului că aceasta, precum și sora mai mică au fost crescute de bunică.

16 Aceasta conținea 80 de litografii din Roma, cu texte biografice.

### Relevant considerations

We should keep in mind from the very beginning that Baroness JÓSIKA corresponded with European researchers,<sup>12</sup> exchanged seeds in order to develop her botanical collection (ANR, Dosare 413-418), and increased the specialised literature collection.

The baroness had very ambitious plans to refurbish the estate. Her plan for Gârbou included, first of all, a botanical garden – much bigger than the one previously planned (unachieved) (ANR, Dosare 411, 1265, f. 5). Lajos KELEMEN<sup>13</sup> found the original plans (1982, 212-214). Secondly, the baroness wanted a sugar plant to be built (achieved) (Figure 5) (ANR, Dosar 1276). Thirdly, she planned the development of a silkworm farm (achieved) (ANR, Dosar

12 Jean Baptiste LAJARD, Membre de l'Institut royal en France (1828-1843) [Member of the Royal Institute in France]. Ten letters sent between 1830 and 1841 containing exchanges with Rozália JÓSIKA were found.

13 Lajos KELEMEN (1877-1963), former director of the Archives of the Transylvanian Museum, promoter of the history regarding historic buildings, art objects, and of safeguarding historic and artistic values, went to visit almost all manor houses or aristocratic residences in Transylvania. He kept records of all that he saw during these visits. The documents Lajos KELEMEN left are a unique source material, since many of these values have been completely lost by today (BOAR 2014, 125-130).

1279). Fourthly, she wanted to set up a hospital in Gârbou in order to eradicate syphilis, a very widely spread disease at that time (unachieved) (PAPP 2011, 222). (Photo 5)<sup>14</sup>

### Cultural values

As one of the most important values of the manor house, the library was passed on from generation to generation (KELEMEN 1982, 212-214). In 1865, it had reached 5,000 volumes. Its value was given by its rare significant works. We shall further mention some prominent titles: *Tripartitum* by István WERBÓCZI, 1581 (issued in particularly good graphic conditions and with translation in three languages)<sup>15</sup>, *Kalauz* by Péter PÁZMÁNY, the Bible in the translation of the Jesuit György KÁLDI, *Historia* by Farkas BETHLEN, and the biography of Ignacio DE LOYOLA, the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, in 1650-1655 (published by the Jesuit monks in Tyrnavia,<sup>16</sup> a work so rare that Károly SZABÓ, in his bibliographical series, the Old Hungarian Library – Régi Magyar Könyvtár, mentions the existence of only two copies. The copy in Gârbou did not have the contents and the cover, but it had a last page that was missing in the two other copies) (KELEMEN 1982, 212-214).

Eventually, the book collection has fallen victim to the wear and tear of time. Its destiny is tragic, as it was divided in four parts. The largest part was sold to a second-hand bookshop in Hungary. Another part, which was also the most valuable one, was stored in a safe at the bank, from where it disappeared. A third part was later moved to Surduc. The last part was abandoned in the manor house and destroyed without hesitation due to sudden historical changes, but also by a lack of interest.<sup>17</sup>

According to Elek JAKAB (1887), the manor house in Gârbou sheltered the Cluj Archives (1820-1880), i.e. documents from the period 1594-1605. These archives were kept in seven cases (JAKAB 1887), including the most important collection in terms of content of the whole *Levéltár Branyicska* Fonds. We lost track of this collection at the National Archives in Cluj-Napoca, in the *Jósika Fee Tail Fonds, 1594-1960*, as those documents could not be found.<sup>18</sup>

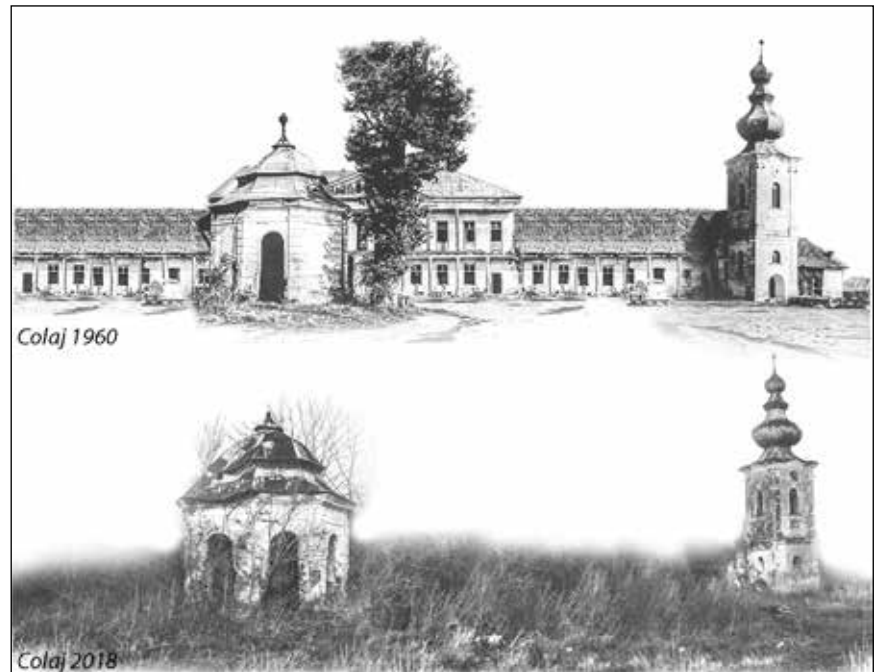
<sup>14</sup> Photograph taken in the 1940s, showing the closeness of the manor house garden to the village. The vegetation is low, which could be owed to the last owner belonging to the JÓSIKA family, Samu.

<sup>15</sup> Volume bought by Katalin ERDŐDY DE MONYORÓKERÉK ET MONOSZLÓ (CSÁKY after marriage) and inherited by Rozália, as she and her younger sister were raised by their grandmother.

<sup>16</sup> It included 80 lithographs from Rome, with biographical texts.

<sup>17</sup> In 1848, the serfs in Gârbou set fire to the sugar plant and vandalised the manor house, because they considered the JÓSIKA family to be friends with the Habsburgs. The family only stayed alive at that difficult time in history because they were in Vienna.

<sup>18</sup> Elek JAKAB describes the cases. Having information about the documents, we have checked the earliest records of the collection in the archives, but the oldest documents date back to 1700, even if the earliest date of the collection is stated as 1594.



■ **Foto 6.** Colaj foto pentru a surprinde imaginea castelului în 1960 versus situația din 2018. Colaj 1960 (Gârbou – Haller...) © CC-BY-NC; colaj 2018 © Maria Alexandra SAS  
 ■ **Photo 6.** Photographic collage showing the manor house in 1960, as compared to 2018. 1960 collage (Gârbou – Haller...) © CC-BY-NC; 2018 collage © Maria Alexandra SAS

menționate doar două exemplare de către Károly SZABÓ. Exemplarul din Gârbou nu avea cuprinsul și coperta, dar deținea o ultimă pagină care în celelalte două exemplare lipsea) (KELEMEN 1982, 212-214).

În cele din urmă, vicisitudinile vremii nu au ocolit colecția de cărți. Aceasta din urmă are un destin tragic, fiind divizată în patru părți: cea mai mare parte a fost vândută în Ungaria la un anticariat, o alta, și cea mai valoroasă, a fost depusă la bancă într-un seif de valori, de unde a dispărut, o a treia parte a fost ulterior mutată la Surduc, iar cea din urmă a fost lăsată de izbeliște în castel, fiind distrusă fără ezitare, din cauza schimbărilor bruște ale istoriei, dar și a lipsei de interes.<sup>17</sup>

Conform lui Elek JAKAB (1887), castelul din Gârbou a adăpostit arhiva Clujului (1820-1880), cu documente din perioada 1594-1605. Aceasta a fost păstrată în șapte *ladule* (JAKAB 1887), cu precădere cea mai importantă colecție din tot fondul *Levéltár Branyicska*, datorită conținutului său. Urma acestei colecții a fost pierdută, la Arhivele Naționale din Municipiul Cluj-Napoca, în fondul *Fideicomisionar Jósika, 1594-1960*, nefiind identificate documentele respective.<sup>18</sup>

### Interesul pentru cercetare

Proximitatea reședinței de la Brănișca a familiei JÓSIKA față de situl arheologic de la Sarmizegetusa Traiana (ANR, Dosar 412, 1265, f. 21) a determinat implicarea activă a Rozáliei JÓSIKA în efectuarea săpăturilor arheologice. Astfel, în urma săpăturilor pentru modernizarea grădinii de la Gârbou, a fost identificată o colecție de cinci pietre votive, rare, cu urechi (FINÁLY 1895). Conform arheologilor, acestea au fost aduse la Gârbou de

<sup>17</sup> În 1848, iobagii din Gârbou au dat foc manufacturii de zahăr și au vandalizat castelul, din cauza faptului că aceștia considerau familia JÓSIKA prietenă a Habsburgilor. Familia a scăpat cu viață în acel moment dificil al istoriei deoarece se afla la Viena.

<sup>18</sup> Elek JAKAB realizează o prezentare a *ladulelor*. Având informații cu privire la documente, am verificat începutul fondului în arhivă, dar cele mai vechi documente sunt din anul 1700, chiar dacă fondul are ca extremă anul 1594.

la Sarmizegetusa, unde au fost găsite în anul 1878.<sup>19</sup> În prezent, acestea se află în custodia Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, în urma unei donații realizate de familia JÓSIKA.

## Situația actuală

■ Actualmente castelul de la Gârbou este ruinat aproape complet. Lipsa de interes a comunității locale și a organelor competente a transformat chiar și rămășițele castelului într-o amintire. Castelul a fost totalmente neglijat, vegetația parazitară împânzind totul, astfel încât astăzi (2019) se mai păstrează doar poarta, fântâna și capela din fostul ansamblu baroc fortificat, dar și o porțiune din pivnița castelului neoclasic. Cele patru elemente care mai compun astăzi ansamblul sunt într-o stare avansată de degradare, necesitând studii amănunțite de parament pentru a se putea interveni corespunzător asupra lor.

Poarta barocă păstrează blazonul familiei HALLER în original. Aceasta a fost supusă unei tentative de jefuire, eșuată, din fericire pentru soarta monumentului. Fragmente din sculpturile care decorau frontonul porții se află risipite și astăzi în iarbă. Degradările suferite de-a lungul timpului sunt vizibile, microorganismele făcându-și simțită prezența. Se pot constata și lipsuri cauzate de desprinderi survenite în mod natural sau nu (foto 7-8).

Fântâna prezintă fisuri la nivelul zidului, iar învelitoarea din tablă prezintă degradări vizibile încă din fotografiile realizate în anii 1960, când ansamblul a fost folosit ca sediu C.A.P. Șarpanta fântânii se păstrează în perfectă stare. Fântâna este inutilizabilă de mai bine de 20 de ani, deoarece sătenii au acoperit-o cu deșeuri (foto 9).

Capela barocă domină ansamblul prin verticalitatea sa. Turla se păstrează în mare măsură, deoarece accesul la partea superioară este imposibil. Capela avea o navă centrală (naos), altarul și un mic pronaos, de unde se realizează accesul pe o scară circulară din lespezi de piatră dintr-o singură bucată spre turlă, de unde se acționa clopotul. Nu se cunoaște cu exactitate dacă capela avea un tavan casetat sau era boltită, dar în altar este singura zonă unde se mai păstrează nașterile bolților baroce. Astăzi

<sup>19</sup> În urma unor săpături de amenajare a grădinii sub tutela lui Samu JÓSIKA (fiul cel mare), au fost găsite pietrele, care astăzi sunt în custodia Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei. Teoria specialiștilor de la muzeu este aceea că acestea au fost găsite la Sarmizegetusa și au fost aduse la Gârbou, sub această egidă fiind și inventariate (v1105(7426), v19617(7424), v7863, v26754).

## Interest for research

The proximity of the JÓSIKA family residence in Brănișca to the Sarmizegetusa Traiana archaeological site (Arhivele Naționale..., Dosar 412, 1265, f. 21) determined the active involvement of Rozália JÓSIKA in archaeological excavations. In this context, the excavation works for refurbishing the garden in Gârbou have revealed a collection of five rare votive panels featuring ears (FINÁLY 1895). According to the archaeologists, these stones were brought to Gârbou from Sarmizegetusa, where they were found in 1878.<sup>19</sup> They are currently under the custody of the National History Museum of Transylvania, as a result of a donation made by the JÓSIKA family.

## The current situation

■ The manor house in Gârbou is currently almost completely decayed. The lack of interest manifested by the local community and the competent authorities has turned even the remains of the manor house into mere memory. The manor house has been completely neglected. Invading vegetation has covered everything. The only elements left today (2019) are thus the gate, the well, and the chapel of the old fortified Baroque ensemble, as well as a part of the cellar under the Neoclassical manor house. The four remaining elements that compose the ensemble today are severely deteriorated. Detailed building archaeology studies are needed in order to enable appropriate interventions.

The Baroque gate still bears the original coat of arms of the HALLER family. It was subject to a theft attempt, which, fortunately for

<sup>19</sup> Some excavations for refurbishing the garden, conducted under the supervision of Samu JÓSIKA (the eldest son), have revealed the stones, which are currently in the custody of the National History Museum of Transylvania. The theory of the museum specialists is that the stones were found at Sarmizegetusa and then brought to Gârbou, and they are recorded as such (v1105(7426), v19617(7424), v7863, v26754).



■ Foto 7. Poză de detaliu poarta barocă, 2018 © Maria Alexandra SAS  
■ Photo 7. Detail of the Baroque gate, 2018 © Maria Alexandra SAS



■ Foto 8. Poză cu degradări, în prin plan se află poarta barocă, în plan secund fântâna barocă, 2018 © Maria Alexandra SAS  
■ Photo 8. Photograph presenting the degradations, with the Baroque gate in the foreground and the Baroque well in the background, 2018 © Maria Alexandra SAS



■ **Foto 9.** Fântâna barocă, cu degradările datorate lipsei de întreținere, 2018 © Maria Alexandra SAS

■ **Photo 9.** The Baroque well, with the degradations owed to a lack of maintenance, 2018 © Maria Alexandra SAS

the historic building's fate, failed. Fragments of the sculptures that used to decorate the gate gable can be seen scattered in the grass even today. The deteriorations suffered over time are visible, including the action of microorganisms. Parts are missing as a result of natural or anthropic factors (Photos 7 and 8).

Cracks can be seen on the wall of the well. The degradations of the tin roof covering can already be seen on the photographs taken in the 1960s, when the ensemble was used as the headquarters of the communist collective farming unit (CAP). However, the roof structure of the well is preserved in a perfect state. The well could not be used for more than 20 years, as the villagers have covered it with waste (Photo 9).

The Baroque chapel dominates over the ensemble through its verticality. The tower has been preserved to a large extent, as access to the upper parts is impossible. The chapel was once composed of a nave, a choir, and a small narthex, the location of the spiral staircase, made of one-piece blocks of stones, that ensured access to the tower, from where the bell was drawn. We are not currently sure whether the chapel used to have a coffered ceiling or if it was vaulted, however, the choir is the only area where the springers of the Baroque vaults are preserved. The perimeter walls without windows only outline its layout, while the area is dominated by vegetation (Photos 10-12).

peretii perimetrali fără geamuri delimitează doar conturul acesteia, vegetația dominând spațiul (foto 10-12).

Pivnița neoclasică a putut fi vizitată o singură dată, în ianuarie 2018, când, datorită lipsei vegetației, a fost vizibil accesul. În urma unei analize la fața locului, s-a putut stabili că aceasta a fost realizată din cărămidă romană, ducând la ipoteza reutilizării materialelor de la o *villa rustica*, conservată *in situ*.

## Posibilități de valorificare. Diplomă de arhitectură – propunere

■ Tema proiectului de diplomă, Centru și Arhivă de Cultură Arhitecturală, necesita un amplasament particular, unde arhitectura, cultura și istoria să se armonizeze pentru a defini un tot unitar. Astfel s-a vizat valorizarea ansamblurilor nobiliare drept centru de cultură, deoarece acestea se definesc printr-un caracter special, având bibliotecile, arhivele și colecțiile de artă, decorațiunile aplicate, dar și prin întrunirile culturale care aveau loc aici, prin grădinile și parcurile care le înconjurau și, nu în ultimul rând, prin arhitectura înșăși.

Prin urmare, reconsiderarea unei ruine constituie procesul la care a fost supus ansamblul Castelului Haller-Jósika din Gârbou. Propunerea unui Centru de Cultură Arhitecturală la Gârbou se justifică clar, întrucât memoria locului evocă acest caracter care s-a impregnat în timp aici.

Practic s-a avut în vedere valorificarea simbolică a unui ansamblu istoric, de a-l readuce pe harta obiectivelor de interes, iar proximitatea față de Cluj justifică în mare parte această opțiune.



Astfel, studenții arhitecți pot contribui prin soluții ingenioase la restaurarea virtuală a unor fragmente de istorie – la nivel teoretic – și de arhitectură – la nivel fizic.

Considerăm că astfel de simulări și studii care să ia în calcul starea monumentelor istorice aflate în situații precare (foto 6)<sup>20</sup> și care să întruchipeze conjuncturi favorabile, precum și compatibilități funcționale, constituie cheia pentru viitorul ansamblurilor nobiliare.

Pentru a contribui la conservarea și punerea în valoare a castelului, este indispensabil ca intervenția de conservare-restaurare să fie corelată cu cercetarea științifică, pluridisciplinară aprofundată, *in situ*. Acest demers este necesar pentru a putea delimita concret la fața locului etapele istorice ale evoluției domeniului nobiliar și maniera în care se poate interveni asupra acestuia, fără a aduce însă prejudicii prin denaturarea autenticității materialului păstrat, corelat cu posibile propuneri de reconstrucție. Astfel, putem lua în considerare două etape de valorificare a ansamblului Castelului Haller-Jósika din Gârbou.

O primă etapă este reprezentată de valorificarea concretă a acestor ruine, prin curățarea arealului, delimitarea zonelor de interes, toaletarea arborilor seculari și aducerea la lumină a unei porțiuni din pivnița castelului neoclasic, aflată actualmente sub moloz și fiind ascunsă de vegetație. O a doua etapă constă în accesarea unor fonduri, pentru a putea proteja ruinele împotriva vandalismului, precum și pentru integrarea lor în circuitul turistic cultural zonal.

După părerea noastră, conservarea ruinelor *in situ* reprezintă o soluție unică pentru păstrarea substanței istorice a castelului, care, scos din context, și-ar pierde valoarea și autenticitatea. Prin urmare, ar trebui intervenit cu promptitudine, întrucât starea ruinelor Castelului Haller-Jósika din Gârbou impun o intervenție de prima necesitate.

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■ **Foto 10.** Capela barocă, imagine exterioară. Învelitoarea turlei este cea originală, de-a lungul timpului fațada a fost afectată de precipitații și de lipsa de întreținere, 2018 © Maria Alexandra SAS

■ **Photo 10.** The Baroque chapel, exterior view. The tower's roof covering is original, the elevation was affected over time by weathering and lack of maintenance, 2018 © Maria Alexandra SAS

The Neoclassical cellar could be visited only once, in January 2018, when, due to the lack of vegetation, the access was visible. An on-site analysis has revealed that the cellar had been built with Roman bricks, which supports the theory that the materials of a *villa rustica*, preserved *in situ*, were reused.

### Enhancement possibilities. Architecture thesis – proposal

■ The topic of the thesis was a proposal for a Centre and Archive of Architectural Culture. Such a centre would need a special site, where architecture, culture, and history are in harmony and make up a unity. We have thus aimed at enhancing aristocratic ensembles as cultural centres, as they have that special character given by their libraries, archives, and art collections, applied decorations, as well as the cultural meetings conducted in them, their surrounding gardens and parks, and, last but not least, their architecture.

The Haller-Jósika Manor House Ensemble in Gârbou has thus been the object of a process regarding the reconsideration of ruins. The proposal for a Centre of Architectural Culture is clearly justified, as the memory of the place evokes all these features deeply impregnated here over time.

More concretely, we aimed at symbolically enhancing the historic ensemble, at bringing it back on the map of objects of interest. Its proximity to Cluj mainly justifies this option.

<sup>20</sup> Reconstituirea foto poate fi o sursă de studiu asupra monumentelor care au fost pierdute.



■ **Foto 11.** Poză interioară din capela barocă. Atât naosul, cât și altarul este invadat de vegetație, lipsa învelitoarei și umiditatea crescută au favorizat flora, 2018 © Maria Alexandra SAS  
 ■ **Photo 11.** Interior view of the Baroque chapel. Both the nave and the choir have been invaded by vegetation, the lack of a roofing and the high levels of humidity have favoured flora development, 2018 © Maria Alexandra SAS



■ **Foto 12.** Poză interioară din capela barocă. Poza surprinde nașterea bolții baroce din altar. Imaginea este perturbată de vegetație, 2018 © Maria Alexandra SAS  
 ■ **Photo 12.** Interior view of the Baroque chapel, with the Baroque vault's springers in the choir. The view is disturbed by the vegetation, 2018 © Maria Alexandra SAS

Architectural students can thus contribute with ingenious solutions to the virtual restoration and conservation of fragments of history – in theory – and of architecture – in practice.

We think that these kinds of simulations and studies that take into account the state of historic buildings in poor condition (Photo 6)<sup>20</sup> and imagine them in favourable contexts with functional compatibilities is the key to the future of aristocratic ensembles.

In order to contribute to the preservation and enhancement of the manor house, the related intervention has to be correlated with scientific, multidisciplinary, and advanced on-site research. Such an approach is necessary in order to delimit concretely, on the field, the historical stages in the development of this aristocratic estate, and to decide on the appropriate intervention method, without causing prejudice by altering the authenticity of the material preserved and in correlation with potential reconstruction proposals. We can thus consider two stages in the enhancement of the Haller-Jósika Manor House Ensemble in Gârbou.

The first stage consists of the actual enhancement of the ruins, by cleaning the area, delimiting the areas of interest, cleaning the secular trees and bringing to light part of the cellar preserved under the Neoclassical manor house, which is currently under rubble and hidden by vegetation. The second stage consists in accessing funds to be used for protecting the ruins against vandalism, and for integrating them in the local cultural tourism circuit.

In our opinion, the *in situ* conservation of the ruins is the only solution acceptable with a view to preserving the historical substance of the manor house, which, out of context, would lose its value and authenticity. An intervention is necessary as soon as possible, as the ruins of the Haller-Jósika Manor House in Gârbou require emergency interventions.

<sup>20</sup> Photographic recreation may be a base of study on lost historic buildings.

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# A vajnafalvi református fatemplom

## ADALÉKOK A HÁROMSZÉKI REFORMÁTUS TEMPLOMOK TÖRTÉNETÉHEZ<sup>2</sup>

■ **Kivonat:** A kovászna-vajnafalvi református egyház templomát Székelyföld kevésbé jelentős épületei között tartjuk számon. A késő historizmus emlékei közé sorolható templom építési ideje 1930–1931 közé tehető, vélhetően helyi építőmester alkotása.<sup>3</sup> Az itteni református közösségnek azonban a ma láthatónál jóval gazdagabb építészettörténeti öröksége lelhető fel a múltban, melyet legszemléletesebben az Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület Központi Gyűjtőlevéltárában őrzött dokumentumok elevenítenek fel.

A mai templom előzményének tekinthető két faépületről HAVADTÓY Sándor lelkész emlékezik meg az egyházközségről írt rövid monográfiájában (1933). Utóbbi épületek közül az általa 1852-re datált különösen értékesnek tekinthető az erdélyi építészettörténeti kutatások számára, hiszen alaprajzi formáját tekintve a régióban egyedülálló lehetett. Az 1930-ban lebontott fatemplomot 1929-ben maga DEBRECZENI László mérte fel, akinek rajzai, fényképfelvételei és levelezései nyomán ismerhetjük meg az egykori templomépületet.

A XVII–XIX. századi erdélyi református fatemplomok mára szinte teljesen eltűntek, pedig a korai protestáns templomépítészet jellegzetes épületei lehettek. A ránk maradt emlékeken túl e többnyire szerény falusi templomok helyezhetnék új megvilágításba az erdélyi református és – általánosságban – a korai protestáns templomépítészetről alkotott képünket, ezért a tanulmány a vajnafalvi példa bemutatásán keresztül ennek az épülettípusnak szakmai diskurzusba való beemelését célozza.

■ **Kulcsszavak:** református, fatemplom, Erdély, Háromszék, Kovászna, Vajnafalva, DEBRECZENI László

## Bevezetés

■ Az egyetemes templomépítészeti kutatások gyakran hiányzó láncszemei azon fából készített épületek, melyek valamennyi történeti korszak gyakori épülettípusai voltak. A Kárpát-medencén belül máig fennmaradt s éppen ezért különösen értékes emlékannyal rendelkeznek a felvidéki, kárpátaljai és erdélyi területek, mely választás a természeti adottságokat figyelembe véve értelemszerű volt e vidékeken. Előbbiekben túl azonban a történeti beágyazottság, a hatalmi és egyháztörténeti viszonyok is kihatottak arra,

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3 Bár a mai vajnafalvi református templom épületét sokan magának DEBRECZENI Lászlónak tulajdonítják, személyes levelezéseiben egyértelműen elhatárolódik az elkészült épülettől. Lásd: EREL, F13, Tövis-Zsobok c. mappa, Vajnafalva-Kovácsna, levelezés (1929–30, 1975).

## The Calvinist Wooden Church in Valea Voinești

### ADDITIONS TO THE HISTORY OF CALVINIST CHURCHES IN THE TREI SCAUNE REGION<sup>2</sup>

■ **Abstract:** The Calvinist Church in Valea Voinești, part of Covasna Town, is considered as one of the less significant buildings in Szeklerland. The church classified as a late historicist building was erected in 1930–1931, being most probably the work of a local master builder.<sup>3</sup> However, the Calvinist community here has an architectural history that is much richer than what we can see today, this being most evident in the documents preserved in the Central Collecting Archives of the Transylvanian Calvinist Diocese.

The two wooden buildings that preceded this church are mentioned by pastor Sándor HAVADTÓY in his short monograph on the parish (1933). He dated the latter building to 1852, being highly valuable for the Transylvanian architectural research, since it might have been unique in the region in terms of its ground plan. The wooden church demolished in 1930 had been surveyed in 1929 by László DEBRECZENI, from whose drawings, photographs, and correspondence we are able to get acquainted with the old church.

The Transylvanian Calvinist wooden churches dating back to the 17<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries have disappeared almost entirely by today, although they might have been typical for the early protestant religious architecture. Beyond the buildings we have today, these rather modest village churches shine a new light upon Transylvanian Calvinist religious architecture, as well as upon the early protestant religious architecture in general, that is why the present study on the church in Valea Voinești aims at introducing this type of building into the professional discourse.

■ **Keywords:** Calvinist, wooden church, Transylvania, Trei Scaune, Covasna, Valea Voinești, László DEBRECZENI

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2 Supported by the ÚNKP-18-3 New National Excellence Program of the Ministry of Human Capacities.

3 Although many consider that the Calvinist Church in Valea Voinești was designed by László DEBRECZENI himself, in his letters he clearly delimits himself from the completed building. See: EREL, F13, Tövis-Zsobok c. mappa, Vajnafalva-Kovácsna, levelezés (1929–30, 1975).

## Introduction

■ The frequently missing links in the research universal church architecture are the wooden buildings common to all historical periods. The areas of Upper Hungary, Zakarpattia Oblast, and Transylvania display a rich variety of such buildings that have been preserved until today in the Carpathian Basin, this choice being obvious, given the natural conditions of the area. Beyond all that, the historical roots, as well as the power and the religious relations determined the religious communities, mostly the Non-Catholics, to build their churches and houses of worship of perishable materials in Modern times.

Naturally, the presence of religious wooden architecture has a history in the Carpathian Basin. This research topic keeps arising periodically both in the case of mediæval wooden churches (e.g. TARI 1999) and as the architectural heritage of other areas and communities (see KÖRMENDY 1971; DOMANOVSKY 1936)<sup>4</sup>. During the Middle Ages, there must have been a large number of Roman Catholic wooden churches all over Transylvania, the existence of which is documented and confirmed, even in the best cases, only by written sources or archaeological research. However, after the Reformation, besides the Romanesque and Gothic stone churches, there were even more settlements than we are aware of that had newly built wooden churches, which offered a quick solution for the building shortage arising after the schism. Not only small rural communities, but also larger towns, such as Oradea (ORBÁN 2008, 5) or Alba Iulia (ORBÁN 2008, 8), had to have wooden churches built between in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

There are several reasons why these buildings disappeared. The wave of church building after the release of the Patent of Toleration, the massive construction aids for religious buildings in the 19<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>5</sup> as well as the secular and religious zeitgeist during the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the constant wish to catch up with the wealthier settlements and communities, led to the decline of this long-lasting building type.

Protestant wooden churches, although they are less known within the region's architectural history, might have paved the way for this building type, which could answer the questions posed by the architectural research about the spatial and ground plan types that appeared in the first newly built protestant churches erected after the Reformation. We shall tackle this topic further on through the example of the former Trei Scaune County.

### Tracking Calvinist Wooden Churches in Trei Scaune

■ According to the documents of the visitations and to the scholarly literature, the Calvinist congregations in Trei Scaune used

4 Just to name a few examples from the vast research.

5 There is a large number of such documents in the Cluj-Napoca archives of the Transylvanian Calvinist Diocese.



■ **1. ábra:** A vajnafalvi református fatemplom tömegvázlatai (EREL, G1, Debreczeni László vázlatkönyvei 1929, 12)

■ **Figure 1.** The volumetric sketches of the Calvinist wooden Church in Valea Voinești (EREL, G1, Debreczeni László vázlatkönyvei 1929, 12)

hogy az újkorban különösen az akatolikus közösségek gyakran kényszerültek templomépületeiket, imaházaikat mulandó anyagból építeni.

A szakrális faépítészet jelenléte természetesen nem előzmények nélküli a Kárpát-medencében. A témában mind a középkori fatemplomok (pl. TARI 1999), mind egyéb területek és közösségek építészeti hagyatéka (lásd KÖRMENDY 1971; DOMANOVSKY 1936)<sup>4</sup> felbukkan időnként tudományos kutatások témájaként. Már a középkorban is tömegesen lehettek jelen Erdély-szerte római katolikus fatemplomok, melyek létét ma már jobb esetben is csupán az írásos források vagy a régészet igazolhatja. A reformációt követően azonban a román és gótikus kőtemplomok mellett a mai ismereteinknél jóval több település rendelkezhetett újonnan épült fatemplommal, mely gyors megoldást nyújtott többek között az egyházszakadás következtében jelentkező épülethiányra. Nem csupán kis falusi közösségek, de olyan tehetősebb városok is, mint Nagyvárad (ORBÁN 2008, 5) vagy Gyulafehérvár (ORBÁN 2008, 8) is rákényszerültek a XVI–XVIII. század folyamán fatemplom építésére.

Arra, hogy miért tűntek el ezek az épületek, több lehetséges válasz is adható. A türelmi rendelet következtében kibontakozó templomépítési hullám, a XIX. század végén tömegesen megjelenő egyházi építési

4 A teljesség igénye nélkül, példaként.



■ **2. ábra:** A vajnafalvi református fatemplom tömegvázlata és a harangtorony részletrajza (EREL, G1, Debreczeni László vázlatkönyvei 1929, 13)

■ **Figure 2.** The volumetric sketch of the Calvinist wooden Church in Valea Voinești and the detail of the belfry (EREL, G1, Debreczeni László vázlatkönyvei 1929, 13)

segélyezések,<sup>5</sup> valamint a XX. század első felében jelentkező állami és egyházi korszellem s mindenkor a módosabb településekhez, gyülekezetekhez való felzárkózás iránti vágy mind e sokáig fennálló épülettípus hanyatlásához vezetett.

A protestáns fatemplomok, bár a hazai építészettörténet nem kellőképpen ismert épületei, típusalkotó építmények lehetnek, melyek megválaszolhatnák az építészettörténeti kutatások számára a kérdést: melyek voltak azok a térszervezési vagy alaprajzi típusok, amelyek a reformáció után elsőként és újonnan épített protestáns templomok esetében jelentkeztek. A továbbiakban e kérdéskört az egykori Háromszék vármegye példáján vizsgáljuk.

## Református fatemplomok nyomában Háromszéken

■ Háromszéken a vizitációk és a szakirodalom tanulságai szerint 13 településen szolgálhatta egykor fatemplom a református híveket; a rájuk vonatkozó forrásokat – s későbbiekben a tanulmányban hivatkozási alap-

to be served by wooden churches in 13 settlements; the sources referring to these are summarised in a table for reference purposes hereinafter in the study.<sup>6</sup> Written documents of the time were found, referring to the former wooden churches in Budila, Aita Mare, Sâncraiu, Tamașfalău, Păpăuți, and Valea Voinești. Furthermore, there are hints about the existence of Calvinist wooden churches or houses of worship in Bită, Bățanii Mici, Târgu Secuiesc, Chichiș, Surcea, Vârghiș, and Zagon.

We could ascertain very little about the structural layouts and ground plans of the wooden churches in Trei Scaune based on the descriptions we used as primary sources. The wooden church in Budila was probably erected on a stone foundation having a stone plinth, on which the nave and the tower were positioned, featuring a fachwerk-type structure. The load-bearing structure of the wall was made of oak, while the filling was made of brick, and the roof was covered with shingle. A low log fence surrounded the church. The position of the tower is uncertain, its place being marked “above the first door”. This leads to the assumption that there were at least two doors, but the former’s exact place varied and depended on the position of the other door and on the local custom. The “first door” meant the main entrance, which was presumably the door where men entered and exited. In the case of Roman Catholic churches, it was usually located on the main longitudinal axis or even in transverse direction, opposite the pulpit. A similar architectural approach can be found in the description of the former church tower in Fotoș (HEREPEI & SZABÓ 1939, 7), and in this case it can be ascertained more accurately that the tower on the southern side was in transverse direction in relation to the longitudinal axis of the church.

The fachwerk construction method mentioned in the case of the two churches might have appeared in Trei Scaune, given the strong spiritual and physical proximity to and relations with the settlements in Țara Bârsei. The oak and pine used as building materials, as well as the brick, were widely available in the former county, clearly facilitating the spread of this construction method.

The Calvinist wooden Church in Aita Mare was erected within the walls of the fortified church after the spread of the Unitarian faith. József BENKÓ gives us a detailed description of the heated debates between the two denominations (1770, 193-195), from which we find out that the commissioners sent out on August 30, 1724 marked the location, on the south-eastern side of the fortification, where the Calvinist protestants, driven out from the mediaeval church, needed to erect their own church, in order to pacify the long-lasting disagreements (BENKÓ 1770, 193). They started building it right away, and thus the above-mentioned date coincides with the time the wooden church was erected. Furthermore, the use of timber structures is also provable, if we

<sup>5</sup> A dokumentumok az erdélyi református egyházkerület kolozsvári levéltárában tömegesen fellelhetők.

<sup>6</sup> In the included table one may find all the sources regarding the analysed wooden churches.

take into account that some months before the decree the Calvinists had already tried to build a church within the fortification walls, for which they brought beams and wooden within the walls (BENKŐ 1770, 193). The fact that the old wooden church was later donated to the Orthodox faith, after erecting a new stone church in a new location, draws our attention to several phenomena. On the one hand, the donation of church assets or even buildings was not rare and neither is it rare today: we can find a similar case in Baraolt, where the formerly Calvinist church was transferred into the possession of the Baptist congregation. Therefore, it is worth reconsidering the building transfer proper among denominations, which might overwrite our perceptions on liturgy-specific church spaces. On the other hand, it highlights the flexibility of wooden buildings: we are talking about movable buildings if need be, and the built-in beams and posts, i.e. bars, can just as well find their destination in a new building or a construction erected for other purposes. This points out that the old wooden buildings were transubstantiated in many cases, and that elements of our churches that were thought long gone could be found in other buildings or newer churches.

The former wooden church in Sâncraiu is unfortunately not identical with the better known former building hosting the coffered ceiling, since the presumed master of the painted coffers, clerk Gábor, was probably active in Trei Scaune in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, thus the sources speak about the furnishing of the stone church built at that time (SZ. GAZDA & MIHÁLY 2012–201; TOMBOR 1968, 194). Although the time the old wooden church was built is unknown, it is still presumed that it might have been standing until the mid-1700s, when the new church was erected (MAGYARI & JUHÁSZ 2011b, 73).

The old “wooden oratorio” in Tamaşfalău was presumably built between 1724 and 1759, as an entry recorded during the visitation that took place on the latter date speaks about the new building. Later descriptions report that the place of worship had a plane wooden ceiling, a wooden pulpit, and a gallery, as well as a belfry with one bell. The visitation offers us a hint about the location of the former house of worship as well, according to which it might have stood on the place of the current church or in its vicinity.

The church in Păpăuţi is interesting because of its designation, as the phrase “board church” makes us think about a place of worship or a church featuring a boarded wooden structure. It could have been located on the place of the current church in Păpăuţi, since the sources report that the tower built next to the former wooden church was modified for the new building (BALOGH 1935, 159; ORBÁN 1868 III., 159; MAGYARI & JUHÁSZ 2011a, 75).

The wooden church in Târgu Secuiesc is reported to have been built with log walls within the walls of the former fortress, and was only a temporary solution used between the time the old medieval stone church was demolished and the new one was built. The

ként – egy táblázatban foglaltuk össze.<sup>6</sup> Az egykori fatemplomok közül Boda, Nagyajta, Sepsiszentkirály, Székelytamásfalva, Papolc és Vajnafalva fatemplomaira találtunk korabeli írásos adatot. Továbbá utalás található Bita, Kisbacon, Kézdivásárhely, Kököcs, Szörce, Vargyas és Zágony településeken református fatemplom, inaház létre.

A háromszéki fatemplomok szerkezeti és alaprajzi felépítéséről a leírásokat elsődleges forrásként kezelve kevés megállapítást tudunk tenni. A bodolai fatemplom kőalapra, kőlabazzal épülhetett, melyre fachwerk-típusú szerkezetével ült rá a hajó és a torony. A fal tartószerkezetének anyaga tölgy, kitöltő szerkezete téglából volt, az épület fedését zsindelel adta. A templomot alacsony boronakerítés vehette körbe. A torony elhelyezkedése bizonytalan, helye az „első ajtó felett” van jelölve. Ez feltételezi legalább két ajtó léte az épületen, de pontos helye a másik ajtó helyzetétől és a helyi szokásoktól is függött. Az „első ajtó” a főbejáratot jelölhette, mely vélhetően itt is a férfiak be- és kivonulásának helye volt. Ez állhatott a római katolikus templomoknál megszokott hosszanti főténgelyben vagy éppen haránt irányban a szószékekkel szemközt. Hasonló építésmódról tanúskodik a fotosmartonosi egyházközség egykori tornyáról való leírás is (HEREPEI & SZABÓ T. 1939, 7), ebben az esetben biztosabban megállapítható, hogy a déli oldalon jelölt torony a templom hosszténgelyéhez képest haránt irányban állt.

A fentiekben említett két templomban megjelenő fachwerkes építésmód háromszéki megjelenése vélhetően a barcasági területekkel való mindenkori szoros szellemi és fizikai közelség hatása. Az építőanyagként használt tölgy vagy fenyő, illetve a téglából egykori vármegyén belül könnyen beszerezhető anyagok voltak, egyértelműen segítve az építésmód terjedését.

A nagyajtai református fatemplom az unitárius egyház térhódítása következtében jött létre a település vártemplomának falain belül. A két felekezet közötti éles vitákról BENKŐ József részletesen beszámol (1770, 193–195), amiből kiválik, hogy 1724. augusztus 30-án kiküldött biztosok kijelölik a vár délkeleti oldalán a helyet, ahova a középkori templomból kiűzött reformátusoknak templomot kell építeni a régóta fennálló nézeteltérések lecsendesítése végett (BENKŐ 1770, 193). Az építkezéshez azonnal hozzá is kezdenek, így a fentebbi dátum az egykori fatemplom építési idejével azonos, s talán a faszervezetek használata is bizonyítható, ha figyelembe vesszük, hogy e rendelet előtt pár hónappal a helvétek már próbálkoztak a várfalon belül templomot építeni, amihez gerendákat, fákat hoztak a falon belülről (BENKŐ 1770, 193). A tény, hogy a később új helyen létesített kőtemplom felépítése után az egykori fatemplomot az ortodox egyháznak adták, több jelenségre is felhívja a figyelmünket. Egyrészt nem volt – és napjainkban sem – ritka a felekezetek közötti klenódiások, templomi berendezések vagy éppen a templomépületek cseréje: a nagyajtaihoz hasonló esetet Baróton láthatunk, ahol a korábbi református templom a XX. század folyamán került a baptista gyülekezet birtokába. Érdemes tehát a felekezetek közötti szerezési átmeneti építészeti transzfer esetét átgondolni, mely felülírja a liturgiaspecifikus terekről alkotott elképzeléseinket. Másrészt rámutat a faépületek rugalmasságára: igény esetén költöztethető épületről beszélünk, illetve, hogy a beépített gerendák és oszlopok – rúdelemek – jól megtalálják a helyüket akár egy új vagy más funkciójú épületben is. Ez rávilágít arra, hogy a régi faépületek sok esetben átlényegültek, és eltűntnek hitt templomaink elemeit más épületekben vagy az újabb templomokban találhatjuk meg.

A sepsiszentkirályi egykori fatemplom sajnos nem azonos az ismeretesebb egykori szentkirályi kazettás mennyezetet befogadó épülettel, mivel a festett berendezés feltételezett készítője, Gábor deák a XVIII. század második felében működhetett Háromszéken, tehát az ekkor épült kőtemplom berendezéséről szólnak a források (SZ. GAZDA & MIHÁLY 2012–2013; TOMBOR 1968, 194). A régi fatemplom építési ideje ugyan nem ismert,

6 A mellékelt táblázatban minden elemzett fatemplomra vonatkozó forrás gyűjteményesen megtalálható.

de úgy tartják, hogy az 1700-as évek közepéig, az új templom építésének idejéig állhatott (MAGYARI & JUHÁSZ 2011b, 73).

A székelytamásfalvi egykori „fából épült oratorium” építése ideje 1724 és 1759 közé tehető, utóbbi dátumhoz tartozó vizitációs bejegyzés számol be az újonnan készült épületről. Későbbi leírásokból azt is megtudhatjuk, hogy az imaháznak sík famennyezete, fa szószéke és egy karzata van, valamint egy harangláb is tartozik hozzá, melyben egy harang van. Az egykori imaház helyére is találunk utalást a vizitációban, mely alapján a mai templom helyén vagy ahhoz közel állhatott.

A papolci templom megnevezése miatt érdekes, mert a „deszkatemplom” kifejezés egy favázás, deszkával burkolt imaházat, templomot sejtet. Helye a mai papolci templom helyén lehetett, mivel a források arról számolnak be, hogy az egykori fatemplom mellé épült toronyt alakították át az új épület számára is (BALOGH 1935, 159; ORBÁN 1869, 159; MAGYARI & JUHÁSZ 2011a, 75).

A kézdivásárhelyi fatemplom kapcsán említik, hogy az az egykori várfalon belül épült, boronaszervezetű volt, és csupán átmeneti megoldásként szolgált a korábbi középkori kőtemplom bontása és az újabb templom építése között. A falon belül épült fatemplomot 1770–1772 között az új templomépülettel körbeépítették, majd annak elkészülte után gerendáit a bejáratokon kihordták (MAGYARI & JUHÁSZ 2011a, 55).

A bitai, kisbaconi, kökösi, szörcei, vargyasi és zágoni fatemplomokról sajnos igen keveset tudunk. Bita egykori templomának építési idejét a XVII. századra teszik. A kisbaconi egyházzól tudhatjuk, hogy 1735-ben egy, a paplak végében épült imaház, 1765-től egy fatemplom szolgált a híveket, melyről úgy tartják, hogy kazettás mennyezetének néhány eleme a mai templom karzatában megtalálható. A kökösi példa a feltételezések szerint a XVIII. század közepén még állhatott. A szörcei fatemplom 1833-ig, a zágoni 1783-ig állt. Előbbi templom fából és deszkából, utóbbi fagerendákból épült. A vargyasi reformátusok istenháza 1846 és 1993 között szolgált, s a településen kisebbségben lévő reformátusok számára szükségleti megoldásként született. Jellemző a fából való építés manapság is, Kovászna-megye-szerte több településen láthatóak a még csupán terjeszkedő vagy mindig is kisebbségben lévő gyülekezetek esetében (pl.: az imecsfalvi református templom).

A háromszéki református fatemplomok egyik fontos képviselője az 1929–1930 között lebontott vajnafalvi templom volt, mely a típus egyetlen jól dokumentált épülete. A továbbiakban e templomot fogjuk vizsgálni, így talán többet megtudva ezen épülettípus jellegzetességeiről, illetve ki szeretnénk egészíteni az eddig hiányos vagy éppen helytelen építéstörténeti tudásunkat a vajnafalvi épületről.

## A vajnafalvi fatemplom leírása DEBRECZENI László nyomán

■ A vajnafalvi reformátusok mindenkorai templomairól összefoglaló művet HAVADTÓY Sándor lelkipásztor jelentetett meg 1933-ban az új – ma is álló – templom befejezésének tiszteletére. Rövid írásában az 1930–31-ben épült templom építéstörténetének részletes bemutatása mellett kitér az általa ismert előzményekre is.

HAVADTÓY egy 1762. évi esperesi vizitációra (CSÁKI & SZ. GAZDA 2004, 66) hivatkozva említ egy, az akkori temetőhelyen álló színt, melyben a hívek istentiszteleteiket tartották (HAVADTÓY 1933, 5). Ennek okaként felmerült, hogy így kívánták kifejezni elszakadási szándékukat a kovásznai református egyháztól. A vajnafalvi reformátusok első vallásyakorlást szolgáló épületeként, a megnevezés alapján – „szín” –, egy egyszerű faépítményt képzelhetünk el, melynek építési ideje a már idézett vizitáció közélébe tehető, 1760 körülre. A szín mellett egy ismeretlen időben – de vélhetően szintén 1760 körül – épült harangláb állt, melyet az is megerősíthet,

wooden church built within the walls was enclosed by the new church between 1770 and 1772, and after the latter was completed, the beams of the old church were carried out through the doors (MAGYARI & JUHÁSZ 2011a, 55).

Unfortunately, we know very little about the wooden churches in Bita, Bățanii Mici, Chichiș, Surcea, Vârghiș, and Zagon. The old church in Bita was presumably built in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The church in Bățanii Mici is said to have been built in 1735 next to a parish house, and starting from 1765 a wooden church served the faithful, about which it is said that some of the elements of its coffered ceiling can be found in the gallery of the currently standing church. The church in Chichiș may have been standing until the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. The wooden church in Surcea stood until 1833, while the one in Zagon until 1783. The former was built of timber and boards, and the latter of wooden beams. The Calvinist Church in Vârghiș was used between 1846 and 1993, and was built out of necessity for the Calvinist minority living in the village. Wooden buildings are still characteristic today, and can be found around Covasna County in several villages, in the case of still emerging religious communities or minority congregations (e.g. the Calvinist Church in Imeni).

The church in Valea Voinești, demolished between 1929 and 1930, was an important representative of the Calvinist wooden Churches in Trei Scaune, as it was the only well-documented building of its type. Hereinafter we shall study this church, acquiring more information about the features of this building type, and we wish to add to our incomplete or even incorrect knowledge on the architectural history of the church in Valea Voinești.

### The description of the church in Valea Voinești, as seen by László DEBRECZENI

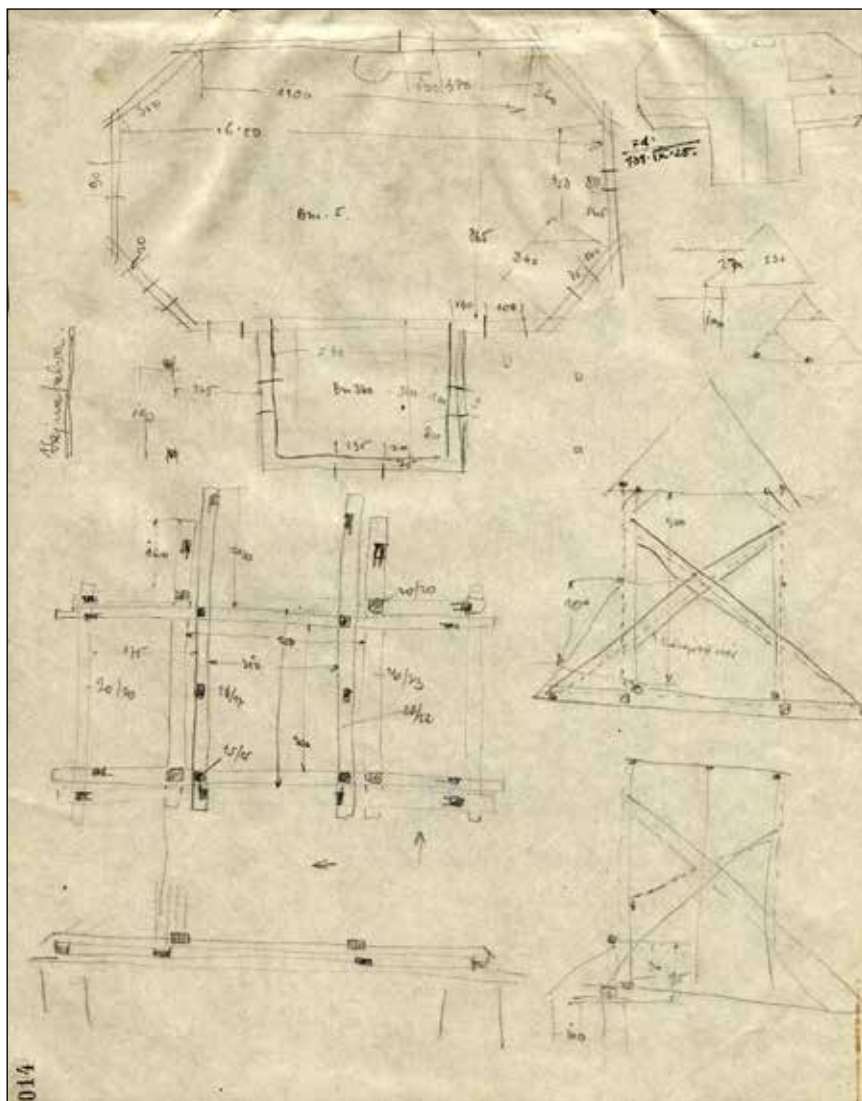
■ A comprehensive work on all the Calvinist Churches in Valea Voinești was published by pastor Sándor HAVADTÓY in 1933, upon the completion of the new church still standing today. In his short piece of writing, aside from the architectural background of the church erected in 1930–1931, he also highlighted the antecedents he was aware of.

HAVADTÓY refers to a dean's visitation in 1762 (CSÁKI & SZ. GAZDA 2004, 66), and mentions a barn-like shelter in the former cemetery, where the congregation held its religious services (HAVADTÓY 1933, 5). For this reason, it arose that this was the way they wanted to express their intention to break away from the Calvinist Church of Covasna. Based on the name given to it, i.e. “the barn”, we can imagine a simple wooden building as the first place of worship for the Calvinist congregation in Valea Voinești, which may have been built around the date of the aforementioned visitation, i.e. around 1760. A belfry stood next to the barn, built at an unknown date, but still presumably around 1760, which is also confirmed by HAVADTÓY, who speaks about a bell dat-

ing back to 1761, made at the bell foundry of István GÁBOR in Sfântu Gheorghe for the church in Valea Voinești (HAVADTÓY 1933, 6). The time the barn in Valea Voinești was demolished is uncertain, but HAVADTÓY reports about a new wooden church in 1852, which served the community until 1930. The new bell made for this church is still preserved by the community; on it we can read the year of its making, 1877, as well as the name of the maker and the commissioner (HAVADTÓY 1933, 7).

László DEBRECZENI surveyed the latter wooden church in 1929. Based on his drawings and sketches (Figures 1-3), one is able to make the virtual reconstruction of the former wooden church, however, without it being completely accurate.<sup>7</sup> (Figure 4) The drawings depict a log church featuring polygonal ends on the two shorter sides, with galleries, to which a masonry extension was added on its transverse axis. The lower part of the extension housed the pews of the liturgical space, while the top hosted a wooden superstructure holding the bells. Although DEBRECZENI did not put down the materials, the photographs and the size of the walls allow us to grasp their structural layout. The thickness of the nave walls was approximately 20 cm, while that of the southern extension was 75 cm, and consequently the former is similar to the size of a common beam and the latter to the size of a smaller or larger solid brick (EREL, G1, Debreczeni László vázlatkönyvei 1929, 14). The surface of the walls is well visible on the photographs of the time (Photos 1 and 2), the chevron lathing of the timber nave was plastered and painted, while the surfaces of the cross wing, made of brick, were treated in a similar manner (EREL, F13, 30. sz. doboz, Fényképek, „vajnafalvi fatemplom”c. boríték).

The inner height of the nave was 5 m, the width was 8.65 m, the length was 16.50 m, being similar to the proportion of contemporary Calvinist brick churches in the area (EREL, G1, Debreczeni László vázlatkönyvei 1929, 14; DANIELISZ 2017, 38-42). The inner size of the extension was 5.40x3.20 m, and the inner height in the liturgical space was 3.6 m. The nave was lit by seven windows, while the lateral spaces by three, where the only entrance of the wooden church was also located. The size of the windows differed: some only served to light the galleries, however, the two windows on the two sides of the extension, being about 2 m in height and precisely 1.08 m in width, were finished with the aim of being more representative (EREL, G1, Debreczeni László vázlatkönyvei 1929, 14; DANIELISZ 2017,



■ 3. ábra: A vajnafalvi református fatemplom alaprajza, a berendezés, a tetőszerkezet vázlatos és a harangtorony részletes rajzai (EREL, G1, Debreczeni László vázlatkönyvei 1929, 14)

■ Figure 3. The ground plan of the Calvinist wooden Church in Valea Voinești; drawings featuring the furnishing, the sketch of the roof structure and the details of the belfry (EREL, G1, Debreczeni László vázlatkönyvei 1929, 14)

hogy HAVADTÓY egy 1761-ből származó harang létezéséről számol be, melyet a vajnafalvi egyház számára készített sepsiszentgyörgyi GÁBOR István harangöntő (HAVADTÓY 1933, 6). A vajnafalvi szín elbontásának ideje bizonytalan, de HAVADTÓY 1852-ben már új fatemplom építéséről számol be, mely 1930-ig szolgálta a közösséget. Az e templomba készült új harangot az egyházközség ma is őrzi, rajta a készítő és megrendelő neve mellett az 1877-es évszám olvasható (HAVADTÓY 1933, 7).

Az utóbb említett fatemplomról 1929-ben DEBRECZENI László készített felmérési rajzokat, vázlatokat (1–3. ábra), melyek alapján – bár a teljesség igénye nélkül, de – elvégezhető az egykori fatemplom elméleti rekonstrukciója.<sup>7</sup> (4. ábra) A rajzokon egy, két rövidebb oldalon poligonális záródással és karzatokkal épült boronatemplom látható, melyhez haránttengelyében csatlakozik egy falazott épületbővítmény. E bővítmény aljában még a liturgikus térhez kapcsolódó padosorok, tetejében a harangokat tartó fából készült felépítmény kapott helyet. Bár a templom anyagait DEBRECZENI nem je-

<sup>7</sup> The works by László DEBRECZENI on the topic can be found in the Central Collecting Archives of the Transylvanian Calvinist Diocese Cluj-Napoca (EREL, G1, Debreczeni László vázlatkönyvei 1929, 12-14; 6. sz. doboz, Részletrajzok, A vajnafalvi régi ref. templom alaprajza 5; 19. sz. doboz, Faépítmények, A vajnafalvi /Kovácsna/ régi ref. templom; F13, Tövis-Zsobok c. mappa, Vajnafalva-Kovácsna, levelezés (1929–30, 1975); 30. sz. doboz, Fényképek, „vajnafalvi fatemplom”c. boríték).

<sup>7</sup> DEBRECZENI László vonatkozó munkái megtalálhatók az Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület Központi Gyűjtőlevéltárában (EREL, G1, Debreczeni László vázlatkönyvei 1929, 12–14; 6. sz. doboz, Részletrajzok, A vajnafalvi régi ref. templom alaprajza 5; 19. sz. doboz, Faépítmények, A vajnafalvi /Kovácsna/ régi ref. templom; F13, Tövis-Zsobok c. mappa, Vajnafalva-Kovácsna, levelezés (1929–30, 1975); 30. sz. doboz, Fényképek, „vajnafalvi fatemplom”c. boríték).





■ **1. kép:** Fénykép a lebontás előtt álló vajnafalvi református fatemplomról, a főbejárat felől (EREL, F13, 30. sz. doboz, „vajnafalvi fatemplom”c. boríték)  
■ **Photo 1.** The Calvinist wooden Church in Valea Voinești prior to its demolition, from the main entrance (EREL, F13, 30. sz. doboz, „vajnafalvi fatemplom”c. boríték)



■ **2. kép:** Fénykép a lebontás előtt álló vajnafalvi református fatemplomról, oldalról (EREL, F13, 30. sz. doboz, „vajnafalvi fatemplom”c. boríték)  
■ **Photo 2.** The Calvinist wooden Church in Valea Voinești prior to its demolition, from the side (EREL, F13, 30. sz. doboz, „vajnafalvi fatemplom”c. boríték)

gyezte fel, fényképfelvételéről és a falak méreteiből világosan kiolvasható szerkezeti felépítésük. A hajó falvastagsága hozzávetőleg 20 cm, míg a déli épületbővítmény vastagsága 75 cm volt, előbbi tehát egy járatos gerendaméretre, utóbbi a kisméretű vagy nagyméretű tömör téglaméretrendjéhez illeszkedik (EREL, G1, Debreczeni László vázlatkönyvei 1929, 14). A falak felületképzése a korabeli fotókon (1–2. kép) jól kivehető, a fából épült hajó halszálkamintás lécezésre készített vakolatot és meszelést kapott, míg a téglából épült keresztszárny felületképzése is hasonlóan készült (EREL, F13, 30. sz. doboz, Fényképek, „vajnafalvi fatemplom”c. boríték).

A hajó belmagassága 5 m, belső szélessége 8,65 m, hossza 16,50 m volt, mely a korban téglából épülő környező református templomok arányrendjét követte (EREL, G1, Debreczeni László vázlatkönyvei 1929, 14; DANIELISZ 2017, 38–42). A kapcsolódó bővítmény belső méreteit tekintve 5,40x3,20 m volt, belmagassága a liturgikus térben 3,6 m. A hajót hét, a mellékeret három ablakkal világították meg, illetve itt helyezkedett el a fatemplom egyetlen bejárata. Az ablakok mérete változatos volt, némelyikük csak a karzatok megvilágítását szolgálhatta, az épületbővítmény két oldalára eső ablakpár azonban reprezentatívabb kiképzésű volt – megközelítőleg 2 m magas, de bizonyosan 1,08 m széles (EREL, G1, Debreczeni László vázlatkönyvei 1929, 14; DANIELISZ 2017, 38–42; EREL, F13, 30. sz. doboz, Fényképek, „vajnafalvi fatemplom”c. boríték).

A fatemplom tetőszerkezetét DEBRECZENI rajzaiban csupán egy szerény ábra formájában örökíti meg (EREL, G1, Debreczeni László vázlatkönyvei 1929, 14). (3. ábra) A felmérési rajzokból kivehető, hogy az 5,30 m belmagasságú, kötőgerendára és talpszelemenre épülő szaruállást egy torokgerenda vagy kakasülő merevítette. A szarufák felezőpontjától a talpszelemenhez némiképp közelebb esve indultak ki a pozíciójuknál fogva leginkább a szegletkötőkhöz hasonló ferde elemek, melyek egészen a kötőgerendák közepéig voltak lekötve, így a szerkezet működése egy rácsos tartóhoz vált hasonlatossá. A nagy fesztávolság miatt a kötőgerendát egyrészt szimmetrikusan két oldalról a már említett szegletkötők, másrészt egy közepén végigfutó mestergereenda függesztette fel, illetve tette több támaszúvá. A szerkezetből egyértelműsíthető, hogy a templom sík famennyezettel készült, de ennek kiképzését nem ismerjük. Az ábrából nehezen állapítható meg, hogy a rajzoló csupán egyetlen állást örökített-e, mely esetben azonos elemek sorolásából épült fel a szerkezet, vagy egy fiókváltós rendszerű tetőszerkezettel rendelkezett a templom. Annyi bizonyos, hogy a szerkezetet mindkét oldalán kontyolás merevítette, a fedés anyaga pedig mind a hajón, mind a haranglábon faszindely volt. (1–2. kép)

38-42; EREL, F13, 30. sz. doboz, Fényképek, „vajnafalvi fatemplom”c. boríték).

The roof structure of the wooden church appears in the drawings of DEBRECZENI as a modest sketch (EREL, G1, Debreczeni László vázlatkönyvei 1929, 14). (Figure 3) The survey drawings reveal that the 5.30 m high truss, resting on a tie-beam and eaves purlins, was braced by a collar beam or upper collar. Slanting elements, similar to angle braces in terms of their positions, connected to rafters at their midpoints (or rather closer to the eaves purlins), which were then joined to the middle of the tie-beam and thus, the structure rather resembled a truss. Because of the large span, the tie-beam was suspended symmetrically on both sides by the aforementioned angle braces on the one hand, and the girder on the middle on the other hand, featuring several points of support. The structure shows clearly that the church had a plane wooden ceiling, but we know nothing about its design. We can hardly ascertain from the sketch if the author of the drawings captured only a single truss, and in this case the structure was made up of a series of similar elements, or the church featured a roof structure with a header structure. It is certain however that both sides of the structure were reinforced by hips, and both the nave and the belfry were covered with shingle. (Photos 1 and 2)

DEBRECZENI recorded in detail the structural design of the belfry, with the exception of the helm. (Figures 2 and 3) As we can see on his surveys, the superstructure holding the bell was probably a simple structure with a square base, constructed with beams, posts, arched knee-braces and cross-braces. An interesting feature of the structure are the support members that conducted the dynamic loads of tolling from the beams and knee-braces supporting the helm all the way down to the ground, propping the superstructure. The joints were designed with plane or presumably half-dovetail lapping, fastened with wooden nails.

The interior design of the building basically evidences a use in transverse direction within a “T”-shaped plan, which is common in Calvinist churches (DANIELISZ 2016). (Figures 3 and 4) However, what is interesting in Valea Voinești is that while most churches with a similar inner layout that we are familiar with in Trei Scaune were created via extensions of a building core during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (Dalnic, Căpeni, Reci, etc.), in this case, the T-shape was presumably the original layout of the church, completed by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.

Entering the door, the centre of the church was right across, at the crossing point of the T-shape, featuring the pulpit as the central piece in the middle of the longitudinal wall, lit from the side by a window. The old sounding board was made in 1877, being donated by József SZÉKELY (HAVADTŐY 1933, 7).

There were two galleries at the two nave ends, both made of wood. The pews were all oriented towards the pulpit, both in the nave and in the wing. The manner in which the former church space was used can be reconstructed based on interviews and on the habits of the neighbouring churches. Based on the interview conducted with the faithful in 2017, at the time the new church was built (1930), the congregation still held on to the traditional seating arrangement, which might have been brought over from the old church. According to this, the first pews were occupied by the nobility, followed by the *primipili*<sup>8</sup>, and then “the other military” in the back. In most Calvinist churches around Trei Scaune there is still a living tradition today to have the men’s side and the women’s side separated in the church, and this order may have been similar in Valea Voinești, too.

According to the classification done by László DEBRECZENI, which he ascertained based on the churches he had studied, the former wooden church in Valea Voinești is classified as a “peasant church”<sup>9</sup>. The small class further comprises the churches in Păingeni, Călușeri, Asinip (Figures 6 and 7), Ilioara (Figure 5), and Cisteiu de Mureș. One of DEBRECZENI’s manuscripts, later published by Péter SAS (2005, 228-231), explains this term that, according to his opinion, refers to churches smaller in size, made of timber, which were built by small or poorer congregations, by themselves, without any additional professional help from the outside. Because of the builders and the possibilities, these churches feature simple solutions, simple layouts (circle, square, ellipse), and in terms of their shape, they favour the angular shapes dictated by timber as their building material. Although the

8 The latin term *primipilus* [lófő in Hungarian] denotes the second layer in the historical social hierarchy of Szekler society, reflecting their traditional responsibility for border security. *Primipili* were the light cavalry, following the *primores*, i.e. the stratum of political and military leaders, and preceding the *pedites* and *pixidarii*, i.e. the infantry. [ed. note]

9 The term can be found in the bequest of László DEBRECZENI (EREL, G1, 6. sz. doboz, V. Parasztemplomok).

A harangláb szerkezeti felépítését a sisaktól eltekintve DEBRECZENI részletekbe menően megörökítette. (2–3. ábra) Ahogy a felmérésein is látható, egyszerű, négyzetes alaprajzi struktúrából építkező szerkezet lehetett a harangtartó felépítmény, mely gerendákból, oszlopokból, íves könyökökből, illetve keresztmervítésekéből épült fel. A szerkezet érdekességének tekinthetőek azok a támasztóelemek, melyek a sisakot hordozó gerendáktól és könyököktől indulva egészen a talajig vezetik le a harangozás által keltett dinamikus terheket, illetve támasztják meg a felépítményt. A csomópontok kialakításánál sima, illetve feltételezhetően félfecskefarokas lapolásokat használtak, melyeket faszegekkel rögzítettek.

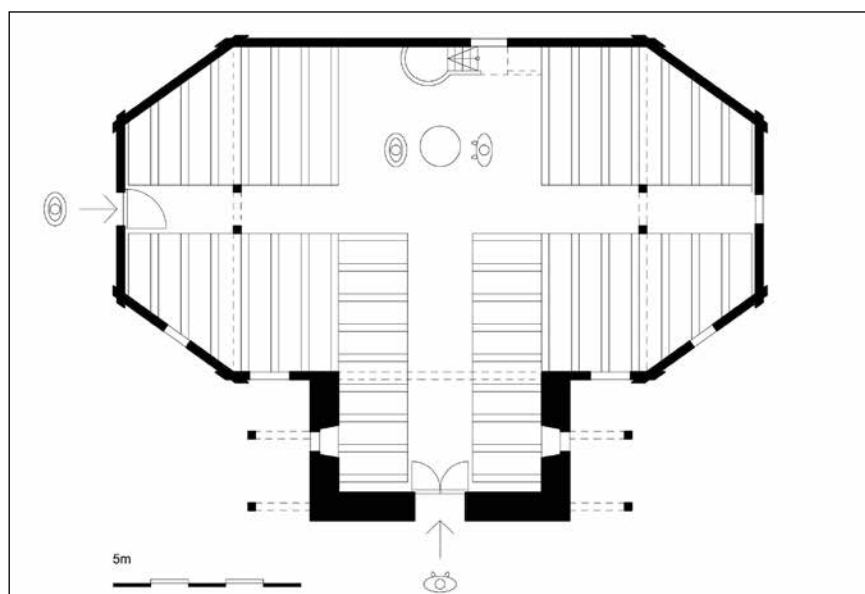
Az épület belső téri elrendezése tulajdonképpen egy „T” alaprajzon belüli haránt irányú épülethasználatról tanúskodik, ami bevett a református templomokban (DANIELISZ 2016). (3–4. ábra) Vajnafalva érdekessége azonban, hogy míg a legtöbb általunk ismert háromszéki, hasonló téri elrendezéssel bíró templom a XIX. század végén, a XX. század elején középkori épületmag bővítése révén jött létre (Dálnok, Köpec, Réty stb.), addig itt a T-forma vélhetően a templom eredeti kialakítása, mely legkésőbb a XIX. század közepéig épült fel.

A bejáraton belépve, szemközt, a T-alak szárainak metszéspontjában helyezkedett el a templom piaca, melynek központi eleme, a szószék a hosszszanti fal közepén állt, oldalról ablak világította meg. Akkori koronája, mely 1877-ben készült, SZÉKELY József ajándéka volt (HAVADTŐY 1933, 7).

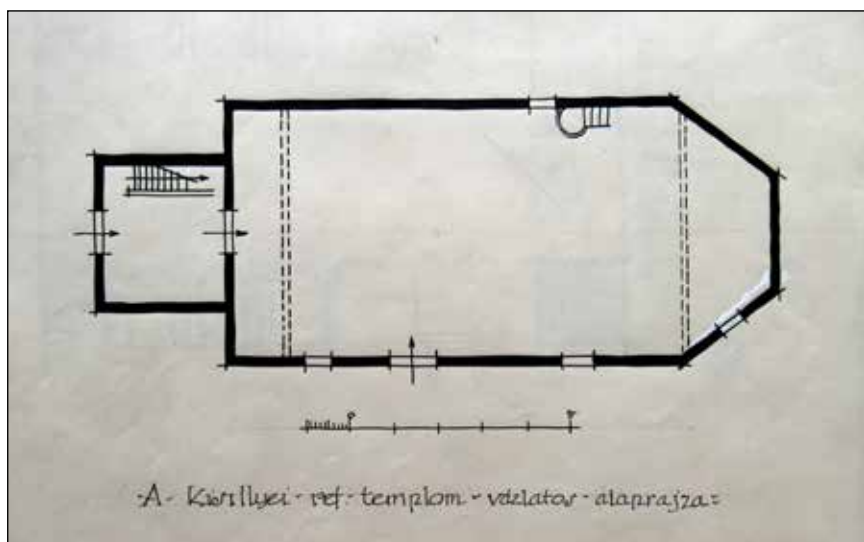
A templomhajó két végében két karzat állt, mely szintén fából épült. A padosorok egytől egyig a templom piaca felé fordultak, mind a hajóban, mind a keresztszárban. A templom egykori térhasználati hagyományai elmondások alapján, illetve a környező templomok szokásrendjének ismeretében rekonstruálhatók. 2017-ben a hívekkel készített interjú alapján a mai templom épülése idején (1930-ban) a gyülekezet még ragaszkodott a hagyományos ülésrendhez, mely szokást a korábbi épületből hozhatták magukkal. Eszerint az első padban a nemesek, utánuk a lófők, hátrébb az „egyéb katonarészen valók” ültek. A legtöbb háromszéki református templomban a mai napig él a szokás, miszerint a férfi és a női oldal a templom belül elkülönül, ezt a rendet Vajnafalván is tarthatták.

DEBRECZENI László tipológiai besorolása nyomán – melyet az általa felmért templomok alapján állított fel –, az egykori vajnafalvi fatemplom a „parasztemplomok”<sup>8</sup> típusába tartozik. E szűk csoport további tagjaiként

8 A kifejezést DEBRECZENI László hagyatékában találjuk (EREL, G1, 6. sz. doboz, V. Parasztemplomok).



■ 4. ábra: Az egykori vajnafalvi református fatemplom alaprajzi rekonstrukciója © DANIELISZ Dóra  
■ Figure 4. The ground plan reconstruction of the former Calvinist wooden Church in Valea Voinești © DANIELISZ Dóra



■ **5. ábra:** A kisillyei református fatemplom alaprajza (EREL, G1, 6. sz. doboz, Részletrajzok, A kisillyei ref. templom vázlatos alaprajza)

■ **Figure 5.** The ground plan of the Calvinist wooden Church in Ilioara (EREL, G1, 6. sz. doboz, Részletrajzok, A kisillyei ref. templom vázlatos alaprajza)

Póka, Székelykál, Asszonynépe (6–7. ábra), Kisillye (5. ábra) és Maroscsesztve korabeli templomait nevezte meg. DEBRECZENI egy később SAS Péter által közölt kéziratában (2005, 228–231) magyarázza a fogalmat, mely szerinte olyan templomokat tömörít, melyek méretüket tekintve szerények, fából épültek és a kis lélekszámú vagy szegény gyülekezet saját maga építette őket, bárminemű külső mester segítsége nélkül. Az építők és a lehetőségek miatt e templomokat az egyszerű megoldások jellemzik, alaprajzukban egyszerű alapformákat alkalmaznak (kör, négyzet, ellipszis), illetve formáikban a faépítészet diktálta szögletes formavilágot részesítik előnyben. Bár a fogalom teljes egészében nem tekinthető egzaktnak, mégis nagyságrendileg értelmezhető.

Az asszonynépei református templom DEBRECZENI tusrajzai alapján nagyon hasonló térszervezéssel bírt, mint vajnafalvi rokona. (6–7. ábra) Míg az asszonynépei templomban DEBRECZENI szerint „tisztán mutatkozik a protestáns falusi templom embriója”, addig „legönállóbb elgondolást a vajnafalviban találunk”, mely alatt a két végében poligonális záródást, a torony hosszoldalra helyezését érti, illetve azt, hogy a toronyalj a templomtér részévé váló térrész, mely szerinte a „csillagformának a csírája” (SAS 2005, 231). Bár utóbbi formai analógia némiképp átgondolást követel, DEBRECZENI a barokk templomok között véli felfedezni a vajnafalvi fatemplom rokonait (SAS 2005, 231).

Annyi bizonyos, hogy a tárgyalt épület csak távoli protestáns emlékekkel vonható rokonságba. Erdélyben – eddigi tudomásunk szerint – Gyulafehérvár, Magyarbece, Kercsed és Harangláb református templomai rendelkeznek a hajó két rövidebb oldalán poligonális vagy félköríves/íves záródással. Bár utóbbi épületek falazott technikával épültek, és csak az első két emlék esetében áll a torony, illetve a főbejárat haránttengelyben, mégis – Erdélyt tekintve – a vajnafalvi fatemplom legközelebbi, ma is álló térszervezési analógiáiként említhetőek. Érdekes megjegyzés lehet, hogy e ma álló emlékek mind a Kolozsvár–Gyulafehérvár–Medgyes–Marosvásárhely négyszögben helyezkednek el.

## Értékelés

■ A tanulmány egyik célja volt felhívni a figyelmet az erdélyi történeti protestáns fatemplomokra mint építészettörténeti kuriózumokra. Jelen alkalommal csupán háromszéki példákat tekintettünk át, melyek közül a vajnafalvi egykori fatemplom alaprajzi felépítése és ehhez kapcsolódó szerkezetválasztása miatt kiemelkedőnek tekinthető.

term cannot be considered completely accurate, it can still be interpreted in the order of magnitude.

According to DEBRECZENI's ink drawings, the Calvinist Church in Asinip had a very similar spatial structure, being somewhat related to the church in Valea Voinești. (Figures 6 and 7) While, according to DEBRECZENI, the church in Asinip “is the obvious embryo of the protestant village church”, “the most independent conception can be found in the church in Valea Voinești”, by which he understood the presence of the two polygonal ends, the position of the tower on the longitudinal side, and that the tower base is a space inside the religious space, which was, in his opinion, “the seed of the star shape” (SAS 2005, 231). Although the latter analogy related to shape would require reconsidering, DEBRECZENI considers that the closest examples related with the wooden church in Valea Voinești can be found among the Baroque churches (SAS 2005, 231).

It is most certain that the building in object can be related only with farther protestant buildings. In Transylvania, to our knowledge, only the Calvinist Churches in Alba Iulia, Beța, Stejeriș, and Hărănglab feature polygonal or semicircular/arched nave ends on the two shorter sides. Although the latter were erected on masonry structures, and the towers and the main entrance were designed in a transverse axis only in the case of the former two, they can still be considered as the closest still standing Transylvanian analogies of the wooden church in Valea Voinești, in terms of spatial organisation. It can be interesting to note that the buildings standing today are all in the square-shaped area that can be drawn to link Cluj-Napoca, Alba Iulia, Medias, and Târgu Mureș.

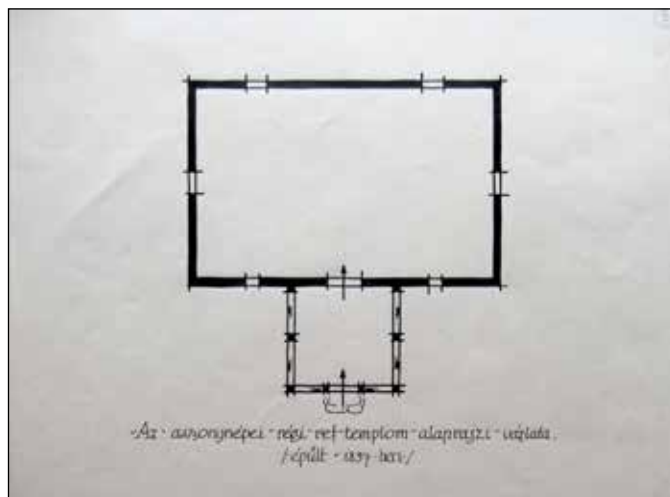
## Evaluation

■ One of the aims of the study was to draw attention to the historic protestant wooden churches around Transylvania as architectural curiosities. This article only deals with the examples in Trei Scaune, among which the former wooden church in Valea Voinești can be considered outstanding due to its layout and structural design.

Given the time of their construction, the aforementioned churches enrich the architectural history of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. They can be classified in two categories, with the exception of the very early church in Bită and the church in Târgu Secuiesc. The larger category comprises the wooden churches built until the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century at the latest, which were demolished until the middle or the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. An interesting feature about these churches is that they were built during the period of the Gubernium, when the protestant churches needed to request the construction of a new church from the court in Vienna via agents, or could ask personally for the support of their cause from the ruler. This fact influenced the widely spread use of wooden as a building material at the time, as it is known that the Counter-Reformation urged that the



■ **6. ábra:** Az egykori asszonynépei református templom képe (EREL, G1, 18. sz. doboz, Erdélyi templomok, Az asszonynépei régi ref. templom)  
 ■ **Figure 6.** The former Calvinist Church in Asinip (EREL, G1, 18. sz. doboz, Erdélyi templomok, Az asszonynépei régi ref. templom)



■ **7. ábra:** Az egykori asszonynépei református templom alaprajza (EREL, G1, 6. sz. doboz, Templomok alaprajzai, Az asszonynépei régi ref. templom alaprajzi vázlat /épült 1837-ben/)  
 ■ **Figure 7.** The ground plan of the former Calvinist Church in Asinip (EREL, G1, 6. sz. doboz, Templomok alaprajzai, Az asszonynépei régi ref. templom alaprajzi vázlat /épült 1837-ben/)

protestant churches be built from perishable materials. Beyond this latter assumption, it is interesting to note that the visitations of the time often used the term “oratorio”, which had earlier been widely spread in royal Hungary for the protestant, so-called articular churches<sup>10</sup>, which were mostly built before the Patent of Toleration. The construction activity of the Transylvanian protestant congregations after the consolidation of the imperial influence at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century started to resemble once again the activity of the areas formerly under royal rule that had their own development path and of the areas formerly under Ottoman control.

The wooden church in Valea Voinești, presented in detail, represents the category of buildings raised at the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and torn down during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In terms of its layout, it is closely related to the aforementioned Transylvanian examples, while farther specimens of the kind can be found among the Querkirch in German-speaking areas,<sup>11</sup> respectively the 18<sup>th</sup>-century pattern books by L. C. STURM present such solutions on the design of the ideal protestant church. For the future, we may need to answer questions about the influences that led to the construction of the old wooden church in Valea Voinești, featuring this unparalleled structure for the region of Trei Scaune, whether it was unique in terms of its layout and design, or whether it was the last remarkable representative of a long-gone construction type.

10 Articular churches were the places of worship built in articular settlements [artikuláris hely in Hungarian], which refer to the settlements named in article XXVI of the 1681 diet in Sopron. The free practice of protestant religions, including the building of protestant churches, were allowed only in the named settlements. [ed. note]

11 More about the Querkirche type of construction in Kathrin ELLWARDT's works.

A bemutatott templomok építési idejüket tekintve leginkább a XVIII–XIX. század építészettörténetét gazdagítják. A megidézett épületek két csoportja körvonalazható, az igen korainak titulált bitai példát, illetve a kézdivásárhelyi templomot leszámítva. A nagyobbik csoportba tartoznak a legkésőbb a XVIII. század közepéig épült fatemplomok, melyek a XIX. század közepéig vagy annak második felében bontásra kerültek. E templomok érdekessége, hogy a Gubernium idején épültek, amikor a protestáns egyházak ágensek közreműködésével folyamodhattak új templom építése ügyében a bécsi udvarhoz, illetve személyesen az uralkodótól kérhették ügyük támogatását. Ez a tény önmagában kihathatott a fa mint építőanyag alkalmazásának elterjedtségére a korban, mivel ismert, hogy az ellenreformáció korszakában szorgalmazták a protestáns templomok mulandó anyagból való építését. Utóbbi feltételezés mellett érdekes adalék, hogy erre a korszakra jellemző az idézett vizitációkban az „oratorium” megnevezés használata, mely korábban jellemzően a királyi Magyarországon volt elterjedt, leginkább az artikuláris, a türelmi rendelet előtt épült protestáns templomépítészeti emlékek körében. Az erdélyi területeken a protestáns gyülekezetek építőtevékenysége a XVII. század végén megszilárduló császári befolyás után fokozatosan egyre inkább ismét hasonlatossá volt a korábban külön fejlődési utat bejárt királyi fennhatóság alá tartozó és a korábban oszmán ellenőrzés alatt álló területekhez.

A részletesen bemutatott vajnafalvi fatemplom az épületek azon csoportját képviseli, melyek a XIX. század közepe táján épültek, és a XX. század folyamán bontották le őket. Az alaprajz tekintetében közeli rokonai a korábban említett erdélyi példák, távolabbi példái leginkább német nyelvterületen, a Querkirchek között találhatóak,<sup>9</sup> illetve a XVIII. századi mintakönyvek – L. C. STURM munkássága nyomán – mutatnak be hasonló megoldásokat az ideális protestáns templomok kialakításával kapcsolatban. A jövőre nézve tehát megválaszolásra vár a kérdés, hogy milyen behatások nyomán épülhetett a vajnafalvi egykori fatemplom ebben a háromszéki viszonylatban példa nélküli struktúrában, és kialakításában vajon egyedi lehetett e területen, vagy esetleg egy eltűnt épülettípus utolsó reprezentatív képviselője volt?

9 A Querkirche-épülettípus kutatásáról többet Kathrin ELLWARDT munkásságában találhatunk.

## Háromszéki református fatemplomokra mutató források jegyzéke

### List of sources referring to the Calvinist wooden Churches in Trei Scaune

Település neve	Templom szerkezete	Építés ideje	Bontás ideje	Vonatkozó írásos adatok
Name of settlement	Church structure	Date of construction	Date of demolition	Written relevant sources
BITA	–	–	XVII. század eleje	„... fából épült kis imaház” (MAGYARI & JUHÁSZ 2011a, 23)
BITA	–	–	early 17 <sup>th</sup> century	“... small wooden oratorio” (MAGYARI & JUHÁSZ 2011a, 23)
BODOLA	faváz, téglá	(1640) <1759	1856	„Visitatio in Bodola. Anno 1746 (...) a templomot deszkáztatták meg alól-felyül tisztességesen” (KOLUMBÁN 2005, 76); „Bodola. 1759. A bodolai reformáta eklézsiának temploma vagyon a falu derekában (...), mely zsendellyel fedett kőlabakra s cserefa kötésekre téglából építettett (...). A templombajáró első ajtó felett hasonló móddal építettett torony.” (HEREPEI & SZABÓ T. 1939, 6)
BUDILA	timber frame, brick	(1640) <1759	1856	“Visitatio in Bodola. Anno 1746 (...) the church was well-provided with boarding on the top and bottom, as well” (KOLUMBÁN 2005, 76); “Bodola. 1759. The Calvinist Church in Budila is in the village centre (...), built of brick on a stone base covered with shingle and oak joints (...). A tower built in a similar way above the entrance door.” (HEREPEI & SZABÓ T. 1939, 6)
KÉZDIVÁSÁRHELY	borona, gerenda	XVII. század eleje	1770–82	„... a Főtéren a 17. század elejéről való kis fatemplom helyére erősített református templom épült.” (OLASZ 1998, 61); „A város műemléktemploma 1770-1782 között, egy korábbi fatemplom helyére épült. A régi fatemplom köré építették a kőfalakat, hogy legyen hely az építés ideje alatt is Isten imáadására s mikor a kőtemplom készen volt, ajtóin a régi fatemplom boronáit kihordogatták...” (MAGYARI & JUHÁSZ 2011a, 55)
TÂRGU SECUIESC	log wall, beam	early 17 <sup>th</sup> century	1770-82	“... a fortified Calvinist church was built on the Main Square, on the place of the small wooden church from the early 17 <sup>th</sup> century.” (OLASZ 1998, 61); “The historic church of the town was built between 1770 and 1782 on the place of a former wooden church. The stone wall was built around the old wooden church, so that worship could take place during the works as well, and when the stone church was completed, the logs of the old wooden church were carried out through its doors...” (MAGYARI & JUHÁSZ 2011a, 55)
KISBACON	–	1735, 1765	1793–96	„1735-ik esztendőben, akkor lehetsége nem lévén a kitsin Eklézsiának kőből templomot építeni (...) a papi ház végibe egy oratoriumot fából építettek volt, melyben 30 esztendőig folyt az isteni tisztelet. Szaporodván az Eklézsia, ismét épített ugyan fából egy templomot a mostan fennálló kőtemplomnak északfelől való oldala mellé 1765-ben.” (KÁDÁR 1958, 9); „Az egyház 1735-ig a nagybaconi egyházközség filiája volt, ekkor szakadt el tőle és vált önálló egyházzá. Ekkor még csak egy fából épült oratóriumuk volt, abban folyt az istentisztelet. 1765-ben fatemplomot építettek, amelynek kezdetleges kazettáit a mostani templom karzatainak aljába építették be.” (MAGYARI & SZÁNTÓ 2009, 26)
BĂȚANII MICI	–	1735, 1765	1793-96	“In the year 1735, the small parish, being unable at the time to have a stone church built (...) erected a timber oratorio at the end of the parish house, in which the holy service was held for 30 years. As the parish grew, it built a new, but still wooden church by the northern side of today’s stone church in 1765.” (KÁDÁR 1958, 9); “It was the filial church of the parish in Bățanii Mari until 1735, when they split and it became an independent parish. At the time, it only had a timber oratorio, where service was held. A wooden church was built in 1765, whose rudimentary coffers were built into the bottom of today’s gallery.” (MAGYARI & SZÁNTÓ 2009, 26)

Település neve	Templom szerkezete	Építés ideje	Bontás ideje	Vonatkozó írásos adatok
Name of settlement	Church structure	Date of construction	Date of demolition	Written relevant sources
KÖKÖS	–	–	1745–46	„Kökös (...) 1745-46 körül épített a piciny közösség 6,3x5 öl alapterületű kőtemplomot a korábbi fatemplom helyett.” (MAGYARI & JUHÁSZ 2011b, 41)
CHICHIȘ	–	–	1745-46	“Chichiș (...) built between 1745 and 1746 a small stone church, with a surface of 6.3x5 fathoms, replacing the earlier wooden church.” (MAGYARI & JUHÁSZ 2011b, 41)
NAGYAJTA	borona, gerenda	1724	1782	„CSEREY Mihály építtette, a hagyomány szerint a mostani unit. templom délkeleti szögletéhez. Később a reformátusok más helyre építvén a most is meglévő templomot, a fatemplomot eladták a románoknak, akik azt elköltöztetvén, egészen 1864-ig használták. (Orbán III. 14. l.)” (BALOGH 1935, 159); ORBÁN (1869, 14) és BENKŐ (1770, 133–136) a nagyajtai fatemplom történetét részletesen ismerteti; „BENKŐ József említi 1770 körül, hogy SZOKOLYAI István esperes a nagyajtai egyházközségnek anyagi támogatást kért templomépítésre, mivel még mindig fatemplomuk volt.” (MAGYARI & SZANTÓ 2009, 41)
AITA MARE	log wall, beam	1724	1782	“It was built by Mihály CSEREY, tradition has it that it was joined to the south-eastern corner of today’s Unitarian church. Later, as the Calvinists had built the still standing church on another location, sold the wooden church the Romanians, who relocated and used it until 1864. (ORBÁN III. p. 14)” (BALOGH 1935, 159); ORBÁN (1869, 14) and BENKŐ (1770 133-136) present the detailed history of the wooden church in Aita Mare; “József BENKŐ mentions around 1770 that dean István SZOKOLYAI asked for aid so that the congregation in Aita Mare could build a new church, since they still had a wooden one.” (MAGYARI & SZANTÓ 2009, 41)
PAPOLC	faváz, deszka	1797 <	1894–96	„Szegény lévén az ecclesia, kis ideiglenes deszkatemploma volt csak, s ebben egy kúpü (kivájt fatörzs) helyettesítette a szószéket.” (ORBÁN 1869, 159); „Papolc, ref. egyház. – Deszkatemplom” (BALOGH 1935, 159); „1756-ban még állt, a mai helyén a katolikusoktól örökölt deszkatemplom és harangláb. Az új templom a 18. században épült. Ekkor még kőfal övezte.” (MAGYARI & JUHÁSZ 2011a, 75) (Megjegyzés: Az információ vélhetően helytelen, mivel a 18. században a leírások szerint még állt az egyház középkori kőtemploma, részletes leírását lásd: CSÁKI & SZ. GAZDA 2004, 136)
PĂPĂUȚI	timber frame, board	1797 <	1894-96	„As the parish was poor, it had a small board church for some time and a carved tree trunk served as a pulpit.” (ORBÁN 1869, 159); „Păpăuți, Calvinist church. – Board church” (BALOGH 1935, 159); “The board church and belfry inherited from the Catholics was still standing, in the place of the current one, in 1756. The new church was built in the 18 <sup>th</sup> century. It was enclosed by a stone wall.” (MAGYARI & JUHÁSZ 2011a, 75) (Remark: the information is presumably incorrect, since, according to the descriptions, the mediaeval stone church was still standing in the 18 <sup>th</sup> century. For detailed descriptions see: CSÁKI & SZ. GAZDA 2004, 136)
SEPSISZENTKIRÁLY	–	<1759	1761–68	„Sepsiszentkirály. 1759. Vagyon a szentkirályi reformata crescens ekléziának egy régi, romladozott fából való temploma, mely renovatiót kíván. – Vagyon a templom előtt egy harangláb fából való. – 1767. A régi elsorvadozott főtemplomuk helyére mást kőből építettek. – 1800. A szentkirályi ref. ekléziának vagyon egy kőből épült temploma felszegen, Szalomáj alyában építetett 1767-ben a régi fatemplom helyébe.” (HEREPEI & SZABÓ T. 1939, 8)
SÂNCRAIU	–	<1759	1761-68	„Sâncraiu. 1759. The growing Calvinist parish in Sâncraiu had an old, damaged wooden church that required renovation. – In front of the church there was a timber belfry. – 1767. They built a new stone church on the spot of the old degraded main church. – 1800. The Calvinist parish in Sâncraiu had a stone church built on the high street, built under Szalomáj in 1767 on the spot of the old wooden church.” (HEREPEI & SZABÓ T. 1939, 8)

Település neve	Templom szerkezete	Építés ideje	Bontás ideje	Vonatkozó írásos adatok
Name of settlement	Church structure	Date of construction	Date of demolition	Written relevant sources
SZÉKELYTAMÁSFALVA	borona, gerenda	1724 < <1759	1875–76	[Tamásfalva, 1723]: „Égés miatt ruinában lévén a tamásfalvi templom, (...) száz szál bornát conferált volt az ur THOLDALAGI ur [ <i>sic</i> ] ő kegyelmek, azt szedgyék össze és a templom szükségire vigyék alá Zaboláról...” (CSÁKI & SZ. GAZDA 2001, 158); [Zabola, 1724] „Tekintetes THOLDALAGI Mihály ur adván a tamásfalvi templom építésire száz szál boronát...” (CSÁKI & SZ. GAZDA 2001, 191); „Anno 1759 (...) a tamásfalvi filialis ecclesia (...) az isten szent szolgálatára oratoriumot kívánt erigálni, amint hogy nagyobb részint véghez is vitte...” (CSÁKI & SZ. GAZDA 2004, 31); „Anno 1775 (...) Vagyon egy fából épült oratorium, benne lévő fa prédikáló szék és több deszka székkal, az oskola mester jószágán épülve, melynek vicinussa délről a patak, északról nobilis SZÖRTSEI jus, vagyon egy kiseded harang az iscriptio [---] (CSÁKI & SZ. GAZDA 2004, 123); „... elköltötte igen hasznos és szükséges helyekre, nevezetesen megromladozott templomnak egész újabb statusban lett vitelével renovátotott falaira, menyezetének újabban lett készítésésre, chorusra, körülötte új deszka kertre, haranglábra és festékekre...” (CSÁKI & SZ. GAZDA 2004, 213); MAGYARI & JUHÁSZ 2011a, 83 (forrás: CSÁKI & SZ. GAZDA 2004)
TAMAŞFALĂU	log wall, beam	1724 < <1759	1875-76	[Tamaşfalău, 1723] “As the church in Tamaşfalău was ruined because of a fire, (...) a hundred logs were given by Lord THOLDALAGI, which were to be were collected and taken from Zăbala, for the need of the church...” (CSÁKI & SZ. GAZDA 2001, 158); ORBAI VIZITÁCIÓ (1677-1752) pp. 191.: [Zăbala, 1724] “His honour, Lord THOLDALAGI Mihály gave one hundred logs for the construction of the church in Tamaşfalău...” (CSÁKI & SZ. GAZDA 2001, 191); “Anno 1759 (...) the filial parish of Tamaşfalău (...) wished to erect an oratorio to God’s service, which it mostly completed...” (CSÁKI & SZ. GAZDA 2004, 31); “Anno 1775 (...) There is a timber oratorio featuring a wooden pulpit and several wooden chairs, built on the teacher’s property, neighboured by the brook on the southern side and by Noble SZÖRTSEI’s property on the northern side, there is a small bell with an inscription [---] (CSÁKI & SZ. GAZDA 2004, 123); “... spent it on useful and most needed things, namely on the renovated walls of the decayed church, on the new ceiling and gallery of the church, on a new timber fence, a belfry and painting...” (CSÁKI & SZ. GAZDA 2004, 213); MAGYARI & JUHÁSZ 2011a, 83 (source: CSÁKI & SZ. GAZDA 2004)
SZÖRCSE	faváz, deszka	–	1833–40	„A gyülekezet régi fából és deszkából épült temploma a jelenlegihez közeli helyen állhatott. A gyülekezet tagjai a templom gyenge állapotban lévő fa-és deszkafalait kezdetben kővel és téglával helyettesítették...” (MAGYARI & JUHÁSZ 2011a, 85)
SURCEA	timber frame, board	–	1833-40	“The old timber and board church of the congregation may have been close to the current one. The members of the congregation replaced with stone and brick the timber and board walls of the church that were in poor condition...” (MAGYARI & JUHÁSZ 2011a, 85)

Település neve	Templom szerkezete	Építés ideje	Bontás ideje	Vonatkozó írásos adatok
Name of settlement	Church structure	Date of construction	Date of demolition	Written relevant sources
VAJNAFALVA	borona, gerenda	1852	1929–30	„1762 (...) A vajnafalvi becsületes atyafiak terhes és majd őket hidegségre juttatható távol léteket (...) a Szent Visitatio nem improválhatta eddig való munkáját a temető szín építésében és a harang vétel arányt (...). Ha valaha mozdítanák hogy el szakadjanak, temető színek azonnal az alszegiek által el hányattassék és harangjok a kő toronyba collocáltassék.” (CSAKI & SZŐCSNÉ GAZDA 2004, 66); teljes építéstörténet (HAVADTÓY 1933); „Vajnafalva, ref. egyház. – Faharangláb. Bejárat felett kőalapon nyitott fatorony. – Rajza BARABAS Mártontól. Közölve: Pásztortűz 1927. 150. l. – Azóta lebontották.” (BALOGH 1935, 159); „508. Vajnafalva (...) református harangláb (...). A templom oldalbejárata előtt magasodó, alsó harmadában kőből falazott haranglábát BALOGH Ilona adata szerint az 1930-as évekre lebontották. A kő alépitmény a templomhoz épült, fölötte emelkedik a deszkatörzsű harangláb. A zsindegy héjazatú tető kiképzése egyedi, hiszen merőlegesen kapcsolódik a templom tetősisakjához is, míg elől, a bejáratú ajtó fölött csupán kis szoknyaszerű (inkább ereszszerű) kiképzésű. A haranglábát két-két igen hosszú, a földtől a nyitott galéria felső részéig felnyúló ferdetámasz merevíti. A galéiaszinten kívül harangtartó állvány szolgál a harangok hordására. A sisak négyzet alaprajzú, gúla alakú, zsindegy héjazatú. A csúcscsíz gömb.” (SISA 2001, 350.); MAGYARI & JUHÁSZ 2011a, 63 (forrás: HAVADTÓY 1933).
VALEA VOINEȘTI	log wall, beam	1852	1929-30	“1762 (...) The burdensome absences of the honest brethren in Valea Voinești, lead to estrangement (...) the Holy Visitation cannot approve of their work so far on the building of the barn in the cemetery and the purchase of the bell (...). If they ever intended to break away, the barn in the cemetery should be demolished right away from those in down street and the bell should be relocated in the stone tower.” (CSAKI & SZŐCSNÉ GAZDA 2004, 66); full construction history (HAVADTÓY 1933); “Valea Voinești, Calvinist church – Timber belfry. Open timber tower on stone base in front of the entrance. – Drawing by Márton BARABAS. Published in: Pásztortűz 1927. p. 150. – It has been since demolished.” (BALOGH 1935, 159); “508. Valea Voinești (...) Calvinist belfry (...). The belfry erected in front of the lateral entrance of the church, built in the bottom two-thirds of stone, was torn down by 1930, according to the data conveyed by Ilona BALOGH. The stone foundation was joined to the church, and above it the boarded belfry was erected. The shingle roof is unique in design, as it is vertically joined to the helm of the church, while above the front entrance door, the design is skirt-like (or rather eaves-like). The belfry is braced by two slanted supports on both sides, from the ground up to the upper part of the open gallery. Up in the gallery, there is a bell support holding the bells. The helm is square, pyramid-shaped, and covered with shingle. The finial is spherical. ”; MAGYARI & JUHÁSZ 2011a, 63 (source: HAVADTÓY 1933).
VARGYAS	gerenda, deszka, vályog	1846	1993	„...WESSELÉNYI Miklós báró beházasodott a DÁNIEL családba, telket adott az addig ide-oda hanyódó reformátusoknak. Ezen 1846-ban egy 7x2 m-es imaházat építettek gerendából, deszkából, vályogból, torony és portikus nélkül. Az épületet használhatatlansága miatt 147 év múlva le kellett bontani.” (MAGYARI & SZÁNTÓ 2009, 56)
VÂRGHIȘ	beam, board, adobe	1846	1993	“...Baron Miklós WESSELÉNYI married into the DÁNIEL family, gave a plot to the Calvinists that were adrift so far here and there. They built a 7x2 m beam, board, adobe place of worship in 1846, without a tower and a portico. The building was torn down 147 years later because it became unusable.” (MAGYARI & SZÁNTÓ 2009, 56)
ZÁGON	borona, gerenda	1742<	1783	„A falu központjában álló, fagerendákból épült régi templom 1783-ig volt istentiszteleti hely.” (MAGYARI & JUHÁSZ 2011a, 93)
ZAGON	log wall, beam	1742<	1783	“The old church in the centre of the village, built of wooden beams, was a place of worship until 1783.” (MAGYARI & JUHÁSZ 2011a, 93)



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Post-War Interventions  
(1944-1989) in the Central  
Areas of Some Romanian  
Cities. Representative  
Architecture. The Architects

## Intervenții postbelice (1944-1989) în zonele centrale ale unor orașe românești. Arhitectura reprezentativă. Arhitecții

■ **Abstract:** Between 1944 and 1989, the central areas of many Romanian cities were restructured. This resulted in new urban configurations, new buildings, and relatively new aesthetics, as an expression of “their time” (*zeitgeist*). Urban restructuring is closely tied to the political factor, and can hardly be dissociated from the socialist-communist political ideology that was in power throughout this period – reason for which the 1944-1989 time frame (here considered as “post-war”) is often labelled as “communist”, or “socialist”, or “socialist-communist”, or the period of the “communist project” (ZAHARIADE 2011), etc. The political factor was consistently involved in the professional field of architecture and urban planning, in the field of construction works, and in land-use planning. The results were often a compromise between the opinions of the professionals (the architects) and the opinions of the political decision makers (RĂUȚĂ 2013).

From the architectural and urban planning production of the target period, the present article mostly follows the restructuring of central urban areas, the representative architecture that was included in these restructuring works, and the architects that influenced the respective constructive events (usually as designers of the ensembles and of the buildings). The term “representative architecture” indicates a specific category of buildings that have a representative function. These are usually public buildings, such as political-administrative headquarters or so-called houses of culture. When they play a role in the composition of urban ensembles, these usually evolve as focal points and as “VIPs” of the space, enjoying dominant/privileged positions and special architectural treatments.

To some extent, other functions such as theatres, hotels, or department/universal stores can also be included in this category. These buildings would qualify as “special” structures within the encompassing build-

■ **Rezumat:** În intervalul 1944-1989, zonele centrale ale multor orașe românești au fost restructurate, rezultând astfel configurații urbane noi, clădiri noi și o estetică relativ nouă, ca expresie a „timpului său” (*zeitgeist*). Restructurările sunt strâns legate de factorul politic și cu greu pot fi dissociate de ideologia politică de tip socialist-comunist care s-a aflat la putere în toată această perioadă, motiv pentru care perioada 1944-1989 (considerată aici drept „postbelică”) este adesea indicată drept perioada „comunistă”, sau „socialistă”, sau „socialist-comunistă” sau a „proiectului comunist” (ZAHARIADE 2011) etc. Factorul politic s-a implicat consistent în domeniul proiectării de arhitectură și urbanism, în domeniul construcțiilor, în domeniul amenajării teritoriului. Rezultatele au fost adesea un compromis între opiniile profesioniștilor (arhitecți) și cele ale decidenților politici (RĂUȚĂ 2013).

Din producția arhitectural-urbanistică a perioadei vizate, prezenta lucrare urmărește în mod special restructurările de zone centrale din orașe, arhitectura reprezentativă inclusă în aceste restructurări și arhitecții care au influențat evenimentele constructive respective (de obicei din postura de proiectanți ai ansamblurilor și ai clădirilor). Sintagma de „arhitectură reprezentativă” trimite la categoria clădirilor cu funcție de reprezentare, acestea fiind de obicei clădiri publice, precum sedii politico-administrative sau case de cultură. Atunci când participă la compoziția unor ansambluri urbane, acestea evoluează de obicei ca centre de greutate și ca „vedete” ale spațiului, bucurându-se de poziții dominante/privilegiate și de tratări arhitecturale speciale.

Într-o anumită măsură, în această categorie pot fi incluse și funcțiuni precum teatre, hoteluri sau magazine universale. Acestea s-ar califica drept clădiri „speciale” în raport cu fondul ambiental de clădiri (în speță blocuri de locuințe) ce participă la compoziția acestor spații urbane vizate. Adesea, prezența (într-un spațiu) a unei arhitecturi „reprezentative” face ca acel spațiu să tindă și el înspre a fi „reprezentativ”. De obicei, noua arhitectură reprezentativă produsă în perioada 1944-1989 se situează în zona centrală, fiindu-i de principiu asociat un spațiu public deschis, de forma unei piețe. În jurul pieței se desfășoară și alte tipuri de clădiri, precum locuințe colective, care se subordonează (de principiu) arhitecturii reprezentative.

În acest context, arhitecții care semnează astfel de proiecte „reprezentative” de clădiri și ansambluri „reprezentative” tind a fi unii dintre cei mai „reprezentativi” arhitecți ai perioadei. Prezenta lucrare va urmări im-

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plicarea – în câteva exemple de arhitectură reprezentativă postbelică din zonele centrale ale unor orașe românești – a unor arhitecți precum Nicolae PORUMBESCU, Cezar LĂZĂRESCU sau Viorel VOIA.

■ **Cuvinte cheie:** sediu politico-administrativ, centru civic, casă de cultură, magazin universal, hotel, bloc de locuințe

## Introducere

■ Pentru perioada adesea indicată drept postbelică sau comunistă – referindu-se (în principiu) la intervalul de timp cuprins între sfârșitul celui de-al Doilea Război Mondial și Revoluția din 1989 –, „puterea” (de decizie) a arhitecților în cadrul obiectului lor de activitate (arhitectura, ca profesie) este un subiect dificil de abordat. Confrunțați fiind cu imixtiuni consistente ale factorului politic în proiectare, generațiile de arhitecți care au profesat în acest interval sunt adesea stigmatizate pentru rezultatele din domeniu din acea perioadă, la nivel de fond construit, deși puterea lor de decizie a fost adesea subminată de intervenții politice mai mult sau mai puțin dure și aleatoare, de planuri de investiții adesea restrictive (imperativul reducerii costurilor prin tipizare, prefabricare și repetabilitate, de pildă) sau de alte impedimente în calea manifestării creativității și a deciziei de proiectare (conform cu sensul sintagmei șef de proiect). Astfel, conceptul de „drept de autor” a ajuns a fi atât de diluat pentru producția de arhitectură a acestei perioade, încât numele arhitecților care au semnat proiectele sunt rareori cunoscute, menționate sau asumate.

Prezenta lucrare nu își propune să avanseze prea mult în subiectul delicat și complex al relației dintre puterea politică și „consultanța” profesională a arhitecților în perioada socialist-comunistă (1944-1989). Pe acest subiect s-au scris mai multe lucrări remarcabile, astfel că nu se impune reluarea aspectelor deja cercetate și prezentate publicului prin aceste lucrări. De exemplu, cartea intitulată *Arhitectura în proiectul comunist. România 1944-1989* a d-nei prof. univ. dr. arh. Ana Maria ZAHARIADE (2011) atinge o paletă largă de problematici și subiecte ale perioadei, printre care și influențele politicului asupra practicii de arhitectură. Din calitatea sa de martor al perioadei, atât ca student, cât și ca practician, d-na arh. ZAHARIADE punctează, de pildă, evoluția legislației cu impact asupra sectorului construcțiilor, comentând diversele maniere în care arhitectura „răspunde” comenzii politice mai mult sau mai puțin explicite: de la momentul realismului socialist al anilor 1950,<sup>2</sup> trecând prin momentul relativ funcționalist și modernist al anilor 1960<sup>3</sup> și ajungând la aparentul postmodernism cu aer neo-stalinist al anilor 1970 și 1980 (perioada Ceaușescu).<sup>4</sup>

2 Moment aflat în trena politicii constructive din URSS-ul condus de STALIN. În această perioadă, practica de arhitectură din România se realizează sub auspiciile prezenței unor consultanți sovietici (de la Moscova), a unor „recomandări” ale acestora sau a unor proiecte „sosite” tot de la Moscova, cu titlul de recomandare în vederea implementării. În paralel, există o anumită continuitate cu elementele de cultură și practică profesională ale perioadei interbelice.

3 Când principiile realismului socialist (apanaj al stalinismului) sunt combătute de către HRUȘCIOV, succesorul lui STALIN la cărma URSS. Cu un decalaj de câțiva ani, noua politică privind construcțiile și arhitectura din URSS este adoptată și în România. Se trece de la formula „cvartalului” stalinist (ansambluri de înălțime medie, organizate în jurul unor curți interioare, cu fațade ce primesc o anumită doză de decorație aplicată) la formule proprii urbanismului liber și funcționalismului: jocuri de „lame” și „puncte” într-un spațiu verde.

4 Placări de bulevarde (o aparentă „recuperare a străzii”, apropos de postmodernism și de critica urbanismului liber), o nouă conjugare a ideii de „socialism în forme naționale”, revenirea unui anumit decorativism „aplicat” (diferit de „decorativismul fără decorație” al modernismului, unde decorația rezidă în jocul volumetric și nu în ornamentul aplicat) etc.

ing stock (comprising apartment blocks, for instance), as they participate in the composition of these urban spaces. Often, the presence of a piece of “representative” architecture (in a certain urban space) stimulates that space into also acquiring representativeness. Usually, the new representative architecture that was built in the 1944-1989 time frame can be found in the central area, being usually associated with an open public space in the shape of a square. Other buildings unfold around the square, such as collective housing blocks. They are usually subordinated to the representative architecture.

In this context, the architects who author such “representative” designs, comprising “representative” buildings and ensembles, tend to become the most “representative” architects of the period concerned. The article follows the role that some architects – such as Nicolae PORUMBESCU, Cezar LĂZĂRESCU, or Viorel VOIA – played in the emergence of representative architecture in the post-war period, within the restructuring operations that were carried out in the central areas of some Romanian towns.

■ **Keywords:** political-administrative headquarters, civic centre, house of culture, universal store, hotel, housing block

## Introduction

■ When speaking about the period often labelled as post-war or communist – encompassing the time frame between the end of World War II and the 1989 Revolution – the architects’ “power” (of decision) with regard to their object of activity (architecture, as profession) is a difficult topic. Having been confronted with a consistent interference of the political factor in the area of professional design, the generations of architects who were active during this period are often stigmatised for the results in terms of built stock, although their power of decision had been often undermined by political interventions (more or less abrupt and random), by often restrictive development plans (the imperative of cost reduction through typification, prefabrication, and repeatability, for instance), or by other impediments in the way of unhindered creativity and design decision (as related to the meaning of the term lead designer). The notion of “copyright” had thus become so diluted in the area of architectural production at that time that the names of the architects having signed the designs are rarely known, mentioned, or assumed.

The present article will not insist on the problematic and complex topic of the relationship between political power and architects’ professional “consulting” during the socialist-communist era (1944-1989). Many remarkable studies have been written on this topic, so that a possible resumption of the already-researched and -known ideas is not considered a priority for this paper. For example, the book entitled *Arhitectura în proiectul comunist. România 1944-1989* [Architecture in the Communist Project.

Romania 1944-1989), signed by professor architect Ana Maria ZAHARIADE, PhD (2011), tackles a large spectrum of topics and aspects regarding the period, including the influence of political power on architectural practice. From her position as a “witness” during the period, first as student and then as architect, Mrs. ZAHARIADE approaches, for example, the topic of the evolution of legislation with impact on the building sector, commenting on the various ways in which architecture “responded” to the more or less explicit political will: starting with the socialist realism of the 1950s,<sup>2</sup> passing through the relatively functionalist and modernist moment of the 1960s,<sup>3</sup> and ending with the arguable postmodernism (with a curious neo-Stalinist flare) of the 1970s and 1980s (the so-called Ceaușescu era).<sup>4</sup>

Often constrained by harsh targets regarding cost efficiency, and arguably dominated by the political power, the architecture of the concerned period can hardly be advocated, today, by the architects who theoretically “designed” it, as some sort of “expression” of their professional will. Ana Maria ZAHARIADE notices and points out this relative “silence” of the architects with regard to the “achievements” of the era. This situation can be interpreted at the crossroads of various reasons, such as lack of assumption, professional unfulfillment, and even trauma, a somewhat sense of powerlessness, guilt/complicity, etc. (ZAHARIADE 2011, 6-9).

On the other hand, the work of a younger architect, Alex RĂUȚĂ, has a more consistent focus on the relationship between politics and architecture in the communist period, mostly approaching the topic of the civic centre: *Negocierea centrului civic. Arhitecți și politicieni în România secolului XX* [Negotiating the Civic Centre. Architects and Politicians in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Romania] (2013). Probably calling on his father's ex-

Adesea constrânsă de exigențe de economicitate și dominată de sfera politicului, arhitectura perioadei cu greu poate fi susținută, în contemporaneitate, de către arhitecții care au „semnat-o”, ca fiind vreo „expresie” a voinței lor profesionale. Ana Maria ZAHARIADE observă și punctează această relativă „tăcere” a arhitecților în legătură cu „realizările” perioadei. Aceasta s-ar afla la confluența relativă a unei lipse de asumare, a unor traume și neîmpliniri profesionale, a unui sentiment al neputinței sau al vinei/complicității etc. (ZAHARIADE 2011, 6-9).

Pe de altă parte, lucrarea mai tânărului arhitect Alex RĂUȚĂ se focusează mai consistent asupra relației dintre politică și arhitectură în perioada comunistă, cu urmărirea preponderentă a temei centrului civic: *Negocierea centrului civic. Arhitecți și politicieni în România secolului XX* (2013). Făcând probabil apel și la experiența tatălui său, arhitect activ în perioada respectivă, arh. RĂUȚĂ cercetează relații mai detaliate dintre politicieni și arhitecți, făcând apel la o paletă largă de referințe, printre care stenograme de partid, corespondență, decizii politice la nivel național sau local, arhive ale institutelor de proiectare, extrase din presa perioadei etc. Reiese un tablou complex și variat al puterii de influență a factorului politic asupra celui profesional, din zona arhitecturii.

## Cezar LĂZĂRESCU

■ Atât Alex RĂUȚĂ, cât și Ana Maria ZAHARIADE nominalizează anumiți arhitecți mai cunoscuți, mai prolifici și aparent mai „de succes”, care semnează proiecte mai importante, precum planuri de sistematizare, centre civice, remodelări ale zonelor centrale, inserții în zone delicate (centre istorice), construcții speciale sau reprezentative (sedii politico-administrative, case de cultură, magazine universale, hoteluri). De exemplu, arhitectul Cezar LĂZĂRESCU este menționat în numeroase rânduri în raport cu diverse chestiuni, cum ar fi de pildă poziția sa de șef de proiect al amplei operațiuni urbane de remodelare și reconstrucție a zonei centrale a orașului Pitești (așa-numitul centru nou sau centru civic, realizat în anii 1960-1970 cu prețul unor demolări masive) (RĂUȚĂ 2013, 224-251). Este comentată atât relația dintre LĂZĂRESCU și diverși politicieni de prim rang, precum GHEORGHIU-DEJ sau CEAUȘESCU, cât și relația dintre LĂZĂRESCU (un arhitect „de la centru”, de la București) și unii arhitecți locali sau relația dintre diverși activiști de partid și diverși arhitecți (RĂUȚĂ 2013, 224-251).

De asemenea, LĂZĂRESCU este pentru un timp și rector al celei mai importante instituții de învățământ superior din domeniul arhitecturii de pe teritoriul țării, anume Institutul „Ion Mincu” din București. Pe lângă activitatea de proiectare la cel mai înalt nivel, LĂZĂRESCU punctează și în zona literaturii de specialitate, prin mai multe lucrări de referință ale perioadei, printre care *Urbanismul în România*, de pildă. De asemenea, LĂZĂRESCU este „citat” pentru proiectele sale de clădiri speciale, precum modificarea fațadei Teatrului Național București, Aeroportul Otopeni, numeroase construcții hoteliere (pe litoral) și numeroase vile ale „elitei” politice (pe litoral, în București, la Snagov). Foarte interesantă este relatarea, de către Ana Maria ZAHARIADE, a „poveștii centului civic” din București (Casa Poporului, B-dul Victoria Socialismului, toate demolările, toată absurditatea), unde LĂZĂRESCU ar fi jucat un rol principal, fără a ajunge însă a fi șef de proiect. Aparent, sub auspiciile unui comanditar cel puțin capricios (CEAUȘESCU) și în condițiile în care nume sonore din „tabloul arhitecților” se retrăseseră sau fuseseră subminate (Mircea ALIFANTI, Alexandru IOZTU, Octav DOICESCU), poziția de arhitect *princeps* îi este „suflată” lui LĂZĂRESCU de către „surpriza” Anca PETRESCU. (ZAHARIADE 2011, 121-128)

2 A moment that follows the constructive policies of STALIN's USSR. In this period, architectural practice in Romania unfolds under the auspices of the presence of soviet consultants (from Moscow), of some “recommendations” coming from their part, or of some projects “shipped” from Moscow, as recommendations towards implementation. There is also a form of parallel continuity with some elements of culture and professional practice from the interwar period.

3 When the ideas of socialist realism (that are fundamental to Stalinism) are challenged by KHRUSHCHEV, STALIN's successor as leader of the USSR. With a delay of a few years, the new politics regarding architecture in the USSR are also adopted in Romania. The old formula of the Stalinist blocks (“civartals” – middle-height ensembles, organised around a courtyard, with elevations that boast some applied decoration) is abandoned. In its place, the new political power promotes the design features of free urbanism and functionalism: configurations using “dots” and “lines” in a surrounding green space.

4 The “screening” of boulevards (an apparent “recovery of the street”, in the context of postmodernism and the critique of free urbanism), a new vision regarding the idea of “socialism in national forms”, the revival of a form of “applied” decorativism (which is different from the modernist “decorativism without decoration” – where decoration resides in the play of volumes, and not in the applied ornament), etc.

Se poate conchide că Cezar LĂZĂRESCU este unul dintre cei mai importanți arhitecți ai perioadei. Proiectele la care lucrează sunt adesea speciale. Unele dintre acestea vizează zonele centrale ale orașelor (punctul principal de interes al acestei lucrări), cel mai reprezentativ fiind poate cazul de la Pitești. Acolo, din poziția sa de arhitect *princeps*<sup>5</sup>, Cezar LĂZĂRESCU va superviza și proiectarea unora dintre clădirile reprezentative ce compun ansamblul urban central (sediul politico-administrativ, casa de cultură, magazinul universal Trivale), chiar dacă aportul său efectiv (cel puțin pe filieră estetică) cu greu poate fi cuantificat în termeni prea preciși (RĂUȚĂ 2013, 224-251).

De cele mai multe ori, LĂZĂRESCU se află în grațiile puterii, dar există și momente de decădere. De exemplu, de la un fel de „stilist personal” al lui GHEORGHIU-DEJ (după cum îl numește Ana Maria ZAHARIADE), trecând prin proiectarea a numeroase ansambluri urbane și vile de protocol în anii 1960 și 1970, LĂZĂRESCU cade într-o oarecare dizgrație către 1980, doar pentru a reveni rapid în prim-plan cu ocazia proiectului pentru centrul civic din București, unde pare a fi pentru un timp „câștigătorul concursului de idei” (ZAHARIADE 2011, 117-128). Ana Maria ZAHARIADE îl „detectează” pe LĂZĂRESCU atât „în fața scenei”, cu proiectele sale publice de mare vizibilitate, cât și „în spatele scenei”, în zona „ocultă” (termen utilizat de către Ana Maria ZAHARIADE), proiectând reședințe luxoase „secrete” (ce nu sunt cuprinse în planurile economice generale, sustrăgându-se astfel „economiei de resurse”) pentru activul de partid (așa-numita nomenclatură) și chiar pentru președinte (2011, 112-131).

## Nicolae PORUMBESCU

■ O idee mai puțin prolific și mai puțin „vehiculat” decât LĂZĂRESCU, PORUMBESCU este un arhitect aparent mai „subtil”, care lucrează cu elemente de un aparent postmodernism, cu aparente sugestii (în beton) ale unor forme caracteristice arhitecturii tradiționale în lemn – spre deosebire de orientarea destul de fățiș funcționalistă și modernistă a lui LĂZĂRESCU. Astfel, PORUMBESCU este arhitectul „centrului nou” din Satu Mare (foto 1)<sup>6</sup>, unde proiectează atât la scară urbană, ca proiect de sistematizare (echivalentul actual al unui plan urbanistic zonal), cât și la scara obiectului

5 Aici, cuvântul *princeps* este utilizat cu sensul său propriu, de „prim”, fără intenția vreunei aprecieri de ordin valoric. Formularea „arhitect *princeps*” nu își propune a indica vreo formă de „aristocrație” a lui LĂZĂRESCU (principe), ci doar poziția sa de arhitect-șef (arhitect principal, prim).

6 În centrul imaginii (clădirea înaltă, tip „turn”): sediul politico-administrativ. În stânga imaginii (clădirea joasă): casa de cultură. În spatele sediului politico-administrativ se poate întrezări magazinul universal Someșul. Între aceste trei construcții principale se desfășoară piațeta urbană. De jur împrejur, închizând câmpul vizual al pieței: locuințe colective înalte. În partea de jos a imaginii: râul Someș.



■ **Foto 1.** Machetă a centrului nou din Satu Mare. Șef de proiect: arh. Nicolae PORUMBESCU (COSMA 2012)

■ **Photo 1.** Model of the new centre in Satu Mare. Lead designer: architect Nicolae PORUMBESCU (COSMA 2012)

perience as an architectural practitioner during the period, architect RĂUȚĂ investigates some more detailed links between politicians and architects, referencing a wide array of data, such as transcripts of the Communist Party, correspondence, various political decisions (at either national or local level), archives of some design institutes, newspaper excerpts, etc. The end result is a complex and varied picture of the power of influence that the political factor had on the professional one in the field of architectural design.

## Cezar LĂZĂRESCU

■ In their respective works, both Alex RĂUȚĂ and Ana Maria ZAHARIADE cite some of the most prominent, prolific, and apparently most “successful” architects of the era, who authored some of the most important designs of the target period, such as development plans (the so-called systematisations), civic centres, the remodelling of central areas of towns/cities, insertions in some delicate areas (such as historical centres), special constructions, and representative buildings (political-administrative headquarters, houses of culture, universal/department stores, hotels). For example, architect Cezar LĂZĂRESCU is mentioned several times regarding various aspects, such as his role as lead designer of the extended urban operation of remodelling and rebuilding the central area of the city of Pitești (the so-called new centre or civic centre, done in the 1960s and 1970s at the expense of some massive demolition works) (RĂUȚĂ 2013, 224-251). Architect RĂUȚĂ comments on the relationship between LĂZĂRESCU and various high-ranking officials (such as GHEORGHIU-DEJ or CEAUȘESCU), on the relationship between LĂZĂRESCU (an architect coming from the capital city, Bucharest) and various local architects, and also on the relationship between various party activists and architects (2013, 224-251).

Moreover, for a while, LĂZĂRESCU occupied the position of rector at the most important Romanian institution for higher education in the field of architecture, namely the Ion Mincu Institute in Bucharest. Alongside his architectural design activity at national level, LĂZĂRESCU also “scored” in the area of scholarship, with a few highly referenced works regarding the period, such as *Urbanismul în România* [Urbanism in Romania]. LĂZĂRESCU is also cited for his works regarding special buildings, such as the remodelling of the elevation of the National Theatre building in Bucharest, the design of the Otopeni Airport, of numerous hotels (at the seaside), and of many private villas for the use of high-ranking officials (at the seaside, in Bucharest, in the nearby resort town of Snagov). Ana Maria ZAHARIADE’s recollection of the “story of the civic centre” in Bucharest (with the House of the People, the Boulevard of the Victory of Socialism, all the demolitions, all the absurdity) is particularly interesting, with LĂZĂRESCU playing a key role in it,

although not being the lead designer. Apparently, under the auspices of a somewhat whimsical patron (CEAUȘESCU), while a few prominent architects had already quit or had been undermined (Mircea ALIFANTI, Alexandru IOZTU, Octav DOICESCU), LĂZĂRESCU's claim to the position of architect *princeps* ended up being (arguably) "sabotaged" by a "newcomer", i.e. a young female architect, Anca PETRESCU (ZAHARIADE 2011, 121-128).

It can be concluded that Cezar LĂZĂRESCU is one of the most important architects of the era. The designs he was involved in are frequently special. Some of them dealt with central urban areas (the key focus of this article), with the Pitești case probably being the most representative example. There, from his position of architect *princeps*<sup>5</sup>, Cezar LĂZĂRESCU supervised the designing of some representative buildings that make up the central urban ensemble (the political-administrative headquarters, the house of culture, the Trivale Universal Store) – although his actual contribution (at least on an aesthetic ground) is hard to be precisely quantified (RĂUȚĂ 2013, 224-251).

For most of the time, LĂZĂRESCU was on good terms with the political power, but there were also moments of downfall. For instance, from the position of "personal stylist" of GHEORGHIU-DEJ (labelled as such by Ana Maria ZAHARIADE), passing through a period when he was designing numerous urban ensembles and protocol villas (in the 1960s and 1970s), LĂZĂRESCU fell somewhat into disgrace towards the year 1980, only to reclaim centre stage following the start of the design regarding the civic centre of Bucharest, where he seemed to be (at least for a little while) the actual "winner of the design competition" (ZAHARIADE 2011, 117-128). Ana Maria ZAHARIADE "detects" LĂZĂRESCU both "in the foreground" (with his highly visible designs of public spaces and buildings) and "behind the scenes", in what she labels as the "occult realm", designing "secret" residential villas (that are not included in the public funding schemes, therefore bypassing the "economy of resources"). These villas were designed for the political elite (the so-called nomenklatura), and even for the president himself (2011, 112-131).

### Nicolae PORUMBESCU

■ Somewhat less prolific and less "referenced" than LĂZĂRESCU, PORUMBESCU was an apparently more "subtle" architect, who worked with elements of an arguable postmodernism, with apparent suggestions (done in concrete) of some forms that are typical of Romanian traditional timber architecture – whereas LĂZĂRESCU boasted a clear orientation towards modernism

5 Here, the word *princeps* is used in its original sense, as "first", without the intention of an underlying evaluation, related to a potential sense a value. The phrase "architect *princeps*" does not imply some possible form of "aristocracy" regarding LĂZĂRESCU (prince), but only his position as lead designer (first, main architect).



■ Foto 2. Noul ansamblu urban Calea Unirii din Craiova, realizat la scurt timp după cutremurul din 1977. Șef de proiect: arh. Viorel VOIA (RĂDULESCU 1983)

■ Photo 2. The new Unirii Street urban ensemble in Craiova, created shortly after the 1977 earthquake. Lead designer: architect Viorel VOIA (RĂDULESCU 1983)

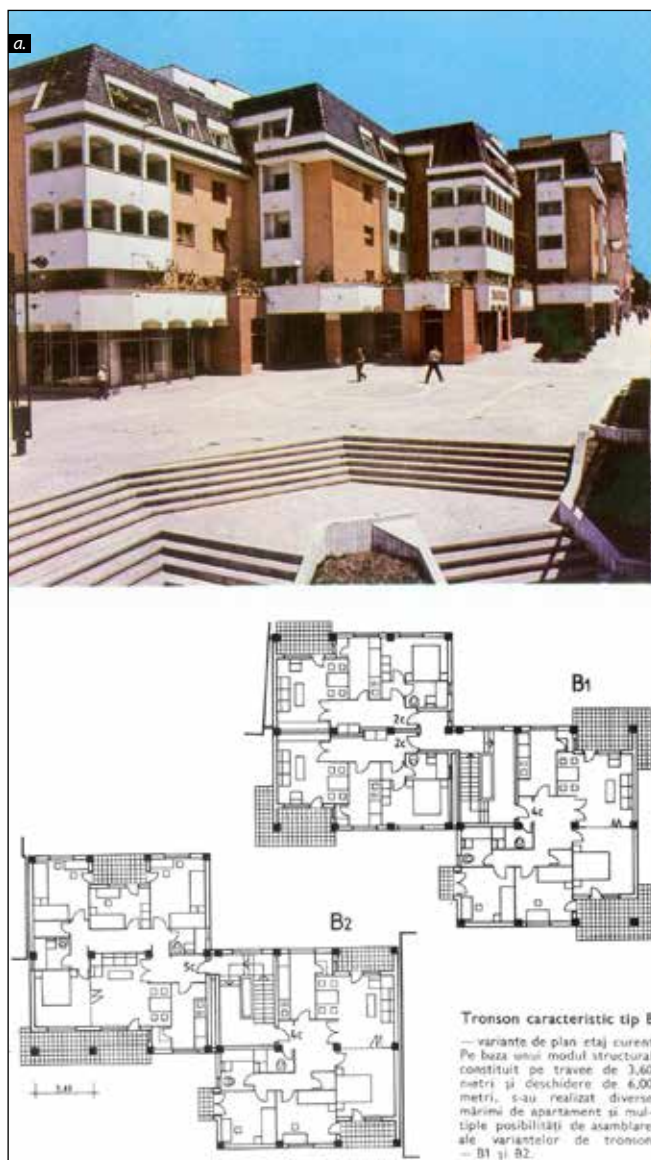
de arhitectură, ca autor sau coautor al unor clădiri ce compun ansamblul urban în cauză (sediul politico-administrativ, casa de cultură, magazinul universal Someșul, blocuri). Tot PORUMBESCU este autorul sediului politico-administrativ din Botoșani, respectiv al caselor de cultură din Suceava și Baia Mare (GRIGOROVSKI 2014). Clădirile sale vehiculează un limbaj arhitectural aparte, nu de puține ori recunoscut pentru anumite „calități”, în care formele moderne (în beton, de obicei tencuit sau placat cu travertin) sugerează forme tradiționale, precum chertările în lemn. Volumele sunt adesea compacte, compoziția fațadelor se apropie de un anumit clasicism (prin exprimarea destul de puternică a împărțirii în travee), iar acoperișurile adoptă adesea forme speciale, ce fac trimitere către LE CORBUSIER (capela de la Ronchamp), Pier Luigi NERVI (Palazzetto dello Sport, Roma) sau arhitectura tradițională românească.

Rezultatul, cel puțin la nivel formal, este un contrast mai atenuat între noile clădiri (postbelice) și mediul construit în care se inserează (centre istorice). Altfel, PORUMBESCU este unul dintre cei câțiva arhitecți ai perioadei comuniste care manifestă o preocupare consistentă și remarcabilă pentru ceea ce s-ar putea numi „filiera identitară” (PORUMBESCU & VAIDA-PORUMBESCU 1967, 12-17). El se înscrie, alături de Mircea ALIFANTI, Constantin JOJA sau Octavian GHEORGHIU, într-un soi de „grup de căutători” ai unor forme cu ecou în zona specificului și a identitarului. Formalismul acesta, deși discutabil, este relevant mai ales pentru chestiunea intervențiilor postbelice în centre istorice, unde contrastul de imagine și formă arhitecturală dintre vechi (antebelic și interbelic) și nou (postbelic) este adesea problematic, atrăgând multe critici contemporane. S-ar putea specula, eventual, în privința unei posibile dimensiuni postmoderne a creației arhitectului PORUMBESCU. Preocuparea sa pentru specific regional, în cheie tradițională, poate fi chiar apreciată drept semnal al unui eventual „regionalism critic”. Altfel, este discutabil (și dificil de evaluat) gradul de conectare al arhitecților perioadei comuniste (printre care se numără și PORUMBESCU) la „modele” estetice ale perioadei pe plan european sau internațional (postmodernism, regionalism critic etc.), având în vedere relativa „închidere” a societății românești în comunism.

## Viorel VOIA

■ La Craiova, aparentul *starchitect* (*star architect*, adică arhitect-vedetă) al perioadei este Viorel VOIA. Singur sau alături de soția sa, Georgeta, Viorel VOIA conduce o mare parte din principalele lucrări ale „proiectului comunist” pe plan arhitectural și urbanistic în centrul Craiovei. Cel mai vizibil proiect al său este probabil reconstrucția (cu blocuri) a Căii Unirii (foto 2)<sup>7</sup>, în preajma anului 1980. Calea Unirii era cea mai importantă arteră comercială a Craiovei la momentul respectiv, alături de str. Lipsșani. Reconstrucția este strâns legată de avariile produse de cutremurul din 1977 – avarii ce au condus la demolări masive atât la Craiova, cât și în multe alte centre urbane. Deși se pierde o parte consistentă de patrimoniu – fronturi stradale animate de unele dintre cele mai remarcabile case negustorești construite în perioada *Belle Époque* – noua înfățișare (comunistă) a Căii Unirii caută parcă o anumită „filiație” cu formele trecutului, în manieră ușor disimulată/subtilă: volumetrii variate și fragmentate, multiple rezalite, intrânduri și console, paletă relativ largă de finisaje (tencuială lisă, tencuială ruгоasă, placă de cărămidă, plăcuțe ceramice de

7 Fotografia este realizată la scurt timp după finalizarea lucrărilor de construire.



■ Fig 1a. Ansamblul urban Calea Unirii din Craiova.

Șef de proiect: arh. Viorel VOIA (RĂDULESCU 1983)

■ Figure 1a. Unirii Street urban ensemble in Craiova.

Lead designer: architect Viorel VOIA (RĂDULESCU 1983)

and functionalism. PORUMBESCU was the architect of the “new centre” of Satu Mare (Photo 1)<sup>6</sup>, where he worked on designs at urban scale, as systematisations (the equivalent of a contemporary development plan), but also at architectural scale, as designer or co-designer of some of the buildings that define the urban ensemble (the political-administrative headquarters, the house of culture, the Someșul Universal Store, apartment blocks). PORUMBESCU is also the architect of the political-administrative headquarters in Botoșani, as he is the architect of the houses of culture in Suceava and Baia Mare (GRIGOROVSKI 2014). His buildings display a special kind of architectural language, often recognised for holding certain qualities, where modern forms (usually built in concrete, with plaster finish or travertine cladding) suggest traditional forms, such as the wooden joints typical of traditional folk architecture. The volumes are often compact, the compositions of the elevations may reach a certain degree of classicism (through the stark expression of dividing into bays), and the roofs often exhibit special forms that reference LE CORBUSIER (with his Ronchamp Chapel), Pier Luigi NERVI (with his Palazzetto dello Sport, Rome), or traditional Romanian architecture.

The end result – at least from a formal point of view – is a lighter/weaker contrast between the new (post-war) buildings and the built environment (such as historical centres). Otherwise, PORUMBESCU is one of the few architects of the era who was consistently and remarkably interested in what can be labelled as the “identity niche” (PORUMBESCU & VAIDA-PORUMBESCU 1967, 12-17). Alongside Mircea ALIFANTI, Constantin JOJA, or Octavian GHEORGHIU, he can be categorised in a “group of searchers” of forms that would echo identity aspects regarding Romanian architecture. This kind of formalism, although debatable, is especially relevant for the issue of post-war interventions within historical centres, where the contrast of architectural forms between old (pre-war and interwar) and new (post-war) is often problematic, making it the subject of extensive contemporary criticism. One can otherwise speculate upon an arguable postmodern feature of architect PORUMBESCU’s work. His concern towards regional-based specificity, regarding tradition, can even be signalled as a possible form of “critical regionalism”. Otherwise, the extent to which the architects of the communist period were actually connected to the aesthetic “models” of their time, at the European or international scale (postmodernism, critical regionalism, etc.) is debatable (and hard to evaluate), as Romanian communist society was arguably (and relatively) a “closed” one.

6 In the centre of the image (the tall, tower-shaped building): the political-administrative headquarters. On the left part of the image (the low-rise building): the house of culture. The Someșul Universal Store can be spotted behind the political-administrative headquarters. The public square stretches between these three main buildings. All around, enclosing the square: high-rise collective housing. To the bottom of the image: the Someș River.

## Viorel VOIA

■ In the city of Craiova, Viorel VOIA was arguably the *starchitect* (*star architect*) of the era. By himself, or alongside his wife Georgeta, he led some of the most important works of the “communist project” in architecture and urban planning in the central area of Craiova. His most visible project was probably the reconstruction (with blocks of flats) of Unirii Street (Photo 2)<sup>7</sup>, around the year 1980. At that time, Unirii Street was the most important commercial street, alongside Lipscani Street, in Craiova. The reconstruction is closely tied to the damage caused by the 1977 earthquake, which led to massive demolition works in Craiova and other urban centres. Although a considerable amount of built heritage was lost – street fronts composed of some of the most remarkable *Belle Époque* merchant houses – the new (communist) look of Unirii Street seems like wanting to find a form of “continuity” with forms of the past, in a somewhat dissimulated/subtle manner: varied and fragmented volumes, multiple jutties, recesses and consoles, a relatively extended palette of exterior finishes (smooth plaster, rough plaster, clinker bricks, ceramic tiles), the use of sub-volumes alongside major volumes (console balconies, bay windows), different types of balconies and loggias, the fragmenting of the continuous fronts with a few passageways (that conserve the trails of the old commercial streets), etc. (Photo 2 and Figure 1<sup>8</sup>).

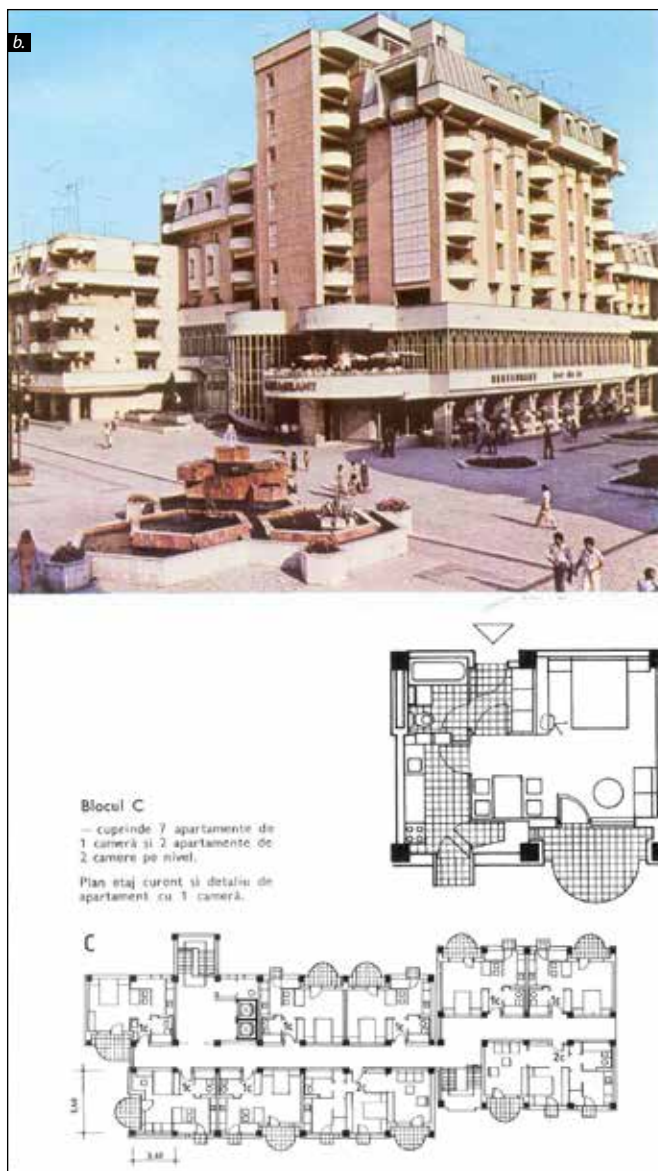
On the other hand, architect Georgeta VOIA signs the design for the Madona Dudu Housing Block – a small and compact group of high-rise apartment buildings built in the central area, as a sequel to her husband’s Unirii Street ensemble. Somewhat similar to the latter, the Madona Dudu ensemble also exhibits fragmented and varied volumes, diverse finishes, and an overall sense of “quality” – which transcends the usual “cheap” impression of most communist (post-war) “heritage” elements. As 10-mark<sup>9</sup> graduates of the Ion Mincu Institute in Bucharest, and students of Octav DOICESCU, architects Viorel and Georgeta VOIA enjoyed a form of local professional prestige, also being distinguished with a few architecture prizes.

In a 2014 interview, Viorel VOIA declared: “I repeat and I state with all possible responsibility, be it civic, moral, or professional, that the design works and then the built works that were carried out in the centre of Craiova after the 1977 earthquake were not imposed by Ceauşescu, or other local politicians.” CEAUŞESCU would have had no comments to make regarding the design, his only words being: “Let the construction works begin!”

<sup>7</sup> The photograph was taken shortly after the end of the construction works.

<sup>8</sup> Photographs taken shortly after the end of the construction works (top) and floor plans (bottom). Top-right: the Doljana apartment block, with the Doljana Restaurant (ground floor and mezzanine).

<sup>9</sup> Highest mark in the Romanian grading system. [Transl. note]



■ Fig. 1b. Ansamblul urban Calea Unirii din Craiova.  
Şef de proiect: arh. Viorel VOIA (RĂDULESCU 1983)

■ Figure 1b. Unirii Street urban ensemble in Craiova.  
Lead designer: architect Viorel VOIA (RĂDULESCU 1983)

înelitoare), animarea volumelor majore cu sub-volum (balcoane în consolă, bovindouri), diverse tipologii de balcoane, front continuu străpuns de câteva circulații de tip „gang” (care conservă traseele vechilor străzi comerciale dezafectate) etc. (foto 2 și fig. 1<sup>8</sup>).

Pe de altă parte, Georgeta VOIA semnează proiectul pentru ansamblul de locuințe Madona Dudu – un ansamblu de locuințe colective înalte amplasate tot în zona centrală, în continuarea și în proximitatea proiectului ansamblului Calea Unirii. Pe undeva similar cu acesta din urmă, ansamblul Madona Dudu vehiculează volumetrii de asemenea variate și fragmentate, finisaje diverse și un anumit aer de „calitate” ce depășește impresia frecventă de „economic” a numeroaselor elemente de „patrimoniu” comunist-postbelic. Absolvenți ai Institutului Ion Mincu din București cu media 10 și studenți ai lui Octav DOICESCU, arhitecții VOIA s-au bucurat de un anumit prestigiu local, fiind distinși cu mai multe premii.

Într-un interviu în 2014, arhitectul Viorel VOIA declara următoarele: „Repet, afirm cu toată responsabilitatea civică, morală și profesională că

<sup>8</sup> Fotografii realizate la scurt timp după finalizarea lucrărilor (sus) și planuri de arhitectură (jos). Dreapta-sus: blocul Doljana, cu restaurantul Doljana (dezvoltat pe parter și mezanin).





■ Fig. 2. Planul de sistematizare al centrului Craiovei din 1982. Șef de proiect: arh. Viorel VOIA (Arhitectura nr. 1982/3, 27)

■ Figure 2. Systematisation plan of the central area of Craiova, 1982. Lead designer: architect Viorel VOIA (Arhitectura nr. 1982/3, 27)

lucrările de proiectare și apoi lucrările executate în centrul Craiovei după cutremurul din martie 1977 nu au fost impuse de Ceaușescu și nici de alți demnitari locali.” CEAUȘESCU nu ar fi avut observații de făcut la prezentarea proiectului, singurele lui cuvinte fiind: „Treceți imediat la treabă!” (JIANU 2014). Afirmatia lui VOIA este interesantă din perspectiva noii arhitecturi de pe Calea Unirii – aparent un proiect „de autor” al lui Viorel VOIA (ca șef de proiect) și al echipei sale de proiectare, care ar fi avut așadar o putere de decizie aparent neîngrădită. Pe de altă parte, aceeași afirmație este oarecum șocantă în condițiile în care, ulterior, planul de sistematizare din 1982 (condus de același Viorel VOIA, din postura de șef de proiect, vezi fig. 2) prevedea demolarea aproape integrală a centrului istoric al Craiovei, cu apariția a două mari piațete urbane: una în fața Palatului Universității (preponderent nerealizată) și alta în fața Palatului Administrativ (preponderent realizată) (Arhitectura nr. 1982/3, 27-31). Pentru piațeta din fața Palatului Administrativ (actuala prefectură, arh. Petre ANTONESCU, stil neoromânesc), Viorel VOIA proiectase și o casă de cultură, care nu a mai ajuns însă a fi construită (JIANU 2014). În momentul de față, spațiul respectiv este amenajat ca parc, în fața magazinului universal

(JIANU 2014). VOIA’s statements are interesting with a view to the new architecture of Unirii Street – therefore (arguably) an “authorship” design of Viorel VOIA (as lead designer) and his design team, who would have had a seemingly unimpeded decision-making power. On the other hand, the statement is surprising, as the 1982 systematisation plan for the central area (also led by Viorel VOIA, as lead designer, see Figure 2) provided that the historical centre of Craiova be demolished almost completely, with the subsequent emergence of two large public squares: one of them in front of the University Palace (largely unfinished), and the other one in front of the Administrative Palace (largely finished) (Arhitectura nr. 1982/3, 27-31). For the square in front of the Administrative Palace (today’s prefecture building, architect Petre ANTONESCU, Neo-Romanian style), Viorel VOIA had

also designed a house of culture, which was not built (JIANU 2014). Today, the space is organised as a park, in front of Mercur Universal Store (a multi-phase project). The house of culture “is missing”.

As one can see by examining Figure 2, at least, the designs for the restructuring and reconstruction (with the inherent demolitions) were massive for Craiova’s historical centre, but most of them did not exceed the design phase. Approximately 70-80% of the city centre’s total area was planned to be demolished, only sparing the post-war buildings, and just a few of the older ones (the major historic buildings, a few churches). As replacement buildings, the design considered mostly blocks of flats, plus the two new public squares. The square in front of the University Palace was planned to accommodate a new political-administrative building – making it a possible civic centre. The other public square would have been defined by the old political-administrative building (today’s prefecture building, architect Petre ANTONESCU, a Neo-Romanian-style historic building), by the Mercur Universal Store, by the Nicolae Bălcescu High School building, and by a row of housing blocks. Within this square, as counterweight to Petre ANTONESCU’s “Neo-Romanian”, the house of culture was planned to emerge. Otherwise, the whole old commercial area called Lipscani had been condemned to utter demolition. Fortunately maybe, most of the Lipscani area survived, and is now playing a significant role within the city’s architectural and urbanistic quest for expressing its personality and heritage.

Alongside VOIA, other successful architects can also be tracked in Craiova during the era concerned. One of them would be Alexandru IOTZU, the son of Constantin IOTZU (himself a disciple of the largely acclaimed architect Ion MINCU). Alexandru IOTZU was the architect of the widely appreciated building of the Craiova National Theatre (TULBURE s.a.) – indeed a case of “representative” architecture, monumental although not overwhelming, that exhibits a special and varied composition of volumes (Photo 3). In spite of its communist origins, the theatre building has earned its status as one of Craiova’s landmarks. Its success can be (quite) easily attributed to the qualities that stem from its architectural aesthetics.

### “Authorship” architecture or “design team”? Other architects

■ Up to this point, the article has cited a few well-known names from the professional field of architecture during the post-war/communist/socialist-communist period. Other representative works had been otherwise authored by lesser-known architects. For example, the political-administrative headquarters from Iași is attributed to architect Nicolae VERICEANU. At the time of its design – a building with a prominent location in the city centre, having been “implanted” at the beginning of Ștefan cel Mare Street, close to the Palace of Culture – ar-

Mercur (un proiect realizat în două etape constructive). Casa de cultură „lipsește”.

După cum se poate remarca, cel puțin din descifrarea figurii 2, planurile de restructurare și de reconstrucție (cu demolările inerente) au fost așadar masive la Craiova, însă au rămas în mare parte nerealizate. Centrul orașului ar fi urmat să fie demolat în proporție de circa 70-80%, păstrându-se construcțiile postbelice și doar câteva clădiri vechi (marile monumente, câteva biserici). În locul clădirilor planificate pentru demolare ar fi apărut ansambluri de locuințe colective, plus aceste două piațete urbane noi. Cea din fața clădirii universității ar fi „acomodat” un nou sediu politico-administrativ și un hotel – ceea ce ar fi transformat-o, probabil, într-un fel de centru civic. Cea de-a doua piațetă ar fi fost încadrată de vechiul sediu politico-administrativ (actuala prefectură, arh. Petre ANTONESCU, monument istoric în stil neoromânesc), de magazinul universal Mercur, de Liceul Nicolae Bălcescu și de un front de clădiri preponderent destinate locuirii. În cuprinsul acestei piațete, drept contrapondere la „neoromânescul” lui Petre ANTONESCU, ar fi trebuit să se afirme casa de cultură. Altfel, întreaga zonă comercială veche (așa-zisa lipscănie) fusese condamnată la demolare totală. Din fericire probabil, o mare parte din lipscănie a supraviețuit, contribuind momentan la tabloul de specificitate arhitectural-urbanistică a orașului.

Alături de VOIA, pe plan craiovean se remarcă și alți arhitecți, printre care Alexandru IOTZU, fiul lui Constantin IOTZU (discipol al lui MINCU). Acesta semnează proiectul de arhitectură al mult apreciatului edificiu al Teatrului Național Craiova (TULBURE s.a.) – o arhitectură într-adevăr „representativă”, monumentală fără a fi „apăsătoare”, ce vehiculează o volumetrie specială, variată (foto 3). În ciuda originii sale comuniste, clădirea teatrului a ajuns a fi o emblemă a Craiovei. Succesul său poate fi cu ușurință pus pe seama calităților din zona plasticii arhitecturale.



■ Foto 3. Teatrul Național din Craiova (carte poștală), arh. Alexandru IOTZU (TULBURE s.a.)

■ Photo 3. Craiova National Theatre building (postcard), architect Alexandru IOTZU (TULBURE s.a.)

## Arhitectură „de autor” sau „colectiv de proiectare”? Alți arhitecți

■ Până acum, articolul de față a vehiculat câteva dintre numele mai sonore ale practicii de arhitectură din perioada postbelică/comunistă/socialist-comunistă. Alte manifestări ale „arhitecturii reprezentative” au fost semnate însă și de arhitecți mai puțin cunoscuți. De exemplu, sediul politico-administrativ de la Iași este atribuit arhitectului Nicolae VERICEANU. La momentul proiectării acestuia – o clădire cu o poziție importantă în oraș, „implantată” la începutul străzii Ștefan cel Mare, dinspre Palatul Culturii

–, arhitectul VERICEANU era proaspăt absolvent. Din dificultățile relației cu autoritățile, arhitectul relatează: „A fost ceva să încredințeze o lucrare atât de importantă, pe un amplasament atât de central, unui tânăr de abia ieșit din facultate. Toți ziceau să fie înaltă dar am ținut cu dinții la macheta mea de parter și două etaje. Am făcut cum au vrut ei și una de p+3, dar când m-am dus la Ceaușescu am amestecat hîrțile ca să nu o vadă», povestește arhitectul înroșindu-se la față. Spune mîndru că dacă ar fi făcut Casa Pătrată de trei etaje nu s-ar mai fi văzut în spate Biserica Trei Ierarhi, ar fi luat din importanța impunătoare a Palatului, a Bisericii Sfîntul Nicolae Domnesc. «Nu puteam face asta. Dar a ieșit bine, am făcut prispa după o arhitectură fărănească, am lăsat spațiile verzi unde am băgat proiectoare luate de la Galați, proiectoare navale, nu minuni din astea cu halogen. [...] După '89 nu a vrut unul să mai pună o scîndură pe ea, ca să nu creadă că au rămas comuniști că aia era casa partidului. Niște prostii.» (HOPULELE 2013)

Pe de altă parte, șeful de proiect al sistematizării Pieței Unirii din Iași și arhitect al Hotelului Unirea, este Gheorghe HUSSAR – aceasta după ce Piața Unirii făcuse obiectul mai multor planuri de sistematizare, în mai multe variante, și chiar a unui concurs de arhitectură (*Arhitectura* nr. 1961/1, 1959/4). Altfel, majoritatea proiectelor perioadei (inclusiv planuri de sistematizare și proiecte de arhitectură ale unor clădiri reprezentative) sunt atribuite unor echipe compuse din câțiva arhitecți. Ana Maria ZAHARIADE comentează asupra faptului că aceste echipe pot ascunde grade de implicare uneori surprinzătoare ale membrilor lor arhitecți, anume situații în care cel mai consistent aport să nu îl aibă șeful de proiect, ci unul dintre membrii echipei de proiectare – ceea ce face cu atât mai dificilă asumarea post-comunistă a proiectului, din perspectiva ideii de „drept de autor” (ZAHARIADE 2011, 29-30).

Un alt caz interesant – din mai multe puncte de vedere relevante pentru subiectul prezentului articol – este cel de la Galați. Aici, operațiunea urbană de remodelare a zonei centrale (foto 4)<sup>9</sup> se concretizează în preajma anului 1960. Aria afectată este consistentă. Atât nucleul zonei centrale (Piața Regală și spațiul urban din preajma sa), cât și vechea zonă portuară (str. Portului și împrejurimi) sunt înlocuite cu un spațiu urban nou, compus preponderent din blocuri (locuințe colective). Dotările publice, specifice unei zone centrale, sunt relativ rare. Situl aferent vechii Piețe Regale, de pildă, devine un spațiu urban compus preponderent din blocuri, în care singurele funcțiuni diferite sunt două hoteluri (unul de tip „lamă” și altul de tip „turn”), plus câteva spații comerciale, la parterul unor blocuri. Ponderea locuirii colective este masivă.

9 Dreapta-sus: piațeta urbană, cu cele două hoteluri. Jos: faleză Dunării. Între piațeta urbană și faleză se desfășoară o alee pietonală, străjuită de blocuri+turn. Dreapta: o funcțiune culturală (cel mai probabil o casă de cultură).



■ **Foto 4.** Macheta variantei 1959 a proiectului de sistematizare a zonei centrale, Galați. Colectiv de proiectare: Victor SEBESTEYEN, Constantin FRUMUZACHE et al. (Biblioteca digitală...)

■ **Photo 4.** Model of the systematisation plan for the central area of Galați, version from 1959. Design team: Victor SEBESTEYEN, Constantin FRUMUZACHE, et al. (Biblioteca digitală...)

chitect VERICEANU was a recent graduate. Talking about the difficulties of working with the authorities, VERICEANU narrates: “It was something worth noting that they decided to give such an important work on such a central site to a fresh graduate of the faculty. They all wanted it to be tall, but I kept on advocating for my model with a ground floor and just two upper floors. I also made one with ground floor and three upper storeys, as they wanted, but I mixed the papers when I went to the meeting with Ceaușescu, so he wouldn’t notice’, the architect recalls while blushing. He proudly says that, if the Square House had been built with three upper stories, that would have obstructed the view towards the Three Hierarchs Church, minimising the importance of the Palace of Culture and of the Saint Nicholas Princely Church. ‘I couldn’t have done such a thing. But it turned out well, in the end. I made a porch based on traditional folk architecture. I left the green areas untouched, where I installed some spotlights from Galați. These were naval spotlights, not these halogen-powered marvels of today. [...] After 1989, no one would ever put another board on it. They said the people would believe that they had remained communist, as that was the house of the Communist Party. Rubbish!’” (HOPULELE 2013)

On the other hand, also in Iași, the lead designer of the systematisation of Unirii Square (and also of the Unirea Hotel) is Gheorghe HUSSAR – after Unirii Square had previously been the subject of several other systematisation plans and studies, including an architecture contest (*Arhitectura* nr. 1961/1, 1959/4). Otherwise, most of the era’s design projects (including systematisation plans and designs of representative buildings) have been attributed to design teams, composed of a few architects. Ana Maria ZAHARIADE comments on the fact that these teams can sometimes hide different (and surprising) levels of implication coming from the part of the architects involved, such as situations in which the lead designer is not actually leading the design process, this being done by another member of the team – making it even more difficult for “assuming” the communist-era buildings in post-communism, from the point of view of the idea of “design rights” (copyright) (ZAHARIADE 2011, 29-30).

Another interesting case – relevant for the present article’s topic from several points of view – is that of the city of Galați. Here, the remodelling of the central area (Photo 4)<sup>10</sup> happened around the year 1960. The affected area is consistent. Both the core of the central area (the Royal Square and its surrounding urban space) and the old harbour area (Harbour Street and surrounding area) were replaced with a new urban space that was mainly composed of

10 Top-right of the image: the new urban square, with the two hotels. Bottom: the Danube River (shoreline/cliffs). Between the urban square and the Danube there is a pedestrian street, flanked by high-rise apartment buildings. Right: a cultural building (most probably a house of culture).

apartment buildings (collective housing). Public facilities, otherwise specific to central areas, became relatively rare. The site of the former Royal Square, for instance, was transformed into an apartment block area, where the only different functions are two hotels (a “blade-type” hotel, and a “tower-type” one), plus some commercial spaces, at the ground floor of some of the apartment blocks. The share of collective housing became massive. The public and commercial atmosphere of the pre-war and interwar space was abruptly changed to an atmosphere of socialist mass housing. At eye level, considering a promenade, the sensation of actually passing through a “city centre” is diluted. Rather, the atmosphere of a common housing estate (composed of apartment blocks) becomes dominant.

On the other hand, the new centre of Galați – a relatively large city both at that time, but especially afterwards, following the construction of the steel factory and of the satellite working-class neighbourhoods – is one of the first urban operations of this kind to be done in communist Romania, at this scale. Moreover, it is one of the first examples of free urbanism in the central areas of Romanian cities, at this scale. Although the massive share of collective housing is somewhat unspecific to city centres, the new urban space sometimes receives recognition for a degree of quality related to its design and implementation, following a functionalist approach. Being signed by the dual team of architects made up of Victor SEBESTEYEN and Constantin FRUMUZACHE (the same team that was also active in the design of the Țiglina residential neighbourhood (*Arhitectura* nr. 1956/11, 1959/4, 1962/2), namely one of the first working-class residential neighbourhoods to be developed according to the principles of free urbanism in Romania), the design for the central area of Galați is frequently cited as a role model for future similar urban operations, corresponding to the new paradigm of the post-Stalinist free urbanism of the 1960s (as opposed to the socialist realism of the 1950s). An important aspect that should not be overlooked is the destruction of the built environment due to the heavy bombings that happened in Galați in World War II, when the central and harbour area were severely damaged. Therefore, the need for a (relatively quick) reconstruction of the affected area is understandable. For this reason, the scenario of heritage demolition inside city centres – a frequent situation at national level, for the study period – can be less justified here, in Galați.

Scientific coordinator: arch. Mihaela Ioana Maria AGACHI

Atmosfera publică și comercială a spațiului antebelic și interbelic se schimbă, abrupt, într-una de locuire de masă, socialistă. La nivelul ochiului, în contextul unei promenade, senzația de parcurgere a unui „spațiu central” se estompează... Mai degrabă, atmosfera unui cartier de locuințe ajunge a fi dominantă.

Pe de altă parte, centrul nou din Galați – un oraș relativ mare, la vremea respectivă, cât mai ales ulterior, după construcția combinatului siderurgic și a numeroaselor cartiere muncitorești aferente – este una dintre primele astfel de operațiuni, la această scară, ce se realizează în perioada comunistă. De asemenea, este și unul dintre primele exemple de urbanism liber în zonă centrală, pe teritoriul României, la această scară. Deși ponderea masivă a locuirii colective este pe undeva nespecifică pentru o zonă centrală, noul spațiu urban este uneori recunoscut pentru o anumită calitate a proiectării și a realizării lui, în cheie funcționalistă. Semnat fiind de către echipa Victor SEBESTEYEN – Constantin FRUMUZACHE [aceeași echipă care lucrează și la proiectul cartierului Țiglina (*Arhitectura* nr. 1956/11, 1959/4, 1962/2), adică unul dintre primele cartiere realizate în țară după principiile urbanismului liber], proiectul zonei centrale din Galați este de asemenea citat, frecvent, drept model pentru viitoare operațiuni similare, conform cu noua paradigmă șazecistă a urbanismului liber post-stalinist (rupțura de realismul socialist al anilor '50). Nu trebuie trecute cu vederea nici bombardamentele masive din cel de-al Doilea Război Mondial din Galați, când zona centrală și cea portuară sunt grav avariate. Astfel, necesitatea reconstrucției (relativ rapide) a arealului afectat este de înțeles. Din acest motiv, scenariul demolărilor de valori arhitecturale în zonă centrală – destul de frecvent la nivel național, pentru perioada în studiu – se justifică mai puțin aici, la Galați.

Coordonator științific: arh. Mihaela Ioana Maria AGACHI

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## In memoriam Michael PETZET

(† May 29, 2019)

(† 29 mai 2019)

(† 2019. május 29.)

■ Professor Michael PETZET, PhD (1933-2019) passed away unexpectedly on Wednesday, May 29, 2019. He was a world-renowned specialist in the preservation of historic buildings and sites. He was General Conservator of Bavaria between 1974 and 1999, President of the German National Committee of ICOMOS (1988-2012), and President of ICOMOS International (1999-2008).

Between 1951 and 1958, PETZET studied art history, archaeology, and history at the universities in Munich and Paris. His doctoral thesis was a monograph on the Louvre Palace. After his doctoral studies, he worked at the records department of the Bavarian State Office for Monument Protection and at the Bavarian Administration of Palaces, Gardens and Lakes for several years. His interest, understanding, and commitment to modern, as well as contemporary art, and to young artists pushed him to organise (together with his wife, Detta, † 2012, scenographer) a number of successful art exhibitions. As a result, in 1971 he was appointed director of the famous Lenbachhaus modern art gallery in Munich. After his appointment as General Conservator of Bavaria in 1974, he dedicated himself to the issue of protection and preservation of historic buildings and sites with the same commitment and professional rigour, considering the principles of preservation not

■ Neașteptat s-a stins din viață în ziua de miercuri, 29 mai 2019, domnul prof. dr. Michael PETZET (1933-2019), specialist în conservarea monumentelor și siturilor de renume mondial, Conservator General al Bavariei între 1974-1999, fost președinte al Comitetului Național German ICOMOS (1988-2012) și fost președinte ICOMOS Internațional (1999-2008).

Între 1951 și 1958, PETZET a studiat istoria artei, arheologie și istorie la universitățile din München și Paris, teza lui de doctorat fiind o lucrare monografică despre palatul Louvre. După doctorat, a lucrat câțiva ani în secția de evidență a Direcției Monumentelor din Bavaria și în Administrația Palatelor și Grădinilor Publice ale statului Bavarez. Interesul, înțelegerea și angajamentul pentru arta modernă, dar și contemporană, și pentru artiștii tineri l-au motivat să organizeze (împreună cu soția lui, Detta, † 2012, scenografă) nenumărate expoziții de artă cu succes, drept care, în 1971, a fost numit director al faimoasei galerii de artă modernă Lenbachhaus din München. După numirea lui în postul de Conservator General al Bavariei în 1974, cu același angajament și seriozitate profesională, a început să se ocupe de problematica protecției și conservării monumentelor și siturilor istorice, reflectând asupra principiilor de conservare (sau „prezervare”) nu doar în tradiția germană, ci în cea europeană și internațională.

■ 2019. május 29-én, szerdán váratlanul hunyt el dr. Michael PETZET professzor (1933–2019), a műemlékek és műemléki helyszínek megőrzésében tevékenykedő világhírű szakember, aki 1974–1999 között Bajorország műemlékvédelmi főgondnoka volt, valamint az ICOMOS Német Nemzeti Bizottság (1988–2012) és az ICOMOS International egykori elnöke (1999–2008).

1951 és 1958 között végezte művészettörténeti, régészeti és történelmi tanulmányait a müncheni és a párizsi egyetemeken, monográfiászerű doktori dolgozatát pedig a Louvre-palotáról írta. Doktori tanulmányai után néhány évet a bajor Műemlékvédelmi Igazgatóság műemlék-nyilvántartási osztályán, illetve a bajor Állami Kastélyok, Kertek és Tavak Igazgatóságának szolgálatában töltött. A modern, de a kortárs művészet illetve az ifjú művészek iránti érdeklődése, ezek megértése és az irántuk tanúsított elkötelezettsége arra készítette, hogy feleségével, Dettával együtt (díszlettervező, † 2012) számos sikeres kiállítást szervezzenek, ezeknek köszönhetően pedig 1971-ben ő lett a híres müncheni Lenbachhaus modern művészeti múzeum igazgatója. Amikor 1974-ben Bajorország műemlékvédelmi főgondnokává nevezték ki, ugyanazzal az elkötelezettséggel és szakmai komolysággal kezdett el foglalkozni a műemlékek és a történeti helyszínek megőrzésének és védelmének a kérdésével, valamint műemlékvédelmi elveiben nem kizárólag a német, hanem az



■ Vizită la Roșia Montană. Din stânga spre dreapta Virgil APOSTOL, Ștefan BĂLICI și Michael PETZET © Christoph MACHAT  
 ■ Visit to Roșia Montană. From left to right Virgil APOSTOL, Ștefan BĂLICI, and Michael PETZET © Christoph MACHAT  
 ■ Verespataki látogatás. Balról jobbra: Virgil APOSTOL, Ștefan BĂLICI és Michael PETZET © Christoph MACHAT

only in the German tradition, but also in the European and international ones. His belief that critical discourse should be made available to the general public materialised in a number of publications, books, articles, and scientific papers. It is to be noted that, after his election as President of ICOMOS Germany in 1988, he founded the publication series called “ICOMOS – Journals of the German National Committee”, which reached its 67<sup>th</sup> issue in 2019. It is worth mentioning that the first volume, issued in 1990, is entitled *ICOMOS pro Romania*. This issue was the catalogue of the itinerant exhibition of ICOMOS International, dedicated to the urban planning policy in socialist Romania, opened in 1989 in Paris. After his election as President of ICOMOS International in 1999, he did not limit himself to only reorganising the activities of

Convingerea sa că discursul critic trebuie pus la dispoziție publicului larg s-a articulat prin nenumărate publicații, cărți, articole și comunicări științifice. Este semnificativ faptul că, după alegerea domniei sale ca președinte ICOMOS Germania în 1988, a înființat seria de publicații „ICOMOS – Caiete ale Comitetului Național German”, care a ajuns, în 2019, la numărul LXVII. Este demn de menționat că primul volum, apărut în 1990, poartă titlul *ICOMOS pro Romania*, fiind catalogul expoziției itinerante ICOMOS Internațional, dedicată politicii de sistematizare a României socialiste, deschisă în 1989 la Paris. După alegerea ca președinte ICOMOS Internațional în anul 1999, el nu a restructurat doar activitățile comitetului executiv, înființând grupul de lucru pentru problemele patrimoniului cultural mondial al convenției UNESCO din 1972 și pane-

europai és a nemzetközi hagyományok is nyomon követhetőek voltak. Azon meggyőződését, hogy a kritikai szemléletnek a nyilvánosság körében is elérhetőnek kell lennie számos kiadványában, könyvében, cikkében és szakmai rendezvényeken is kifejtette. Figyelemreméltó, hogy 1988 után – amikor a németországi ICOMOS elnöke lett – létrehozta az „ICOMOS – A Német Nemzeti Bizottság füzetei” kiadványsorozatot, amely 2019-ben már a LXVII. számnál tart. Azt is meg kell említenünk, hogy az 1990-ben megjelent első kötet címe *ICOMOS pro Romania* volt, amely az 1989-ben Párizsban megnyílt szocialista Románia településrendezési politikájáról szóló nemzetközi ICOMOS vándorkiállítás katalógusa lett. Miután 1999-ben a nemzetközi ICOMOS elnöke lett, nemcsak hogy átszervezte a végrehajtó bizottság tevékenységét, hanem létrehozta az 1972. évi UNESCO egyezményben rögzített kulturá-

the executive committee, as he set up the working group for world cultural heritage-related issues within the UNESCO Convention of 1972, as well as the expert panel for the study of dossiers and for issuing recommendations to the UNESCO World Committee. In a context of repeated destructions of heritage worldwide, caused by either natural or anthropic catastrophes, he established and published the first volume of the international series "Heritage at Risk. ICOMOS World Report on Monuments and Sites in Danger" already in 2000. This series also included contributions from Romania over the years. When the Roșia Montană affair was very topical and debated at international level, he did not hesitate to make the effort to come on site in 2007 (on the occasion of the ICOMOS Europe meeting in Sibiu, European Capital of Culture), in the company of Ștefan BĂLICI and Virgil APOSTOL (credit photo to Christoph MACHAT). His concern for the state of preservation of historic buildings already on the world list made him organise the first working group for the preventive monitoring of UNESCO sites in Germany within the German ICOMOS Committee. This activity was further undertaken by other national committees.

It is certain that such an active personality, with the highest professional demands, could not please everybody. His response to the tendencies to overlook the traditions materialised in principles, for which he had fought all his life, is reflected in his *International Principles of Preservation*, published in 2010 in Cluj-Napoca with the contribution of colleagues from ICOMOS Romania. In this spirit, we shall ensure continuity for his ideas and projects, such as the publishing of the "Heritage at Risk" series (consigned to the author of these lines in 2008) or the preventive monitoring of the sites on the UNESCO List.

Christoph MACHAT

lul de experți pentru studiul dosarelor și elaborarea recomandărilor către Comitetul Mondial UNESCO. Față de distrugerile repetate ale patrimoniului la nivel mondial, cauzate fie de catastrofe ale naturii, fie ale omului, a înființat și publicat deja în anul 2000 primul volum al seriei internaționale „Heritage at Risk. ICOMOS World Report on Monuments and Sites in Danger”, care în decursul anilor a cuprins și contribuții din România. Când problematica Roșiei Montane era foarte actuală și discutată la nivel internațional, el nu a ezitat să facă efortul de a veni la fața locului în 2007 (cu ocazia simpozionului ICOMOS Europa la Sibiu, Capitala Culturală a Europei), fiind însoțit de Ștefan BĂLICI și Virgil APOSTOL (fotografia Christoph MACHAT). Iar grija pentru starea de conservare a monumentelor înscrise deja pe lista mondială l-a îndemnat să organizeze la nivelul comitetului german ICOMOS primul grup de lucru pentru monitorizarea preventivă a siturilor UNESCO din Germania, activitate ce ulterior a fost preluată și de alte comitete naționale.

Fără îndoială o personalitate atât de activă, cu exigența celui mai înalt nivel profesional, nu a putut fi pe placul tuturor. Răspunsul lui față de tendințele de a ignora tradițiile întruchipate de principii, pentru care a luptat o viață întreagă, se găsește în acele *Principii Internaționale ale Prezervării*, publicate în 2010 la Cluj-Napoca grație colegilor ICOMOS din România. În acest spirit vom continua cele inițiate și începute de domnia sa, precum editarea seriei „Heritage at Risk” (încredințată autorului acestor rânduri în 2008) sau monitorizarea preventivă a siturilor înscrise pe lista UNESCO.

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lis világörökséggel kapcsolatos kérésekkel foglalkozó munkacsoportot is, továbbá pedig megszervezte az ügyek tanulmányozásával, illetve az UNESCO világbizottságnak javaslatokat előterjesztő szakbizottságot. Az örökséggel szemben világszerte ismételtlen akár a természeti katasztrófák vagy az ember által elkövetett pusztításokra reagálva, PETZET már 2000-ben létrehozta és közölte a „Heritage at Risk. ICOMOS World Report on Monuments and Sites in Danger” című nemzetközi kiadványsorozat első kötetét, amely az évek folyamán romániai írásokat is tartalmazott. Amikor a verespataki kérdés aktuális illetve világszerte hevesen vitatott volt, mindent megtett, hogy 2007-ben eljöhessen a helyszínre (a Nagyszében, Európa kulturális fővárosa kapcsán rendezett ICOMOS Európa konferencia alkalmából), Ștefan BĂLICI és Virgil APOSTOL kíséretében (fényképezte Christoph MACHAT). És a világörökségi listán szereplő műemlékek állapota és helyzete iránti gondoskodása arra készítette, hogy a németországi ICOMOS bizottságon belül létrehozza az első olyan munkacsoportot, amely a németországi UNESCO helyszínek megelőző jellegű felügyeletével foglalkozott, e tevékenységet pedig később más országos bizottságok is felvállalták.

Kétségtől eltekintve egy ennyire tevékeny és szakmailag igényes személyiség nem nyerhette el mindenkinek tetszését. Egész élete harcában megnyilvánuló, az elvekben megtestesülő hagyományokat figyelmen kívül hagyó irányvonalakra írt válasza olvasható az ICOMOS Romania munkatársainak jóvoltából 2010-ben Kolozsvárott megjelentetett *Az örökségmegőrzés nemzetközi elvei* kötetben. Ugyanezzel a lelkiállattal fogjuk folytatni azt, amit elkezdett, mint a „Heritage at Risk” című sorozat megjelentetését, valamint az UNESCO-listán szereplő világörökségi műemlékhelyszínek megelőző jellegű felügyeletét.

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