

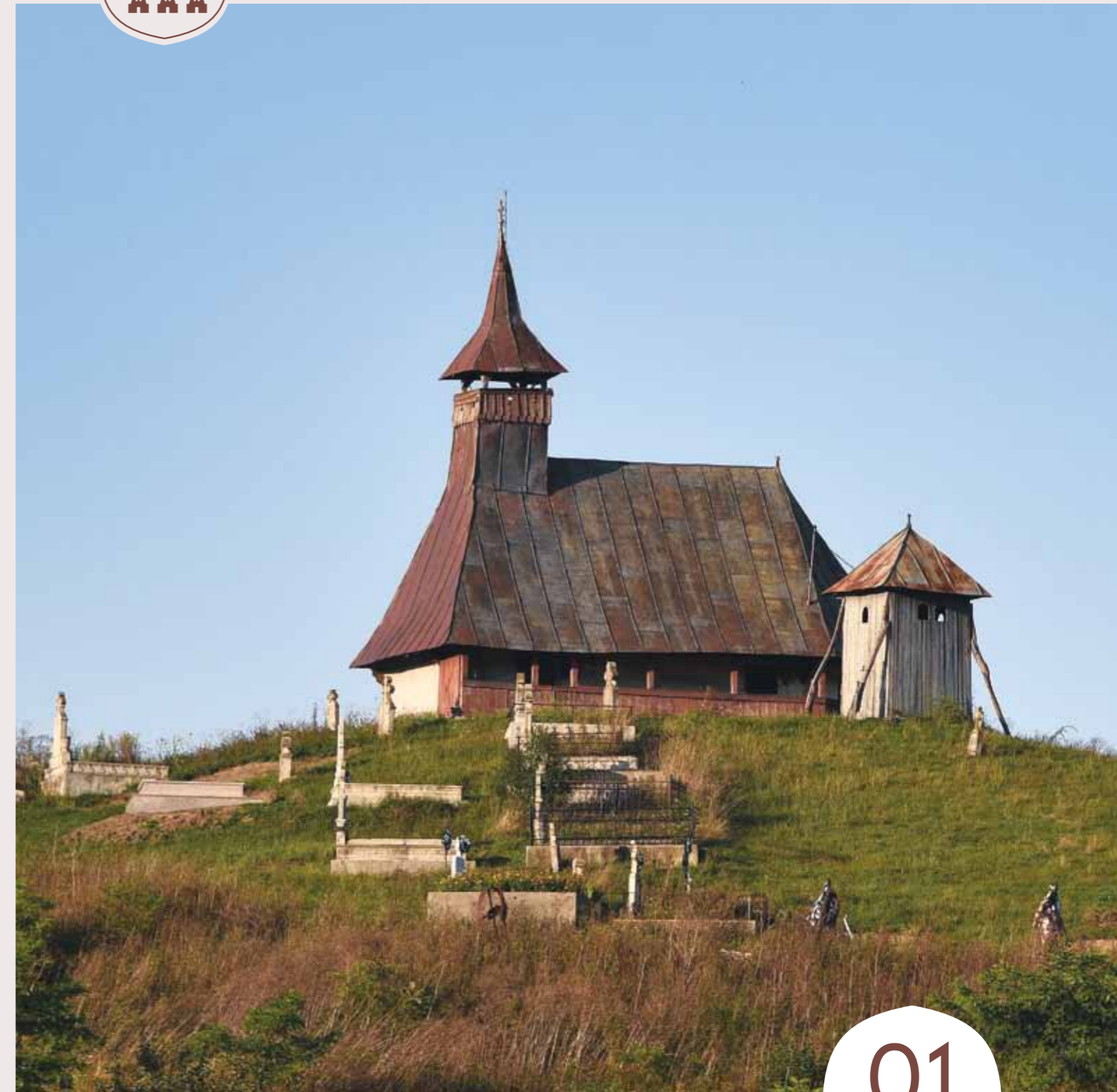
- Campanile seu turris. Mediaeval And Modern Bell Towers in the Ciuc Depression
The article may be found on pages 17-30.
- Campanile seu turris. Clopotnițe medievale și moderne în depresiunea Ciucului
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■ European historic monument protection was not originally based on economic and material considerations. Key concepts were and are “authenticity” and “integrity”. Interventions to ensure, preserve and maintain physical existence are also essential. Changes in users’ needs over time, including community and societal expectations, may require more significant adaptation/restoration interventions, which reach beyond the “technical need” associated with conservation. Our age is characterised by the strong appearance of the need for visibility, visual cognition. The restoration of monuments is an architectural work, it takes place within the framework of monument protection with a fundamentally cultural basis, but as an architectural activity. The respect and preservation of the construction periods of a given monument (regardless of the changes in function!) is one of the most important principles, the restoration itself is a construction/historic period. The obviously anachronistic critique of the historic monument restorations of the “modern era” which we are experiencing more and more today. Essentially, almost regardless of why the restoration should be restored again – for the purpose of the technical deterioration and unsustainability of the previous condition, possibly to make it suitable for a new purpose, or to increase the tourist attraction of the historic monument. (Architect Tamás FEJÉRDY)

■ Inițial, protecția europeană a monumentelor istorice nu s-a bazat pe considerente economice și materiale. Conceptele cheie au fost și rămân „autenticitate” și „integritate”. Intervențiile pentru asigurarea, conservarea și menținerea existenței fizice sunt, de asemenea, esențiale. Schimbările nevoilor utilizatorilor de-a lungul timpului, inclusiv cerințele comunității și ale societății, pot necesita intervenții mai semnificative de adaptare/restaurare decât simpla „nevoie tehnică” asociată cu conservarea. Epoca noastră se caracterizează prin apariția marcantă a nevoii pentru vizualitate, pentru cunoaștere vizuală. Restaurarea monumentelor istorice este o lucrare de arhitectură, se desfășoară în cadrul domeniului protecției monumentelor istorice, având o bază fundamental culturală, dar ca o activitate arhitecturală. Respectarea și păstrarea diferitelor perioade de construcție ale unui anumit monument (indiferent de modificările în funcțiune!) este unul dintre cele mai importante principii, restaurarea în sine fiind o perioadă istorică/de construcție, cu toate că astăzi suntem martori din ce în ce mai des la critici evident anacronistice la adresa restaurărilor monumentelor istorice ale „epocii moderne”. Indiferent de motivul pentru care restaurarea ar trebui restaurată din nou – datorită deteriorării tehnice și a nesustenabilității stării anterioare, eventual cu scopul de a adapta monumentul istoric pentru o funcțiune nouă sau pentru a spori atractivitatea sa turistică. (arh. Tamás FEJÉRDY)

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■ Re-restoration or re-conservation is a topical/current issue to which the Journal has dedicated a new separate column.

European historic monument protection was not originally based on economic and material considerations. Its key concepts were and still are “authenticity” and “integrity”. Interventions to ensure, preserve and maintain physical existence are also essential. Changes in users’ needs over time, including community and societal expectations, may require more significant adaptation/restoration interventions, which reach beyond the “technical need” associated with conservation. Due to the priority of the value retention requirement, interventions, as in the case of conservation and restoration in the general sense, always require a broad scientific basis, a prudent professional approach, and a prudent decision-making behaviour: “nil nocere!” The responsibility of decisions about what the past was and what the future should be, what to preserve or what we intend to display. The conservationist architect’s work is also a contemporary architectural intervention. Reconstruction according to the interpretation adopted in monument protection is acceptable only in the case of the existence of special circumstances and the fulfilment of certain conditions. Our age is characterised by the strong appearance of the need for visibility, visual cognition. The restoration of monuments is an architectural work, it takes place within the framework of monument protection with a fundamentally cultural basis, but as an architectural activity. The respect and preservation of the construction periods of a given monument is one of the most important principles, the restoration itself is a construction/historic period. The obviously anachronistic critique of the historic monument restorations / rehabilitations of the “modern era” which we are experiencing more and more today. The change in attitude is not independent of the postmodern “philosophy” that emerges as a critique of modernity and includes significant nostalgic elements. The concept of “presentism”, favoured by researchers in the field of cultural heritage theory, is somewhat valid also for restoration, because one of the defining characteristics of contemporary architecture is that it is pluralistic: contemporary restorations are also diverse. Essentially, almost regardless of why the restoration should be restored or rehabilitated again – for the purpose of the technical deterioration and unsustainability of the previous condition, possibly to make it suitable for a new purpose, or to increase the tourist attraction value of the historic monument. It seems that the fact that the scientific knowledge on which the former restoration is based becomes obsolete, i.e., the need for professional correction, is the least factor initiating the restoration and even less the esteem and respect for a former (even iconic in its time) restoration that could be aimed at preserving it as a restored-preserved value, at least having documentative quality.

Tamás FEJÉRDY
Member of the Editorial Board

■ Re-restaurarea este o temă de actualitate căreia revista i-a acordat o nouă rubrică distinctă.

Inițial, protecția europeană a monumentelor istorice nu s-a bazat pe considerente economice și materiale. Conceptele cheie au fost și rămân „autenticitate” și „integritate”. Intervențiile pentru asigurarea, conservarea și menținerea existenței fizice sunt, de asemenea, esențiale. Schimbările nevoilor utilizatorilor de-a lungul timpului, inclusiv cerințele comunității și ale societății, pot necesita intervenții mai semnificative de adaptare/restaurare decât simpla „nevoie tehnică” asociată cu conservarea. Datorită priorității cerinței de păstrare a valorii, intervențiile, ca și în cazul conservării și restaurării în sens general, necesită întotdeauna o bază științifică amplă, o abordare profesională circumspectă și un comportament decizional prudent: „nil nocere!” Este vorba de responsabilitatea deciziilor în legătură cu ce a fost trecutul și ce ar trebui să fie viitorul, ce să păstrăm sau ce intenționăm să punem în valoare. În același timp, din activitatea arhitectului restaurator rezultă o intervenție arhitecturală contemporană. Reconstrucția, în sensul interpretării din domeniul protecției monumentelor istorice, poate fi acceptată numai în cazul unor împrejurări deosebite și al îndeplinirii anumitor condiții. Epoca noastră se caracterizează prin apariția marcantă a nevoii pentru vizualitate, pentru cunoaștere vizuală. Restaurarea monumentelor istorice este o lucrare de arhitectură, se desfășoară în cadrul domeniului protecției monumentelor istorice, având o bază fundamentală culturală, dar ca o activitate arhitecturală. Respectarea și păstrarea diferitelor perioade de construcție ale unui anumit monument este unul dintre cele mai importante principii, restaurarea în sine fiind o perioadă istorică/de construcție, cu toate că astăzi suntem martori din ce în ce mai des la critici evidente anacronistice la adresa restaurărilor / reabilitărilor monumentelor istorice ale „epocii moderne”. Schimbarea de atitudine nu este independentă de „filosofia” postmodernă care apare ca o critică a modernității și include elemente nostalgice semnificative. Conceptul de „prezentism”, favorizat de cercetătorii din domeniul teoriei patrimoniului cultural, este oarecum valabil și pentru restaurare, deoarece una dintre caracteristicile definitorii ale arhitecturii contemporane este pluralismul ei: restaurările contemporane sunt și ele diverse. În esență este aproape indiferent motivul pentru care restaurarea ar trebui restaurată sau reabilitată din nou – datorită deteriorării tehnice și a nesustenibilității stării anterioare, eventual cu scopul de a adapta monumentul istoric pentru o funcțiune nouă sau pentru a spori atractivitatea sa turistică. Se pare că depășirea cunoștințelor științifice pe care se bazează fosta restaurare, adică nevoia de corectare profesională, inițiază cel mai puțin restaurarea, și cu atât mai puțin stima și respectul față de o fostă restaurare (chiar iconică la vremea ei) care ar putea avea drept scop conservarea acesteia ca valoare restaurată-conservată, cel puțin având cel puțin calitate documentară.

Tamás FEJÉRDY
Membru al Comitetului de redacție

■ A restaurálás restaurálása aktuális téma, ezért új külön rovatban szerepel folyóiratunk hasábjain.

Kezdetben, a műemlékek európai védelme nem gazdasági és anyagi szempontokon alapult. Kulcsfogalmái a „hitelesség” és „integritás” voltak és maradtak. A fizikai létük biztosítását, megőrzését és fenntartását célzó beavatkozások szintén alapvetőek. A felhasználói igények időközben történt változásai, beleértve a közösség és társadalom kívánalmait is, jelentősebb alkalmazkodási/helyreállítási beavatkozásokat igényelhetnek, mint a konzerváláshoz kapcsolódó egyszerű „technikai szükségletek”. Az értékmegőrzés követelményének elsődleges volta miatt a beavatkozások, általános értelemben az állagmegóvás és a restaurálás, mindig széles körű tudományos alapot, körültekintő szakmai szemléletet és felelős döntési magatartást igényel: „nil nocere!” Ez arról szól, hogy felelősséget vállalunk a döntéseinkért a múlt és a jövő irányában egyaránt, mit őrizzünk meg, mit szeretnénk bemutatni, ugyanakkor az építész-restaurátor munkája egy kortárs építészeti beavatkozást eredményez. A műemlékvédelmi értelmezés szerint a rekonstrukció csak különleges körülmények és bizonyos feltételek teljesülése esetén fogadható el. Korunkat a vizuális tudás iránti igény, a vizualitás markáns megjelenése jellemzi. A műemlékek restaurálása építészeti tevékenység, a műemlékvédelem területén elsősorban kulturális alapon bontakozik ki, de építészeti tevékenységként valósul meg. Ennek az egyik legfontosabb alapelve az adott műemlék különböző építési periódusainak tiszteletben tartása és megőrzése. Maga a restaurálás szintén egy történeti/építészeti szakasz, bár manapság egyre gyakrabban lehetünk tanúi a „modern kor” műemlék-restaurálásait/-helyreállításait érő nyilvánvalóan anakronisztikus bírálatoknak. A szemléletváltás nem független a posztmodern „filozófiától”, amely a modernitás kritikájaként jelenik meg, és lényeges nosztalgikus elemeket tartalmaz. A kulturális örökségelmélet területének kutatói által kedvelt „prezentizmus” fogalma némileg érvényes a restaurálásra is, hiszen a kortárs építészet egyik meghatározó jellemzője a pluralizmus: a kortárs restaurálások is sokfélék. Lényegében az, hogy miért kell újrestaurálni a restaurálást/helyreállítani a helyreállítást, szinte független attól, hogy ez a műszaki leromlás és a korábbi állapot fenntarthatatlansága miatt történik, vagy a műemlék szükséges funkcióváltása, esetleg turisztikai vonzerejének növelése a cél. Úgy tűnik, hogy az egykori restaurálás alapjául szolgáló tudományos ismeretek túllépése, azaz a szakmai korrekció igénye legkevésbé sem indítja el az újrestaurálást, még kevésbé az egykori (a maga idejében még ikonikus) restaurálás megbecsülését és tiszteletét, amely talán célként is szolgálhatna, konzervált értéként való megőrzésre, legalább dokumentumértékű minőségben.

FEJÉRDY Tamás
Szerkesztőbizottsági tag

■ VEÖREÖS András¹

Generációváltás a magyarországi hivatásos műemlékvédelemben

■ **Kivonat:** Egy társadalomban a hosszú távú eredményes munka egyik alapfeltétele, hogy a tevékenységhez kapcsolódó tudás, szemlélet folyamatosan öröklődhessen egyik nemzedékről a másikra. Különösen igaz ez a műemlékvédelemben, ahol rendkívül komplex, sok szakterületet felölelő szaktudásra és hosszú időn keresztül formálódó szemléletre van szükség.

Mivel ez a fajta tudás iskolában, egyetemen nem szerezhető meg teljes körűen, nagyon fontos szerep jut a tapasztalatok munka közbeni átadásának-átvételének. Ennek pedig feltétele a szakmában dolgozó generációk közötti fokozatos váltás, a fiatal szakemberek fokozatos bevonása a feladatok ellátásába.

Az örökségvédelmi hatósági intézményrendszernek a 2010. évet követő átszervezése következtében rendkívüli mértékben nőtt a műemlék-felügyeletnél a fluktuáció, a tapasztalt munkatársak nagyon hirtelen tűntek el a rendszerből, szinte teljesen megszűntek a munkatársak közötti horizontális kapcsolatok. Ennek köszönhetően a műemléki érték védelmét előtérbe helyező szemlélet gyakorlatilag eltűnt a szakterületen dolgozó hivatalokból.

A tanulmány a tudásátadás nélküli generációváltás okait és következményeit elemzi.

■ **Kulcsszavak:** generációváltás, műemlékvédelem, örökségvédelmi hatóság, tudás átadása, szemléletformálás

Bevezető

■ Bármennyire is meglepő, a műemlékvédelem elvei, módszerei, szemlélete időről időre változik, hiszen változik magának a társadalomnak is a gondolkodásmódja. Mivel azonban a műemlékvédelem egy konzervatív tevékenység, ahol bizonyos állandóságra szükség van, a műemlékvédelmi tevékenységbe frissen bekapcsolódó szakemberek számára rendkívül fontos a szaktudás és munkamódszer átvétele a tapasztaltabb munkatársaktól; függetlenül attól, hogy a tevékenység melyik szerepköréről (beruházó, tervező, kivitelező (restaurátor), kutató, hatóság vagy éppen civil szervezet) van-e szó (1. kép). A magyarországi hivatásos műemlékvédelemben az elmúlt évtized átalakításai² során sajnálatos módon megszűnt a tapasztalatok folyamatos átadása, ami a hatósági munka szemléletének gyökeres megváltozását eredményezte. Jelen tanulmány keretei között megpróbáljuk a közigazgatás ezen speciális ágazatának, a műemlékvédelmi szakigazgatásnak a generációváltással összefüggő helyzetét, valamint a

1 Okleveles építészmérnök, műemléki szakmérnök, műemléki szakügyintéző, Győr-Moson-Sopron Megyei Kormányhivatal, Magyarország.

2 A szervezeti rendszer elmúlt évtizedben lezajlott átalakításaira jellemző, hogy míg korábban évtizedenként került sor nagyobb változásra (1957–1992, Országos Műemléki Felügyelőség, 1992–2001, Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 2001–2010, Kulturális Örökségvédelmi Hivatal), addig a 2011–20 között eltelt tíz év alatt hét nagyobb átszervezést élt meg.

Generational Renewal in the Historic Building Conservation Profession in Hungary

■ **Abstract:** One of the basic conditions for long-term successful work in a society is that the knowledge and attitude related to the activity be passed on continuously from one generation to another. This is especially true for historic building conservation, which requires extremely complex, multi-disciplinary expertise and an approach that is shaped across a long span of time.

As this type of knowledge cannot be fully acquired at school or university, knowledge transfer during work plays a highly important role. The condition for this is the gradual change in the generations working in the profession, the gradual involvement of young professionals in the performance of their tasks.

As a result of the reorganisation of the heritage conservation institutional system after 2010, the fluctuation within the historic building inspection staff has increased enormously, the experienced staff disappeared very suddenly from the system, and the horizontal relations among the employees disappeared almost completely. As a result, the approach of prioritising the protection of heritage values virtually disappeared from the agencies working in the field.

The article analyses the causes and consequences of generational change without knowledge transfer.

■ **Keywords:** generational renewal, historic building conservation, heritage conservation authority, knowledge transfer, awareness

Introduction

■ As surprising as it may be, the principles, methods, and attitudes of historic building conservation periodically change, as the mentality of society itself changes. However, as historic building conservation is a conservative activity where a certain amount of permanence is required, it is extremely important for professionals newly involved in historic building conservation activities to take over the expertise and work method from more experienced

1 Architect, historic building conservation specialist, historic building specialist administrator, Győr-Moson-Sopron County Government Office, Hungary.

staff, regardless of the role of the activity (investor, designer, contractor (restorer), researcher, authority, or NGO) (Photo 1). During the changes of the last decade in the historic building conservation profession in Hungary,² the continuous transfer of experience has unfortunately ceased, which has resulted in a radical change in the approach to institutional activity. In this study, we will try to analyse the situation of this special branch of public administration, historic building conservation management, related to generational renewal, and the effects of these changes on historic building conservation, on the values pertaining to historic buildings, and their preservation.

Depending on the available legal environment and the participants' human attitude, the performance of official tasks consists of several objective and subjective elements; the individuality and human qualities of the participants play an extremely important role, and their professional quality is determined by the depth of knowledge and breadth of vision. The findings of the study are based on personal experience, but due to the special nature and complexity of the activity of historic building inspection, as well as their difficult integration into administrative procedures, the identified problems can also be generalised to a national context. As a result of a series of organisational changes, historic building inspection is currently integrated into the organisational system of the building authority, forcing it under its spirit, motivation, and working method, which is significantly different from those of historic building conservation. As a result, the specialist historic building inspection staffs in most counties have completely changed over the past decade, in a way that the new generation has not had the opportunity to observe inspection activities in the process and to learn by working with an experienced staff member.

Thus, the aim of the study is to analyse the efficiency and professional transferability of the organisational system performing the administrative tasks related to historic building conservation, starting from its human resource, and to emphasise the importance of direct exchange of experience between the old and the young. The concepts of old and young do not, of course, mean age in this case, but refer to the more experienced and the less experienced professionals. (Photo 2)

² The transformations of the organisational system that have taken place in the last decade are characterised by the fact that while in the past there used to be a major change every decade (1957-1992 National Inspectorate of Historic Monuments, 1992-2001 National Office for the Protection of Historic Monuments, 2001-2010 National Office for Cultural Heritage), between 2011 and 2020, seven major reorganisations occurred within a decade.



■ **1. kép:** Szakmai kirándulás a jáki templomnál, ahol a munka vezetője, SARKADI Márton ismerteti a felújítást a fiatal szakembereknek © VEÖREŐS András
■ **Photo 1.** Study field trip to the church in Ják, where the project manager, Márton SARKADI presents the conservation works to young professionals © András VEÖREŐS

bekövetkezett változások műemlékvédelemre, műemléki értékre és annak megőrzésére gyakorolt hatásait elemezni.

A hatósági feladatellátás a rendelkezésre álló jogszabályi környezet, illetve a résztvevők humán oldali attitűdjének függvényében számos objektív és szubjektív elemből tevődik össze, rendkívül fontos szerepet játszik benne a résztvevők egyénisége, emberi tulajdonságai, szakmai minőségét pedig a résztvevők tudásának mélysége és látókörének szélessége határozza meg. A tanulmányban szereplő megállapítások saját tapasztalatokra épülnek, de a műemlék-felügyelet különlegességéből, összetettségéből, a közigazgatási eljárások közé való nehézkes beilleszthetőségéből adódóan a feltárt problémák országos viszonylatban is általánosíthatók. A sorozatos szervezeti átalakítások következtében a műemlék-felügyelet jelenleg az építéshatósági szervezetrendszerbe integrálva, annak – a műemlékitől jelentősen eltérő – szellemisége, motivációja és munkamódszere alá kényszerítve működik. Ennek következtében a műemlék-felügyelet szakemberállománya a legtöbb megyében teljesen lecserélődött az elmúlt évtizedben, méghozzá olyan módon, hogy az új generációnak nem volt lehetősége folyamatában látni a felügyelet tevékenységét és tapasztalt munkatárs mellett beletanulni a munkába.

A tanulmány célja tehát röviden a műemlékvédelemhez kapcsolódó közigazgatási feladatokat ellátó szervezetrendszer humán erőforrásából kiindulva annak működésével, külső és belső kommunikációján keresztül a hatékonyság, illetve a szakszerű átörökíthetőség elemzése, az öregek és a fiatalok közötti közvetlen tapasztalatcsere fontosságának hangsúlyozása. Az öregek és fiatalok fogalmak természetesen nem az életkort jelentik ebben az esetben, hanem a nagyobb tapasztalattal rendelkező, illetve a kevesebb gyakorlattal bíró szakemberekre vonatkoznak. (2. kép)

A műemlék-felügyelet sajátosságai

■ Ahhoz, hogy a műemlékvédelmi szakterület hatékony közigazgatási módszerei érthetőek legyenek, mindenképpen szükség van egy kicsit a szakma történeti háttérének, a szakterületet életre hívó társadalmi motívációknak a megismerésére.

Bár a műemlékvédelem története sokkal régebbi időkre nyúlik vissza, hiszen ismerünk római császári és középkori uralkodói intézkedéseket egy-egy régi épület megőrzésével kapcsolatban, a hivatásos műemlékvédelem kialakulása Európában a XIX. század második felére tehető,³ amikor a nemzeti öntudatra ébredő államok önazonosságukat a múltjukban próbálták meg felfedezni. A XVI–XVIII. században már jelen levő történeti kutatások egyre inkább tudományos jellegűvé váltak, a múlt emlékeinek feltárására való igény új tudományok (régészet, művészettörténet) kialakulásához vezetett. A felfedezett múlt a művészetben, így az építészetben is a történeti formák felidézését hozta magával. Ugyanabból a társadalmi indíttatásból két eltérő formavilágú művészeti stílus született: az ókori formákat felhasználó klasszicizmus és a középkorban gyökerező romantika. A formák pontos felhasználására irányuló törekvés megkövetelte az „eredeti”, középkori, illetve ókori emlékek megismerését, kutatását, ami később ezeknek, mint a dicső nemzeti múlt tárgyi bizonyítékainak, a nemzet évszázados vagy évezredes történetét hirdető objektumoknak a megőrzésére való törekvést is maga után vont.

A műemlékvédelem tehát egy alapvetően racionális, ugyanakkor érzelmeiktől túlfűtött korszakban született; a műemlékvédelmi tevékenység életre hívójának pedig az ember mint gondolkodó és érzelmekkel rendelkező lény múlthoz, emlékekhez való ragaszkodása tekinthető. Ahogy másfél száz évvel ezelőtt, úgy a régi dolgok megőrzésére való törekvés ma is az ember érzelmi mivoltából fakad. Mivel az emberek materiális, szellemi és lelki szempontú igényei egyéenként változnak, a régi épületek megőrzésével kapcsolatban is mindenki mást és mást gondolhat, rendkívül nehéz a kérdés objektív, abszolút tárgyilagos megítélése. Összességében mégis kijelenthetjük, hogy a civilizált világ országai időt, energiát, pénzt áldoznak erre a célra, kutató-, oktatási és igazgatási intézményeket tartanak fenn a műemlékvédelemmel kapcsolatos feladatok ellátására (3. kép) – minden bizonnyal azért, mert a társadalom életének jobbítását remélik a régiségek megismertetésétől és megőrzésétől. A régiség fogalmát érezhetjük negatívnak, ha egy tönkrement, ócska, már értékét veszített tárgyra gondolunk, de érezhetjük pozitívnak is, amennyiben valamelyik ősrünk egy számunkra is kedves, fontos emlékeket hordozó tárgyról beszélünk.⁴ Általánosságban megállapítható, hogy a régi dolgok, legyenek azok használati tárgyak vagy akár épületek, az emberek többségéből pozitív érzelmeket váltanak ki.⁵

Ebben a gondolatban kell keresnünk az első okot, ami miatt a műemlékvédelmi szakigazgatás jelentősen eltér a közigazgatási ágazatok többségétől, hiszen amazok jellemző módon sokkal objektívebb paraméterek mentén folytatják le eljárásaikat. Ezzel szemben a műemléki ügyintézés során nagyon fontos szerep jut a munkatársak és a vezetők személyes, az értékek megőrzése érdekében érzett motivációjának. Belátható, hogy enélkül eredményes műemlék-felügyeleti munka nem képzelhető el.

A másik jelentős különbség, amely miatt a szakterület nehezen illeszthető be a közigazgatásba az, hogy a műemlékvédelemmel kapcsolatos döntések hosszú távra szólnak, és kijelenthetjük, hogy az értékek megőrzésével kapcsolatos döntések egyszerűek és visszafordíthatatlanok. Egy épület értéke alapvetően két részből tevődik össze: egyrészt magában foglalja a je-

The specificities of historic building inspection

■ In order to understand the effective administrative methods in the field of historic building conservation, there is a definite need to explore the historical background of the profession and the social motivation that brings the field to life.

Although the history of conservation dates back to much earlier times, as we know about measures taken by Roman emperors and mediaeval rulers to preserve certain old buildings, the actual starting point of professional historic building conservation in Europe dates back to the second half of the 19th century,³ when states awakening to national identity tried to reveal their identities in their own past. Historical research, which was already present in the 16th to 18th centuries, became increasingly more scientific, and the need to explore the vestiges of the past led to the emergence of new sciences (archaeology, art history). The discovered past brought with it a recollection of historical forms in art, including architecture. Two art styles different in design emerged from the same social motivation: Neoclassicism using ancient forms and Romanticism rooted in the Middle Ages. The effort to use the forms accurately required the knowledge and research of “original”, mediaeval and ancient relics, which later entailed their preservation as the physical evidence of the glorious national past, as objects promoting the centuries or millennia of a nation’s history.

Historic building conservation was thus born in an essentially rational, yet emotionally overheated age; and the person who, as a thinking and emotional being, clings to the past and memories, can be considered the initiator of the activity of historic building conservation. Just like 150 years ago, the pursuit of preserving old things still stems from the humans’ emotional nature. As people’s material, spiritual, and psychological needs vary from individual to individual, and everyone can think differently about the preservation of old buildings, it is extremely difficult to judge the issue objectively and in a completely unbiased manner. Overall, however, we can say that the countries of the civilised world invest time, energy, and money for this purpose, and have research, educational, and administrative institutions to carry out the tasks related to historic building conservation (Photo 3), most certainly because they hope to improve the life of society by presenting and preserving vestiges. The concept of vestige might have negative connotations as a ruined, obsolete, and devalued object, but it can also be valued as something positive, when talking about one of our ancestors’

3 A műemlékvédelem társadalmi motivációját és a magyarországi szervezetrendszer kialakulását szemléletesen mutatja be: GERŐ 1959; CSÁSZÁR 1983; ROMÁN 2004.

4 A téma részletesen kifejtésre került 2019. szeptember 20-án a Soproni Városszépítő Egyesület által szervezett konferencián. Írásos összefoglalója: VEŐREŐS 2020.

5 Az ember múlthoz való viszonyával bőségesen foglalkozik a pszichológiai szakirodalom, noha ennek közvetlenül a műemlékvédelemmel kapcsolatos aspektusai csak a legutóbbi kutatásokban jelennek meg. Lásd FOGARASI Barbara, az ELTE PPK Pszichológia Doktori Iskola Környezetpszichológia modul hallgatója tevékenységét, aki 2020-ban tudományos kutatás keretében vizsgálta egyes emberek, csoportok műemlékekkel, történeti környezetekkel kapcsolatos véleményét, attitűdjét.

3 The social motivation of historic building conservation and the development of the Hungarian organisational system is presented eloquently in GERŐ 1959; CSÁSZÁR 1983; ROMÁN 2004.

dear belongings that we also cherish.⁴ In general, old things, whether they are objects of use or even buildings, trigger positive feelings in most people.⁵

It is with this in mind that we need to look for the first reason why the historic building conservation administration differs significantly from most administrative sectors, as the latter typically conduct their work along much more objective parameters. In contrast, the personal motivation of employees and managers to preserve values plays a very important role in the administration of historic buildings. It is clear that without this, effective historic building inspection activities are inconceivable.

The other significant difference that makes it difficult to integrate the field into public administration is that decisions on historic building conservation are long-term and we can state that decisions about the preservation of values are one-time decisions, which are irreversible. The value of a building basically consists of two parts: it includes the present value on the one hand, and its past value on the other.⁶ By present value we mean the value in use of a building (location, dimensions, technical condition) as well as its artistic value; and the past value is given by the age of the building and the memory value associated with it, which can be judged based on past events or persons associated to the building. While the present value can be artificially increased at any time by improving the technical condition, renovating it, or adding artistic value, we can only deprive it from its past value by demolishing the building or part of it. (Photo 4) This places an extraordinary responsibility on all decision-makers involved concerning the values and supports the need for material preservation. Every decision requires careful preparation and consideration, which is fundamentally at odds with the rapid, often hasty decision-making process that society and politics increasingly expect from the public administration today. It is also important to note that the long-term fate of a building may depend on a series of decision-making processes lasting for decades, and all decisions can have long-term consequences, which is again not the



- **2. kép:** Néhány megyében a tapasztalt műemlék- és régész felügyelők nagy hangsúlyt fektetnek az újonnan hivatalba kerülő munkatársak (és vezetők) szakirányú képzésére. A Győri Járási Hivatal munkatársainak szakmai kirándulása Balácsapusztán © VEÖREŐS András
- **Photo 2.** In some counties, experienced historic building conservation specialists and archaeologists place great emphasis on the specialised training of new staff (and managers). Study field trip of the employees of the Győr District Office to Balácsapuszta © András VEÖREŐS

lenlegi értéket, másrészt a múltbeli értéket.⁶ Jelenlegi érték alatt az épület használati értékét (elhelyezkedés, méretek, műszaki állapot) és művészeti értékét értjük; a múltbeli értéket pedig az épület kora, illetve a hozzá fűződő emlékérték adja, melyet az épülethez kötődő múltbeli események vagy személyek alapján ítélnünk meg. Míg a jelenlegi érték a műszaki állapot javításával, felújítással vagy művészeti érték hozzáadásával bármikor növelhető mesterségesen is, addig a múltbeli értékből az épület vagy épületrész elbontásával csak elvenni tudunk, hozzáadni nem. (4. kép) Ez a tény rendkívüli felelősséget ró az értékekkel kapcsolatos döntéseket meghozó valamennyi szereplőre, és alátámasztja az anyagban való megőrzés szükségességét. Minden döntés gondos előkészítést és megfontoltságot kíván, ami alapvetően ellenkezik napjaink gyors, sokszor elhamarkodott döntéshozatalával, melyet a társadalom és a vezető politika a közigazgatástól is egyre inkább elvár. Fontos megjegyezni azt is, hogy egy-egy épület hosszú távú sorsa akár évtizedeken keresztül is elhúzódó döntések sorozatától függhet, minden döntésnek hosszú távú következményei lehetnek – ami szintén nem jellemző a közigazgatás más ágazataiban, így az építésügyben sem.

A felelős döntések meghozatalához – a közigazgatás általános ágazatától, azon belül az építésigazgatástól ismét eltérő módon – rendkívül széles látókörrrel, sokoldalú ismeretekkel rendelkező szakemberekre van szükség. A jó műemlék-felügyelő járatos az építészeti tervezés alapjaiban, ismeri a kortárs- és történeti épületszerkezeteket, vannak statikai-tartószerkezeti ismeretei, rálát az urbanisztika legfontosabb kérdéseire, átlátja az épületfizika alapvető szempontjait, de ezenkívül eligazodik a művészettörténet-építészettörténet és a hozzá kapcsolódó történelem, az ikonográfia, a kerttörténet területén is. Ahhoz, hogy sokoldalú ismereteit szinten tartsa vagy bővítse, szükség van arra, hogy folyamatosan olvassa a szakirodalmat, hallgatóként vagy előadóként részt vegyen szakmai konferenciákon, tanulmányutakon, folyamatosan kapcsolatot tartson az azonos szakterületen dolgozó hazai és nemzetközi munkatársakkal. (5. kép) Aki pedig a közigazgatáson belül dolgozik, annak ezen felül készség szinten szüksége van közigazgatási, jogi ismeretekre is. Ezekhez járul még emberi tulajdonságként a konfliktusos ügyek kezelésében való jártasság, a jó kommunikációs képesség, a lényeglátás, a

4 The topic was explored in detail on September 20, 2019 at a conference organised by the Sopron City Beautification Association. Witten overview: VEÖREŐS 2020.

5 The relationship between man and the past is abundantly covered in the psychological literature, although aspects directly related to historic building conservation have appeared only in recent research. See the activity of Barbara FOGARASI, PhD candidate at the Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Education and Psychology, Doctoral School of Psychology, Environmental Psychology Lab, who in a 2020 scientific research programme studied the opinions and attitudes of individuals and groups towards historic buildings and environments.

6 The categorisation of the values of historic buildings as used to this day has been summarised by Alois RIEGL, art historian of the Zentral-Kommission, at the beginning of the 20th century (RIEGL 1903).

6 A műemlék (régí) épületek értékeinek kategorizálását a mai napig használatos módon Alois RIEGL, a Zentral-Kommission művészettörténésze foglalta össze a XX. század legelején (RIEGL 1903).

7 A munkakör napjainkban használatos elnevezése: örökségvédelmi szakügyintéző.

kompromisszumkészség.⁸ A munkakör betöltésére vonatkozó előírások szerint építész- vagy építőmérnöki diploma szükséges ahhoz, hogy valaki ezen a területen hatósági feladatokat láthasson el, és a műemlék épülettel kapcsolatos hatósági döntések előkészítését és kiadmányozását műemlékvédelem témakörben szerzett építésügyi vizsga letételéhez köti.⁹ Megjegyzendő, hogy a vizsga meglétét senki sem ellenőrzi, és így a jogszabályban előírt feltétel a megyei kormányhivatalok többségében valószínűleg nem is teljesül, a műemlék épületekkel kapcsolatos döntés-előkészítés és a kiadmányozás feladatait speciális szakismerettel nem rendelkező ügyintézők és vezetők látják el.

Belátható, hogy a szakmailag és emberileg a feladat ellátására alkalmas, magasan kvalifikált szakembereket nem a közigazgatásban elérhető munkabérek motiválják, hanem sokkal inkább a hazaszeretetből, az értékek megőrzése iránti vágyból, a következő nemzedékek ilyen irányú igényeinek kielégítésére vonatkozó törekvésből és a felelősségtudatból adódó szemlélet. És mivel jelenleg a szakterület hatósági feladatait ellátó szervezet vezetői többnyire egészen más motiváció alapján végzik a dolgukat, ez szükségszerűen kommunikációs nehézségeket okoz a szervezeten belül, aminek következtében előbb-utóbb a szakértő ügyintézői gárda helyét a hatósági elvárásokat maradéktalanul teljesíteni képes, ugyanakkor műemléki gyakorlattal nem rendelkező, önállóan értékőrző műemlék-felügyeleti munkára motiválatlan és képtelen ügyintézők veszik át, vagyis a generációváltás egyúttal az ügyintézői szemlélet gyökeres megváltozásával is együtt jár. Fontos hangsúlyozni, hogy a magas színvonalú műemlék-felügyeleti munkához szükséges tudás nem szerezhető meg az oktatási intézményekben, hanem elsősorban a feladatellátás közben szerzett tapasztalatokra épül. A tapasztalatok megszerzésében pedig rendkívül fontos szerep jut azok közvetlen átadásának, vagyis az öregek és fiatalok közötti kapcsolatnak, a generációváltás folytonosságának. Azokban a szervezetekben, ahol a generációváltás nem szervesen, a tapasztalat átadásával megy végbe, hanem pillanatszerűen, ott eleve kizárt a szakmai tudás, és ami még fontosabb: a szemlélet átadása-átvétele.

A szakmai tapasztalatátadás fontosságának kérdése nem csak Magyarországon merül fel. A konzultációk alapján a fiatalok felügyeleti munkába való folyamatos bevonására nagy hangsúlyt fektetnek a szomszédos országokban is.¹⁰ A hatósági szervezeteken kívül is jelentkezik igény az iskolai, egyetemi oktatáson túlmutató továbbképzésekre, tapasztalatcserére. Az értékvédelemmel, műemlékvédelemmel foglalkozó civil szervezetek tagságának jelentős hányada nyugdíjas, ezen a területen is megoldandó a fiatalok bevonása. Az ICOMOS nemzetközi szervezete 2017 óta különös erőfeszítéseket tesz a feltörekvő nemzedék aktív örökségvédő munkába való bevonására.¹¹ (6. kép) Ennek ösztönzésére alakult meg Magyarországon az ICOMOS Fiatal Műemlékvédők Fóruma, mely konferenciák szervezésével, kiadványok szerkesztésével teremt lehetőséget a fiatal generáció számára a műemlékvédelem küldetésének minél alaposabb megismerésére.

A műemléki szakigazgatás alapvető küldetése

■ A közigazgatás alapvető küldetése az elmúlt évek átszervezései ellenére is változatlan maradt. A műemlékvédelemmel foglalkozó szaksajtó (LŐVEI 2017; Nemzeti kormány... 2017; RÉKE 2017; ENTZ 2020) – még nemzetközi szinten is (Was ist mit... 2013) – ennek ellenére arról számolt be az elmúlt években, hogy Magyarországon a hivatalos műemlékvédelem megszűnt, ezért mindenképpen szükségesnek látszik a közigazgatás alap-

8 A közigazgatásban dolgozó széles látókörű, művelt, a közigazgatást az állampolgárok szolgálatába állítani kívánó kiváló példakép MAGYARY Zoltán, akiről a közigazgatási reform programja is a nevét kapta.

9 487/2013. korm. rendelet 1. § (1) b) és 2. § (4) b).

10 A Bundesdenkmalamt burgenlandi felügyelőinek soproni látogatása 2020 nyarán.

11 ICOMOS Emerging Professional Working Group.

case in other sectors of public administration, such as construction.

In order to make responsible decisions, unlike in the general sectors of public administration, including construction management, professionals with extremely wide-ranging and versatile knowledge are needed. A good historic building inspector⁷ is familiar with the basics of architectural design, knows contemporary and historic building structures, has static and structural knowledge, understands the most important issues of urban planning, understands the basic aspects of building physics, but is also knowledgeable in the fields of art history and architecture, as well as the history related to them, iconography, and garden history. In order to maintain or expand this versatile knowledge, it is necessary to constantly read the literature, participate as an attendant or speaker in professional conferences, study field trips, and to keep in touch with local and international staff working in the same field. (Photo 5) And those who work within the public administration also need administrative and legal knowledge as skills. In addition to these, conflict management skills, good communication skills, insight and compromise are to be held as human qualities.⁸ According to the regulations for holding the position, a diploma in architecture or civil engineering is required in order for one to perform official duties in this field, and the preparation and issuance of official decisions related to a listed historic building is subject to passing an examination in constructions related to

7 Today in Hungary the term heritage conservation specialist administrator is in use.

8 Zoltán MAGYARY, whose name was given to the public administration reform programme, was an excellent, broad-minded intellectual role model for those working in public administration, as he endeavoured to put public administration at the service of citizens.



■ **3. kép:** A szervezet neve már többször megváltozott, sokszor az intézmény is elköltözött az épületből, de a kőtáblák még országszerte hirdetik az egykori Kulturális Örökségvédelmi Hivatalt © VEÖREŐS András

■ **Photo 3.** The name of the organisation has changed several times, and many times has the institution moved out of the building, but the stone tablets still advertise the former National Office for Cultural Heritage throughout the country © András VEÖREŐS

historic building conservation.⁹ It should be noted that the passing of this exam is not checked by anyone, and thus the condition prescribed by law is unlikely to be met in most government offices; hence decision-making and issuance tasks related to historic buildings are performed by unskilled clerks and managers.

It is obvious that the highly qualified professionals who are professionally and humanly capable of performing the task are not motivated by the salaries in public administration, but rather by an attitude of patriotism, desire to preserve values, striving to meet the needs of future generations, and responsibility. And since at present the managers of the organisation performing the official duties in the field mostly do their job with a completely different motivation, this necessarily causes communication difficulties within the organisation, as a result of which the place of expert staff will sooner or later be taken over by self-motivated and incapable clerks able to immediately fulfil the requirements of the officials, having no expertise in historic building conservation, and unmotivated for the work of value preservation and historic building supervision, i.e. the generational change is accompanied by a radical change in the administrative approach. It is important to emphasise that the knowledge required for high-quality historic building management work cannot be acquired in educational institutions, but is based primarily on the experience gained during work. The direct transfer of experience, i.e. the relationship between the old and the young, the continuity of the generational change play an extremely important role in the acquisition of experience. In organisations where the generational change does not take place organically, through the transfer of experience, but instantaneously, there is already a lack of professional knowledge and, more importantly, a lack of transfer in attitude.

The question of the importance of the professional experience transfer does not only arise in Hungary. Based on consultations, there is a strong emphasis on the continued involvement of young people in supervisory work in neighbouring countries as well.¹⁰ There is also a need for further training and exchange of experience beyond school and university outside the official organisations. A significant number of NGO members dealing with the protection of values and historic buildings are retired, and the involvement of young people must be solved in this area as well. Since 2017, the international organisation ICOMOS has been making special efforts to involve the emerging generation in active heritage conservation work.¹¹ (Photo 6) To encourage this, the ICOMOS Emerging Historic Building Conservationists' Forum was established in Hungary, pro-



■ **4. kép:** Az anyag tönkremenetelével örökre megsemmisül az épület által közvetített kulturális és történelmi érték is © VEÖREÖS András

■ **Photo 4.** With the destruction of the material, the cultural and historical value conveyed by the building will also be destroyed forever © András VEÖREÖS

vető küldetésének a meghatározása. A kérdésben érdemes a Ket.¹² preambulumban szereplő gondolatra alapozni, amely szerint a közigazgatás célja a közhatalom szolgáltatófunkciójának érvényre juttatása, illetve az ügyfelekre háruló eljárási terhek jelentős csökkentése. Az Ákr.¹³ pedig úgy fogalmaz, hogy a közigazgatási hatóság a jogszabály keretei között, a szakszerűség, az egyszerűség, az ügyféllel való együttműködés és a jóhiszeműség követelményeinek megfelelően jár el. Ennek értelmében a közigazgatás feladata a rendelkezésére álló jogszabályi keretek között a társadalom szereplőinek ügyes-bajos dolgainak az intézése, szakmai szempontú segítése, méghozzá lehetőség szerint minél inkább a háttérben maradva. Ugyanezt támasztja alá a Magyary-program (Magyary Zoltán...) alapvetése, miszerint „a közigazgatás nem pusztán mechanikus végrehajtás, hanem értéktelített cselekvés, amely jó célra irányul, a közjó megteremtésére, ami pedig a nemzet jólétét, virágzását és stabilitását jelenti”. Ezek alapján súlyos tévedés, ha ezzel szemben a hivatal a hatósági feladatellátást túlexponálja, a saját szerepét és fontosságát túlhangsúlyozza, és működését (= az egyes hatósági eljárások lefolytatását) önmagáért való célként értelmezi.

A közigazgatás elmúlt évtizedben lezajlott átalakításának következtében az egyes, szakmai vezetéssel rendelkező szakigazgatási szervek többsége, így a műemlék-felügyelet is betagozódott a kormányhivatalok alapvetően közigazgatási szemléletű vezetéssel irányított szervezetrendszerébe, aminek következtében sajnálatos módon a hangsúly fokozatosan a szakmai segítségnyújtás felől a hatósági feladatellátás mint megvalósítandó cél felé tolódott. Az átalakulás szükségszerűen átforgatta a szervezet formális és informális kapcsolatrendszerét is, és alapvetően változtatta meg a hosszú távú stratégiát és az egyes ügyekben a döntéshozatal mechanizmusát. A szakmai vezetésű szervezetben elsődleges célként szakmai szempontok szerepeltek, ami jelen esetben a műemléki értékek megőrzése volt, a döntéshozatalt ez vezérelte, a szakmai alapon meghozott koncepcionális döntések a rendelkezésre álló jogszabályokkal kerültek alátámasztásra, a hatóságnál dolgozó szakemberek számos, nem közvetlenül hatósági eljáráshoz kapcsolódó, de a műemléki értékek megőrzését elősegítő feladatot

9 Decree 487/2013, section 1 § (1) b) and 2 § (4) b).

10 The visit of Sopron in the summer of 2020 of the Burgenland inspectors of Bundesdenkmalamt.

11 ICOMOS Emerging Professional Working Group

12 A Ket. (2004. évi CXL. törvény) 2005. november 1. és 2017. december 31. között volt hatályban.

13 2016. évi CL. törvény. 2. § (2) a).

végeztek.¹⁴ A szakmai vezetéssel nem rendelkező kormányhivatali osztályokon azonban a szakmai célok elérésével szemben a hatósági eljárások intézése („bonyolítása”?), a határidők betartása és a felsőbb szervek felé irányuló adatszolgáltatás válik a fő elvégzendő feladattá. (7. kép) Mindezek alapján megállapítható, hogy *de jure* valóban nem változott meg a közigazgatás célja (bár az Ákr. már nem tartalmazza a Ket. meghatározásait), *de facto* azonban a hivatásos műemlékvédelem a korábbihoz képest sokkal nagyobb arányban végez adminisztratív feladatot, mint szakmait, hiszen a kormányhivatali vezetés ezt várja el tőle. Ha a paragrafusok nyelvére próbáljuk meg lefordítani, azt kell mondanunk, hogy a hosszú távú, értékőrző műemlék-felügyeleti munkához elengedhetetlen a 68/2018. Korm. rendelet 92. szakaszában előírt, nem közvetlenül a hatósági ügyek sorába tartozó feladatok¹⁵ ellátása, míg ezek a közigazgatási-építésügyi feladatok ellátó szervezeti egységek jellemző módon az építésügyi feladatokat ellátó szervezetbe tagolódtak be, a vezetők az építésügyi szakterületről kerülnek ki. Az építésügyi hatóság munkatársai és vezetői számára egy-egy „ügy” a kérelem beérkezésétől az engedély véglegessé válásáig tart. Ezzel szemben a műemlék-felújításokkal kapcsolatos „ügy” jellemző módon – akár többszöri – helyszíni egyeztetéssel kezdődik, ezt követi a hatósági eljárás (vagy eljárások). A hatóság kivitelezés, restaurálás közben is folyamatosan aktívan kíséri végig a munkálatokat, majd egy újabb hatósági eljárással zárul a folyamat. Egy-egy összetettebb épülettel vagy épületegyüttessel kapcsolatos következő beavat-

- 14 A hivatal a munkatársak révén rendszeresen szervezett konferenciát, jelentetett meg kiadványokat, az ügyintézők szakcikkeket írtak, részt vettek helyi, regionális vagy országos nyílt napokon, a Kulturális Örökség Napjain, a Műemléki Világnap rendezvényein, a Művészetek Völgye programjain. Ezen feladatok révén a műemléki értékkel és megőrzésének fontosságával kapcsolatos gondolatok kötetlenül, hatósági hatalomgyakorlás nélkül juttathatók el az emberekhez, hosszú távon elősegítve az értékőrzéssel kapcsolatban a jogkövető magatartást, és ezáltal jelentősen megkönnyítve a hatósági munkát is.
- 15 Védett műemléki érték fenntartható, integrált szemléletű, a védelmet és fejlesztést összehangoló megőrzésének elősegítése és az örökségvédelem érdekeit érintő helyi szintű szakmai és társadalmi együttműködés elősegítése (68/2018. Korm. rendelet 92. § (1) a)-b)).



- **5. kép:** A műemlék-felügyelet soproni épületének kapualjában látható történeti nyílászáró-kiállítás célja a történeti épületszerkezetek megismertetése az épületbe belépő ügyfelekkel, vendégekkel © VEÖREŐS András
- **Photo 5.** The aim of the historical joinery exhibition at the gate of the building housing the historic building conservation institution in Sopron is to acquaint the clients and guests entering the building with historical building structures © András VEÖREŐS

viding an opportunity for the young generation to get to know the mission of historic building conservation as thoroughly as possible by organising conferences and editing publications.

The basic mission of the historic building administration

■ The basic mission of the administration has remained unchanged despite the reorganisations of recent years. However, the press dealing with historic building conservation (LÓVEI 2017; Nemzeti kormány... 2017; RÉKE 2017; ENTZ 2020), even at international level (Was ist mit... 2013), reported in the past years that in Hungary the official historic building conservation has been eliminated and therefore it seems absolutely necessary to define the basic mission of the administration. It is worth basing the issue on the idea found in the preamble of the Ket.,¹² according to which the aim of the public administration is to enforce the function of providing public power and to significantly reduce the procedural burden of the beneficiaries. On the other hand, the Ákr.¹³ states that the administrative authority shall act within the framework of the law, in accordance with the requirements of professionalism, simplicity, cooperation with the beneficiaries, and good faith. According to it, the task of the public administration is to professionally manage the troublesome issues of the social actors within the available legal framework, to help them professionally from the background. The same is supported by the principles of the Magyar Program (Magyar Zoltán...), according to which “public administration is not merely a mechanical implementation, but a value-driven action aimed at doing good for the common good, which means national prosperity and stability”. Based on these, it is a serious mistake if the office, on the other hand, overexposes its official duties, overemphasises its own role and importance, and interprets its operation (= conducting certain official procedures) as an end in itself.

As a result of the reorganisation of the public administration in the last decade, the majority of the professional management services, including the inspectorate for historic buildings, have become part of the administrative system of government offices, and as a result, unfortunately, the emphasis has gradually shifted from professional assistance to the performance of official tasks as an objective to be met. The transformation also necessarily reshaped the organisation’s formal and informal relationships, fundamentally changing its long-term strategy and decision-making mechanism in certain cases. The primary goal of the professionally managed organisation was the professional aspect, which in this case was the preservation of

¹² Law 140/2004, which was in force between November 1, 2005 and December 31, 2017.
¹³ Law 150/2016, section 2 § (2) a).

heritage values, the decision-making was guided by this idea, the conceptual decisions made on a professional basis were supported by available legislation, and the specialists working with the authority performed a number of tasks that were not directly related to the official procedure, but which supported the conservation of historic buildings.¹⁴ However, in the case of non-professional government departments, the main tasks to be performed are the management (“overcomplicating”?) of official procedures, the observance of deadlines, and the provision of information to higher bodies. (Photo 7) On the basis of all this it can be concluded that although *de jure* the purpose of the administration has not really changed (although the Ákr. no longer contains the definitions of Ket.), *de facto* professional historic building conservation performs a much larger number of rather administrative than professional tasks, as the management of government offices expects it to do so. If we try to translate it into the language of official paragraphs, we have to say that the tasks related to the long-term preservation of values pertaining to historic building supervision are closely related to the duties set forth by section 92 of Government Decree No. 68/2018, not directly related to the official administrative duties,¹⁵ while these do not actually exist for the service management focused on administrative-planning tasks. In the most recent institutional system, which was established in March 2020, the organisational units performing the inspection of historic buildings were included within the organisation performing the tasks of the planning authority, and the managers came out from this same field. A “case” for the staff and managers of the planning authority lasts from the receipt of the application until the permit becomes final. In contrast, a “case” related to historic building conservation typically begins with on-site discussion, even multiple times, followed by an official procedure (or procedures). The authority continuously and actively monitors the conservation works during implementation, and then the process ends with another official procedure. However, the following intervention related to a more complex building or ensemble always implies knowledge about the previous intervention, so from a professional point of view it should be



■ **6. kép:** A Bécsi Műszaki Egyetem (Caroline JÄGER-KLEIN) támogatásával, nemzetközi együttműködéssel fiatalokat vonnak be a balkáni országokban a műemlékvédelemmel kapcsolatos feladatok ellátásába. A program jelentőségét mutatja, hogy a 2019 szeptemberében Montenegróban megrendezett konferenciát Toshiyuki KONO, az ICOMOS akkori elnöke és Grelan ROURKE európai alelnök is megtisztelte jelenlétével © VEÖREŐS András

■ **Photo 6.** With the support of the Vienna University of Technology (Caroline JÄGER-KLEIN), young people are involved in historic building conservation work in the Balkans through international cooperation. The significance of the programme is shown by the fact that the conference held in Montenegro in September 2019 was honoured by the presence of Toshiyuki KONO, then President of ICOMOS, and Grelan ROURKE, European Vice President © VEÖREŐS András

kozás azonban minden esetben feltételezi az előző beavatkozás ismeretét, tehát szakmai szempontból a korábbi folytatásának tekintendő, ami azt jelenti, hogy az elvégzett munka tudomásulvételéhez kapcsolódó hatósági eljárással sem szűnik meg a kapcsolat a hatóság és az épület között. (8. ábra)

A műemlékvédelem korábbiakban kifejtett társadalmi motivációját figyelembe véve, az alapvető cél a következő generációk „magyar” identitásának a segítése. Ennek a célnak az eléréséhez jelent fontos eszközt a történelmünk tárgyi bizonyítékaként az elődeink által létrehozott értékek fizikai valójában való megőrzése, átörökítése és megismertetése, amit viszont a társadalom a közigazgatás műemlékvédelemmel foglalkozó ágazatának segítségével tud megvalósítani. Kérdés, hogy napjaink hivatásszerűen műemlékvédelmi feladatokat ellátó szervezetei, a jelenleg ott dolgozó generáció szemléletével és szakmai felkészültségével képesek-e az általuk végzett hatósági feladatokra mint egy távolabbi cél elérése érdekében szükséges eszközökre tekinteni, vagy pusztán a hatósági munka elvégzésével önmagukat, munkájukat eredményesnek tekinteni.

Szemléletes a szervezeti rendszer átalakulásával kapcsolatban a feladatkör elnevezésének az elemzése. A korábban műemlék-felügyelőségnek nevezett (OMF, OMvH, KÖH) szervezet feladatait a műemlék-felügyelők végezték. A munkakör megnevezése a kormányhivatalokban műemléki szakügyintézőre módosult, jelenleg az örökségvédelmi szakügyintéző megnevezés használatos. Az elnevezések önmagukért beszélnek.

A felügyelő (és a felügyeleti szemléletű hatóság) – belső motivációjából fakadóan – gazdája a rábízott értékeknek, hatósági eljárástól függetlenül törődik velük, hatósági és nem hatósági eszközökkel egyaránt segíti az épületek tulajdonosait az értékek megőrzésében, segít az értékek megőrzését lehetővé tevő pályázati források felkutatásában, mert hosszú távon is felelősnek érzi magát a műemlékek sorsát illetően. A hatóság eljárásait az épületek hosszú távú fenntarthatósága, tehát távolabbi stratégiai célok és

¹⁴ The office staff regularly organised conferences, published publications, wrote articles, participated in local, regional, or national open days, Cultural Heritage Days, World Heritage Days, and Valley of the Arts programmes. Through these tasks, ideas about the values of historic buildings and the importance of their preservation can be communicated to people without exercising official authority, in the long run promoting law-abiding behaviour in relation to the preservation of values and thus significantly facilitating official work.

¹⁵ Promoting the conservation of protected historic building values in a sustainable, integrated manner, coordinating protection and development, and promoting professional and social cooperation at local level in the interests of heritage conservation (section 92 § (1) a)-b) of Decree No. 68/2018).

szakmai szempontok határozzák meg, ezek elérése érdekében hozott döntéseit támasztja alá a rendelkezésére álló jogszabályokkal. Munkájának nagyobb részét az értékőrző szemlélet közvetítése, a szakmai szempontú érvelés, az épületek és a folyamatban levő felújítások rendszeres segítő ellenőrzése, a helyreállítási folyamatban részt vevő szereplők közötti aktív párbeszéd kialakítása és fenntartása teszi ki. A hatóság a műemléki érték védelme érdekében konfliktust is vállal, a rendelkezésére álló hatósági kényszerítő eszközök alkalmazásával elősegíti az értékek megőrzését.

A szervezeti rendszer átalakulásának következtében a nagy tapasztalattal rendelkező, magasan kvalifikált – a felügyeleten többnyire egyetemi szintű okleveles építészmérnöki végzettséggel vagy műemlékvédelmi szakmérnöki képesítéssel, a háttérintézményekben művészettörténeti diplomával, sokszor tudományos fokozattal rendelkező – szakemberek tömegesen hagyták el a szervezetet az elmúlt évtizedben, és kerestek más megélhetést a piacon. Ennek következtében a frissen hivatalba kerülő munkatársaknak nincs kitől tanulniuk a szemléletet és a szakmai irányelveket. Ilyen módon a szakügyintéző (és az ügyintéző szemléletű hatóság) csupán hivatali feladatként találkozik az épülettel, a pillanatnyi hatósági eljárásban igyekszik a jogszabályok adott szituációban való alkalmazásából kiindulva helyesen eljárni anélkül, hogy stratégiai célja lenne az ügy kimenetelével kapcsolatban. Az ilyen szemléletű hatóság kevesebb időt fordít a szakmai ismeretek közvetítésére, hiszen egyrészt továbbképzések hiányában maga sem rendelkezik kellő mélységű szakismeretekkel, másrészt az értékek megőrzése iránti motiváció hiánya sem készteti rá. Ilyen módon tevékenysége kizárólag a hatósági eljárások formális lebonyolítására korlátozódik.

Természetesen a két különböző szemléletű hatóság működése között az eredményességben is alapvető különbségek vannak. Az egyik a műemléki érték megőrzését tekinti eredménynek, a másik pedig a határozat vagy végzés alakszerűleg helyes, pontos határidőben történő kiadását és a döntés megfelelő statisztikai táblázatban való rögzítését, annak a hatósági ügyintézés szempontjából tulajdonképpen érdektelen szakmai tartalmától függetlenül.

A tapasztalatátadás fontossága a generációváltás során

■ A tanulmány célja, a címe szerint, a műemlék-felügyeleti hatósági munkában a generációk közötti tapasztalatátadás, a mester-tanítvány viszony fontosságának a hangsúlyozása. A tapasztalatátadás erősítésének végső célja pedig természetesen a szervezet működésének hatékonyabbá tétele a műemléki értékek megóvása érdekében. A tapasztalatok átadása természetesen nem csupán a szervezeten belül lehetséges, az ügyintéző a munkájához szükséges tudást a tapasztalati úton szerzi meg, emiatt érdemes a kapcsolatrendszer közvetlen szervezeten túlmutató vizsgálatát. (9. kép) Ilyen módon vizsgáljuk a terület tapasztalt szereplői és az újonnan bekezdő munkatárs közötti kommunikációs formákat, illetve a kommunikáció tartalmának és módszereinek a tudás átadására és a munka hatékonyságára (itt a gyorsaság mellett a műemléki érték megőrzését mint alapvető célt is figyelembe véve) gyakorolt hatását.

Mivel a kommunikáció minden esetben a kommunikáló felek között értelmezhető, először is a szereplők számbavétele szükséges. A műemlékvédelmi tevékenység szereplői ebben az értelemben az állam mint jogalkotó; illetve az állam közvetlen képviselőjében a központi, műemléki szakterülettel foglalkozó államigazgatási szervek; az elsőfokú hatósági munkát ellátó szervezetek és természetesen a társadalmat, annak különböző érdekeit képviselő ügyfelek, illetve az ügyfelek céljainak megvalósításában közreműködő szakmai szereplők (tervező, kutató, kivitelező, restaurátor). Ezekon kívül meg kell említeni a társadalom értékőrző munkájában egyre

considered a continuation of the previous one, which means that the official procedure related to the acknowledgment of the work performed does not discontinue the connection between the authority and the building. (Photo 8)

Considering the previously mentioned social motivation for historic building conservation, the basic goal is to support the “Hungarian” identity of the following generations. An important means of achieving this objective is the physical preservation, transmission, and dissemination of the values created by our predecessors as material evidence of our history, which society, in turn, can achieve with the help of the historic building conservation service of the public administration. The question is whether the organisations of today, professionally performing historic building conservation duties, with the attitude and professionalism of the generation currently working there, can consider the official tasks performed by them as a means to achieve a distant goal, or consider themselves effective and successful by performing their official duties.

The analysis of the name of the function in connection with the transformation of the organisational system is illustrative. The duties of the former Inspectorate of Historic Monuments (OMF, OMvH, KÖH)¹⁶ were fulfilled by historic building inspectors. The name of the function was changed to historic building specialist administrator in the government offices, while today the title of heritage conservation specialist administrator is used. The names speak for themselves.

Due to their internal motivation, inspectors (and the supervisory authority) are owners of the values entrusted to them, regardless of the official procedure, helping the building owners to preserve values with official and non-official means, helping to find tender sources that would allow for the preservation of the values because they feel responsible for the fate of historic buildings in the long run. The official procedures are determined by the long-term sustainability of the buildings, i.e. by more distant strategic goals and professional aspects, and the decisions made in order to achieve them are supported by the available legislation. The bulk of their work consists of conveying a value-preserving approach, professional reasoning, regular helpful inspections of buildings and the ongoing renovations, and establishing and maintaining an active dialogue between the actors involved in the rehabilitation process. The authority also engages in conflicts in order to protect the heritage value, using the official available coercive means to promote their preservation.

As a result of the transformation of the institutional system, masses of experienced, highly qualified professionals – mostly with a university degree in ar-

¹⁶ OMF – National Inspectorate of Historic Monuments; OMvH – National Office for the Protection of Historic Monuments; KÖH – National Office for Cultural Heritage [ed. note].

chitecture or a degree in historic building conservation specialisation, in the background institutions with a degree in art history, many times with scientific degrees – have left the organisation in recent years, and found a living elsewhere on the market. As a result, newly hired staff have no one to learn the approach and professional guidelines from. In this way, the specialist administrator (and the administration-oriented authority) sees the building only as an official task, trying to act correctly in the current official procedure based on the enforcement of the law in a given situation, without having a strategic goal regarding the outcome of the case. An authority with such an approach spends less time on the transfer of professional knowledge, as on the one hand it does not have sufficient in-depth expertise, lacking training, and on the other hand it is not driven, as it lacks the motivation to preserve values. In this way, its activities are limited to the formal conduct of official proceedings.

Of course, the two authorities with different approaches also differ fundamentally in terms of the effectiveness in the operation. One considers the preservation of heritage values to be the successful outcome, while the other considers it to be the decision or order issued in a formally correct and timely manner, and that the decision is recorded in an appropriate statistical table, regardless of its professional content.

The importance of experience transfer in generational change

■ The aim of the study is to emphasise the importance of the intergenerational transfer of experience and the master-student relationship within the work of the historic building inspection authority. The ultimate goal of strengthening the transfer of experience is, of course, to make the organisation more efficient in order to preserve historic buildings and values. Naturally, the transfer of experience is not possible only within the organisation, the administrators acquire the knowledge necessary for their work through experience, therefore it is worth examining the relationship network beyond the immediate institution itself. (Photo 9) In this way, we examine the forms of communication between experienced actors in the field and the new employees, and the impact of the content and methods of communication on knowledge transfer and work efficiency (here, in addition to speed, preserving heritage values as a fundamental goal).

Since communication can always be interpreted between the communicating parties, it is first necessary to take account of the actors. The actors of the historic building conservation activity in this sense are the state as legislator; and, in the direct representation of the state, the central public administration bodies in the field of historic buildings; the organisations of first instance and, of course, the beneficiaries representing society



■ **7. kép:** A szakmai szervezetben fontos szerep jut a munkatársak szakirányú továbbképzésének. A kormányhivatalokban dolgozó műemléki szakügyintézők csak nagy ritkán, sokszor csak szabadság terhére jutnak el szakmai konferenciákra © VEÖREŐS András

■ **Photo 7.** The professional development of employees plays an important role in the professional organisation. The public servants specialised in historic buildings working in government offices rarely attend professional conferences, often at the expense of their holidays © VEÖREŐS András

fontosabb szerepet játszó civil szervezeteket is. Az egyetemről kikerülő, a téma iránt érdeklődő fiatalok bekapcsolódása természetesen bármely szerepkörben elképzelhető. Tapasztalataim szerint a tervezői, kutatói, kivitelezői vagy akár a restaurátori oldalon sokkal könnyebben megvalósul a tapasztalat átadása, a fiatal munkatársak bevonása a szakmai munkába, mint a hatósági feladatokat ellátó szervezetnél. A civil szervezetek esetében szintén nehézkes a fiatal generáció bevonása, ami talán az ilyen irányú aktivitás általános hiányával magyarázható.

A demokratikus állam mint jogalkotó a jogszabályok megalkotásával kommunikálja a társadalom felé a megfogalmazott célokat. A hosszú távon állandó, következetesen alkalmazott jogszabályok kiszámítható körülményeket teremtenek, biztonságot sugallanak, azok betartatása a kialakuló társadalmi elfogadottságnak köszönhetően egyszerűbb feladat. A műemlékvédelemre és a közigazgatásra vonatkozó jogszabályok az elmúlt tíz év során számtalan változáson mentek át.¹⁶ Mind a szakmai ágazati, mind az eljárási szabályok állandó változásával a jogalkotó egyfajta bizonytalanságot teremtett, rendkívüli módon megnehezítve ezzel a társadalom részéről a jó szándékú jogkövetést, illetve a hatóság oldaláról a szabályos jogalkalmazást és a hatékony munkát, hiszen gyakorlatilag minden változtatás után módosítani kell a kialakított eljárásrendet.

A jogalkotó állam a szakmai jogszabályokon keresztül és a szakmai irányító közreműködésével ad iránymutatást a szakmai hatóság munkavégzésével, az állami elvárásokkal, szempontokkal kapcsolatban. A szakmai jogszabályok állandó változtatása bizonytalanságot okoz.

A jelenleg hatályos 68/2018. korm. rendelet a nyilvántartott műemléki értéket, műemléket,¹⁷ műemléki környezetet, műemléki jelentőségű terüle-

16 A jogszabályváltozásokkal kapcsolatban vizsgáltuk a műemléki szakigazgatással kapcsolatos öt legfontosabb jogszabályt (Kötv. és végrehajtási rendeletei, Étv., OTÉK, eljárási törvény). 2015–2020 között 118 változás történt, ami azt jelenti, hogy átlagosan 2,20 hetente más jogszabályokkal dolgozik a hatóság. Hasonló eredményt kapunk, ha a 2012–2017 közötti időszakot vizsgáljuk, a változás üteme ekkor 2,04 hét volt. A vizsgálat nem tért ki a 2020-ban a vészhelyzet miatt bevezetett, teljesen új eljárásrendre (ellenőrzött bejelentés). A jogszabályokat és az általuk előírt jelentősebb szervezeti átalakításokat a melléklet tartalmazza.
17 2020. szeptember 1-jétől a Kötv. új fogalmakat (védett műemlék, illetve kiemelten védett műemlék) használ.

tet vagy világörökségi területet érintő beavatkozásokkal kapcsolatban önmagában is túlzottan sokféle eljárási lehetőséget sorol fel. A nemzetgazdasági szempontból kijelölt beruházásokra vonatkozó, többnyire eltérő eljárási határidőket és egyedi eljárásrendet meghatározó, rendkívül nehezen átlátható, végső soron az ügyfelek számára is komplikált rendszer nagyon távol áll az átlátható, egyszerű, ügyfélbarát eljárásrendtől. Az eljárási kavalkádot tovább színesíti, hogy a kérelmet az ÉTDR-rendszeren¹⁸ keresztül kell benyújtani.¹⁹

A szakmai szempontú hatóság besorolja valamelyik csoportba a kérelmet, és a szakmai szempontok előtérbe helyezésével meghozza a – többnyire ellenérdekű fél nem lévén – támogató döntését. Ezzel szemben a közigazgatási-hatósági szemléletű vezető és a tapasztalatlan ügyintéző a szakmai cél meghatározása helyett az eljárásrendből kiindulva, nagyon könnyen kerül eljárási szempontból zsákutcába, melyből körülményesen, bürokratikusán, jelentős idővesztéssel tud csak kikeveredni, a társadalom felé a hatalom következetlen, dilettáns magatartását közvetítve, az élet segítése helyett látszólag bürokratikus akadályokat gördítve az emberek elé. A szakmai cél nélküli eljárások sok esetben nem tudják biztosítani a műemléki értékek védelmét.

Az eljárásrenddel kapcsolatos szabályozás eljárási határidőkkel kapcsolatos módosításai az elmúlt évtizedben végtelenül kiszolgáltatottá tették és megalázó helyzetbe hozták az ügyintézőket. A bürokráciacsökkentés jegyében bevezetett, a műemléki hatósági eljárásokban nehezen értelmezhető eljárási cselekmények (függő hatályú döntés, majd annak megszüntetése, ellenőrzött bejelentés), de elsősorban a határidők munkanap helyett naptári napban való számítása, az öt-nyolc napos közbenső vagy végső határidők előírása egyáltalán nem veszi figyelembe a műemlékvédelmi hatósági munka jellegzetességeit, azt, hogy a szakmai munka

18 Építésügyi hatósági engedélyezési eljárásokat támogató elektronikus dokumentációs rendszer.

19 A 68/2018. korm. rendelet 65. § (3) bekezdése.



■ **8. kép:** A világörökségi terület folyamatos figyelemmel kísérése, a településrendezési tervek – sokszor konfliktusoktól nem mentes – véleményezése sok munkát igényel. A jelenlegi szabályozás alapján azonban ezek a feladatok jogi értelemben nem tartoznak a hatósági eljárások körébe, a feladatellátást a kiadott határozatok számával mérő statisztika alapján tehát nem is léteznek © VEÖREŐS András

■ **Photo 8.** The continuous monitoring of World Heritage Sites and the assessment of the urban planning designs require a lot of work, often involving conflicts. However, according to the current regulations, these duties do not belong to the scope of official procedures in legal terms, so according to the statistics that measure the performance of tasks by the number of issued decisions, they do not even exist © VEÖREŐS András

and its various interests, as well as professional actors (designers, researchers, contractors, restorers) contributing to the fulfilment of the beneficiaries' goals. In addition, the increasingly important role of NGOs in the preservation of society's values should be mentioned. The involvement of young people leaving the university who are interested in the topic is, of course, conceivable in any position. In my experience, the transfer of experience and the involvement of young employees in the professional work can be done much more easily by the designer, researcher, contractor, or even the restorer than by an organisation performing official duties. In the case of NGOs, it is also difficult to involve the younger generation, which may be explained by the general lack of activity in this direction.

The democratic state, as the legislator, communicates its stated goals to society by creating legislation. Legislation that is permanent and applied consistently in the long run creates predictable conditions, suggests security, and compliance with it is a simpler task due to the emerging social acceptance. The legislation regarding historic building conservation and public administration has undergone numerous changes over the last ten years.¹⁷ With the constant changes in both professional and procedural rules, the legislator has created a kind of uncertainty, making it extremely difficult for society to abide by in good faith and for the authorities to apply the law and work efficiently, since practically after every change the established procedures had to be altered.

The legislature, through the professional legislation and with the assistance of the professional managers, gives guidelines regarding the work of the specialist authority, the expectations and official criteria. The constant changes in professional legislation lead to uncertainties.

Decree 68/2018 currently in force lists too many different procedural possibilities in relation to interventions affecting the listed heritage values, historic buildings,¹⁸ historic sites, areas of historic interest, or world heritage areas. A system that is extremely difficult to overview, and ultimately complicated for customers, with mostly different procedural deadlines and specific procedures for investments from

17 In connection with the changes in the legislation, we have examined the five most important legal acts related to the administration of historic buildings (Kötv. and its implementation regulations, Étv., OTÉK – National Urban Planning and Construction Requirements, procedural act). There have been 118 changes between 2015-2020, which means that the authority worked on different acts every 2.20 weeks. A similar result is obtained if we examine the period between 2012 and 2017, with a rate of changes of 2.04 weeks. The investigation did not cover the completely new procedure introduced in 2020 due to the emergency (verified notification). The legislation and the major organisational changes they require are set out in the Annex.

18 Starting September 1, 2020, the Kötv. uses new concepts (protected historic building and highly protected historic building).

a national economic point of view, is far from being a transparent, simple and beneficiary-friendly procedure. The procedural cavalcade is further enhanced by the fact that the application must be submitted¹⁹ through the ÉTDR platform.²⁰

The specialist authority classifies the application into one of the groups and makes a favourable decision, usually without having any opposing respondent party, by prioritising the professional aspects. On the other hand, instead of defining the professional goal, the administrative manager and the inexperienced administrator get into a procedural impasse from the point of view of the procedure, which they can only get out of inconveniently, bureaucratically, in a time-consuming manner, proving an inconsistent, dilettante behaviour of power toward society, and rolling apparently bureaucratic hurdles before the people instead of helping their lives. In many cases, non-professional procedures cannot guarantee the protection of heritage values.

Amendments to the rules of procedure regarding procedural deadlines have made administrators extremely vulnerable over the last decade and put them in a humiliating position. Procedural acts introduced in the spirit of cutting red tape, which are difficult to interpret within the procedures of historic building conservation (pending decisions, then its annulment, verified notification), but above all, the calculation of deadlines in calendar days instead of working days, the imposition of 5 to 8-day intermediate or final deadlines do not take into account the characteristics of the work of historic building conservation authorities, the fact that a significant part of professional work takes place on different sites gives rise to constant tensions between the administrators who want to solve the professional task in the organisation and the management who interprets the procedural process as an objective in itself. As a result, there is a high degree of fluctuation, and the interchangeability of the workforce in the field of historic building conservation management, where it is possible to perform efficient and effective work only based on extensive and experiential knowledge, does not work. The staff changes without a transition period, old people leave the organisation without transferring experience, so young people do not have the opportunity to learn from the experienced staff. The organisational management, which also has no historical experience, is not responsible for the professional quality of the work, but only for the administrative side. (Photo 10)

The long-term archival management of official documents related to historic buildings is not reassuring; the current system treats them as mere official documents instead of scientific ones, thus degrading them in front of the profession of historic building conservation, a pro-



■ **9. kép:** Tanulva tanulni. A műemlék-felügyelet kihívásaival, munkamódszereivel kapcsolatos tapasztalatok átadása az esztergomi bazilika kupolájának példáján keresztül – a helyszínen © VEÖREÖS András

■ **Photo 9.** Learning while learning. Transfer of experience related to the challenges and working methods of the activities related to historic building inspection via the example of the dome of the Esztergom Basilica – on site © VEÖREÖS András

jelentős része külső helyszíneken történik, az eljárások valódi gyorsítója helyett folyamatos feszültséget teremt a szervezetben belül a szakmai feladatot megoldani kívánó ügyintézők és az eljárás lefolytatását célként értelmező vezetés között. Ennek köszönhetően nagy a fluktuáció, márpedig a munkaerő csereszabotossága a műemlékvédelmi szakigazgatás területén, ahol széles körű és csak tapasztalati úton megszerezhető tudás alapján lehet hatékony és eredményes munkát végezni, nem működik. Az ügyintézők átmeneti idő nélkül váltják egymást, az öregek a tapasztalatok átadása nélkül hagyják el a szervezetet, így a fiataloknak alkalmuk sincs a tapasztalt munkatársaktól tanulni. A – műemléki tapasztalattal szintén nem rendelkező – szervezeti vezetés pedig nem a munka szakmai minőségét, hanem csupán az adminisztratív oldalát kéri számon. (10. kép)

Nem megnyugtató a műemlékekkel kapcsolatos hatósági iratok hosszú távú irattári kezelése, a jelenlegi rendszer ezeket tudományos dokumentumok helyett pusztán hatósági iratokként kezeli, ezáltal a műemlékvédelemmel mint tudománnyal foglalkozó szakma felé annak degradálását közvetíti. A hivatásos magyarországi műemlékvédelem 150 évének összes dokumentuma egy helyen került összegyűjtésre 2010-ig. Mivel ezek a dokumentumok képezik az épületek következő felújításának az alapját, rendkívül fontos lenne az anyag egységes, hozzáférhető módon való kezelése, folyamatos bővítése az aktuális kutatási eredményekkel. A szakterület korábbi munkatársai tisztában voltak a műemléki gyűjtemények (tervtár, fotótár) jelentőségével, és használták az itt található adatokat a mindennapi értékvédő munka során. A 2011 óta keletkezett dokumentumok (tudományos dokumentációk, tervek) hosszú távú kutatását azonban rendkívüli mértékben megnehezíti, hogy azok a megyei kormányhivatalok irattáraiban, szétosztottan kerülnek elhelyezésre. Ezen az állapotban egyelőre a dokumentumok elektronikus rendszerekben (ÉTDR, OÉNY) való tárolása sem segít, hiszen egyrészt a dokumentumok feltöltése kérdéses, másrészt ezek az adatbázisok a kutatók számára nem hozzáférhetők. A hatályos jogszabályok szerint²⁰ a hatóság elvben megküldi a terveket és a tudományos dokumentációkat a

19 Decree 68/2018, section 65 § (3).

20 Electronic Documentation System Supporting Building Authority Licensing Procedures.

20 68/2018. Korm. rendelet. 69. § (3) b) pont.

MÉM MDK-nak, de ezen feladat ellátására sem a kormányhivatalok részéről nincs affinitás, sem a gyűjteményi oldalon nincs kapacitás.

A hatóság és a társadalom közötti formális kommunikáció a hatósági eljárások révén elvileg teljeskörűen, részletekbe menően szabályozott. A mindennapi gyakorlat azonban azt mutatja, hogy az élet sokkal színesebb, mint a látszólag minden esetre kiterjedő jogi szabályozás, és sok esetben van szükség a helyzet rugalmas, életszerű megoldására – természetesen a (sokféleképpen értelmezhető) jogszabályi keretek között. A helyzetek életszerű, az értékvédelmet szem előtt tartó megoldásához pedig a szakmai szempontokat előtérbe helyező, széles látókörű, tapasztalt, döntésképes ügyintézőkre van szükség. Tegyük hozzá, hogy a műemléki szakigazgatás kérelemre induló eljárásainak vagy örökségvédelmi bejelentéseinek a legnagyobb részében a döntés a felek előzetes kommunikációjának köszönhetően közös megállapodás eredménye, a hatósági döntés tulajdonképpen formális, a szakmai szempontú megállapodás hivatalossá tételét szolgálja.

Emiatt a műemlékvédelmi szakterületen az informális kommunikáció rendkívül fontos szerepet játszik. A hatékony informális kommunikációhoz pedig – szintén tapasztalaton alapuló, hosszú idő alatt kiépíthető – kapcsolatrendszer szükséges. Míg az ügyfél és a hatóság kapcsolata a közigazgatás legtöbb területén a szigorúan vett hatósági eljárás idejére korlátozódik, addig a műemlékvédelmi hatósági egyeztetés sok esetben jóval a hatósági eljárás megindulása előtt megkezdődik, és az eljárás lezárását követően a kivitelezési munkák végigkísérése révén akár évekkel az engedélyezési eljárást követően fejeződik be – többnyire egy újabb hatósági eljárással. A jelenlegi rendszerben a műemlék-felügyeleti hatáskör egyre inkább összerosódik az építésügyi-építésfelügyeleti feladatokat ellátó szervezetek munkájával. A hivatalon belüli kommunikációt nehezíti, hogy azokon a helyeken, ahol évtizedes tapasztalattal rendelkező műemléki szakügyintézők dolgoznak, a többnyire csupán építésügyi tapasztalattal rendelkező vezetők gondolkodásába nehezen illeszthető be a műemléki felügyelet hatósági eljárásokon túlmutató jellege, az építésügyi eljárásoktól alapvetően különböző lefolyása. Emiatt a kormányhivatalok vezetősége rendkívül nehezen fogadja be a munka hatékonyságát és eredményességét növelő, de kizárólag a műemlék-felügyeleti hatáskörben értelmezhető tevékenységeket, melyek között rendkívül fontos (lenne) a belépő új generáció továbbképzése. A generációváltással bekövetkező szemléletváltás miatt a hatóság ügyfelek felé való kommunikációja is eltolódik a segítő szakmai szervezet felől a bürokratikus hivatal felé. Az újonnan bekerülő fiatalok pedig ebbe a szemléletbe nőnek bele, ami az értékőrzés szempontjából a teljes generációváltás utáni időszakra nézve rendkívüli veszélyeket rejt magában!

Összegzés

■ A műemlék-felügyeleti hatósági feladatokat ellátó szervezeti rendszer elmúlt évtizedben megvalósított többszörös átszervezése következtében a hatóság tevékenysége a szakmai feladatok helyett a bürokratikus ügyintézés irányába toldott el, a szervezetbe bekerülő fiatalok belső, munkatapasztalatra épülő szakmai képzése és továbbképzése, a tapasztalt kollégák részéről a szakmai tapasztalatok átadása gyakorlatilag megszűnt, ennek következtében a hatóság értékőrző munkája rendkívül sokat veszített hatékonyságából. Az öregek és fiatalok közötti tapasztalatcserét lehetővé tevő módosításokkal jelentős mértékben javítható lenne a szervezet megítélése, és ennek eredményeképpen az értékőrző tevékenysége is.

A vázolt körülmények között teljesen érthető, hogy a műemlék-felügyeleti munkába esetlegesen bekapcsolódó, lelkes, megfelelő szemlélettel rendelkező, a szakmát megtanulni képes és megtanulni akaró fiatal munkatársak hamar kiábrándulnak és elhagyják a szervezetet. Az állandósuló

profession dealing with science. All the documents of the 150 years of professional historic building conservation in Hungary were collected in one place until 2010. As these documents form the basis for the following conservation of the buildings, it would be extremely important to manage the material in a uniform, accessible way and to continuously expand the database with current research results. Former staff in the field were aware of the importance of historic building-related collections (print & drawing and photographic archives) and used the data found in it in their daily heritage conservation work. However, the long-term research of documents (scientific documentation, designs) created since 2011 is extremely difficult due to the fact that they are scattered in the archives of county offices. For the time being, the storage of documents in electronic systems (ÉTDR, OÉNY) does not help either, as on the one hand the uploading of documents is questionable, and on the other hand these databases are not accessible to researchers. According to the legislation in force,²¹ in principle, the authority sends the designs and scientific documentation to MÉM MDK²², but there is no affinity on the part of the government offices or no capacity on the collection side to perform this task.

Formal communication between the authority and society is, in principle, fully and thoroughly regulated through official procedures. However, everyday practice shows that life is much more colourful than seemingly all-encompassing legislation, and in many cases, there is a need for a flexible, viable solution to the situation – of course within a legal framework that can be interpreted in many ways. In order to solve situations in a lifelike manner, with a focus on the protection of values, there is a need for wide-ranging, experienced, decision-making officials focusing on professional aspects. It should be noted that in most of the proceedings or declarations of heritage conservation initiated by the historic building directorate, the decision is the result of a common agreement due to the prior communication of the parties, the official decision is in fact a formalisation of a professional agreement.

For this reason, informal communication plays an extremely important role in the field of historic building conservation. Effective informal communication requires a network of contacts that can also be built on experience over long periods. While the relationship between the beneficiary and the authority in most areas of the administration is limited to the strict official procedure, in many cases the consultation of the authority begins well before the official procedure actually starts and after the procedure is completed, it ends years after the permit process, usually with yet another official procedure. In the current system, the competence for the inspection of

²¹ Decree 68/2018, section 69 § (3) b).

²² Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Center.

historic buildings is increasingly blurred with the work of organisations performing construction and construction supervision duties. Communication within the office is hampered by the fact that in places where historic building conservation specialists with decades of experience work, it is difficult to incorporate the nature of historic building supervision beyond official procedures, which is fundamentally different from construction procedures, into the thinking of managers with experience mostly in civil engineering. For this reason, it is extremely difficult for the management of government offices to accept activities that increase the efficiency and effectiveness of work, but which can only be interpreted in the area of historic building inspection, among which further training of the new generation is (would be) important. Due to the change of attitude with the generational change, the communication of the authority towards beneficiaries has also shifted from the assisting professional organisation to the bureaucratic office. And juniors adapt to this approach, which means an extreme risk to the preservation of values for the entire post-generational renewal period!

Conclusions

■ As a result of the reorganisation of the organisational system performing the tasks of the historic building inspection authority over the last decade, the activity of the authority has shifted from a focus on professional duties to bureaucracy, the in-house professional training and continuing education of the hired young professionals by the experienced staff and the experience exchange have ceased, and as a result, the authority's value-preserving work has lost much of its effectiveness. The changes that allow the exchange of experiences between the old and the young could significantly improve the perception on the organisation and, as a result, its value-preserving activity.

Under the circumstances outlined, it is perfectly understandable that young, enthusiastic employees who may be involved in historic building inspection and supervision activities, who have the right attitude and are able and willing to learn the profession, will soon become disappointed and leave the organisation. Due to the constant fluctuation, there is no possibility to exchange experiences over longer periods of time, just as it is impossible in these conditions to achieve a successful generational change that could take the approach forward.

Continuous study of the literature, especially for juniors would be very important for knowledge transfer. Unlike the previous, professionally organised office, no current professional journal is available in the governmental offices, and there is no possibility to obtain specialist books. In order to have a unified system of professional criteria and legal practice, it would be essential to nurture horizontal rela-



■ **10. kép:** Irathalmok egy műemlék-felügyeleti irodában. A beérkező hatósági kérelmek határidőben történő elbírálása és a hozzá tartozó statisztikák pontos elkészítése messze nem elegendő a műemléki értékek megővéséhez © VEÖREŐS András

■ **Photo 10.** Piles of documents in a historic building inspectorate office. The timely assessment of incoming official applications and the accurate production of the relevant statistics are far from being sufficient to preserve heritage values © VEÖREŐS András

fluktuáció következtében a hosszú idő alatt megvalósítható tapasztalatcsere-re nincs lehetőség, a sikeres, vagyis a szemlélet továbbvitelét biztosító generációváltás a jelenlegi formában nem lehetséges.

A tudás átadásának szempontjából nagyon fontos lenne a szakirodalom folyamatos tanulmányozása, különösen az újonnan belépő munkatársak számára. A korábbi, szakmai alapon szerveződött hivatali felállással ellentétben a kormányhivatalban nem áll rendelkezésre egyetlen aktuális szakmai folyóirat sem, nincs lehetőség szakkönyvek beszerzésére. Az egységes szakmai szempontrendszer és joggyakorlat érdekében elengedhetetlen lenne a horizontális kapcsolatok ápolása, a folyamatos tapasztalatcsere, szakmai kirándulásokon, rendezvényeken, konferenciákon való részvétel, de erre a kormányhivatali vezetés alig-alig ad lehetőséget. A helyzet javítását szolgálhatná az állandó jogszabályi környezet megteremtése. Ez egyértelművé tenné a szakterülettel kapcsolatos állami elvárásokat, kiszámíthatóvá tenné az ügyintéztést, segítené a jogszabálykövető magatartás kialakulását.

Ugyanígy fontos lenne a továbbképzések fontosságának felismerése és a szakértő hatóság visszaállítása. Annak érdekében, hogy a műemlék-felügyeleti hatóság szakmai tekintélye helyreálljon, hogy a társadalom felé következetesen tudjon fellépni, magas szinten képzett ügyintézőkre és a műemlékek iránt elkötelezett vezetőkre van szükség. Szakmai szervezetekkel, oktatási intézményekkel együttműködve, de elsősorban a hivatalon belüli folyamatos tapasztalatátadásra építve megvalósítható a rendszeres szakmai továbbképzés a vezetők és a szakügyintézők részére, ami különösen a frissen belépő új generáció számára nyújtana segítséget. A továbbképzéseken való aktív részvétel elősegíti a gördülékeny problémamegoldás folyamatát, a megvalósult jó példák bemutatása és elemzése ösztönzően hat a munkatársak teljesítményére. Az egyes megyékben azonos feladatot ellátó szervezetek és ügyintézők közötti kommunikáció elősegíti az egységes jogértelmezést, és javítja a szakmai munka minőségét. Szükséges regionális és országos szakmai találkozók szervezése a szakügyintézők és vezetők számára, melyek során lehetőség nyílik a hasonló problémák megoldásainak a megbeszélésére.

Az ügyféloldalon előírt szakértői jogosultság megkövetelése ügyintézői, illetve kiadmányozói szerepkörökben is erősíthetné az emberek hatóság iránti bizalmát, biztosítékkal szolgálhatna arra, hogy a hatóság segítő partnerként

támogatja a társadalmat, illetve biztosíthatná, hogy elkötelezett, a műemléki értéket megóvni akaró szakemberek kezébe kerüljenek a döntések.

A fő kérdés, hogy a jövőben a hatóság szakértő hivatalként, szakmai tudása birtokában, a társadalmi szereplők segítségét és az értékvédelmet tekinti-e fő feladatának, és ezen célnak rendeli-e alá a saját működését és a szakterületen a fiatal munkatársainak képzését; avagy bürokratikus hivatalként a saját működését, illetve a politikai elvárásoknak való megfelelést tekinti elsődleges célnak, és jól képzett, szakértő munkatársak helyett csupán adminisztratív feladatok ellátására képes ügyintézőkkel dolgozik, ennek köszönhetően bürokratikus akadályként jelenik meg a társadalomban, és egyúttal képtelenné válik valódi értékőrző feladatának az ellátására.

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tions, continuously exchange experiences, participate in professional trips, events, and conferences, but the management of the governmental offices hardly allows it. Creating a permanent regulatory environment could improve the situation. This would clarify the state expectations related to the field, make the administration predictable, and help the development of law-abiding behaviour.

It would be equally important to recognise the importance of further training and to restore expert authority. Highly trained managers and leaders dedicated to historic buildings are needed to restore the professional standing of the inspectorate for historic buildings, so that it can act consistently towards society. In co-operation with professional organisations and educational institutions, but mainly based on the continuous transfer of experience within the office, regular professional training could be implemented for managers and professional administrators, which would help the new generation. Active participation in trainings facilitates the process of smooth problem-solving, the presentation and analysis of good practices has a stimulating effect on the performance of employees. Communication between organisations and administrators performing the same task in each county promotes uniform interpretation of the law and improves the quality of professional work. It is necessary to organise regional and national professional meetings for specialist officials and managers, during which it would be possible to discuss solutions to similar problems.

Requiring expert entitlement on the beneficiaries' side could also strengthen people's trust in the authority's role as administrators and publishers, ensuring that the authority supports society as a supporting partner, and that the decisions are placed in the hands of dedicated professionals who want historic buildings to be conserved.

The main question is whether in the future the authority as expert office would consider the support of social actors and the protection of values as its main task and would subordinate its own operation and the training of its young staff to this objective, or as a bureaucratic office, would consider its own operation and the compliance with political expectations to be its primary goal, and would only work with clerks capable of performing administrative tasks instead of hiring well-trained staff, thus becoming a bureaucratic obstacle in society, being at the same time incapable of fulfilling its real duty of value preservation.

■ István BOTÁR¹

Campanile seu turris

MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN BELL
TOWERS IN THE CIUC DEPRESSION

■ **Abstract:** As bell ringing was an important element of mediaeval liturgy, wooden belfries and later stone bell towers were erected next to village parish churches. For a long time, it was believed that on the territory of the Ciuc Deanery, located at the eastern border of the Transylvanian Bishopric, a series of stone bell towers were built next to churches in the 15th and 16th centuries. Following the research of recent years, however, it became clear that this question cannot be explained by a single “construction wave”. Archaeological excavations and dendrochronological studies proved that certain stone towers started to be erected earlier, already in the 13th-14th centuries, other mediaeval towers, which were not known earlier, have been identified, but at the same time, it became evident that a significant part of the towers considered to date from the late Gothic period were built later, in the 17th and 18th centuries.

■ **Keywords:** belfies, bell towers, dating, archaeology, dendrochronology, sources, Eastern Transylvania

■ Because the Ciuc Depression unfolded at the eastern extremity of the mediaeval Transylvanian Bishopric, far from the great town

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Campanile seu turris

CLOPOTNIȚE MEDIEVALE ȘI MODERNE
ÎN DEPRESIUNEA CIUCULUI

■ **Rezumat:** Deoarece sunetul clopotelor a fost un element important al liturghiei medievale, lângă bisericile parohiale din sate s-au construit inițial clopotnițe din lemn și ulterior turnuri de piatră. Pentru multă vreme, ipoteza era că lângă bisericile protopopiatului Ciuc, aflat la granița estică a Episcopiei Transilvaniei, s-au construit o serie de clopotnițe de piatră în decursul secolelor al XV-lea și XVI-lea. În urma cercetărilor din ultimii ani, s-a dovedit că această problematică nu poate fi explicată printr-un singur „val de construcții”. Săpăturile arheologice și studiile dendrocronologice au demonstrat începuturi mult mai timpurii, deja din secolul al XIII-lea și XIV-lea, pentru ridicarea unora dintre turnurile de piatră, s-au identificat turnuri medievale necunoscute până acum, dar, în același timp, o parte semnificativă a turnurilor considerate a data din perioada gotică târzie s-au dovedit a fi mai noi, datând din secolele al XVII-lea și al XVIII-lea.

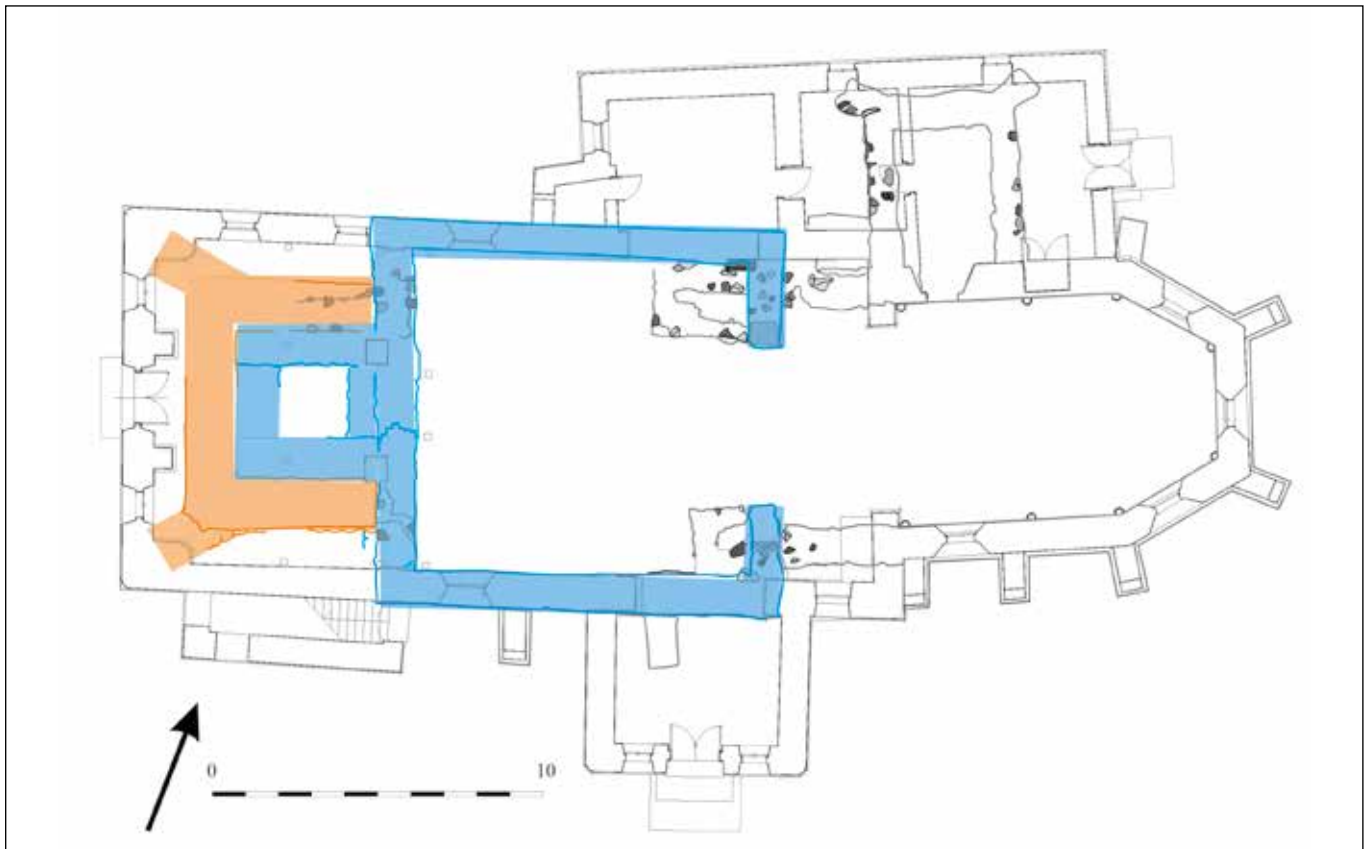
■ **Cuvinte cheie:** clopotnițe, date, arheologie, dendrocronologie, izvoare, Transilvania de Est

■ Depresiunea Ciucului se întindea la extremitatea estică a teritoriului episcopiei medievale a Transilvaniei, departe de centrele marilor orașe, este deosebit de interesant să aflăm când și cum au apărut aici elementele inovative ale arhitecturii. Turnurile vestice ale bisericilor sunt caracteristice peisajului acestei mici regiuni, marcând totodată arhitectura eclesiastică locală (BOTÁR 2019, 118-125) (foto 1). Cu excepția turnurilor care au fost edi-

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■ **Foto 1.** Turnuri de biserică din Ciuc (Șumuleu, Delnița, Racu), 2019 © István BOTÁR
■ **Photo 1.** Church towers from Ciuc (Șumuleu, Delnița, Racu), 2019 © István BOTÁR



■ Fig. 1. Fundațiile turnului identificate la săpăturile arheologice din Cârța (albastru: secolele XIII-XIV; portocaliu: secolul XVI), 2012 © István BOTÁR

■ Figure 1. The foundations of the tower identified in the archaeological excavations at Cârța (blue: 13th-14th centuries; orange: 16th century), 2012 © István BOTÁR

ificate în secolul al XIX-lea, acestea au în comun contraforturile amplasate la colțuri și ferestrele ogivale, care se mai văd în exterior sau au fost înzidite.

Pe baza acestor detalii, literatura istorie artei și cercetarea istorică locală au considerat turnurile bisericilor din Șumuleu-Ciuc, Delnița, Racu, Sâncrăieni, Cozmeni, Nicolești și Tomești, datând din perioada secolelor al XV-lea și XVI-lea, ca fiind construite după modelul turnului mănăstirii franciscane din Târgu Mureș (KEÖPECZI 1929; ENTZ 1943, 221; 1996, 138-139). Datarea medievală a fost susținută aparent și de faptul că în unele cazuri încă se păstrează în turn clopotul medieval, sau cel puțin se dețin date autentice despre clopote, care încă existau în secolul al XIX-lea (Tomești 1495, Sânmartin 1495, Misentea 1505, Lelicieni 1511, Armășeni 1542, Sâncrăieni 1562, Șumuleu-Ciuc 1595) (BENKŐ 2002, 249-251, 374).

În legătură cu antecedentele, trebuie menționat că în Ținutul Secuiesc, inclusiv în zona Ciuc, lipsesc tipurile timpurii de turnuri care în Transilvania interioară s-au păstrat în mai multe locuri, cum ar fi planurile de biserici cu turnul inclus în volumul navei (ex. Rădești) sau cu două turnuri de o parte și alta a fațadei vestice (ex. cea de-a doua perioadă a bisericii reformate din Cetatea de Baltă). Sunt convins că această diferențiere regională este parțial aparentă, datorându-se în oarecare măsură faptului că la majoritatea bisericilor din Ținutul Secuiesc s-au efectuat intervenții ulterioare, chiar de mai multe ori, astfel încât turnurile timpurii mai mici au fost înlocuite cu altele noi, de dimensiuni mai mari. Pe de altă parte, interiorul bisericilor, în special jumătatea vestică, rareori a fost supus cercetărilor arheologice. Lacunele cunoștințelor noastre au fost semnalate atunci când, cu ocazia săpăturilor arheologice recente în interiorul unor biserici din Secuime, au fost scoase la lumină forme arhitectonice complet necunoscute până la aceea dată: la Sânvăsi s-a descoperit un plan inițial de biserică din secolul al XI-II-lea cu două turnuri vestice, iar la Porumbenii Mari o rotundă din secolul al XII-lea (SOÓS & GYÖRFI 2009; GÁL 2020).

centres, it is especially interesting to find out when and where innovative architectural elements appeared in this area. Western church towers are characteristic to this small region's landscape, highlighting at the same time the local ecclesiastical architecture (BOTÁR 2019, 118-125) (Photo 1). Except for the towers that were built in the 19th century, they have in common the buttresses placed at the corners and the ogival windows, which are still visible on the outside or have been walled up.

Based on these details, art history scholarly literature and local historical research considered the church towers in Șumuleu-Ciuc, Delnița, Racu, Sâncrăieni, Cozmeni, Nicolești and Tomești dating from the 15th and 16th centuries, as being built after the model of the tower of the Franciscan monastery in Târgu Mureș (KEÖPECZI 1929; ENTZ 1943, 221; 1996, 138-139). The mediaeval dating was also clearly supported by the fact that in some cases the mediaeval bell is still preserved in the tower, or at least there are authentic data on bells that were still in existence in the 19th century (Tomești 1495, Sânmartin 1495, Misentea 1505, Lelicieni 1511, Armășeni 1542, Sâncrăieni 1562, Șumuleu-Ciuc 1595) (BENKŐ 2002, 249-251, 374).

Concerning the antecedents, it should be mentioned that in the Székely Land, including the Ciuc area, the early types of towers that have been preserved in several places in Inner Transylvania are missing,

such as churches with the tower included in the volume of the nave (e.g., Rădești) or with two towers on either side of the western elevation (e.g., the one from the second period of the Calvinist church in Cetatea de Baltă). I am convinced that this regional differentiation is partly apparent due to some extent to the fact that most churches in the Székely Land have undergone subsequent interventions, even several times, so that the early smaller towers have been replaced by new, larger ones. On the other hand, the interior of the churches, especially their western part, has rarely been subject to archaeological research. The gaps in our knowledge were pointed out when, on the occasion of recent archaeological excavations inside some churches in the Székely Land, architectural forms completely unknown until that time were brought to light: in Sânvășii, an original church plan from the 13th century with two western towers was discovered, and a 12th-century rotunda at Porumbenii Mari (SOÓS & GYÖRFI 2009; GÁL 2020).

In this regard, it cannot be overlooked that, with the coming of the Székelys at the beginning of the 13th century, the old social class, which elsewhere was the initiator and supporter of similar constructions, was gradually marginalised, then disappeared, so that in the Székely Land, the possibility of constructions with representative requirements was restricted after the departure of the Tatars. However, I believe that our current schematic knowledge will be significantly supplemented in the future, if the interiors of as many churches as possible in the Székely Land are investigated.

Western church bell towers appeared and spread in the Gothic era, when the social class of the *primores*, who could support these new constructions, was consolidated in the Székely Land. For decades, the general view was that our towers with Gothic features were built in the 15th-16th centuries. During the archaeological research of the mediaeval historic buildings in the area, started in the 20th century, observations were made related to the bell towers, calling into question this trope from the scholarship. Following the confrontation with field observations, dendrochronological research was launched in Transylvania because a method with objective and independent data was needed to confirm or deny the subsequent dating of the "Gothic towers". Thus, the first sampling and data collection took place in a series of locations starting from 2005, showing that some of the towers in the Ciuc Depression, considered to date from the Middle Ages, are in fact not mediaeval. For example, the bell towers in Șumuleu-Ciuc and in Sâncrăieni are certain to date from the 17th-18th centuries (BOTÁR, GRYNÆUS & TÓTH 2006). The documents of an episcopal visit from the 18th century clarify that at that time several churches in this area owned only belfries built of wood (*turris lignea, campanile*), and not *turris* built of stone: Armășeni, Sânmartin, Lelceni, Tușnad (KOVÁCS & KOVÁCS 2002, 132-133, 138-139, 142). Thus, in the Ciuc Depression, the wooden belfry placed next

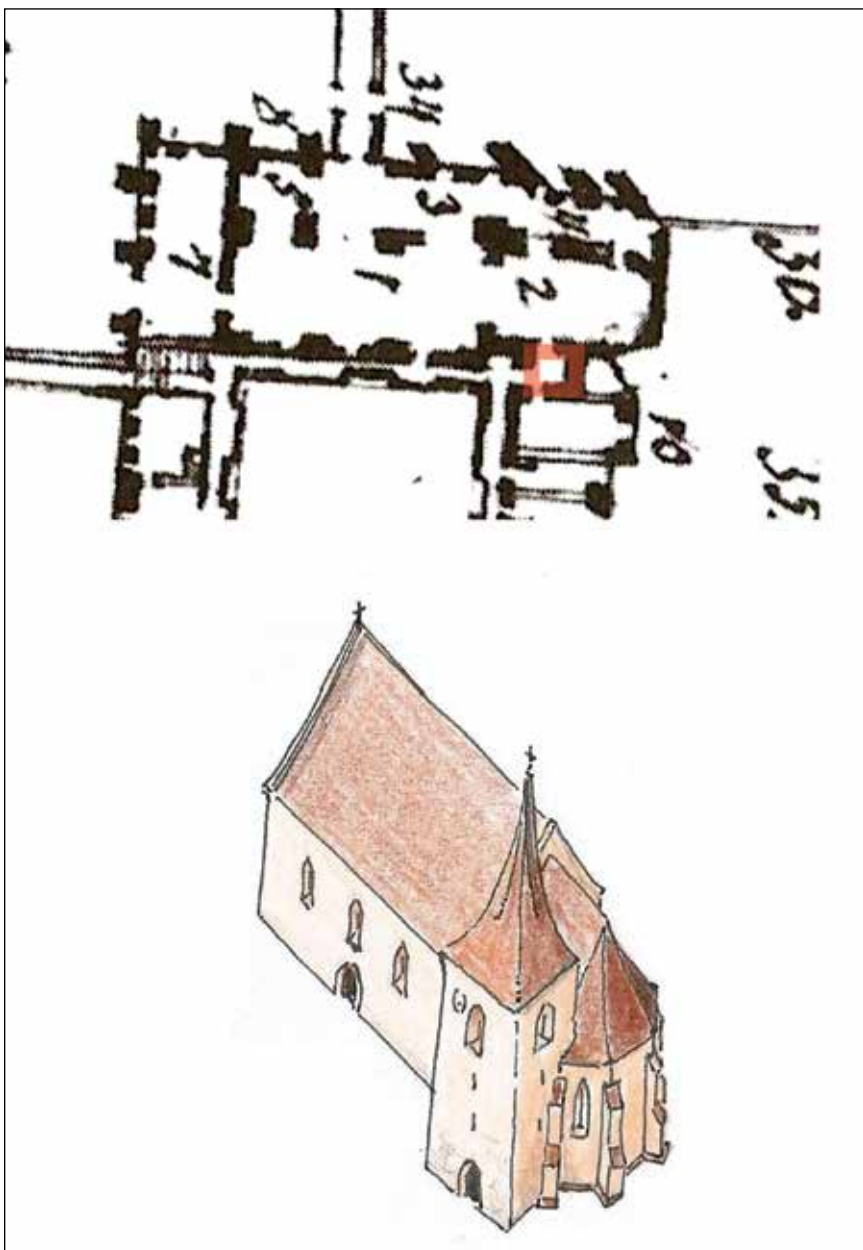
În această privință, nu este de neglijat faptul că, odată cu intrarea secolului la începutul secolului al XIII-lea, vechea clasă socială, care în altă parte a fost inițiatorul și susținătorul unor construcții similare, a fost marginalizată treptat, apoi a dispărut, astfel încât în Ținutul Secuiesc posibilitatea construcțiilor cu cerințe reprezentative s-a restrâns după plecarea tătarilor. Cu toate acestea, consider că actualele noastre cunoștințe schematice vor fi pe viitor completate semnificativ dacă interioarele cât mai multor biserici din Ținutul Secuiesc vor fi cercetate.

Turnurile clopotniță vestice ale bisericilor au apărut și s-au răspândit în epoca gotică, atunci când în Secuime s-a consolidat pătura socială a „primorilor”, care puteau să susțină noile construcții. Timp de decenii, concepția generală a fost că turnurile cu caracteristici gotice s-au construit în perioada secolelor al XV-XVI-lea. În cadrul cercetărilor arheologice ale monumentelor de arhitectură medievală din zonă, începute în secolul al XX-lea, s-au făcut observații legate de turnurile clopotniță, punând sub semnul întrebării acest topos din literatură. În urma confruntării cu observațiile din teren, au fost lansate cercetări dendrocronologice în Transilvania pentru că era nevoie de o metodă cu date obiective și independente, care să confirme sau să infirme datarea ulterioară a „turnurilor gotice”. Astfel, începând cu anul 2005 au avut loc primele prelevări de probe și colectări de date într-o serie



■ Foto 2. Vedere cu turnul zidului de incintă din Cârța, 2013 © István BOTÁR

■ Photo 2. View of the tower of the enclosure wall in Cârța, 2013 © István BOTÁR



■ **Fig. 2.** Turnul sudic al bisericii franciscane din Șumuleu în releveul lui LOSSTEINER (sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea) și în desenul de reconstrucție a lui János GYÖNGYÖSSY, comunicat de István BOTÁR, 2019, Foto nr. 330

■ **Figure 2.** The southern tower of the Franciscan church in Șumuleu in LOSSTEINER's survey (end of the 18th century) and in the reconstruction drawing of János GYÖNGYÖSSY, released by István BOTÁR, 2019, Photo no. 330

de locații, care au arătat că o parte din turnurile din Depresiunea Ciucului, considerate a fi gotice, nu sunt cu adevărat medievale. De exemplu, cu siguranță turnurile clopotniță din Șumuleu-Ciuc și din Sâncrăieni datează din perioada secolelor al XVII-XVIII-lea (BOTÁR, GRYNÆUS & TÓTH 2006). Documentele unei vizite episcopale din secolul al XVIII-lea clarifică faptul că la aceea dată, mai multe biserici ale acestei zone dețineau doar clopotnițe construite din lemn (*turris lignea, campanile*) și nu *turris* construite din piatră: Armășeni, Sânmartin, Lelicieni, Tușnad (KOVÁCS & KOVÁCS 2002, 132-133, 138-139, 142). Deci, în Depresiunea Ciucului clopotnița de lemn amplasată lângă biserică nu era nici pe departe ieșită din comun în peisaj.

În ultimul deceniu și jumătate, cercetările dendrocronologice au continuat și la alte turnuri, iar în cazul mai multor biserici s-au efectuat săpături arheologice, inspecții la fața locului și au devenit disponibile și surse scrise, înainte necunoscute. În comparație cu studiul nostru anterior, cunoștințele

to the church was by no means out of the ordinary in the landscape.

In the last decade and a half, the dendrochronological research has continued on other towers, and archaeological excavations as well as site inspections have been carried out in the case of several churches. Moreover, previously unknown written sources have also become available. Compared to our previous study, the knowledge on western bell towers has been expanded with a lot of new data, and some of our previous statements need revision. These new data are presented below.

According to current knowledge, the first and oldest western tower in this region was identified at the church in Cârța. During the archaeological survey that accompanied the renovation of the church, the walls of a demolished tower under the West gallery were found inside the current church, together with the nave's demolished mediaeval western wall. This is also mentioned in the documents of an episcopal visit from the 18th century: *Turris in fine*. This tower, however, also had a predecessor. The first, smaller tower was connected to the nave, of the same age as the one that belongs to the period before the construction of the choir, built at the beginning of the 16th century. Due to later additions, only the interior dimensions of the early tower could be recorded: 2.1 × 2.2 m (the measurable thickness of the wall was at least 130 cm, but it was not possible to clearly delineate the outer wall because of the subsequent tower) (Figure 2). The relatively large nave and therefore the western bell tower connected to it (!) can be dated as being from the 14th century. Its closest contemporary in Rugănești was identified and dated during dendrochronological research (the last annual ring of the tower beams, measured *in situ*, was formed in 1344) (TÓTH et al. 2016). In the case of the picturesque enclosure wall with gate tower from the church in Cârța (Photo 2), the dendrochronological study did not find original datable elements. Although not a classical bell tower, it is known to have had bells by the early 18th century at the latest (FEHÉR 2011, 13). We can try dating the lower mediaeval levels of the tower with the help of the enclosure wall built at the same time. The latter has three periods of construction, the oldest being the lower section, which dates from the 15th century, so probably the tower also dates from the same period (BOTÁR 2012).

At the Franciscan church in Șumuleu-Ciuc, the exact construction date of the former tower is not known. However, according to subsequent written and graphic sources, it is certain that there was a tower on the southern side of the choir, built in the middle of the 15th century (Figure 2). Considering the mediaeval Franciscan historic buildings, it is very likely that this tower belonged to the early period of the church, a fact proven during the archaeological survey: the mediaeval tower and the sacristy were built at the same time. In other words, the former tower of the Franciscan church

in Șumuleu was most likely built at the same time as the choir.²

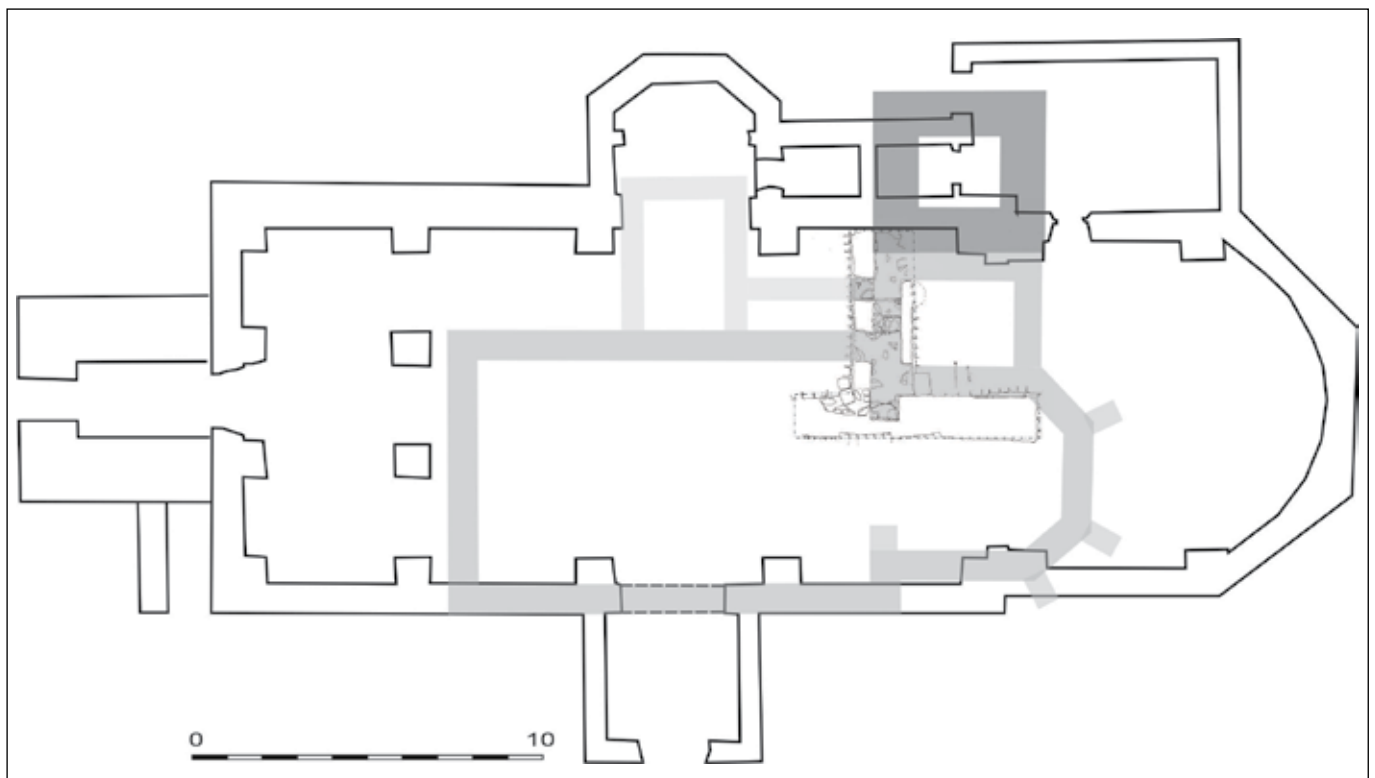
According to our archaeological observations, in *Sândominic* there was a mediaeval stone bell tower, also built under the influence of a mendicant order. During the archaeological survey to replace the flooring inside the current church, several sections of the ascending wall of the mediaeval church were found in the demolished remains. Near the wall connecting the choir to the mediaeval sacristy, to the north of it (!), a portion of a thick wall was found, which I defined as most likely to have been the wall of the tower next to the choir (BOTÁR 2009, 87-95) (Figure 3). Our hypothesis was confirmed without a doubt by the document of an ecclesiastical visit from the 18th century, according to which at that time the tower next to the church was still standing: *turris a parte* (and not *in fine* on the usual western side!) (KOVÁCS & KOVÁCS 2002, 124). Considering the completely unusual placement of the tower compared to that of the parish churches in the Székely Land, respectively according to the patron saint of the church, we suspect a Dominican influence, although in the absence of sources we cannot say more today. Based on the probable dating of the church in the 14th century, and the appearance of the mediaeval sacristy in the 14th-15th centuries, it seems possi-

despre clopotnițele vestice au fost extinse cu o mulțime de date noi, iar unele dintre declarațiile noastre anterioare necesită revizuire. În continuare sunt prezentate aceste date noi.

Conform cunoștințelor deținute actual, primul și cel mai vechi turn vestic din această regiune a fost identificat *la biserica din Cârța*. În timpul supravegherii arheologice care a însoțit renovarea bisericii, au fost găsite în interiorul bisericii actuale zidurile unui turn demolat sub galerie, alături de zidul vestic medieval demolat al navei. Acest lucru este menționat și în documentele unei vizite episcopale din secolul al XVIII-lea: *Turris in fine*. Acest turn, însă, a avut și un precedent. Primul turn, mai mic, era legat de navă, de aceeași vârstă cu cel care aparține perioadei de dinaintea ridicării corului, construit la începutul secolului al XVI-lea (BOTÁR & TÓTH 2022, 111-112). Datorită adăugărilor ulterioare, au putut fi înregistrate doar dimensiunile interioare ale turnului timpuriu: 2,1 × 2,2 m (grosimea măsurabilă a zidului a fost de cel puțin 130 cm, dar planul peretelui exterior nu a fost clar delimitabil din cauza turnului de mai târziu) (fig. 1). Nava relativ mare și deci clopotnița vestică legată de ea (!) pot fi datate ca fiind din secolul al XIV-lea. Cel mai apropiat contemporan al său din Rugănești a fost identificat și datat în timpul cercetărilor dendrocronologice (ultimul inel anual, măsurat *in situ*, al grinzilor turnului, a fost format în 1344) (TÓTH et al. 2016). În cazul pitorescului *zid de incintă cu turn de poartă de la biserica din Cârța* (foto 2), examinarea dendrocronologică nu a găsit elemente originare databile. Deși nu este o clopotniță clasică, se știe că cel mai târziu la începutul secolului al XVIII-lea avea clopote (FEHÉR 2011, 13). Putem încerca datarea nivelurilor medievale inferioare ale turnului cu ajutorul zidului de incintă construit în același timp. Acesta din urmă are trei perioade de construire, cea mai veche fiind porțiunea inferioară, care datează din secolul al XV-lea, deci probabil și turnul datează din aceeași perioadă (BOTÁR 2012).

La biserica franciscană din Șumuleu-Ciuc nu se cunoaște data exactă a construirii fostului turn. Însă, conform izvoarelor scrise și grafice de mai

² I am grateful for the verbal briefing by colleagues Lóránt DARVAS and Béla KÓSA. For data regarding the early history of the Franciscan monastery see *A ferences templom építéstörténetéhez* (BENKÓ 2012, 282-294).



■ Fig. 3. Biserica medievală din Sândominic, zidurile descoperite și reconstrucția lor (turnul de culoare închisă), 2009 © István BOTÁR

■ Figure 3. The mediaeval church in Sândominic, the discovered walls and their reconstruction (the dark-coloured tower), 2009 © István BOTÁR



■ **Foto 3.** Turnul clopotniță din Delnița, imagini cu drona © Zsombor BARTALIS
■ **Photo 3.** The bell tower in Delnița, drone footage © Zsombor BARTALIS

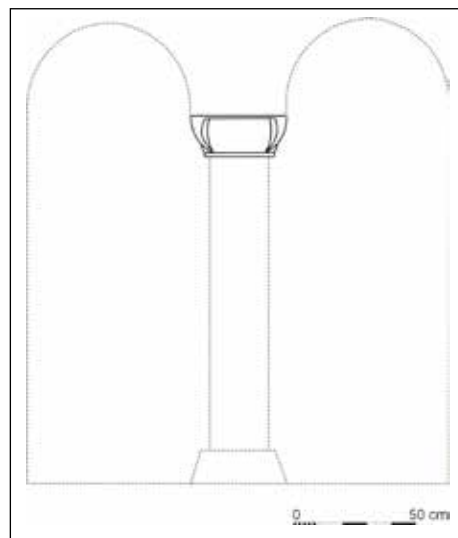
târziu, este cert că pe latura de sud a corului, edificat la mijlocul secolului al XV-lea, se afla un turn (fig. 2). Având în vedere monumentele istorice franciscane medievale, este foarte probabil că acest turn a aparținut perioadei timpurii a bisericii, fapt dovedit pe parcursul supravegherii arheologice: turnul medieval și sacristia au fost construite deodată. Cu alte cuvinte, fostul turn al bisericii franciscane din Șumuleu a fost construit cel mai probabil în același timp cu corul.²

Conform observațiilor noastre arheologice, la *Sândominic* a existat un turn clopotniță din piatră tot de factură medievală, construit de asemenea la influența unui ordin cerșetor. În timpul supravegherii arheologice de înlocuire a pardoselii din interiorul bisericii de astăzi, în resturile demolate au fost găsite mai multe secțiuni din zidul ascendent al bisericii medievale. Lângă peretele de legătura a corului cu sacristia medievală, la nord de acesta (!), s-a găsit o porțiune dintr-un zid gros, pe care am definit-o ca cel mai probabil să fi fost peretele turnului de lângă cor (BOTÁR 2009, 87-95) (fig. 3). Ipoteza noastră a fost confirmată clar de documentul unei vizite ecleziastice din secolul al XVIII-lea, conform căruia la vremea aceea turnul de lângă biserică era încă în picioare: *turris a parte* (și nu *in fine* pe latura obișnuită de vest!) (KOVÁCS & KOVÁCS 2002, 124). Luând în considerare amplasarea cu totul neobișnuită a turnului față de cea a bisericilor parohiale din Ținutul Secuiesc, respectiv conform hramului bisericii, bănuim o influență dominicană, deși în lipsa izvoarelor nu putem spune mai multe astăzi. Pe baza datării probabile a bisericii în secolul al XIV-lea și a apariției sacristiei medievale în secolele al XIV-lea și XV-lea, pare posibil ca și turnul din *Sândominic* să fi fost construit cel târziu pe parcursul secolului al XV-lea.

Referitor la *turnul clopotniță din Delnița* (foto 3), literatura de specialitate este unitară în datarea medieval târzie a acestuia (VÁMSZER 1977, 247-258; SARUDI 1996; ENTZ 1996, 139). La început, intrarea în parterul boltit al turnului era posibilă doar de la primul etaj, printr-o poartă mică sudică cu linte (VÁMSZER 1977, 247-258; SARUDI 1996; ENTZ 1996, 139).

ble that the tower in *Sândominic* was also built during the 15th century at the latest.

Regarding *the bell tower in Delnița* (Photo 3), the scholarship is unitary in its late mediaeval dating (VÁMSZER 1977, 247-258; SARUDI 1996; ENTZ 1996, 139). At the beginning, entrance to the vaulted ground floor of the tower was possible only from the first storey, through a small southern gate with a lintel (VÁMSZER 1977, 247-258; SARUDI 1996; ENTZ 1996, 139). The interior wooden structures of the tower were



■ **Fig. 4.** „Reconstrucția” ferestrei îngemănate de la Delnița, 2021 © István BOTÁR

■ **Figure 1.** “Reconstruction” of the two-light window from Delnița, 2021 © István BOTÁR

² Mulțumesc pentru informarea mea verbală a colegilor DARVAS Lóránt și KÓSA Béla. A *ferences templom építéstörténetéhez* (BENKŐ 2012, 282-294).

destroyed by a fire, and the floor beams are not in their original position. However, on the first storey of the tower, in the southern wall, a burnt beam end was found, which appeared to be in its original position. The C14 examination of the sample taken from it resulted in a date between 1486 and 1642, which is consistent with previous views and the dating of the late Gothic elements of the tower, including the keyhole-shaped loop-holes. At Delnița, the baptismal font near the southern entrance has as its base a capital belonging to a column. Based on similar sculptures, it is possible that this capital was part of the two-light window of a 13th century tower (Figure 4). Although there are no other concrete data to suggest this, it seems possible that a previously demolished tower is hidden at Delnița.

In the Ciuc Depression, there is only one known analogy of the small southern

Structurile interioare din lemn ale turnului au fost distruse de incendiu, iar grinzile planșeelor nu se află în poziția lor inițială. Totuși, la primul etaj al turnului, în peretele sudic, s-a găsit un capăt de grindă ars care părea a fi în poziția inițială. Din examinarea C14 a eșantionului prelevat de aici a rezultat perioadă cuprinsă între 1486 și 1642, ceea ce este în concordanță cu opiniile anterioare și cu datarea elementelor gotice târzii ale turnului, inclusiv gurile de tragere în formă de gaură de cheie. La Delnița, cristelnița de lângă intrarea de sud are ca bază un capitel aparținând unei colonete. În baza sculpturilor similare, este posibil ca acest capitel să fi făcut parte din fereastra îngemănată a unui turn din secolul al XIII-lea (fig. 4). Deși nu există alte date concrete care sugerează acest lucru, nu este exclus ca la Delnița să se ascundă un turn anterior demolat.

În Depresiunea Ciucului se cunoaște numai o singură analogie a ușii mici sudice a turnului din Delnița, care se deschide de la primul etaj, și anume la *turnul din Sântimbru* (foto 4). Aici, pe latura vestică a bisericii baroce, complet refăcută în secolul al XVIII-lea, se înalță turnul clopotniță. Până acum turnul nu a atras atenția cercetării, deși pe baza detaliilor sale exterioare (contraforturi de colț, goluri ogivale, parter boltit, intrare la primul



■ Foto 4. Vedere cu turnul din Sântimbru, 2019 © Ákos KARCZAG
 ■ Photo 4. View of the tower in Sântimbru, 2019 © Ákos KARCZAG



■ **Foto 5.** Goluri medievale înzidite și structuri din lemn în turnul din Sântimbru, 2020 © Boglárka TÓTH

■ **Photo 5.** Walled-up mediaeval openings and wooden structures in the tower at Sântimbru, 2020 © Boglárka TÓTH



■ **Foto 6.** Deschiderea medievală originală dintre turnul și nava din Ciucsângeorgiu, 2019 © István BOTÁR

■ **Photo 6.** The original mediaeval opening between the tower and the nave in Ciucsângeorgiu, 2019 © István BOTÁR

etaj) se încadrează bine în șirul turnurilor medievale. O parte semnificativă dintre grinzile originare ale planșeului dintre etaje și grinzile buiandrug de la gurile de tragere au fost păstrate și pot fi cercetate și datate prin metode dendrocronologice (foto 5). Analiza dendrocronologică a sondajelor efectuate în 2020 a arătat că turnul din Sântimbru a fost construit în 1463, astfel este cel mai vechi turn clopotniță datat cu precizie din Depresiunea Ciucului (TÓTH & BOTÁR 2020).

Astăzi este mai puțin vizibilă, dar pe baza imaginilor și desenelor de arhivă, este clar că *turnul clopotniță din Ciucsângeorgiu* (fig. 5) are mai multe perioade de construire. Porțiunea de mijloc a turnului a fost zidită împreună cu peretele vestic gotic târziu al navei, deci este cu siguranță medievală. Din podul navei, se vede că la construirea frontonului s-a prevăzut de la început o deschidere spre vest, adică spre un turn care exista deja (foto 6). Structura uniformă a acoperișului deasupra navei și a corului bisericii – conform studiului dendrocronologic – a fost construită în anul 1532 (TÓTH & BOTÁR 2021), așa că pare evident că turnul până la această înălțime să fi fost construit înainte de prima jumătate a secolului al XVI-lea. Golul se deschide la nivelul de deasupra brâului turnului, care a fost cândva granița dintre două tipuri (vârste?) diferite de bosaje de colț. Pare, deci, posibil ca partea inferioară a turnului să fie chiar anterioară acestei construcții în stil gotic târziu. Din păcate, nici țesătura interioară a zidului, nici mortarul, nici fostele planșee de lemn nu au putut fi verificate, deoarece turnul a fost cămășuit în interior, iar planșeele au fost înlocuite.

În ceea ce privește începuturile construirii turnurilor de vest, bănuim indirect un turn din secolul al XIII-lea la Delnița, avem date clare despre turnul din secolul al XIV-lea (Cârța), iar în mai multe cazuri se poate dovedi construirea acestora în secolele XV-XVI (Sântimbru, biserica franciscană din Șumuleu, Delnița, Ciucsângeorgiu). Turnul clopotniță medieval de la Nicoleşti, din zona învecinată Gheorgheni, poartă o inscripție cu anul 1498 (foto 7), iar datarea medievală a turnului a fost confirmată și dendrocronologic (grinzile originare ale planșeului au fost tăiate în iarna anului 1497/1498). De asemenea, în cazul turnului din Lăzarea, partea inferioară este datată dendrocronologic la mijlocul secolului al XV-lea, în timp ce la partea superioară s-au identificat elemente din lemn de la sfârșitul secolului al XV-lea (TÓTH, BOTÁR & GRYNÆUS 2016; TÓTH 2010).

Conform cunoștințelor noastre actuale, șirul turnurilor medievale se încheie cu *turnul bisericii din Racu* (foto 10). Deși circulă multe idei despre construirea timpurie a acestuia, partea autoritară a literaturii de specialitate îl consideră medieval (KEÖPECZI 1929; ENTZ 1943, 221; 1996, 138-139).

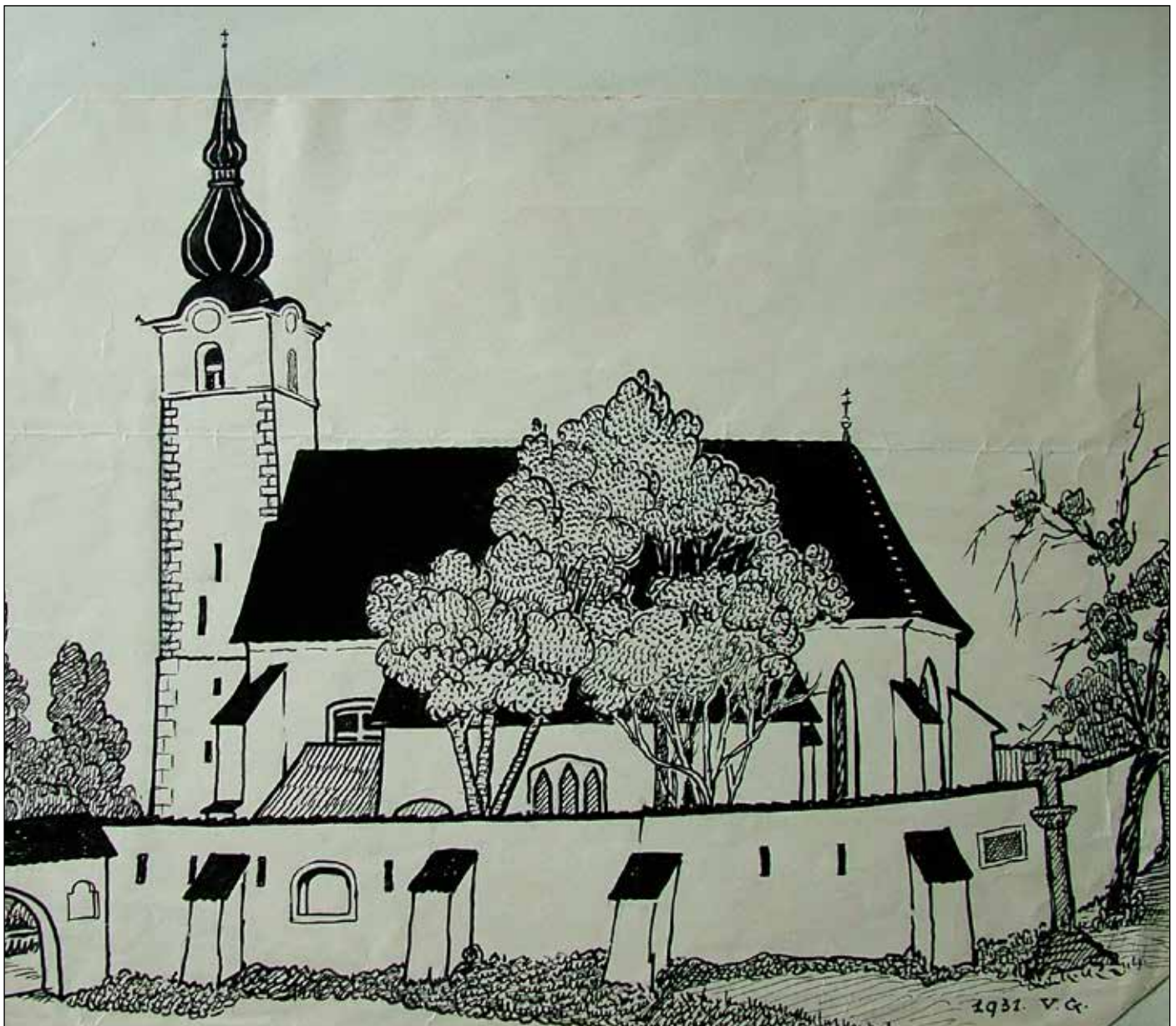
door of the Delnița tower, which opens on the first storey, namely at the *tower in Sântimbru* (Photo 4). Here, on the western side of the Baroque church, completely rebuilt in the 18th century, rises the bell tower. So far, the tower has not attracted the attention of researchers, although based on its external details (corner buttresses, ogival openings, vaulted ground floor, entrance on the first floor) it fits well in the group of mediaeval towers. A significant part of the original beams of the floor between the storeys and the lintel beams of the loop-holes have been preserved and can be surveyed and dated by dendrochronological methods (Photo 5). The dendrochronological analysis of the surveys carried out in 2020 showed that the tower in Sântimbru was built in 1463, thus it is the oldest precisely dated bell tower in the Ciuc Depression (BOTÁR & TÓTH 2020).

Today it is less visible, but based on archival images and drawings, it is clear that *the bell tower in Ciucsângeorgiu* (Figure 5) has several construction periods. The middle section of the tower was built together with the late Gothic western wall of the nave, so it is definitely mediaeval. From the attic of the nave, it is visible that when the gable was built, an opening to the west was provided from the beginning, indicating a tower that was already there (Photo 6). The uniform structure of the roof above the nave and the choir of the church – according to the dendrochronological survey – was built in 1532 (TÓTH & BOTÁR 2021), so it seems obvious that the tower, up to this height, was built before the first half of the 16th century. The opening is placed at the level above the tower's string course, which was once the boundary between two different types (periods?) of quoins. It seems possible, then, that the lower part of the tower even predates this late Gothic construction. Unfortunately, neither the inner wall fabric, nor the mortar, nor the former wooden floorboards could be verified, as the tower was refaced on the inside and the slabs were replaced.

As for the beginnings of the construction of western towers, we indirectly suspect a tower from the 13th century at Delnița, we have clear data about a tower from the 14th century (Cârța), and in several cases it can be proven that they were built in the 15th-16th centuries (Sântimbru, Franciscan church in Șumuleu, Delnița, Ciucsângeorgiu). The mediaeval bell tower at Nicoleşti, in the neighbouring Gheorgheni area, bears an inscription with the year 1498 (Photo 7), and the mediaeval dating of the tower was also confirmed dendrochronologically (the original floor beams were cut in the winter of 1497/1498). Also, in the case of the tower in Lăzarea, its lower section is dated dendrochronologically to the middle of the 15th century, while on the upper section, wooden elements from the end of the 15th century have been identified (TÓTH, BOTÁR & GRYNÆUS 2016; TÓTH 2010).

Este evident că turnul până la înălțimea etajului întâi acoperă frontonul vestic tencuit al navei, astfel în mod cert a fost construit ulterior lângă nava din secolul al XIII-lea (BOTÁR 2019, 539).³ În podul bisericii, se vede clar că pictura cu bosaje roșii a turnului este aliniată la cel de-al doilea fronton înălțat al navei, adică poate fi legat de zidăria gotică târzie. În timpul primelor cercetări dendrocronologice ale turnului, o grindă a fost definită în mod eronat drept contemporană cu edificarea construcției (BOTÁR, GRYNÆUS & TÓTH 2006, 132). În urma unei noi inspecții la fața locului, s-a elucidat că nu a rămas nicio grindă de planșeu din perioada de construire a turnului, iar data noastră anterioară a documentat de fapt urmele reparațiilor din 1664. În timpul acestei ultime inspecții, totuși, s-a găsit un capăt de grindă înzidit în perețele nordic al etajului turnului. Datarea C14 a eșanționului prelevat din acest capăt de grindă se află între 1447-1630, ceea ce confirmă edificarea medievală a turnului. În acest sens, trebuie menționat faptul că pictura roșie din turn corespunde cu cea a anului de pe cornișa/brâul fațadei sudice a navei. Deși interpretarea anului nu este complet clară

3 Datarea C14 a grinzii de stejar provenit din frontonul vestic este între anii 1189-1269.



■ Fig. 5. Desenul lui Géza VÁMSZER din 1931 cu biserica parohială din Ciucsângeorgiu © Arhiva Societății Etnografice János Kriza
■ Figure 5. Géza VÁMSZER's 1931 drawing of the parish church in Ciucsângeorgiu © János Kriza Ethnographic Society archive



■ Foto 7. Inscripția cu datare a porții de la turnul clopotniță din Nicolești (1498), 2013 © Boglárka TÓTH
■ Photo 7. The dated inscription from the gate of the bell tower in Nicolești (1498), 2013 © Boglárka TÓTH

(în literatură s-a considerat atât 1507, cât și 1570), cu siguranță se referă la construirea bisericii și a turnului în secolul al XVI-lea.

În mai sus citatul studiu anterior despre turnuri, referitor la cele considerate medievale de literatura de specialitate, mi-am exprimat îndoielile în legătură cu datarea lor medievală doar în mod condiționat. În cadrul cercetărilor dendrocronologice și arheologice din ultimii ani, în mai multe cazuri am obținut date noi și clare, astfel încât astăzi avem cunoștințe mai autentice despre istoria construirii acestor turnuri. În cazul *turnului bisericii din Nicolești* (foto 8), am menționat deja inscripția cu anul edificării 1724, care a fost omisă până acum: (EN HOMOROD/ SZMARTONI BI/ROSANDOR/MADARASON LAKTO/MBA VOLTAM/ENNEK AZ TOR/ONNAK



■ Foto 8. Turnul bisericii din Nicolești, imagini cu drona © Zsombor BARTALIS
■ Photo 8. The tower of the church in Nicolești, drone footage © Zsombor BARTALIS

According to our current knowledge, the series of mediaeval towers ends with *the church tower in Racu* (Photo 10). Although there are many ideas about its early construction, the authoritative part of the scholarship considers it mediaeval (KEÓPECZI 1929; ENTZ 1943, 221; 1996, 138-139). It is obvious that the tower up to the height of the first floor covers the plastered western gable of the nave, so it was definitely built later next to 13th century nave (BOTÁR 2019, 539).³ In the attic of the church, it can be clearly seen that the red painted quoins of the tower are aligned with the second raised gable of the nave, meaning that they can be related to the late Gothic masonry. During the first dendrochronological investigations of the tower, a beam was erroneously defined as contemporary with the construction of the building (BOTÁR, GRYNÆUS & TÓTH 2006, 132). Following a new inspection on site, it was elucidated that no floor beam remained from the tower's construction period, and our earlier date actually documented traces of repairs carried out in 1664. During this last inspection, however, a beam end was found encased in the northern wall of the tower's upper floor. The C14 dating of the sample taken from this beam end is between 1447-1630, which confirms the mediaeval construction of the tower. In this regard, it should be noted that the red painting of the tower corresponds to that of the year on the cornice/string course of the nave's southern elevation. Although the interpretation of the year is not entirely clear (both 1507 and 1570 have been considered in the scholarship), it certainly refers to the construction of the church and tower in the 16th century.

In the previous study on towers, cited above, regarding those considered mediaeval by the scholarship, I expressed my doubts about their mediaeval dating only conditionally. Within the dendrochronological and archaeological studies conducted in recent years, in several cases we have obtained new and clear data, so that today we have more authentic knowledge about the history of the construction of these towers. In the case of *the church tower in Nicolești* (Photo 8), I have already mentioned the inscription with the year of construction 1724, which has been omitted until now: (EN HOMOROD/ SZMARTONI BI/ROSANDOR/MADARASON LAKTO/MBA VOLTAM/ENNEK AZ TOR/ONNAK (EGESEN?)/FUNDATORA ES EPITTETŐ MESTERE/1724) [I Biro Sandor from Mártonis, living in Mădăraș, was the master mason of this tower in its entirety/1724] (BOTÁR, GRYNÆUS & TÓTH 2006).⁴ The authenticity of the inscription was also confirmed by the dendrochronological examination of the floor beams mounted into the tower wall. The current building was made using oaks felled in the winter of 1724/25 and 1725/26. Moreover, the inscription of this year can also be read on the lintel beam of the western entrance to the tower,

³ The C14 dating of the oak beam from the western gable is between 1189-1269.

⁴ To my knowledge, János FEHÉR is preparing a synthesis study on the tower building and repair work of Sándor BÍRÓ from the beginning of the 18th century.



■ Foto 9. Turnul bisericii din Mihăileni, imagini cu drona © Zsombor BARTALIS

■ Photo 9. The tower of the church in Mihăileni © Zsombor BARTALIS

being partially covered with plaster. However, in Nicoleşti there was a tower before the one today, whose partially demolished foundations were identified by archaeological excavations (BOTÁR 2019, 496-500). The date of construction of this tower was recorded in writing “Csik Szent-Miklóson csinaltatank egy tornyat 1626 esztendőben” [A tower was built in Nicoleşti in 1626] (VESZELY 1860, 143). These two different sources – archaeological and historical – also point out that foundations of earlier demolished towers can be hidden under or next to churches (see Cârța). The tower fell into disrepair in the early 18th century, and its bells were temporarily placed in a wooden belfry outside the cemetery garden until the new tower was built in 1724: *Turris in fine ruinae proxima. Campanile extra caemeterium in quo campanae 4* (FEHÉR 2011).

Until recently, the church tower in Mihăileni (Photo 9) was also listed among the “typical mediaeval” towers in the Ciuc Depression. The first doubts arose from the discovery that the narrow ogival windows carved from stone had been repositioned (BOTÁR 2001, 136). Our hypothesis was also confirmed by a written source from the beginning of the 18th century (1716: *in fine turris nova* – a new tower at the end of the church – i.e., on the western side). Even though the church had bells from the 17th century, according to the local history

(EGESEN?)/FUNDATORA ES EPITTETŐ MESTERE/1724) [Eu Biro Sandor din Mărtiniș, locuind la Mădăraș, am fost maistrul zidar al acestui turn în întregime/1724] (BOTÁR, GRYNÆUS & TÓTH 2006).⁴ Autenticitatea inscripției a fost confirmată și de examinarea dendrocronologică a grinzilor de planșeu înzidite în peretele turnului. Clădirea actuală a fost realizată cu utilizarea unor stejari tăiați în iarna anilor 1724/25 și 1725/26. De altfel, inscripția acestui an se poate citi și pe buiandrugul intrării vestice în turn, fiind parțial acoperită cu tencuială. Însă la Nicoleşti exista un turn anterior celui de astăzi, ale cărui fundații parțial demolate au fost identificate de săpături arheologice (BOTÁR 2019, 496-500). Data edificării acestui turn a fost înregistrată în scris „Csik Szent-Miklóson csinaltatank egy tornyat 1626 esztendőben” [În Nicoleşti s-a făcut un turn în anul 1626] (VESZELY 1860, 143). De asemenea, aceste două surse diferite – arheologice și istorice – subliniază că sub, sau pe lângă biserici se pot ascunde fundații ale unor turnuri anterioare demolate (vezi concret la Cârța și posibil la Delnița). Turnul a ajuns în paragină la începutul secolului al XVIII-lea, iar clopotele lui au fost amplasate temporar într-o clopotniță de lemn în afara grădinii cimitirului, până când turnul nou a fost ridicat în 1724: *Turris in fine ruinae proxima. Campanile extra caemeterium in quo campanae 4* (FEHÉR 2011).

Până de curând turnul bisericii din Mihăileni (foto 9) s-a enumerat, de asemenea, printre turnurile „tipic medievale” din Depresiunea Ciucului. Primele îndoieli s-au născut în urma constatării că ferestrele ogivale înguste cioplite din piatră au fost repositionate (BOTÁR 2001, 136). Ipoteza noastră a fost confirmată și de o sursă scrisă de la începutul secolului al XVIII-lea (1716:

⁴ După cunoștințele mele, János FEHÉR pregătește un studiu de sinteză privind activitatea de construire și reparare a turnurilor a lui Sándor BÍRÓ de la începutul secolului al XVIII-lea.



■ Foto 10. Turnul bisericii din Racu, 2009 © István BOTÁR
■ Photo 10. The tower of the church in Racu, 2009 © István BOTÁR



■ Foto 11. Turnul început în 1653 din Cosmeni, 2019 © István BOTÁR
■ Photo 11. The tower started in 1653 in Cosmeni, 2019 © István BOTÁR

in fine turris nova – un nou turn la capătul bisericii – adică pe latura vestică). Chiar dacă biserica avea clopote din secolul al XVII-lea, conform sursei istoriei locale, ele ar fi stat într-o clopotniță de lemn (BOTÁR 2019, 491).

Tabelul 1 prezintă date cumulative despre turnurile clopotniță ale bisericilor medievale din Depresiunea Ciucului.

De asemenea, *turnul clopotniță din Cosmeni* (foto 11) a fost construit ulterior evului mediu. În 1608 este menționată o clopotniță în sat, iar conform *Historia Domus*, în 1653 a început construirea turnului „gotic” (BOTÁR 2019, 321-324), păstrat până astăzi.

Trecând în revistă datele obținute în Depresiunea Ciucului, putem rezuma că aproape 40% dintre bisericile medievale aveau clopotnițe. Una dintre concluziile studiului nostru anterior asupra turnurilor clopotniță din ținutul Ciuc a fost că, „este necesar să depășim clasificările schematice anterioare, astfel în cazul tuturor clădirilor și părților de clădiri, sunt necesare cercetări independente suplimentare pentru a stabili datarea reală a acestora.” Cercetările din ultimii ani ne-au învățat să nu acordăm credit necondiționat pretențiilor încrezătoare ale literaturii anterioare, dar să nu generalizăm nici datele noastre, care infirmă parțial pozițiile anterioare. Așadar, în Evul Mediu, majoritatea bisericilor din Depresiunea Ciucului nu aveau turn clopotniță vestic, dar nu este adevărat nici faptul că cele mai multe au fost construite abia în secolele al XVII-lea și al XVIII-lea.

source, they would have been placed in a wooden belfry (BOTÁR 2019, 491).

Table 1 shows cumulative data about the bell towers of mediaeval churches in the Ciuc Depression.

The bell tower in Cosmeni (Photo 11) was also built after the Middle Ages. In 1608 a belfry is mentioned in the village, and according to the *Historia Domus*, the construction of the “Gothic” tower (BOTÁR 2019, 321-324), preserved until today, began in 1653.

Reviewing the data obtained in the Ciuc Depression, we can summarise that almost 40% of mediaeval churches had bell towers. One of the conclusions of our previous study on the bell towers of the Ciuc area was that “it is necessary to go beyond the previous schematic classifications, thus in the case of all buildings and parts of buildings, further independent research is needed to establish their actual dating.” Research in recent years has taught us not to give unconditional credit to the confident claims of the previous scholarly literature, but also not to generalise our data, which partially disprove previous positions. So, in the Middle Ages, most of the churches in the Ciuc Depression did not have a western bell tower, but it is also not true that most of them were built only in the 17th and 18th centuries.

■ **Table 1.** Date care indică perioada de construire a turnurilor clopotniță din Depresiunea Ciucului

■ **Table 1.** Data indicating the periods of construction of the bell towers in the Ciuc Depression

Localitate/ Settlement	Date scrise/ Written data	Alte izvoare/ Other sources
Delnița (Csíkdelne)	1716: <i>Turris in fine ruinae proximae</i>	C14: 1486-1642
Armășeni (Csíkmenaság)	1716: <i>Turris lignea foris extra coemeterium</i>	H: 1542 C: clopot va B: bell
Misentea (Csíkmindszent)	1716: <i>Campanile ligneum</i>	H: 1505
Cârța (Csíkkarcfalva)	1716: <i>Turris in fine ...; supra portam caemeterii</i>	
Cozmeni (Csíkkozmás)	1608: <i>az haranglabnal [lângă clopotniță / next to the belfry]; ...es abban az esztendőben lön vége a Torony epitesenek mellyet kezdettenek vala rakni Anno 1653 [...și în acel an s-a terminat construirea turnului, care a fost început în Anno 1653 / and in that year the building of the tower, which was begun in Anno 1653, was finished].</i>	
Racu (Csíkrákos)		C14: 1447-1630; E: 1507/ 1570 (?)
Șumuleu-Ciuc (Csíksomlyó) (claustrul/ cloister)		E, cercetare de parament/ building archaeology: 1448
Șumuleu-Ciuc (Csíksomlyó) (biserica parohială/ parish church)	<i>turris ... aedificare caepta 1677 Deducta Anno 1683</i>	E: A:D: 1680; D: vara anului/ summer of the year 1680; H: 1595 C: clopot va B: bell
Sândomic (Csíkszentdomokos)	1716: <i>Turris a parte</i>	săpături: sec. XIV-XV/ excavations: 14 th -15 th centuries
Sântimbru (Csíkszentimre)	1716: <i>Turris in fine</i>	D: 1457-1463
Ciucsângeorgiu (Csíkszentgyörgy)	1716: <i>Turris in fine</i>	D: înainte de / before 1533
Sâncreieni (Csíkszentkirály)	1716: <i>Campanile extra caemeterium; 1731: Turris ex lapidibus recenter erecta</i>	H: 1562 C: clopot va B: bell
Leliceni (Csíkszentlélek)	1716: <i>turris lignea</i>	H: 1511 C: clopot va B: bell
Sânmartin (Csíkszentmárton)	1716: <i>Turris lignea extra caemeterium</i>	H: 1495 C: clopot va B: bell
Nicolești (Csíkszentmiklós)	Date scrise despre turnul vechi / Written data about the old tower: 1624; 1714: <i>turris is fine ruina proxima</i> ; cel actual / the current one: 1724-1726; 1731: <i>Turrim ... recenter extractam</i>	E: 1724 D: 1725-1726
Mihăileni (Csíkszentmihály)	1716: <i>turris nova</i>	D: 1714
Cetățuia (Csatószeg)	1716: <i>Turris in fine</i>	
Tomești (Csíkszenttamás)	1731: <i>turris lapidea</i>	H: 1495

Legendă/ Legend: E: epigrafie/ epigraphy; R: arheologie/ archaeology; D: dendrocronologie/ dendrochronology; H: clopot/ bell; C14.

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■ PLESKOVICS Viola¹

Tensiuni teoretice
în timpul reabilitării
palatului regal din
Esztergom
între 1934 și 1938

Theoretical Tensions During the Rehabilitation of the Royal Palace in Esztergom Between 1934 and 1938

■ **Rezumat:** În 1934, Tibor GEREVICH, o figură cunoscută a diplomației italo-maghiare, a devenit președinte al Comitetului Național pentru Monumente Istorice din Ungaria. Până la rolul său de conducere, intervențiile asupra clădirilor monument istoric se realizau doar sub forma așa-numitelor restaurări stilistice, dar GEREVICH i-a determinat pe arhitecții maghiari să urmeze metodele moderne italiene. În acest sens, cel mai faimos proiect al său a fost reconstrucția cetății regale din Esztergom, realizat între 1934 și 1938 cu completări neutre, devenind un exemplu ilustru pentru Carta de la Atena. Textul analizează faptul că în timpul procesului de proiectare se poate observa o atitudine favorabilă reconstrucțiilor stilistice, în paralel cu soluțiile moderniste de conservare.

■ **Cuvinte cheie:** conservarea patrimoniului construit, reconstrucție, Comitetul Național pentru Monumente Istorice, cetatea regală din Esztergom, practici de restaurare

■ Tratatul de la Trianon a încheiat oficial Primul Război Mondial și a definit noile granițe ale statului maghiar în 1920. După semnarea acestui act, majoritatea monumentelor din Ungaria au trecut dincolo de granițe, iar gestiunea patrimoniului a avut nevoie de sprijin financiar și social pentru a descoperi noi monumente în cadrul noilor granițe ale țării. Arhitecții și istoricii de artă maghiari au început să aplice metoda redescoperirii vechilor capitale pierdute ale Ungariei medievale, care puteau fi folosite ca și opere-cheie prin care aceste monumente pierdute să fie reanexate, cel puțin în context cultural (BOZÓKI 1996, 171).

În 1934, Tibor GEREVICH, o figură cunoscută a relațiilor diplomatice italo-maghiare, a devenit președintele Comitetului Național pentru Monumente Istorice.

■ **Abstract:** In 1934 Tibor GEREVICH, a well-known figure of the Hungarian-Italian diplomacy, became the Chairman of the National Committee for Historic Monuments. Until his leading role, interventions on historic buildings were carried out only in the form of so-called stylistic restorations or extensions, but GEREVICH had the Hungarian architects follow the modern Italian methods in the field of historic building conservation. In this regard, his most famous project was the reconstruction of the Royal Castle in Esztergom between 1934 and 1938, which represented neutral additions and became an illustrious example for the Athens Charter. The text examines the fact that during the design process an attitude favouring stylistic reconstructions can also be observed in parallel with the modernist conservation solutions.

■ **Keywords:** stylistic restoration, National Committee for Historic Monuments, Royal Castle in Esztergom, conservation practices

■ The Treaty of Trianon officially ended World War I and defined the new borders of the Hungarian state in 1920. After the act was signed, most of Hungary's historic buildings were detached from the country, and heritage management needed both financial and social support to search for new historic buildings within the newly defined borders. Hungarian architects and art historians initiated a method of exploring and using lost and later rediscovered mediaeval Hungarian capitals as key works, through which they strived to re-annex, at least in a cultural context, the historic buildings that had been lost to the country (BOZÓKI 1996, 171).

In 1934 Tibor GEREVICH, a well-known figure of the Italian-Hungarian diplomacy, became the Chairman of the National Committee for Historic Monuments. GEREVICH was influenced by Benito MUSSOLINI's doctrine, which made a connection between the Roman Empire and his fascist Italy; a continuum between Caesar and himself. This approach legitimised MUSSOLINI's authoritarianism, as well as his ambitions regarding the establishment of colonies, which could be annexed rightfully to his new Roman Empire i.e., to Italy. GEREVICH used this kind of "archaeological propaganda", although in a subtler way, with the aim of initiating expensive reconstructions financed by the current political establishment. In the 1930s, two great and iconic works had the potential

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■ **Photo 1.** The excavation of the Royal Palace in Esztergom (NAGY 1986, Figure 9)
■ **Foto 1.** Săpăturile de la palatul regal din Esztergom (NAGY 1986, fig. 9)

of stirring up the media: the survey and rehabilitation of the mediaeval basilica in Székesfehérvár and the discovery and rehabilitation of the castle in Esztergom. The latter would later result in a reconstruction, but one that followed the modernist approach of the Italian method and refused stylistic restorations, accepting only *anastylosis*. This was a turning point in Hungarian architectural history.

Until this point, historic building restorations were dominated by interventions in the building's original or dominant style, so-called stylistic restorations, but due to the leading role of Tibor GEREVICH, the time of contemporary extensions or additions had finally arrived. However, during the design process, attempts regarding the above-mentioned stylistic reconstruction approaches can also be observed alongside modernist restoration solutions. This dichotomy is the focus of the present article.

Esztergom is one of the most important historic towns of Hungary. It was the mediaeval capital of the country and the birthplace of Saint Stephen (972-1038), the first Hungarian king, who was crowned here in the year 1000. During the period of the castle's construction and the architectural development of its surrounding area i.e., until the end of the 13th century, Esztergom served not only as royal residence, but also as the centre of the Hungarian state and religion. The most devastating siege of Esztergom took place in 1595, when it was recaptured from the Ottoman forces. The original fragments of the palace in Esztergom were thought to have disappeared, when they were actually hidden underground, after the vaults had collapsed and the debris filled up the palace's spaces. The area of the former castle system became a flat bastion called Leopold-Terrasse, and nobody knew that the intact rooms of the palace were hiding within this structure. This was the situation until 1934.

The Committee and the prebendary of Esztergom, Antal LEPOLD, joined the search to find the castle ruins, attaining their goal in 1934. The excavations started with great interest and with the ambition of reconstructing the building and establishing a new museum in time for the 900th jubilee of the death of Saint Stephen and the Eucharistic Congress.

"We will restart the excavations in the spring, with a new hope. We intend to explore and reconstruct the palace of the Arpad dynasty for the occasion of the 900th jubilee of Saint Stephen's death. Thanks to this, all of the Hungarian people who live on both sides of the Danube, within or outside the new borders, will be reminded of the greatness of the Hun-

GEREVICH a fost influențat de doctrina lui Benito MUSSOLINI, care a creat o conexiune între Imperiul Roman și Italia sa fascistă, un continuu între Cezar și el însuși. Această abordare a legitimat atât autoritarismul lui MUSSOLINI, cât și cucerirea coloniilor care puteau fi anexate de drept noului Imperiu Roman, adică Italiei. Și GEREVICH a folosit acest tip de „propagandă arheologică”, dar într-o versiune mult mai atenuată. Motivul a fost inițierea unor reconstrucții scumpe finanțate de politica vremii. În timpul anilor 1930, două lucrări mari și reprezentative aveau potențialul de a stârni ecou în presă: relevarea și reabilitarea bazilicii medievale din Székesfehérvár, respectiv descoperirea și reabilitarea cetății de la Esztergom. Cazul din urmă s-a manifestat printr-o reconstrucție, dar în modul modernist al metodei italiene, refuzând restaurarea stilistică și susținând doar metoda anastylozei. Acesta a fost un punct de cotitură în istoria arhitecturii maghiare.

Până în acel moment, metodologia restaurărilor de monumente istorice a fost dominată de abordarea stilistică, dar datorită rolului important jucat de Tibor GEREVICH, a venit în sfârșit și vremea completărilor în limbaj contemporan. Însă, în cadrul proceselor de proiectare, tendința spre reconstrucție stilistică poate fi și ea observată în paralel cu soluțiile moderne de restaurare. Acest fenomen este focusul examinării din prezentul articol.

Esztergom este unul dintre cele mai importante orașe istorice din Ungaria. A fost capitala medievală a țării și locul de naștere al Sfântului Ștefan (972-1038), primul rege maghiar, care a fost încoronat ca rege aici, în anul 1000. În perioada construirii cetății și a cartierului din jurul acestuia, adică până la sfârșitul secolului al XIII-lea, Esztergom a servit nu doar ca reședință regală, ci și ca centru al statului și al religiei maghiare. Cel mai grav asediu al orașului a avut loc în 1595, când a fost recucerit de sub ocupația forțelor otomane. S-a crezut că fragmentele originare ale palatului din Esztergom au dispărut, când acestea au fost de fapt doar ascunse sub pământ după ce bolțile s-au prăbușit și spațiile palatului au fost umplute cu moloz. Locația fostei cetăți a fost transformată într-un bastion aplatizat – numit Leopold-Terrasse – și nimeni nu a știut că înăuntrul acestei structuri se ascundeau încăperile intacte ale palatului. Aceasta a fost situația până în 1934.

Comitetul și prebendarul din Esztergom, Antal LEPOLD, s-au alăturat căutării ruinelor cetății, atingându-și scopul în 1934. Săpăturile au început cu un mare interes, având un obiectiv important, cel de a reconstrui clădirea și de a înființa un nou muzeu reprezentativ cu ocazia celui de-al 900-lea jubileu al morții Sfântului Ștefan și Congresul Euharistic.

„Vom reîncepe săpăturile în primăvară cu o nouă speranță. Dorim să excavăm și să reconstruim palatul dinastiei arpadiene cu ocazia jubileului a 900 ani de la moartea Sfântului Ștefan. Datorită acestui

lucru, tuturor maghiarilor care trăiesc de ambele maluri ale Dunării, în interiorul sau în afara noilor granițe, li se va reaminti măreția trecutului maghiar și se vor putea raporta la îndatoririle viitorului maghiar.” – scria GEREVICH (1934, 10).

Este important de remarcat contextul istoric al restaurării. În examinarea stilistică a capelei, GEREVICH a accentuat în principal influențele franceze, iar propagarea acestei legături franceze a continuat în favoarea deschiderii către diplomația franceză după Tratatul de la Trianon. Cu toate acestea, stilul completărilor a demonstrat un mod de gândire foarte italian. De fapt, pentru anul 1938, această intervenție reprezenta cea mai complexă anastiloză realizată pe o clădire medievală din afara Italiei, folosind beton armat ascuns.

Reconstrucția cu folosirea unei tehnologii moderne ascunse nu era o tehnică unică în Europa. Catedrala din Messina a fost și ea reconstruită folosind această metodă, dar în cazul ei a fost vorba despre o renovare imediat după un cutremur. De aceea, existau documente și fotografii ale stării inițiale a clădirii. Cazul Esztergom a fost unul specific, din cauză că experții au fost nevoiți să reconstruiască capela folosind doar urme ale trecutului, trebuind să lucreze doar cu dovezi arheologice. Capela și unele părți ale palatului au putut fi reconstruite folosind materiale din excavație, dar nu au fost destule fragmente pentru a reconstrui întreaga cetate. A apărut astfel o dilemă importantă: cum ar trebui arhitecții să proiecteze completările? Cum ar trebui să construiască spațiile acoperite ale cetății?

La acea vreme, Ungaria se afla între două lumi în ceea ce privește teoria restaurării: influența restaurării stilistice putea fi încă simțită în țară, dar GEREVICH, în calitate de președinte, a luat partea teoriilor moderne ale restaurării italiene. Astfel, acesta din urmă a fost standardul și la restaurările palatului din Esztergom, și este motivul pentru care s-a folosit cărămidă klinker plat în stil italian în completarea elementelor originare din piatră. Soluția aleasă avea inclusiv scopuri didactice, prin care se putea arăta publicului ce este original și ce este completare modernă. În perioada intervenției, această soluție putea fi cu siguranță considerată a fi o *completare în limbaj contemporan*.

Cu toate acestea, nu înseamnă că arhitectul șef al Comisiei, Kálmán LUX, și fiul său, arhitectul Géza LUX, nu s-au jucat cu ideea restaurării stilistice. În arhive se păstrează un număr mare de planuri și desene ale unor reconstrucții teoretice sau reconstrucții-pilot. Ele erau referitoare atât la cetate, cât și la Catedrala Sfântului Adalbert care se afla lângă cetate înainte de invazia otomană. Aceste planuri prezintă interes mare pentru cercetare, fiindcă ilustrează evoluția planurilor care vizau capela. De exemplu, putem găsi schițe pentru capela regală a cetății, care prezintă un stil neoromanic, dar se poate observa că acestea sunt doar idei schițate, nu și planuri de proiect (MÉM-MDK, Tervtár:



■ **Photo 2.** The entrance to the chapel of the Royal Palace of Esztergom in 1935, during the rehabilitation works © Fortepan, donator: Ebner (photo no. 83769, <https://fortepan.hu/hu/photos/?id=83769>)

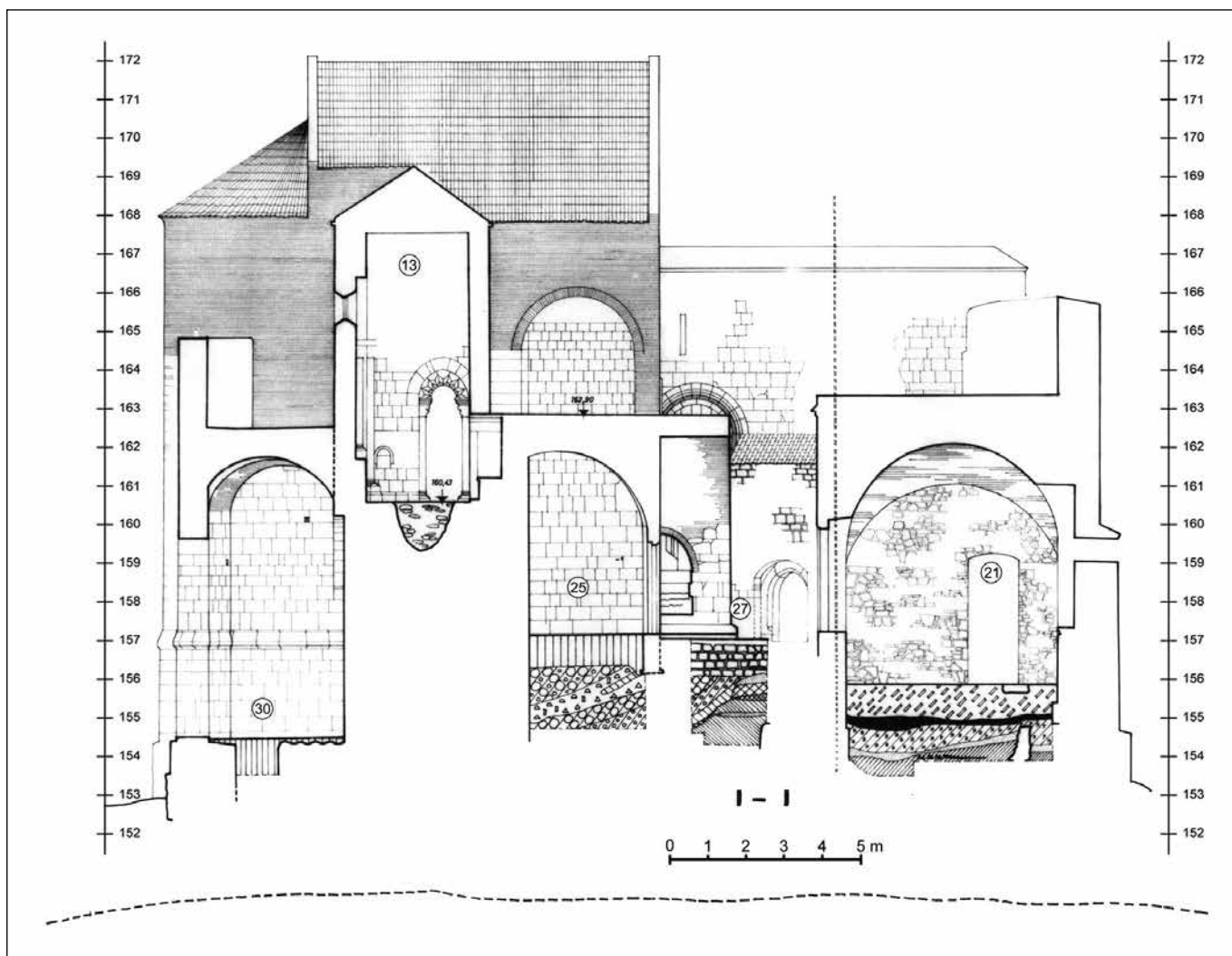
■ **Foto 2.** Intrarea capelei din cadrul palatului regal din Esztergom în 1935, în timpul șantierului de restaurare © Fortepan, donator: Ebner (nr. foto 83769, <https://fortepan.hu/hu/photos/?id=83769>)

garian past and of the duties for a Hungarian future.”– wrote GEREVICH (1934, 10).

The historical context of the restoration is of particular interest. In the stylistic examination of the chapel, GEREVICH focused mainly on the French influences, and the propagation of the French connection continued in favour of opening towards the French diplomacy in the aftermath of the Treaty of Trianon. Meanwhile, the style of the extensions and completions showed a typically Italian mentality. Actually, for the year of 1938, this was the most complex *anastylosis* implemented on a mediaeval building with hidden reinforced concrete, outside of Italy.

Reconstruction with hidden modern technologies was not an unprecedented technique in the European practice. The cathedral of Messina was also reconstructed with this method, but this was an emergency renovation following an earthquake. Thus, documents and photos about the original condition were available. The case of Esztergom was very specific, as the experts had to reconstruct the chapel based only on traces from the past, and they could only work with archaeological evidence. The chapel and some parts of the palace could be reconstructed using old fragments and carvings resulted from the excavation, but there were not enough of these to reconstruct the entire castle. Thus, a fundamental question arose: how should the architects design the extensions and additions? How should they reconstruct the castle with covered spaces?

At that time, in terms of conservation philosophy, Hungary stood between two realms: the practice of stylistic restoration could still be sensed in the country, but GEREVICH, as chairman, sided with the modern Italian conservation theories. Thus, the latter became the standard for the restoration of the palace in Esztergom. This is why Italian-styled flat clinker



■ Figure 1. Section of the chapel within the Royal Palace of Esztergom (NAGY 1986, Figure 70)

■ Fig. 1. Secțiune a capelei din cadrul palatului regal din Esztergom (NAGY 1986, fig. 70)

bricks were used, built upon the original stones. The chosen solution also had a narrative intent aimed at the visitors, distinguishing the original remains from the modern additions. Given the intervention's time period, this solution could certainly be considered a *contemporary extension*.

However, this did not mean that Kálmán LUX, the leading architect of the Committee and his son, architect Géza LUX did not play with the idea of stylistic restoration. The archives hold a large number of designs, sketches and drawings of theoretical and experimental reconstructions. These were found both for the castle, but also for Saint Adalbert's Cathedral, which stood next to the castle before the Ottoman invasion. These are highly interesting, as based on them we are able to follow the transformation of the plans for the chapel. For example, we can find sketches for the Royal Chapel of Esztergom Castle that indicate the use of Neo-Romanesque style, but we can also note that these are only schemes, not design plans (MÉM-MDK, Tervtár: Lux-hagyaték, 15833, 03902, 03813). Later, we can see some drawings for the same Royal Chapel that show the intent of abstract additions, but with a taste for historical motifs (MÉM-MDK, Tervtár: Lux-hagyaték, 03804). For example, the chapel's missing gable is already planned with modern brick layers, but on the upper section we can clearly see Neo-Romanesque arches.

In the next design phases, the façade of the chapel shows symmetric forms. The gable rises to a higher point, but the brick texture has started to become more abstract and unarticulated. It was also an intentional

Lux-hagyaték, 15833, 03902, 03813). Mai târziu, putem vedea desene care conțin și stilul abstract pentru completări, dar cu o înclinație spre motive istorice (MÉM-MDK, Tervtár: Lux-hagyaték, 03804). De exemplu, frontonul lipsă al capelei este deja proiectat cu cărămidă modernă, dar în registrul superior se văd clar arcade neoromanice.

În fazele următoare de proiectare, fațada principală a capelei prezintă forme simetrice. Frontonul este mai înalt, dar textura zidăriei începe să devină abstractă și nearticulată. Schimbarea ferestrei neoromanice de pe fronton cu unui gol de aerisire îngust a constituit, de asemenea, un pas intenționat (MÉM-MDK, Tervtár: Lux-hagyaték, 03792). Planurile au suferit schimbări și după vara anului 1937, când s-a construit, din motive statice, o nouă fațadă asimetrică (MÉM-MDK, Tervtár: Lux-hagyaték, 03798). Faptul că Kálmán LUX a încercat inițial să deseneze fațada în stil neoromanic se bazează pe descoperirea unor sculpturi în apropierea capelei, fiind găsite numeroase fragmente de arcade care, potrivit lui GEREVICH (1938, 83), inițial decorau fațada principală a capelei,

precum și fațada sa de nord. Pentru a evita istoricizarea și presupunerile, GEREVICH a intenționat să creeze o completare neutră a capelei. Faptul că aceste arce au fost într-un final integrate în locuri secundare în interiorul ansamblului palatului se află în contradicție cu intenția inițială. De exemplu, unele arce au fost plasate pe zidul din fața intrării în capelă. Acest pas a constituit o soluție stilistică, foarte provocatoare dacă îl cunoaștem pe GEREVICH și teoriile sale stricte referitoare la noul aspect al capelei.

Restaurarea fațadei de nord a cetății constituie un caz particular al restaurării, unde tensiunile dintre metoda de restaurare stilistică și gândirea italiană modernă au fost materializate într-un mod accentuat.

Așa-numita cameră Beatrix (după Beatrix DE ARAGON, a doua soție a Regelui Matia, 1457-1508) se afla în partea de nord a turnului cetății, având un gol de fereastră cu deschidere spre curtea de lângă capelă. Parapetul ferestrei a fost găsit *in situ* în timpul săpăturilor. Au fost de asemenea găsite fragmente de ancadrame renașcentiste de ferestre în apropierea camerei, fiind evident pentru Kálmán LUX și Dezső VÁRNAI că aceste elemente aparțineau ferestrei menționate. Putem vedea ideea de reconstrucție a acestui gol în planurile lui Kálmán LUX, Secțiune a capelei regale și a turnului cetății, sub forma unei ferestre neorenașcentiste de tip vendramin² (MÉM-MDK, Tervtár: Lux-hagyaték, 03768). Cu toate acestea, în timpul lucrărilor, ideea de reconstrucție a fost, se pare, refuzată, dovedit de o fotografie de arhivă care arată fereastra cu fragmentele sculpturale originale într-un context abstract de klinker plat și nu în compoziția

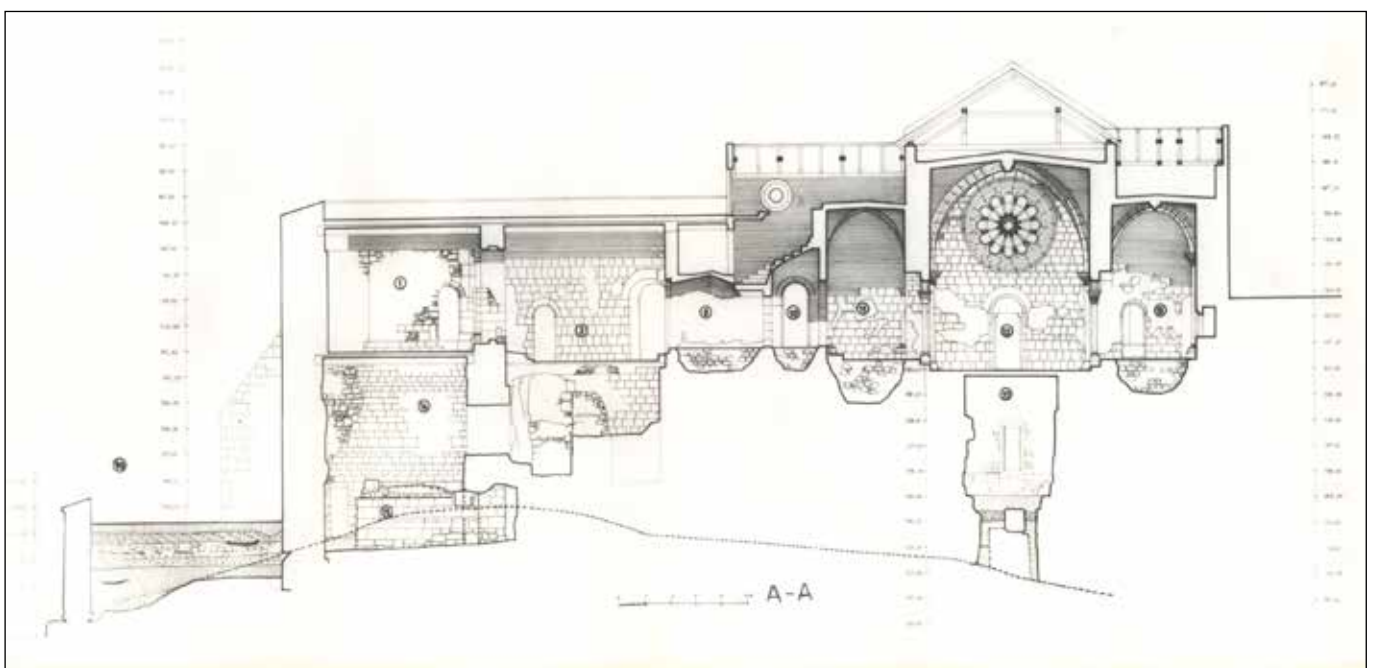
² Termen folosit în terminologia arhitecturală maghiară pentru un tip specific de fereastră renașcentistă italiană [notă ed.].

step that the former Neo-Romanesque gable window was replaced with a narrow opening (MÉM-MDK, Tervtár: Lux-hagyaték, 03792). The design plans were further developed after the summer of 1937, while a new and asymmetric façade was implemented due to structural reasons (MÉM-MDK, Tervtár: Lux-hagyaték, 03798). The fact that Kálmán LUX initially tried to draw the façade in Neo-Romanesque style originates from the carvings found near the chapel, as a large number of arcade fragments turned up, which, according to GEREVICH (1938, 83), originally decorated the elevation of the apse and the northern elevation of the chapel. To avoid historicism and hypothesis, GEREVICH intended for a neutral chapel extension. The fact that these arches were finally integrated in secondary places within the palace ensemble stands in stark contrast to the above idea. Some arches were integrated in the wall that stood in front of the chapel's entry, for example. This was a stylistic solution, which is quite thought-provoking, given GEREVICH's strict theories regarding the chapel's new appearance.

The restoration of the castle's northern elevation constituted a very specific case of the entire intervention, as it was here that the tensions between the method of stylistic restoration and the modern Italian approach were materialised in the most accentuated way.

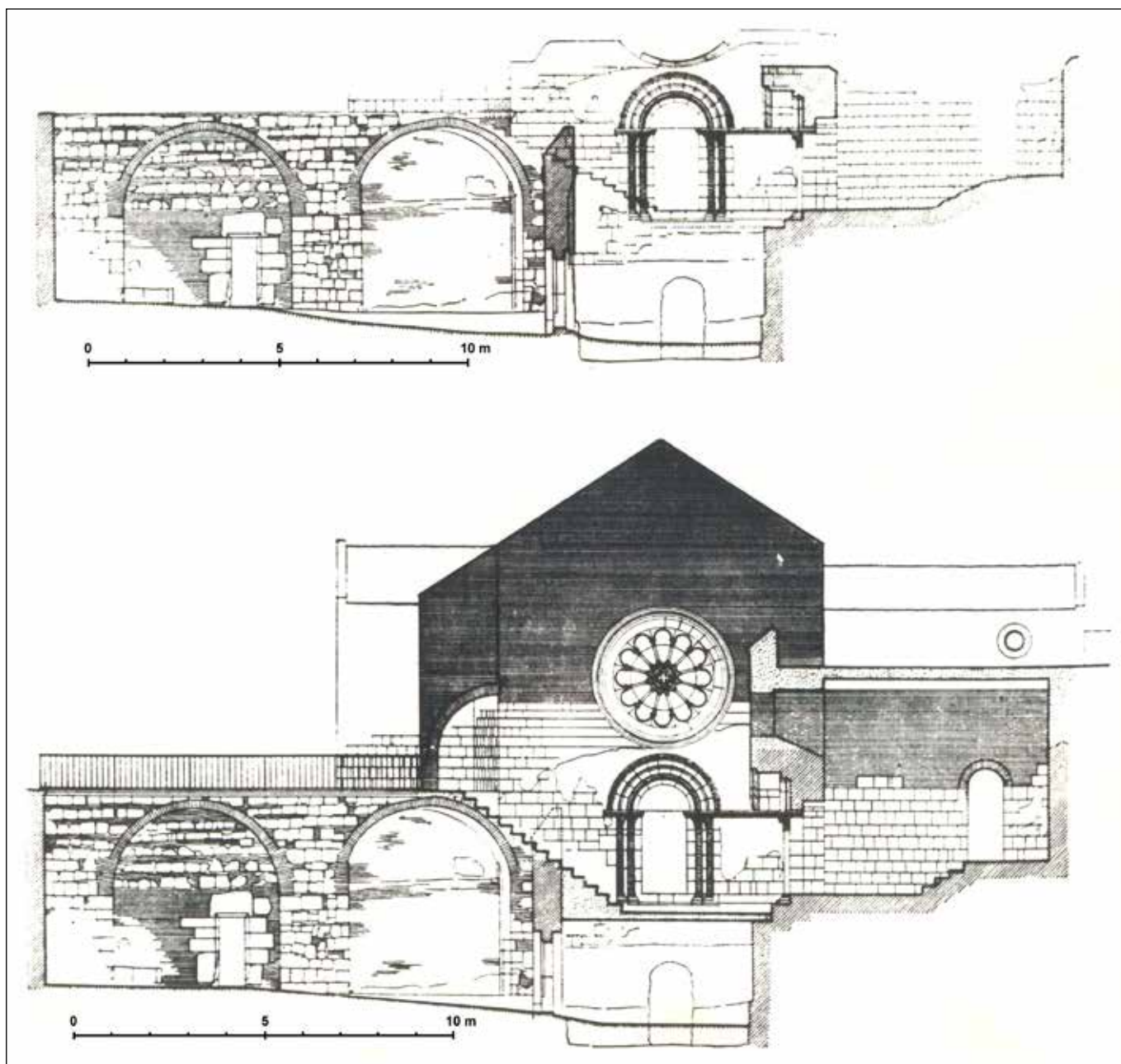
The so-called Beatrix Room (named after Beatrix OF ARAGORN, the second wife of King Matthias, 1457-1508) was found on the northern part of the castle tower, having an opening towards the courtyard. During the excavation, the window parapet was found *in situ*, and some Renaissance window frames were discovered near the room, thus, in the view of Kálmán LUX and Dezső VÁRNAI, it was quite obvious that these belonged to the mentioned window. We can see the reconstruction idea of this Neo-Renaissance opening on the Section of the Royal Chapel and Castle Tower, signed by Kálmán LUX, as a vendramin window² (MÉM-MDK, Tervtár: Lux-hagyaték, 03768). During the construction works, however, this reconstruction idea was rejected, as evidenced by an archival photograph of the window on the castle tower's northern elevation, showing original

² Meaning a two-light, mullioned window in the Italian fashion, a term used in Hungarian architectural terminology [ed. note].



■ Figure 2. Section of the chapel reconstruction (LUX 1942, 16)

■ Fig. 2. Secțiune a reconstrucției capelei (LUX 1942, 16)



■ **Figure 3.** Section of chapel reconstruction (LUX 1942, 13)

■ **Fig. 3.** Secțiune a reconstrucției capelei (LUX 1942, 13)

carvings in an abstract flat clinker context and not in the designed vendramin composition (MÉM-MDK, MÉM: Várnai-hagyaték, 363/7, 2958). Moreover, an anecdote from Dezső DERCSÉNYI, who was a trainee at the Committee during the excavations, reports that it was GEREVICH himself who gave the instruction to demolish this clinker compromise as well. After that, the opening shows a fully brick structure, as in the eyes of Tibor GEREVICH the idea of the insertion was a hypothesis that might be deemed inappropriate.

This very strict attitude was considered an excess by Antal LEPOLD, who was one of the motors behind the excavation, representing the Catholic Church. His correspondence reveals that he would have allowed for more stylistic reconstructions and additions within the rehabilitation and that in his view the new building will be too neutral due to the modern conservation theories. He called GEREVICH too *conservative* (MÉM-MDK, Irrattár, 1682/261).

vendramin proiectată (MÉM-MDK, MÉM: Várnai-hagyaték, 363/7, 2958). Pe lângă asta, există o anecdotă a lui Dezső DERCSÉNYI, stagiar la Comitet în timpul săpăturilor, care ne povestește că însuși GEREVICH a dat ordinul ca și acest compromis în cărămidă klinker să fie demolat. După aceea, golul de fereastră arată doar structură de cărămidă, pentru că ideea unei inserții era o ipoteză contestabilă în ochii lui GEREVICH.

Această atitudine extrem de strictă a fost considerată un exces de către Antal LEPOLD care, reprezentând Biserica Catholică, era unul din motoarele acestei excavații. Din corespondența sa, putem vedea că ar fi permis mai multe reconstrucții, mai multe completări stilistice în cadrul restaurării, și că considera că noua clă-

dire va fi prea neutră, din cauza teoriilor moderne ale interveției. L-a numit pe GEREVICH o persoană prea *conservatoare* (MÉM-MDK, Irattár, 1682/261).

În contextul acestei situații riguroase, există un caz foarte interesant, cel al aripii de est a palatului. Această zonă din spatele capelei era într-o stare avansată de degradare, doar câteva ruine de secol XV și XVI rămânând în picioare pe bazele romanice. Arhitectul Dezső VÁRNAI a fost cel care s-a ocupat de conceptul acelei structuri contemporane care urma să fie construită în această zonă. În desenele sale, a imaginat un lapidariu modern, care ar fi fost plasat în interiorul liniei zidurilor exterioare în ruină și ar fi prezentat o fațadă din cărămidă klinker, la fel cum s-a procedat la reconstruirea capelei.

Dezső VÁRNAI a creat mai multe planuri pentru această clădire nouă de muzeu. A încercat de asemenea să proiecteze lapidariul în cazul aripii de nord, unde partea medievală a palatului lipsea de asemenea. Astfel, conform concepției sale, complexul muzeal putea fi construit din blocuri extrem de moderne în zonele în care palatul a fost complet demolat.

Această atitudine a arătat un fir foarte contemporan, dar putem observa unele contradicții în varianta construită. Există câteva fotografii de arhivă care prezintă terenul acestei zone de est. În aceste fotografii, putem vedea un arc medieval izolat. Acesta este așa-numitul *Arcus Triumphalis* din Szente, care a fost reconstruit folosind anastiloza și care a început să servească drept intrare a noii clădiri a lapidariului din cadrul ruinelor. Fotografii atestă faptul că lucrările de construcție au început deja, dar nu au urmat ideile din planurile contemporane ale lui Dezső VÁRNAI. Surpriza și mai mare este că aspectul acestei zone s-a schimbat dramatic în continuare, după ceremonia de deschidere: *Arcus Triumphalis* reconstruit era deja orientat spre zidul estic al ansamblului cetății, iar fragmentele erau expuse sub acoperișuri înclinate. Acestea au fost planificate de VÁRNAI, dar erau de fapt niște structuri temporare amplasate printre ruinele monumentale.

Insertia modernă, în zona în care *Arcus Triumphalis* a funcționat inițial ca intrare, a rămas cu funcția de lapidariu. Fără acel *Arcus*, fațada se prezenta ca o suprafață compozită, cu o viziune extrem de istorizantă. Nu au fost folosite klinkerele care formau limbajul contemporan oficial al întregii reabilitări. În locul lor, fațada era compusă doar din pietre și cărămizi vechi. În plus, o mică ușă de lemn a devenit intrarea sa.

Cu toate acestea, ancadramentul acestei uși e remarcabilă din punctul nostru de vedere. Montanții erau construiți din cărămidă, însă lintelul era de fapt o sculptură medievală integrată (NAGY 1956, 136). Situația este aceeași ca în cazul ferestrei renascentiste menționate, împreună cu încercarea de integrare a elementului sculptat în fațada camerei Beatrix. Întrebarea pe care trebuie să ne-o punem: de ce a fost

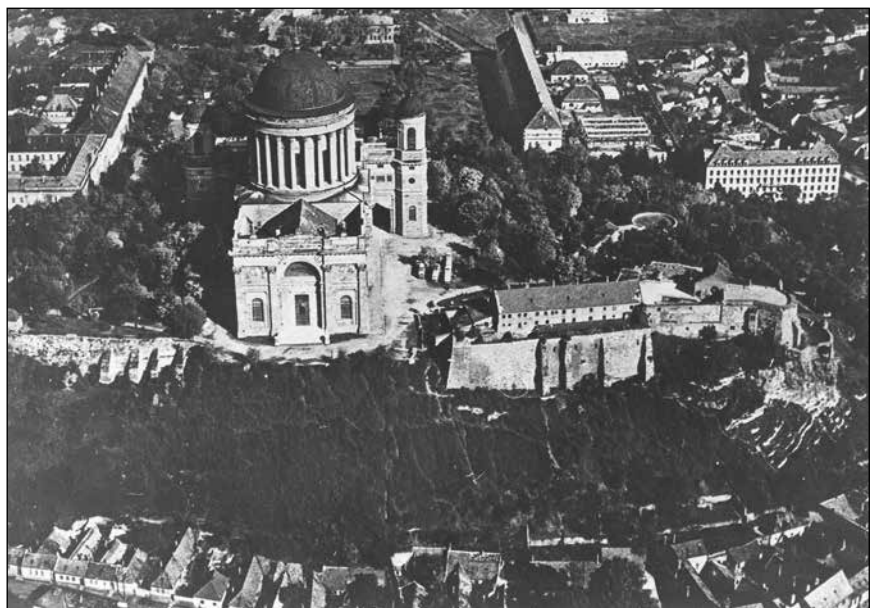
Seeing this rigorous situation, the case of the eastern palace wing is extremely interesting. The wing behind the chapel was in a highly deteriorated condition, preserving only some 15th-16th-century ruins standing on Romanesque masonry bases. Architect Dezső VÁRNAI was tasked with developing the concept for a contemporary structure to be inserted in this area. On his drawings, he envisioned a modern lapidary building which would be placed within the plane of the wing's ruined external walls and would present a clinker façade, just as the chapel's completed parts did.

Dezső VÁRNAI had several designs for the new museum buildings. He also tried to create designs for the lapidary building in case of the northern wing, where the mediaeval component of the palace was also missing. So, in accordance with his theory, the museum complex could be built out of extremely modern blocks on the areas where the palace's original parts had been entirely demolished.

This attitude showed a very contemporary way of thinking, but we can see some contradictions in the built version. Some archival photographs document the area of this eastern part. In these pictures, we can see a mediaeval arch standing alone in the field. This is the so-called *Arcus Triumphalis* of Szente, which was reconstructed with *anastylosis* and started to serve as the entry of the new lapidary building found within the ruined walls. The photograph is evidence of the fact that the eastern building's construction had started, however, did not follow the ideas of Dezső VÁRNAI's contemporary designs. A greater surprise is that the condition of this part had changed dramatically later, after the opening ceremony: the photographs show a reconstructed *Arcus Triumphalis* that was turned towards the eastern wall of the castle ensemble, and the fragments were displayed under lean-to roofs. These were designed by VÁRNAI, but they were actually temporary structures within the monumental ruins.

The modern addition where the *Arcus Triumphalis* initially started to function as an entry, actually remained as a lapidary building. Without the *Arcus*, its façade showed a composite surface with a highly historicist vision. It did not operate with the clinkers that represented the official contemporary language of the whole rehabilitation, instead, the elevation showed only old bricks and stones. In addition, a little wooden door became its new entry.

However, the frame of this door was quite remarkable from our point of view. The jambs were built from bricks, but the lintel was actually



■ **Photo 3.** The castle district of Esztergom after the rehabilitation (NAGY 1986, Figure 70)

■ **Foto 3.** Zona cetății din Esztergom după restaurare (NAGY 1986, fig. 70)



■ **Photo 4.** View of the rehabilitated palace from the east © Fortepan, donator: Fortepan (photo no. 2999, <https://fortepan.hu/hu/photos/?id=2999>)
 ■ **Foto 4.** Vedere a palatului reabilitat dinspre est © Fortepan, donator: Fortepan (nr. foto 2999, <https://fortepan.hu/hu/photos/?id=2999>)

an integrated mediaeval carving (NAGY 1956, 136). This interesting case shows exactly the same situation that appeared at the mentioned Renaissance window and the attempt to integrate its carving in the elevation of the Beatrix Room. It raises the question of why was this solution allowed to remain, yet the other insert was rejected so categorically? The mentioned Renaissance carving was found near the excavated northern elevation window, consequently, the probability that the marble fragment was in fact part of that window was greater or, at least, the hypothesis rate was lower in that case than in the situation of the eastern block's entry.

In contrast, the case of the tower roof presented a dramatically contemporary thinking. Here, GEREVICH was able to use the „principle of museum display case” (GEREVICH 1943, 3). As the upper levels of the tower had already been demolished entirely, the architects had to find a specific way to cover the rooms still existing in the tower. In the end, they were closed with an uncovered reinforced concrete slab and skylights were fitted in its surface to let the natural light in.

It was quite an extreme step to use such a modern extension for a mediaeval ruin, and the example actually contradicted even the practice determined in the Venice Charter. It is interesting that Gustavo GIOVANNONI rejected the practice of showing the concrete's aesthetic expressivity at a heritage building. At least, the Cathedral at Pavia was completed with a reinforced concrete buttress in the 1930s, and, according to his statements, GIOVANNONI was displeased by this (JOHILEHTO 2005, 355).

acceptată această soluție aici, și de ce au fost alte inserții refuzate atât de strict? În cazul fațadei de nord, sculptura renascențistă a fost descoperită în apropierea, mai exact sub fereastra menționată, deci posibilitatea ca acel fragment de marmură să fi fost cu adevărat parte a acelei ferestre era cu mult mai mare. Sau, cel puțin, probabilitatea de ipoteză era mai scăzută în cazul ferestrei nordice decât în cel al intrării clădirii estice, în care intervenția a fost sută la sută ipotetică.

În contrast, problema acoperirii turnului a reprezentat o gândire dramatic contemporană. În acest caz, GEREVICH a folosit „principiul vitrinei de muzeu” (GEREVICH 1943, 3). Cum nivelurile superioare ale turnului erau deja complet distruse, arhitecții au fost nevoiți să găsească un mod specific de a acoperi camerele încă existente ale turnului. Într-un final, acestea au fost acoperite cu beton armat aparent, în care au fost decupate ferestre pentru a permite accesul luminii naturale.

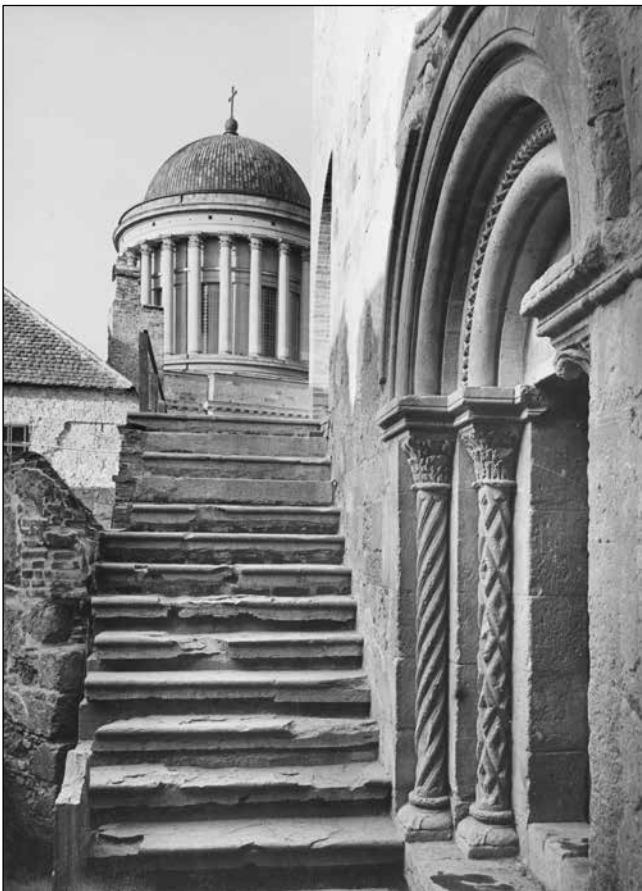
Folosirea unei completări atât de moderne pentru o ruină medieală a constituit un pas extrem, iar exemplul contrazice chiar și procedurile stabilite prin Carta de la Veneția. Este interesant că Gustavo GI-

OVANNONI a respins practica de a arăta estetica betonului în cadrul unei clădiri de patrimoniu. Cel puțin, Catedrala din Pavia a fost extinsă cu un reazem din beton armat în anii 1930, iar GIOVANNONI, conform declarațiilor proprii, a fost nemulțumit de asta (JOHILEHTO 2005, 355).

După cum putem vedea, în timpul rehabilitării palatului regal din Esztergom, arhitecții au contemplat ideea restaurării stilistice. Kálmán LUX și Dezső VÁRNAI s-au jucat cu idei de reconstrucție stilistică în cazul zonei turnului de sud. De fapt, atât Géza și Kálmán LUX, cât și Dezső VÁRNAI au încercat să calculeze înălțimea potrivită la care să ridice zidurile rămase, iar folosind măsurătorile lor, sistemul original de boltire ar fi putut fi reconstruit. Dar GEREVICH s-a împotrivit întotdeauna acestei atitudini. Din această cauză a fost proiectat planșeul din beton, fiind ridicat deasupra zidurilor medievale, cu completări minime din cărămidă. Au fost descoperite numeroase pietre din sistemul de boltire al camerelor, însă aici VÁRNAI nu a putut folosi metoda anastilozei, cum a fost posibil în cazul reconstrucției capelei. Cu toate acestea, el a putut să potrivească pietrele așa-numitului Arc Zodiacal, un arc din interiorul camerei studiolo (amplasată în

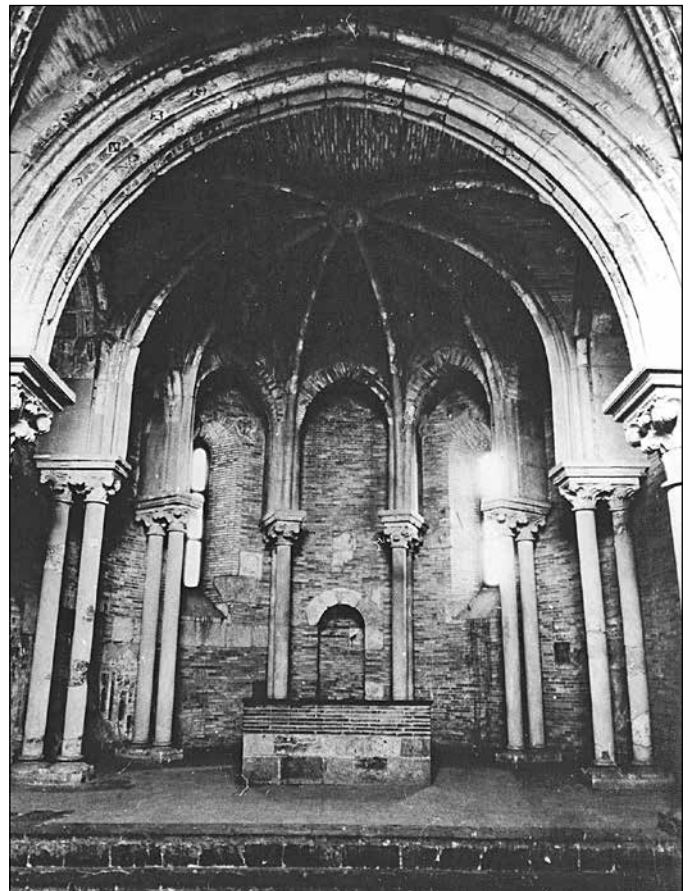
As we can see, during the rehabilitation of the Royal Palace in Esztergom, the architects took the idea of stylistic restoration under consideration. Kálmán LUX and Dezső VÁRNAI played with stylistic reconstruction ideas even on the whole ensemble of the southern tower section. Actually, both Géza and Kálmán LUX, as well as Dezső VÁRNAI tried to calculate the proper height which had to be built on the remaining walls. With their measurements, the original vault system could have been reconstructed. But GEREVICH always rejected this attitude. This is why the new concrete slab was planned, above the medieval ruins that had been found, with minimalistic brick additions. Although a large number of stones had been found that originally belonged to the vault system of the tower rooms, VÁRNAI could not use the method of *anastylosis* here, as he could within the chapel reconstruction. However, he could match the voussoirs of the so-called Zodiac Arch within the Studiolo Room (placed in the tower). This arch was reconstructed at the museum later, in 1972, but until that moment VÁRNAI was able to display the fragments on the wall section dividing the studiolo from the so-called Council Chamber.

The case of the so-called Tower of Géza is also noteworthy within the interventions on the castle. Although this space, found under the 12th-century tower structure, was excavated and the earth was cleared from the area, the researchers could not determine how it functioned, and in fact it was not part of the palace's known space-system. It represents a tower basis that originates from earlier times. This fact had to be explained somehow to the audience, consequently, it was framed with visible reinforced concrete vaults and with modern metal barriers. The intent was for the



■ **Photo 5.** The stairs leading to the portal of the chapel in the Royal Palace of Esztergom © Fortepan, donator: Tibor SOMLAI (photo no. 24178, <https://fortepan.hu/hu/photos/?id=24178>)

■ **Foto 5.** Scările care duc la portalul capelei din cadrul palatului regal din Esztergom © Fortepan, donator: Tibor SOMLAI (nr. foto 24178, <https://fortepan.hu/hu/photos/?id=24178>)



■ **Photo 6.** The interior of the reconstructed chapel structure (NAGY 1986, Figure 20)

■ **Foto 6.** Interiorul structurii capelei reconstruite (NAGY 1986, fig. 20)



■ **Photo 7.** The chapel in the Royal Chapel of Esztergom, 2016 © Viola PLESKOVICS, 2016

■ **Foto 7.** Capela din cadrul palatului regal din Esztergom © Viola PLESKOVICS, 2016

visitors to see that this section was out of context and that it could not be connected to the system of the upper palace rooms. It was a very modern approach, just like the covering of the upper tower rooms. Still, there is no actual evidence that this part was integrated in the new castle museum's concept and rooms to visit, and public discussion about it was avoided. Decades later, Emese NAGY, the new leader of the Esztergom excavations, wrote that this place was beyond the experts' scope. They did not know much about the time in which this tower was built. However, LEPOLD theorised that it could have been part of the palace of Saint Stephen himself (1938, 503). Maybe the reason for omitting to speak about this matter was that the excavators and the curators of the new exhibition were being cautious and did not wish to mediate a grandiose hypothesis to the audience without proper grounding. In any case, it is the examination's further task to search for the role of this section and its use in the 1930s.

In conclusion, the rehabilitation of Esztergom Castle was a quite modern and still authentic work, with the aim of introducing a mediaeval royal centre to the audience. In addition, a new lapidary was founded outside the walls, which also conveyed the respect for the modern Italian methods. It was the first modern lapidary in 20th-century Hungary, which paved the way for the more advanced and professional lapidary of Székesfehérvár (1936-1938). Later, they both became models for the modern lapidary of Szombathely or Pécs. The precious sculptures were displayed on pedestals made of bricks, a method that was also based on the Italian practice. The ultimate goal for this kind of modern castle restoration was to create a bold symbol for the period's irredentist movement in Hungary and to lift the former capital of the Hungarian Kingdom on a pedestal in the international literature.

turn). Arcul a fost reconstruit mai târziu într-un muzeu în 1972, dar până atunci, VÁRNAI a putut expune fragmentele pe secțiunea de perete care desparte studio-ul de așa-numita cameră de consiliu.

Cazul așa-numitului Turn al lui Géza merită de asemenea să fie examinat. Acest spațiu, aflat sub structura de secol XII a turnului, a fost eliberat de umplutură, însă cercetătorii nu au putut determina funcțiunea sa, nefiind de fapt parte din sistemul spațial cunoscut al palatului. Este o bază de turn cu origini din vremuri mai vechi. Acest fapt a trebuit explicat cumva vizitatorilor, de aceea acest spațiu a fost încadrat cu bolți din beton armat aparent și bariere din metal. Vizitatorul putea vedea că această zonă este în afara contextului și nu a putut fi conectată la sistemul camerelor superioare ale palatului. A fost o abordare foarte modernă, la fel ca și acoperirea camerelor superioare ale turnului. Cu toate acestea, nu există dovezi că această parte ar fi fost vreodată integrată în conceptul noului muzeu al cetății, în plus, a fost cumva omisă din discuțiile despre cetate. Zeci de ani mai târziu, Emese NAGY, noul șef al săpăturilor de la Esztergom, scria că acest loc depășea cunoștințele experților. Nu existau date despre perioada construirii acestui turn. Cu toate acestea, LEPOLD a scris că ar putea să fi făcut parte din palatul Sfântului Ștefan (1938, 503).

Motivul acestei omisiuni din discuție poate fi explicat cu ipoteza că cercetătorii și curatorii noii expoziții erau precauți, astfel nu au vrut să prezinte publicului ceva ce avea potențialul de a deveni mai târziu doar o ipoteză eronată. În orice caz, sarcina ulterioară a cercetării este să caute rolul acestei zone și utilizarea ei în anii 1930.

În concluzie, reabilitarea cetății din Esztergom a fost o lucrare modernă și cu toate acestea autentică, cu scopul de a prezenta publicului un centru regal medieval. În plus, a fost fondat și un nou lapidariu dincolo și în afara zidurilor, care a ilustrat respectul față de metoda italiană modernă. A fost primul lapidariu modern din secolul XX din Ungaria, precursorul lapidariului mai avansat și mai profesionist din Székesfehérvár (1936-1938). Mai târziu, ambele au funcționat ca modele pentru lapidariile moderne din Szombathely sau Pécs. Sculpturile valoroase au fost expuse pe socluri din cărămizi, care aveau și ele modele italiene. Scopul final al acestei restaurări moderne a cetății a fost de a crea un simbol puternic pentru mișcarea irendentistă din Ungaria acelei perioade și de a ridica vechea capitală a Regatului Ungariei pe un pedestal în literatura internațională.

Proiectul Esztergom are propria sa lecție și pentru vremurile noastre contemporane. După cum am văzut, acest proiect a încercat să fie un compromis între două atitudini: reconstrucțiile stilistice versus completările contemporane. Cu toate că acestea din urmă s-au bucurat în final de un focus mai evident, putem declara că încercările stilistice nu au dispărut niciodată în procesul de proiectare. Această reflecție poate fi observată în întreaga istorie a managementului patrimoniului. În arhivele lăsamântului Lux, putem vedea zeci de desene de reconstrucție a palatului, unde săpăturile și lucrările nu au putut câștiga suficient timp și sprijin financiar pentru a fi continuate.

Activitățile din cadrul restaurării au stat la granița dintre două practici. Este de datoria arhitectului să măsoare o clădire cu o abilitate cu care să poată reconstrui părțile lipsă pe hârtie. Dar este de datoria omului de știință să nu mintă publicul. Complexul din Esztergom a devenit destul de didactic în 1938. Este regretabil că filosofia s-a dovedit un eșec în final, datorită construcției planșeului de beton. Astăzi, știm deja multe despre dezavantajul betonului armat integrat într-o structură medievală. Din momentul în care a fost construit, au avut loc aproape continuu scurgeri prin planșeul de beton al turnului. S-a crezut în forța și în efectele materialelor moderne asupra monumentelor, dar nu s-a știut cum se vor comporta în condițiile meteorologice din Ungaria. În schimb, soluțiile completărilor de klinker din Esztergom s-au dovedit a fi superlative și dovedite în timp: atât ca stil, cât și ca calitate. Poate că este timpul să-i explorăm caracteristicile pozitive și să le reciclăm în managementul contemporan al patrimoniului.

The Esztergom project has its own lessons for our contemporary times, too. As we saw, it tried to compromise two attitudes: stylistic reconstructions versus contemporary extensions. However, even though the latter finally enjoyed a more accentuated focus, we can declare that the stylistic attempts and observations never disappeared during the process. This reflection can be observed in the whole history of heritage management. In the archives of the Lux bequest, we can see dozens of reconstructive drawings of the palace, where the excavations and the constructions could not gain enough time and financial support to continue the works.

The activities within the restoration project stood at the boundary between two practices. It is the architect's duty to survey a building, with an ability that would permit reconstructing the missing parts only on paper. But it is the scientist's duty not to lie to the audience. The castle ensemble of Esztergom became quite narrative in 1938. It is regrettable that the philosophy turned out to be a failure later due to the construction quality of the concrete slab. Today, we already know much about the disadvantages of reinforced concrete integrated into a mediaeval structure. From the moment it was built, leaks occurred almost perpetually in the concrete roof of the tower. The restorers believed in the strength and effects of the modern materials on historic buildings, but they did not know how these will behave in the Hungarian weather conditions. In contrast, the solutions of the clinker extensions in Esztergom proved to be superlative and time-proven: both in style and in quality. Maybe it is time to explore its positive features, and recycle them in our contemporary heritage management.

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■ Ionel-Virgil POP¹

The Wooden Church in Calna

■ **Abstract:** The 17th-century wooden church in Calna (Cluj County) fully fits into the typology of Romanian wooden churches in Transylvania built before the 1698 communion with the Roman Apostolic See. It is not one of the most spectacular ones, however, something makes this church exceptional. The article explores the qualities of the church that contribute to this exceptional character and focuses on certain general aspects related to the conservation of small rural churches and their surroundings.

■ **Keywords:** church architecture, vernacular architecture, wooden church, historic building, wooden barrel vault, wooden tower, belfry, conservation

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■ **Photo 1.** Calna (Cluj County), the wooden church in 2016, before the last conservation © Ionel-Virgil POP

■ **1. kép:** Kálna (Kolozs megye) fatemploma 2016-ban, a legutóbbi helyreállítás előtt
© POP Ionel-Virgil

Kálna fatemploma

■ **Kivonat:** Kálna (Kolozs megye) XVII. századi fatemploma teljes mértékben illeszkedik azon erdélyi román fatemplomok tipológiájába, amelyek a görögkatolikus egyház létrejöttét biztosító egyházi unió (1698) előtt keletkeztek. Nem tartozik a leglátványosabb templomok közé, mégis valami különlegessé teszi az épületet. Jelen írás a templom azon tulajdonságait vizsgálja, amelyek hozzájárulnak kivételes jellegéhez, valamint olyan gondolatokat, véleményeket fogalmaz meg, amelyek reflektálnak a kisebb falusi templomok és környezetük veszélyeztetettségére és megőrzési lehetőségeire.

■ **Kulcsszavak:** egyházi építészet, népi építészet, fatemplom, műemlék, fa dongaboltozat, fatorony, harangláb, műemlékvédelem

■ Kálna (Kolozs megye) fatemploma teljes mértékben illeszkedik az erdélyi román fatemplomok tipológiájába. Nem tartozik a leglátványosabbak közé (1. kép), mégis, valami különlegessé teszi ezt a templomot. Szerénynek, hétköznapiak, ugyanakkor magasztosnak is tekinthetjük.

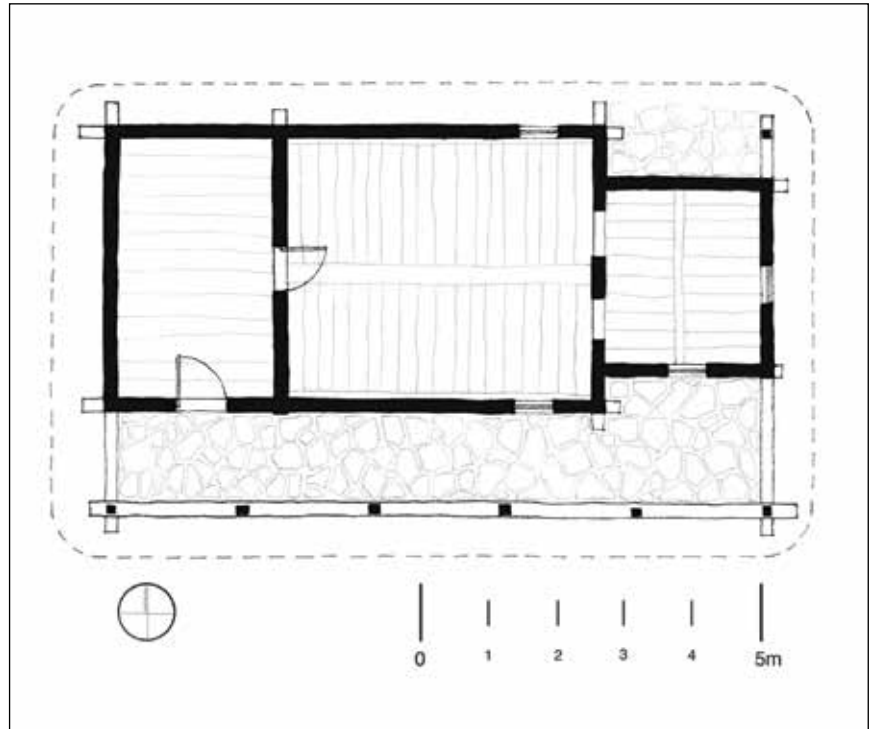
A nagy érzelmeket kiváltó remekművek elemzésénél az a legfontosabb, hogy ne essünk túlzásokba. Márpedig az erdélyi fatemplomok elemzését gyakran hazafiaskodó és patetikus szemszögből közelítették meg. Mi több, egyes esetekben a román és magyar művészettörténészek közötti versengés olyan hajthatatlan álláspontokhoz vezetett, ahol egyik tábornak sem sikerült a téma jelentéktelen mértékű árnyalásán és a hitelesség elvesztésén túl egyebet felmutatnia. Hasonlóképpen, a két erdélyi román egyház közötti rivalizálásnak is káros hatása volt, az egyik egyház szerepének eltúlzása vagy a másik egyház szerepének tagadása által.

A kommunizmus idején a művészeti történetírás is a hatalomnak volt kiszolgáltva, és a kutatóknak be kellett iktatniuk bizonyos paragrafusokat, hogy elvhűségüket kimutassák. A paraszti népi építészet volt a legebevezetőbb: mindent a nép zsenialitásának kellett elvégeznie, a művelt építészet minimális ráhatásával. A túlzó nemzeti kommunizmus utolsó szakaszában még a dák építészzel is találtak kapcsolatokat. Tekintélyes szak-

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■ **Photo 2.** Calna, southern portal © Ionel-Virgil POP
■ **2. kép:** Kálna, a déli portál © POP Ionel-Virgil



■ **Figure 1.** Calna, ground plan, drawing © arch. stud. Patricia SIMEDRU
■ **1. ábra:** Kálna, alaprajz © SIMEDRU Patricia építész diák

emberek voltak kénytelenek beilleszteni munkáikba olyan, számunkra ma abszurdnak tűnő szövegeket, amelyek megkérdőjelezik a valódi, egyébként őszinte és alapos tudományos tevékenységüket is. Meglehet, hogy egyesek nemcsak hagyták magukat elragadtatni az árral, de valóban is így gondolkodtak. Vannak, akik még most is ezt teszik. A kommunizmus időszakában, amikor a paraszti építészet-ről szóló tanulmányok zöme keletkezett, a kutatókat egy eleve mérgezett légkörben képezték ki, amelyhez opportunizmus és csalás is társult.

De mi teszi a kálnai templomot annyira különlegessé?

Elsősorban a kora: a déli bejárati ajtó keretén a következő felirat látható „váleat 1671 i cra[li]je Arde[a]lu c[r]aiu Mihai Apafi” (2. kép). A legtöbb máig fennmaradt fatemplom a XVIII. századból való, tehát az egyházi unió utáni. Ebből adódóan már maga a templom XVII. századi keltezése is kivételes jelleget kölcsönöz neki. A leghíresebb fatemplomok, amelyek közül egyesek a világörökségi listán is szerepelnek, mind az egyházi unió után épültek fel. Ezek mindegyike nagyobb, impozáns méretű harangtoronnyal is rendelkezik. Viszont, ha összehasonlítjuk a kálnai templombelső terének méreteit a XVII. században épültekével, akkor ezek a méretek már nem olyan szerények: teljesen beleillenek a tipológiába.

A templomnak másik előnye maga a hangulata. A falu szélén áll egy dombtetőn, és temető fogja közre (3. kép). A domboldal dús növényzete teljes mértékben elrejtja a szomszédos modern tőköt látványát, a távolban pedig csak dombok lát-

■ The wooden church in Calna (Cluj County) fully fits into the typology of Romanian wooden churches in Transylvania. It is not one of the most spectacular ones (Photo 1), however, something makes this church exceptional. We can consider it modest, ordinary, but also sublime.

In the analysis of masterpieces that manage to arouse strong emotions, the most important thing is to not exaggerate. Nevertheless, in the past, the analysis of Transylvanian wooden churches was often approached from overly patriotic and passionate positions. Moreover, in some cases, the rivalry between Romanian and Hungarian art historians led to intransigent positions where both camps failed to bring contributions aside from insignificant nuances and a general lack of credibility. Similarly, the rivalry between the two Romanian Churches in Transylvania² had an ominous character by exaggerating the role of one of them, or especially by denying the role of the other.

During communism, art historiography became enslaved to political power, as researchers had to include certain paragraphs to prove their ideological support. Vernacular architecture was the most vulnerable: everything had to be achieved by the genius of the people, minimising the influences of polite architecture. In the last phase of exaggerated national-communism, connections were found even with Dacian architecture. Prestigious specialists were forced to insert into their works texts that seem absurd to us today, leading to suspicions regarding their real scientific activity, which is otherwise honest and scientifically supported. Some of them may not have just let themselves be carried away, but actually thought this way. Some do so even today. In any case, during the communist period, when most of the studies on vernacular architecture were written, researcher training was already carried out with a flawed approach, to which opportunism and imposture were added.

But what makes the church in Calna so special?

² The Romanian Orthodox Church and the Romanian Greek Catholic Church, also known as the Romanian Church United with Rome, which was created in Transylvania in 1698 through the canonical communion with the Roman Apostolic See and was abolished during the communist period, i.e. between 1948 and 1989 [ed. note].



■ **Photo 3.** Calna, the church and the cemetery on the southern slope © Ionel-Virgil POP

■ **3. kép:** Kálna, templom és temető a déli lejtőn © POP Ionel-Virgil



■ **Photo 4.** Leșnic (Hunedoara County), modern tombs in front of the mediaeval church © Ionel-Virgil POP

■ **4. kép:** Lesnyek (Hunyad megye), modern sírok a középkori templom előtt © POP Ionel-Virgil

First of all, its age: the frame of the southern entrance carries the inscription “văleat 1671 i cra[li]e Arde[a]lu c[r]aiu Mihai Apafi” (Photo 2). Most extant wooden churches date from the 18th century, i.e. from after the communion with the Roman Apostolic See. Its 17th-century origin alone gives the church an exceptional character. In comparison, the famous wooden churches, some of which are also on the World Heritage List, were all built after the communion. They are much larger and have impressive bell towers. However, if we compare the dimensions of the interior space of the church in Calna with churches built in the 17th century, these no longer seem so modest: they fully fit into the typology.

Another asset of the church is its atmosphere. It is located on a hill at the edge of the village, surrounded by the cemetery (Photo 3). The vegetation



■ **Photo 5.** Stârciu (Sălaj County), Romanian masonry church, built by a professional architect © Ionel-Virgil POP

■ **5. kép:** Bogdánháza (Szilágymegye), a románok falazott temploma, amelyet hivatásos építész tervezett © POP Ionel-Virgil

szanak. A temetőben kevés betonnal kerített sír található, amelyek nem zavarják a templom látványát. Megőrződtek a vidéki barokk jellegű kőkeresztek és jó pár fakeeszt. Tehát dominálnak a függőleges sírjelek, mint az egyszerű fa- vagy kőkereszt, a vízszintes sík pedig általában jelöletlen. Az a XIX. században induló, majd a XX. században általánossá vált gyakorlat, hogy a sírt vízszintesen alacsony fallal kerítik, újabban vasbeton födémmel is befedik, a kálnai temetőben kevésbé van jelen. Csak néhány ilyen típusú sír van, valamint megjelent egy újfajta, népies vaskerítés, amely bordázott betonvasak fonadékából áll. A jóérzés megkívánta ezek eltávolítását, miután 2021 tavaszán befejezték a templom helyreállítását.

Az új sírok a legtöbb esetben jelentős negatív hatást fejtenek ki a műemléki környezetre. Ezek a kirívó építmények megcsonkítják a különleges értékű templomok hangulatát, nemcsak a felhasznált anyagok, hanem izléstelenségük révén is. Sajnos, a műemlékek védelmi övezetének létrehozására vonatkozó hatályos jogszabályok nem képesek ezt a tendenciát megakadályozni. Ezért szükséges külön erőfeszítéseket tenni, hogy a gyakorlat megváltozzon, mert a városi környezetben, ahol a temetők már nem a templomok körül vagy a legfontosabb műemlékek övezetében helyezkednek el, a helyzet nem annyira súlyos. Városi környezetben a műemlékeket és különösen a templomokat nem befolyásolja az új típusú sírok megjelenése, ez csak a történeti temetőket érinti. Vidéki környezetben viszont, és különösen igaz ez a fatemplomok körüli temetőkre,

a fakeresztről a betonkeresztre való átállítás pusztító hatású. Az egerbegyi (Kolozs megye) fatemplomnál néhány sír gyökereesen megváltoztatta a templom hangulatát, a lesnyeki (Hunyad megye) templomnál pedig természetellenes méretű, erősen kontrasztos színvilágú márványsírokat helyeztek el (4. kép).

De a fatemplom hangulata leginkább egy új templom építésével változik meg. A jelenség még a XIX. században kezdődött, egy olyan kulturális kontextusban, amelyben az örökség fogalma még alig tudatosult, illetve a fatemplomokat még nem emelték be a műemlék fogalomkörébe. Márpedig az Osztrák–Magyar Monarchiában élő románok az emancipációt a fatemplomok lecseréléseként is értelmezték. Még Demsus (Hunyad megye) kőtemplomát is, amely ma Erdély egyik legértékesebb román műemléke, csak az utolsó pillanatban mentette meg a XIX. század második felében a Császári–Királyi Központi Bizottság² a közönség által tervezett lebontástól, amihez döntően hozzájárultak az újrahaznosított római kötömbök latin nyelvű feliratai is. A XX. században a románok elkezdték megőrizni a fatemplomaikat, még akkor is, ha egy új falazott templomot építettek: a korszerűség jeleként az új templomokat a falu központjában emelték, a magyarokat és a szászokat utánozva, a régi fatemplomok pedig ezáltal megmaradtak a régi helyükön.

A XX. század első felében épült vidéki templomok szerények. A régi fatemplomok felnagyításából adódó térbeli elrendezést alkalmazták, ahol a szentély, a hajó és az előcsarnok követik egymást, a nyugati oldalon egy torony és esetleg a tornác helyezkedett el. A XIX. század végén megjelentek hivatásos építészek által tervezett templomok, amelyek megpróbálták egyesíteni a klasszicizáló eklektizmus elemeit a románok keleti hagyományával, mint például a bogdánházi falazott templom (Szilágy megye, 5. kép) vagy a Torda közelében levő Harasztos temploma (Kolozs megye, 6. kép) esetében. A szegényebb közösségek falazott templomaikat szakértett kőművesek segítségével építették fel, akik a korra és a városi építészetre jellemző műszaki megoldásokat, díszítéseket alkalmazták. Habár ezek az új templomok még a népies kategóriába tartoznak, a falusi és városi templomok közötti különbségek fokozatosan eltűntek. A két világháború között épült kálnai templom esetében is ez történt. A templom szerény, de rendeltetésének tökéletesen megfelel (7. kép).

A két világháború közötti időszakban megjelentek a regáti³ építészek által tervezett templomok, amelyek átvették a központi térelrendezést és az oldalsó apszisok használatát. A románság szinte hivalkodó megnyilvánulásának időszaka



■ **Photo 6.** Călărași (Cluj County), Romanian masonry church, built by a professional architect © *lonel-Virgil POP*

■ **6. kép:** Harasztos (Kolozs megye), a románok falazott temploma, amelyet hivatásos építész tervezett © *POP lonel-Virgil*

growing at the foot of the hill obscures the modern roofs in the vicinity. Only hills are visible in the distance. The cemetery has a few graves with concrete kerbs that however do not disturb the image of the church. It also preserves stone crosses in a rural Baroque style, along with a few wooden crosses. The dominant grave type is the upright headstone without marking the horizontal plane, a simple wooden or stone cross. The practice that started spreading in the 19th century and became generalised in the 20th century, that of marking the grave with a kerb and more recently with a reinforced concrete grave cover, is rarely found in the Calna cemetery. The few graves of this type also had a new kind of vernacular fence, a weave of ribbed rebars. Decency called for their removal after the most recent conservation of the church was completed in the spring of 2021.

New tombs have a major negative impact in most cases. Churches of great value have their environment mutilated by these gaudy constructions, not only because of the materials used, but also through the displayed lack of taste. The legislation in force that establishes a protection zone for historic buildings has failed to stop this trend. We must insist on changing this practice because in urban areas, where cemeteries are no longer around churches or major historic buildings, the situation is not so dire. In urban areas, historic buildings, especially churches, are not disturbed by the appearance of this new type of graves; only historical cemeteries are affected. In the countryside, on the other hand, and especially in the cemeteries around wooden churches, the transformation of graves from wooden crosses to concrete volumes proves devastating. At the wooden church in Agârbiciu (Cluj County), a few graves have radically changed the building's atmosphere; at Leșnic (Hunedoara County), marble graves of unnatural dimensions and strongly contrasting chromatics were placed next to the church (Photo 4).

But the most serious change in the atmosphere of a wooden church is done by building a new church. The phenomenon started as early as the 19th century in a cultural context where heritage consciousness was only just emerging, and the concept of historic buildings had not yet reached wooden churches. The Romanians in Austria-Hungary understood the process of emancipation also through replacing these wooden churches. Even the stone church in Densuș (Hunedoara County), today one of the most valuable Romanian historic buildings in Transylvania, was barely saved from

² K.K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale [szerk. megj.].

³ Az első világháború előtti Román Királyság, más néven Orománia vagy Ókirályság [szerk. megj.].

the demolition planned by the community, through the involvement of the Imperial-Royal Central Commission³ in the second half of the 19th century, to which the Latin inscriptions on the reused Roman blocks made a decisive contribution. In the 20th century, Romanians began to preserve their wooden churches even when they built a new masonry church. As a sign of modernity, imitating the Hungarians and the Transylvanian Saxons, Romanians built their churches in the village centres, no longer demolishing the old wooden churches.

The rural churches built in the first half of the 20th century are becoming. They adopt a spatial organisation resulting from the amplification of the old wooden churches, aligning the volumes of the altar, naos, pronaos,⁴ and a tower on the western side, possibly even a porch. The end of the 19th century saw the appearance of churches designed by professional architects, who tried to combine elements of classicising Eclecticism with the Romanian Eastern tradition, such as the masonry churches in Stârciu (Sălaj County, Photo 5) or Călărași (Cluj County, Photo 6), near Turda. Poorer communities built their masonry churches with the help of skilled craftsmen, who adopted technical solutions and decorations specific to the era and urban architecture. Even if these new churches can still be classified as vernacular, the difference between rural and urban churches was slowly disappearing. This was also the case with the new interwar church of Calna. The church is modest, but becoming (Photo 7).

In the interwar period, churches built by architects from the Kingdom⁵ appeared. Church architecture adopted the central plan, and lateral apses became generalised. This was a period of almost ostentatious manifestation of “Romanianism” in a radically changed historical context.

In the birth era of national communism, the construction of Orthodox churches resumed. These are more closely related to the architecture of the

volt ez, egy gyökeresen megváltozott történelmi kontextusban.

A nemzeti kommunizmus születésének korszakában újraindult az ortodox templomok építése. Ezek az új építmények szorosabb kapcsolatban álltak a korszak építészetével, mint ahogy azt általában elfogadják. Az ateista kommunista állam és az egyház közti ellentét nem volt akadálya ennek a folyamatnak. Felsőbányán (Máramaros megye) a műemléki templom közelében épült új templom, vagy Királyhágó (Kolozs megye) falu új temploma (8. kép), ahol egy kis fatemplom is volt, ellentétben állnak a hely hagyományával, és valójában ellentétben az általános román hagyományokkal, viszont sokkal közelebb állnak a korszak hivatalos építészetéhez. Ez a templomtípus egy kötelező esztétikai modell alapján jött létre. Még a két világháború közötti vagy a dualista korszakból származó szerényebb templomoknál is, mint például az apahidai (Kolozs megye) ortodox falazott templom vagy a mezőcsáni templom (Kolozs megye), amelyek nem minősülnek műemléknek, teljesen oda nem illő javításokat, díszítéseket végeztek: a függőleges terhek hordozását kifejező pilasztereket vagy a klasszicista stílusjegyekből származó elemeket népi jellegű csipkeutánzattal díszítették ki, olyan meg gondolásból, hogy még románosabbá és tősgyökeresebbé tegyék ezeket (9. kép).

Az 1998. december utáni időszakban az új templomok építése nagy lendületet vett. A régi templomok elhagyottakká, elhanyagoltakká váltak, az újak pedig a külföldi munkából hazatérő szponzorok ízlését tükrözték. De talán a legsúlyosabb, hosszú távú következményekkel járó je-

³ K. K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale [ed. note].

⁴ Altar – sanctuary, naos – nave, pronaos – narthex [ed. note].

⁵ The so-called Old Kingdom was a term used after World War I to refer to the Romanian Kingdom prior to 1918, covering the territories of the historical principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia [ed. note].



■ **Photo 7.** Calna, the new interwar church, 2023 © Ionel-Virgil POP
■ **7. kép:** Kálna fatemploma 2023-ban © POP Ionel-Virgil



■ **Photo 8.** Bucea (Cluj County), the church built during the communist period © Ionel-Virgil POP
■ **8. kép:** Királyhágó (Kolozs megye) kommunista időszakban épült új temploma © POP Ionel-Virgil



■ **Photo 9.** Ceanu Mare (Cluj County), 19th century church, redecorated with lace motifs in the 3rd millennium © Ionel-Virgil POP

■ **9. kép:** Mezőcsán (Kolozs megye) XIX. századi temploma, amelyet a harmadik évezredben csipkeutánnal újradíszítettek © POP Ionel-Virgil

lenség az, hogy a vidéki közösségek nem vállalják fel a saját örökségüket.

Lózsárd (Kolozs megye) faluban a falazott templom, amelyet a hagyomány Vitéz Mihálynak tulajdonít bár építészeti szempontból igen szerény, közössége elhagyta, és egy új templomot emelt, túldíszített és ízléstelen építészettel. Berkényes (Kolozs megye) faluban a műemlék fatemplom közelében épült egy új templom, amely hivalkodóan mutogatja ízléstelenségét (10. kép). Erdőfelek (Kolozs megye) faluban, a III. (Nagy) István moldvai fejedelem által alapított templom mellett új templomot építettek a moldovai és Brâncoveanu-stílusú építészet ihlette elemekkel. A szerény, Nagy István-i alapítású templomot elnyomja a körülbelül háromszor nagyobb méretű új templom háromszor akkora. A falu lakói, akik a híres alapító templomában házasodtak össze vagy keresztelkedtek meg, nem elégedtek meg ezzel, nekik olyan templomra volt szükségük, amely hirdetheti jelenlegi gazdasági helyzetüket. A mai szemlélő szinte észre sem veszi az egykori, értékes templomot, amelyet eltakar a hatalmas épület. Az egész tájat átalakították, és figyelmen kívül hagyták, hogy a régi templom esetében gótikus és nem Brâncoveanu-stílusú részleteket használtak (11. kép).

Kálna esetében azonban, a két templom közötti szintkülönbség miatt, az új nem befolyásolja a fatemplom környezetét. Az új templom elhelyezése adott esélyt a régi templomnak.

A templomban az ortodox istentiszteleti hely minden helyisége egyetlen tető alatt található. Az előcsarnok bejáratát is magába foglaló déli homlokzathoz tornác csatlakozik. A téglalap alaprajzú szentély rövidebb hosszban: 2,30 méter, mint szélességben: 2,60 méter. Ez a fordított arány

time period than is generally thought. The opposition between the Church and the atheist communist state was no obstacle. The new church in Baia Sprie (Maramureș County), built in close proximity to the historical church, or the one in Bucea (Cluj County, Photo 8), where there was also a small wooden church, are in contrast with the tradition of the place and in fact in contrast with the Romanian tradition in general, but much closer to the official architecture of the era. This type of church established an aesthetic model that imposed itself. Totally inappropriate repairs and decorations were carried out even in the case of decent churches from the interwar or the dualist period, such as the Orthodox masonry church in Apahida (Cluj County) or the church in Ceanu Mare (Cluj County), which are not listed as historic buildings: pilasters or designs from the decorative language of Classicism, which express the weight of the vertical loads, were decorated with imitation lace in a folk style in the idea that they would become even more Romanian and “genuine” (Photo 9).

In the post-1989 period, the construction of new churches gained quite a momentum. Old churches are abandoned and neglected, and the new ones respond to the tastes of sponsors returning from work abroad. But perhaps the most disquieting phenomenon, which carries long-term consequences, is that the rural communities do not assume their own heritage. In the village of Lujerdiu (Cluj County), a masonry church that tradition attributes to Michael the Brave, albeit very modest from an architectural point of view, was abandoned by the community, which built a new church in an opulent and tasteless architectural style. In the village of Berchieșu (Cluj County), close to the wooden church, a listed historic building, the newly-erected church ostentatiously displays its poor taste (Photo 10). Near the church



■ **Photo 10.** Berchieșu (Cluj County), the new church overshadows the old wooden church © Ionel-Virgil POP

■ **10. kép:** Berkényes (Kolozs megye) régi fatemploma az új templom takarásába került © POP Ionel-Virgil



■ **Photo 11.** Feleacu (Cluj County), alteration of the landscape and ambiance of the church founded by Stephen the Great © Ionel-Virgil POP
 ■ **11. kép:** Erdőfelek (Kolozs megye), a III. (Nagy) István-i alapítású templom környezetének és hangulatának eltorzítása © POP Ionel-Virgil

founded by Stephen the Great in Feleacu (Cluj County), a new church was built with elements inspired by Moldavian and Brâncoveanu-style architecture. The modest foundation of Stephen is overwhelmed by the new church, which is about three times larger. The villagers might be proud to have been married or baptized in the church of the famous founder, but this was not enough for them, as they needed to display their current economic status. Today, the viewer almost misses the valuable former church hidden by the massive new building. In fact, the entire landscape was transformed, and the fact that the old church has Gothic and not Brâncoveanu-style details passed unnoticed (Photo 11).

In the case of Calna, however, the elevation difference between the two churches allows for the atmosphere of the wooden one to not be disturbed. The way in which the new church was placed was the chance the old one needed.

The church has all the rooms of an Orthodox place of worship under a single roof. The southern elevation, where we find the entrance to the pronaos, is preceded by a portico. The rectangular altar is shorter in depth,



■ **Photo 12.** Calna, southern wall of the altar with the window not centred on the painting © Ionel-Virgil POP
 ■ **12. kép:** Kálna, a szentély déli fala a falfestményhez képest eltérő tengelyű ablakkal © POP Ionel-Virgil

teszi egyértelmű megoldássá a templom tengelyére merőleges dongaboltozatot. Az épületrész két ablakkal rendelkezik, egyik a keleti oldalán, a másik a déli oldalán található. A 60/70 centiméteres, tehát a hagyományos ablakoknál sokkal nagyobb méretű ablakokat csak a XIX. század második felében építették be. Ezek modern típusúak, a falakhoz kívülről felerősített, egyszerű, tagolatlan falképpel rendelkeznek, és befelé nyílnak. A szentély déli falán található három azonos méretű táblából álló falfestmény szimmetriatengelye nem esik egybe a fal ablakával (12. kép). Ha a festményt a megnagyobbított ablaknyílás után készítették volna, akkor biztosan a nyílás tengelyére került volna. A szentély oldalfalai mindössze 45 centiméterrel húzódnak beljebb a hajóéhoz képest, amelyből adódik, hogy a hajó fedele folytatódik az oltár felett is, azáltal, hogy a hajó ereszgerendája továbbhalad a szentély mentén és metszi a keleti falon lévő konzolokra támaszkodó gerendát (13. kép). A szentély és a hajó egyetlen, egységes tető alá helyezése a kis templomok jellemzője. Ugyanez a helyzet a magyarszentpáli (Kolozs megye) és sok másik templomnál is. Az oltárasztal fából készült, és hasonlatos egy barokk, kőből készült oltárasztalhoz (14. kép). Figyelembe véve a stílusjegyeit és azt az időbeli eltérést, amelyben ezek a hatások érezhetőek voltak, keletkezése egy 1800 körüli dátumra tehető.

A hajót az szentélyre merőleges, vagyis a hajó tengelyével párhuzamos dongaboltozat fedi. A boltozat deszkáit egyetlen, a hajóhossz közepén elhelyezett hevederív tartja: ez tipikus helyzet, mivel csak a nagy fatemplomokban található két tartóíves boltozat. Ezt az ívet metszi a boltozat záradékánál végigfutó gerenda, amely ugyanolyan tagolással rendelkezik (15. kép). Az ív és a gerenda használata tulajdonképpen a gótikus struktúrák átértel-

mezése, amit vándormotívumként vettek át. Tehát ezeknek a tagolt elemeknek – az ívnek és a boltozat záradékaiban található elemnek – a metszete egy gótikus bordához hasonlít. Ugyanakkor, ezek a lineáris elemek, hatkaréjos rozettákkal vannak díszítve, amelyek szintén jellemzők a gótikus építészetre. Egy paraszti kézművesnek három évszázad állt a rendelkezésére, hogy egy ilyen előképet lásson, amely aztán manierista motívumként kelt útra. A rozettaformát a népművészet szakemberei szoláris motívumként értelmezik, ami a román parasztot az időjárás állapothoz és a mezőgazdasági ciklusokhoz köti, és ez, körző segítségével, keze ügyében van minden kőből vagy fából dolgozó kézművesnek. A boltozat közvetlenül a falakhoz csatlakozik, törés és vízszintes tagolás nélkül. A templom csekély szélessége miatt sikerült megvalósítani ezt a hagyományostól eltérő változatot, amely szerint a hajó belseje felé a boltvállnál egy kiugrás jelenne meg – tulajdonképpen egy, a templomfal vastagságánál szélesebb gerenda belső része.

A hajónak két átellenes ablaka van az ikonostáz közvetlen szomszédságában. Ezeket is a XIX. században bővítették ki, akárcsak a szentélybelieket, az elhelyezésük viszont eredeti. Az ikonostáz megvilágítását illetően (16. kép), fortélyosan helyezték el ezeket az ablakokat. Általában két ablak található a hajó déli oldalán, ezek biztosítják a tér viszonylag egyenletes megvilágítását, ebben az esetben viszont a fény az ikonokkal teli ikonostázra esik, és ezt a hatást felerősíti a második



■ **Photo 13.** Calna, the two wall plates intersect so that the church is under a single roof © Ionel-Virgil POP
■ **13. kép:** Kálna, a két ereszgerenda úgy metszi egymást, hogy a templom egy egységes tető alá kerül © POP Ionel-Virgil

with 2.30 metres, compared with its 2.60 metres in width. This inverted ratio offered the natural solution to build the barrel vault perpendicular to the axis of the church. The altar has two windows, one on the eastern and another on the southern side. These must have been remade in the second half of the 19th century, as they are much larger than the traditional ones, i.e. 60/70 centimetres, and have simple wooden frames without mouldings that have been added to the outer wall. They are of a modern type, opening inwards. In addition, the window on the altar's southern wall is offset from the wall painting composed of three identical panels (Photo 12). If the painting had been created after enlarging the openings, it would probably be aligned with the mentioned window. The altar is narrower than the naos; however, the width difference is only 45 centimetres, so it was natural to extend the roof of the naos over the altar by continuing the wall plate from the naos until the bracket intersection with the beam over the altar's eastern side (Photo 13). Including the altar and naos under a single roof is characteristic of small churches, such as in the case of the church in Sânpaul (Cluj County) and many others. The wooden altar table was inspired by a Baroque stone altar table (Photo 14). Considering its stylistic characteristics and the time lapse with which these influences are generally felt, it could be dated to around 1800.

The naos has a barrel vault built perpendicularly to the altar's vault, i.e. parallel to the church's axis. Its boards rest on a single centrally located transversal arch, a typical situation; only in large wooden churches are there two arches supporting the vault. This arch intersects the beam from the keystone area, which has the same profile (Photo 15). The transversal arch and the central beam represent an interpretation of Gothic structures, taken over as a migratory Mannerist motif. Their profiles are reminiscent of Gothic vault ribs, and they are decorated with six-petal rosettes, a common motif in Gothic architecture. A peasant craftsman would have had three centuries to observe such models, which would then travel as Mannerist motifs. The rosette shape, interpreted by folk art specialists as a solar motif that connects the Romanian peasant to the weather and agricultural cycles, was readily accessible to any craftsman working in stone or wood by simply using a compass. The vault is connected to the walls directly, without inflection or the use of a horizontal moulding. Since the width of the church is small, it was possible to implement this variant, different from the traditional system, in which a horizontal moulding appears on the inner surface



■ **Photo 14.** Calna, the wooden altar table, inspired by a Baroque stone altar table © Ionel-Virgil POP
■ **14. kép:** Kálna, a barokk kőoltár ihlette fából készült oltárasztal © POP Ionel-Virgil

of the naos walls, which is actually the inner part of a beam that is wider than the wall's thickness.

The naos has two windows in the vicinity of the iconostasis. Similarly to the altar windows, these were enlarged in the 19th century, but their positions are original, which denotes a certain intentionality in terms of the lighting of the iconostasis (Photo 16). As a general rule, the southern elevation has two windows that light the naos relatively uniformly; however, in this case, the light falls on the iconostasis full of icons, and the effect is amplified by the lack of the second southern window. Was this intentional, or just a coincidence? We believe that the light that penetrated through the two windows fell on the pews of the singers at a time when churches were lit only with candles.

In the western part, three support beams of the bell tower penetrate the western wall of the naos. They appear offset, being shifted towards the southern portico. We will return to this aesthetic anomaly later. Four holes appear in the wooden vault, two on each side and all in the same vertical plane. These were probably the openings through which a no longer existing western gallery's beam and balustrade passed (Figure 2). The tribune would have stood on two posts. In other churches, the tribune is accessible either through the attic over the pronaos or directly from the southern porch, as is the case at Cojocna (Cluj County, Photo 17), or via a staircase from the naos. In the case of Calna, the ascent would have been made by a staircase in the naos, as there are no traces of a door between the attic of the pronaos and the naos.

The pronaos has no windows; however, it has a massive-looking portal towards the naos, which shows clear inspiration from stone architecture. The bases of its jambs are slightly protruding from the plane of the wall and, being very wide, each display two decorative rosettes. On their inner side, the jambs are chamfered with a lark's tongue finish, as in the case of a Gothic stone frame (Photo 18). The lintel was joined to the jambs with slanted ends; this was also inspired by stone architecture, but in this case, it acts as a decorative motif, since the trilithic system in wood would have performed very well, or even better if joined in a simple manner. The leaf of the portal is composed of panels, thus it was probably made after the mid-19th century, concomitant with the enlargement of the windows.

One enters the church through the portal found on the southern side, which impresses through the quality of its carvings and bears the aforemen-



■ **Photo 16.** Calna, the symmetrical lighting of the iconostasis through the only two windows of the naos © Ionel-Virgil POP

■ **16. kép:** Kálna, az ikonosztáz szimmetrikus megvilágítása a hajó két áttellenes ablaka által © POP Ionel-Virgil



■ **Photo 15.** Calna, the naos with the vault supported by a single transversal arch © Ionel-Virgil POP

■ **15. kép:** Kálna, a hajó boltozata, amelyet egyetlen ív tart © POP Ionel-Virgil

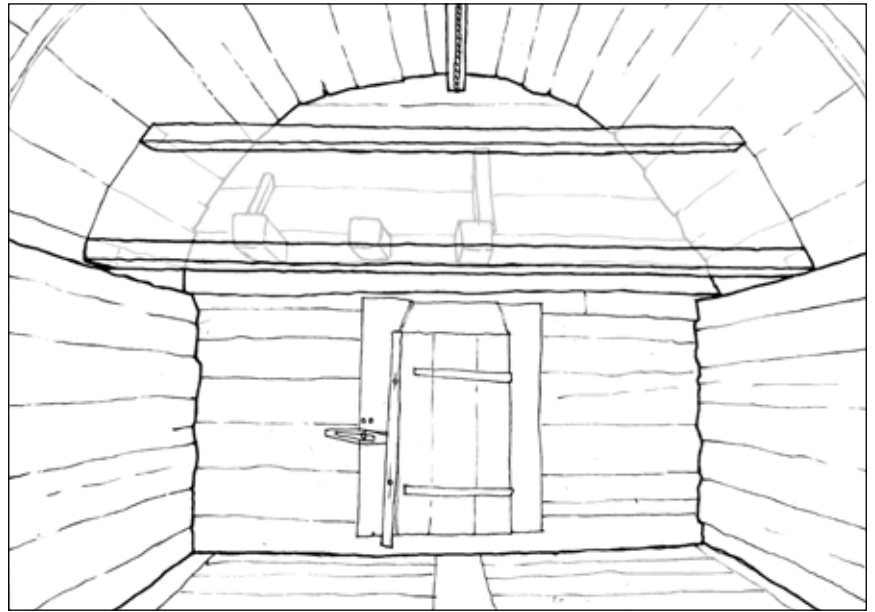
déli ablak hiánya. Tudatos döntés eredménye lenne ez, vagy csak véletlen egybeesés? Úgy gondoljuk, hogy a két ablakon át behatoló fény az énekesek soraira esett, abban az időben, amikor a templomokat csak gyertyákkal világították meg.

A harangtorony három tartógerendája behatol a hajóba, ennek nyugati falán át. A gerendák különböző távolságokban, a déli tornác irányába eltolva helyezkednek el. Erre az esztétikai anomáliára még visszatérünk. Kétoldalt, a deszkaboltozatban két-két nyílás jelenik meg, ugyanabban a függőleges síkban. Ezek a rések gerendafélszkek lehetnek, amelyek egy mára eltűnt nyugati karzat gerendáját és korlátját tartották (2. ábra). A karzat két oszlopon állhatott. Más templomokban a karzatra való feljutás vagy az előcsarnok padlásán keresztül történik, vagy közvetlenül a déli tornácból, mint például Kolozson (Kolozs megye, 17. kép), vagy a hajóból egy lépcsőn. Ebben az esetben valószínű, hogy a hajóban levő lépcsőn lehetett feljutni a karra, mert az előcsarnok és a hajó padlása között nincs nyoma ajtónak.

Az előcsarnoknak nincsenek ablakai, és egy nagyon masszív megjelenésű portálja nyílik a hajó felé. A nyilvánvalóan kőépítészettel ihletett ajtófélfák a fal síkjából enyhén kiugró lábazzal rendelkeznek, amelyeken két-két bevéssett, dekoratív rozetta található. Az ajtófélfák belső fele élszedett. Az élszedések a lábazzal tetejével lefelé fordított háromszögben végződnek, mint egy gótikus kőkeretnél (18. kép). Az ajtó szemöldökgerendája ferdén csatlakozik az ajtófélfákhoz, amit szintén a kőépítészettel ihletett, jelen eset-

ben viszont csak dekoratív megoldás, mert a faszerkezet nagyon jól vagy talán még jobban működött volna, ha egyszerűen illesztették volna össze. Az előcsarnok és a hajó közötti betétes ajtószárny valószínűleg a XIX. század közepe után készült, a korabeli ablakok megnagyobbításával egy időben. A bejárat a déli oldalon, a minőségi faragása miatt impozáns hatású portálon keresztül történik, fölötte a fent említett, a templomot is datáló felirattal (2. kép). Ez az ajtó eredeti, ács munkával készült, masszív deszkákból. Az ugyancsak fából készült méretes ajtótengeley is lenyűgöző (19. kép). Az ajtózár is fából készült, amelyben egy fogazott nyelvet egy csuklós, úgy szintén fakulcs tol be. Az említett megoldások leginkább a közösség gazdasági szintjére utalnak, tudva azt, hogy egyáltalán nem jutottak hozzá vasművelemekhez, mivel a XVII. században csak a városi építészetben terjedt el a vasművesség. Mi több, a szögek, amelyekre az ikonok kerültek, szintén fából készültek.

A déli homlokzat előtt hat oszlop áll egy masszív gerendán, egy öt tengelyre osztott tornácot képezve. A XVIII. század előtt épült templomoknál szabály, hogy a tornác a déli és nem a nyugati oldalon helyezkedik el, következésképpen a tornác magában foglalja a déli bejáratot, így ez nem a megszokott nyugati fal tengelyében helyezkedik el. Ezt az uralkodóvá vált anomáliát a hagyományos parasztház építészetének hatásával próbálták megmagyarázni: két vagy több helyiség sorakozik tornáccal a déli oldalon, délre nyílik az ajtó és az összes ablak, egyik sem a másik oldalra. Ily módon, a paraszti lakóház befolyásolta a templom térképezését is, ami a népi demokrácia rendszerének nagyon is megfelelt. De természetesebb lenne meg-



■ **Figure 2.** Calna, reconstitution of the western gallery, perspective © arch. stud. Patricia SIMEDRU
■ **2. ábra:** Kálna, a nyugati karzat rekonstrukciója – perspektíva © SIMEDRU Patricia építész diák

tioned inscription that dates the church (Photo 2). The leaf of the portal, made of massive boards processed with carpentry techniques, is original. Its method of fitting is also impressive, with pintles in the rotation axis as part of the hanging stile made from the same piece of wood (Photo 19). The lock is also wooden, with a toothed bolt moved by a wooden key. The portal illustrates the economic level of the communities that used these locks, not having access to iron pieces, as in the 17th century, ironwork was common in urban architecture. Moreover, the nails on which the icons were hung are also wooden.

The portico along the southern elevation is divided into five bays by six posts that stand on a massive beam forming a sill. Positioning the portico on the southern side instead of the western one, which implies a southern



■ **Photo 17.** Cojocna (Cluj County), wooden church during conservation, note the gallery accessed directly from the pronaos © Ionel-Virgil POP



■ **Photo 18.** Calna, the frame of the portal leading to the naos with the double rosette decoration at the base and the chamfer with the lark's tongue finish, similar to a Gothic frame © Ionel-Virgil POP

■ **17. kép:** Kolozs (Kolozs megye) restaurálás alatt álló fatemploma, megfigyelhető, hogy a nyugati karzatot közvetlenül az előcsarnokból lehet megközelíteni © POP Ionel-Virgil

■ **18. kép:** Kálna, a hajó ajtókeretét két-két rozetta díszíti, az ajtófélfák élszedettek, amelyek lefelé fordított háromszögben végződnek, mint a gótikában © POP Ionel-Virgil



■ **Photo 19.** Calna, fitting method of the door with pintles and hanging stile made from a single piece of wood © Ionel-Virgil POP

■ **19. kép:** Kálna, a méretes ajtó tengelyt egyetlen fából faragták ki © POP Ionel-Virgil



■ **Photo 20.** Calna, the southern portico with the Renaissance-inspired posts © Ionel-Virgil POP

■ **20. kép:** Kálna, a déli tornác reneszánsz ihletésű oszlopai © POP Ionel-Virgil

and not a western entrance, meaning that it would be in the church's axis, is a rule for churches built before the 18th century. An attempt was made to explain this anomaly, which in time became the norm, through the influence of the traditional peasant house: two or more rooms lined up with a porch on the southern side, with the door and all the windows facing south, none on the other sides. According to this theory, the vernacular dwelling was the one that influenced church layouts, which was to the liking of the people's democratic regime. Whereas it would be much more unassuming to see what would happen if the orientation of the portico was in accordance with the early Christian and later Byzantine model. In the case of the church in Calna, this would have resulted in a portico width of less than four metres, from which the approximately one-metre width of the entrance placed on the axis would need to be subtracted, resulting in a space with a width of one-and-a-half metres on each side that would fit two or three people. Moving the portico and entrance to the southern side is an adaptation to the reduced dimensions of a traditional wooden church. It would be more fitting to state that the southern portico of wooden churches influenced the layout of peasant dwellings. Naturally, we are analysing

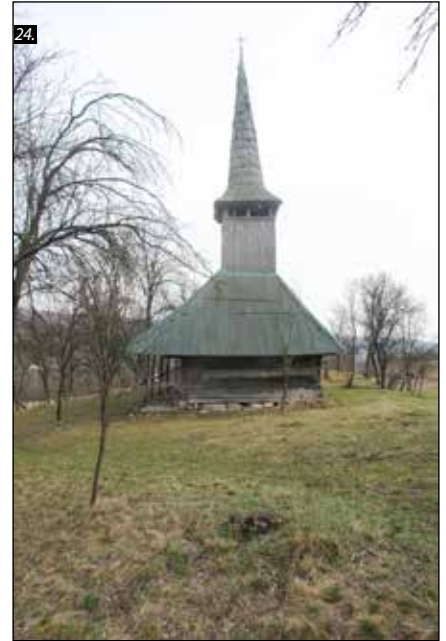
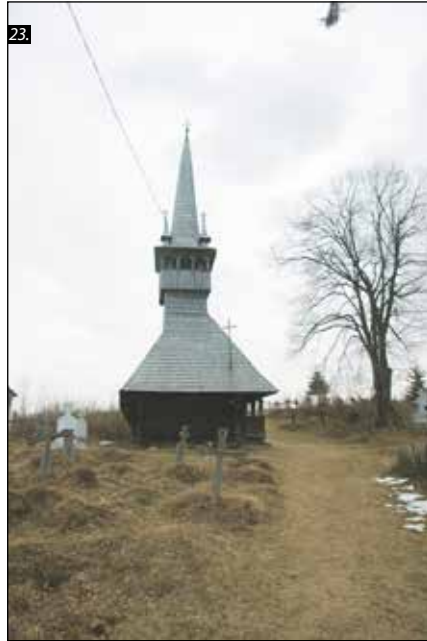


■ **Photo 21.** Calna, the portico with the one Baroque-inspired post © Ionel-Virgil POP

■ **21. kép:** Kálna, a déli tornác egyetlen barokk ihletésű oszlopa © POP Ionel-Virgil

vizsgálni, mit jelentene, ha a templomtornác tájolása az ókeresztény, majd később a bizánci minta szerint történne. A kálnai templom esetében egy négy méternél kisebb tornác keletkezne, amelyből levonva a közepén lévő bejáratnak körülbelül egyméteres szélességét, ez mindkét oldalon alig egy-egy másfél méteres hosszút eredményez, vagyis egy olyan teret, amelyen csak két-három ember fér el. A tornác és a bejárat déli oldalra helyezése a hagyományos fatemplom csökkentett méreteihez való alkalmazkodás következménye. Vagyis inkább a fatemplomok déli tornácra befolyásolta a paraszti lakóház alakulását, mint fordítva. Természetesen, a népi, paraszti építészetet a máig fennmaradt XIX. századi házakon és XVII–XVIII. századi templomokon keresztül értelmezzük, de figyelembe kell venni, hogy faházak és templomok sok évszázaddal korábban is léteztek, és róluk semmit sem tudunk. Anélkül, hogy találgatásokba szeretnénk bocsátkozni, kijelenthetjük, hogy a házak minden bizonnyal sokkal egyszerűbbek voltak, gyakran egyszobás vagy veremház formájában mutatkoztak, ez semmiképp sem befolyásolhatta a templom alaprajzi kialakítását, amelynek tiszteltetben kellett tartania az egyház által meghatározott térérendezést.

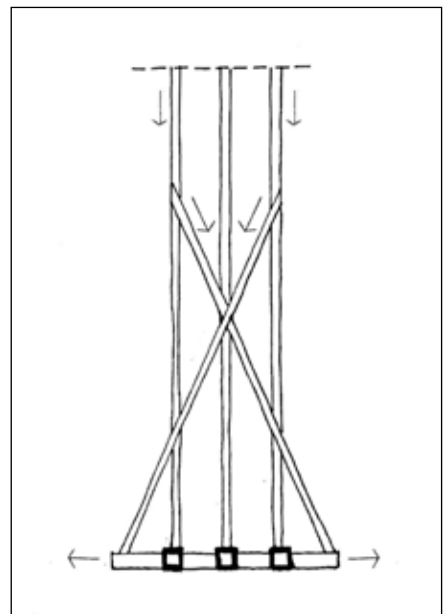
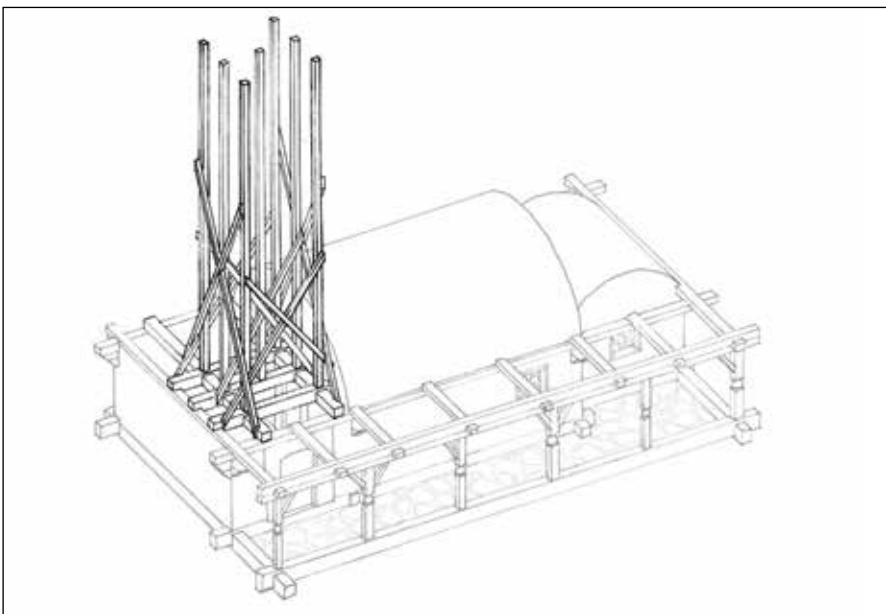
A tornác oszlopain középmagasában gömb alakú dísz található (20. kép). Ez a kialakítás a reneszánsz, szimmetrikus kiképzésű baluszter mintáját követi, amelyet egy paraszt kézművesnek is alkalma volt látnia Erdélyben. Ezekről csupán az utolsó előtti oszlop különbözik, amely bizonyos, hogy barokk ihletésű (21. kép). Valószínűleg az eredeti nagymértékben károsodott, és újjal pótolták a XVIII. században vagy a XIX. század első felében. A tornác padlója nagy, szabálytalan kőtömbökkel van kirakva, amelyet a legutóbbi helyreállításakor habarccsal fugáztak ki. Ez, sajnos, megváltoztatta az eredeti megjelenést (20. kép).



- **Photo 22.** Calna, view towards the altar where the tower's de-centring from the church body and its centring on the general volume can be noted © Ionel-Virgil POP
- **22. kép:** Kálna, a templom tornya az általános térfogat tengelyében helyezkedik el, de a belső térhez képest eltérő tengelyű © POP Ionel-Virgil
- **Photo 23.** Dângău Mare (Cluj County), wooden church with the tower centred on the church body, but because of the portico it is de-centred from the general volume © Ionel-Virgil POP
- **23. kép:** Bánffydongó (Kolozs megye), a fatemplom tornya a belső tér tengelyében helyezkedik el, de a tornác miatt az általános térfogathoz képest eltérő tengelyű © POP Ionel-Virgil
- **Photo 24.** Tiotiur (Cluj County), the church with the tower de-centred from the general volume © Ionel-Virgil POP
- **24. kép:** Tötör (Kolozs megye), a templom tornya az általános térfogathoz képest eltérő tengelyű © POP Ionel-Virgil

A templomot az előcsarnok fölötti harangtorony koronázza meg. Mivel távlatból szemlélve a tető általános tömegét észleljük, amely ebben az esetben a déli tornácra is ráfed, a torony ennek a tömegnek a tengelyében helyezkedik el, amely aszimmetriát eredményez, vagyis a torony nem a szentély, hajó és előcsarnok

vernacular architecture through what has been preserved to this day, i.e. houses from the 19th century and churches from the 17th and 18th centuries, but we must consider that wooden houses and churches about which we know nothing have existed for centuries. Without trying to speculate, we can confidently state that houses were considerably simpler, often reduced to a single room, or were pit-houses, which had no way of influencing the layout of churches that had to respect a spatial arrangement imposed by religious tradition.



- **Figure 3.** Calna, tower axonometry and schematic presentation of the volumes without a roof © arch. stud. Patricia SIMEDRU
- **3. ábra:** Kálna, a torony axonometriája és a tető nélküli térfogatok sematikus ábrázolása © SIMEDRU Patricia építész diák
- **Figure 4.** Calna, structural diagram of the tower © arch. stud. Patricia SIMEDRU
- **4. ábra:** Kálna, a torony szerkezeti felépítése © SIMEDRU Patricia építész diák



■ **Photo 25.** Calna, the lower part of the tower with oblique discharge into the beams that become stretched © Ionel-Virgil POP

■ **25. kép:** Kálna, a torony alsó része ferdén terhel a nyújtottá vált gerendákra © POP Ionel-Virgil



■ **Photo 26.** Pișteștii din Deal (Gorj County), the tower's posts reach the pronaos of the church © Ionel-Virgil POP

■ **26. kép:** Pișteștii din Deal (Gorj megye), a torony oszlopai a templom előcsarnokáig hatolnak © POP Ionel-Virgil

At mid-height, ball-shaped ornaments decorate the portico's posts (Photo 20). These were inspired by symmetrical Renaissance stone balusters, which peasant craftsmen could have easily seen in Transylvania. Only the second to last pillar is different, the model of which was most definitely of Baroque style (Photo 21). It probably deteriorated and was replaced in the 18th century or the first half of the 19th century. The portico floor is made of large blocks of irregular stone. During the last conservation of the church, it was pointed with mortar, which changed its original appearance considerably (Photo 20).

The church volume is crowned by the bell tower rising above the pronaos. When perceived from a certain distance, the prospect is dominated by the volume of the roof that in this case covers the southern portico as well, thus the tower was lined up with the roof's axis, which resulted in a misalignment with the sequence of the three rooms: altar, naos, and pronaos (Photo 22). This method conveys symmetry to the overall volume and shows a concern for the church's status as a symbol within the settlement, as well as for its role as a signal from large distances, i.e. from the roads leading to the village. Even today, when buildings much larger than the traditional ones have appeared, the church tower can be seen from afar, in spite of its height of only 13 metres. This structural de-centring shows the church's planned character and denotes a concern for its image. There are larger churches than the one in Calna, such as in Dângăul Mare (Photo 23) or Tioțiu (Photo 24), both from Cluj County, where the tower was centred on the naos and where, by adding the southern porch, it ended up misaligned from the general volume. Of course, this was not an issue for churches without a porch or in the rarest cases of 18th-century churches with porches on three sides.

The structural solution of the tower and its combination with the structure of the pronaos is also remarkable. This solution was prevalent throughout Transylvania, distinguishing wooden churches in Transylvania and Maramureș from those in neighbouring regions with wooden churches: Oltenia or even Ukraine and Poland.

The four posts of the tower rest on a base, i.e. a grid composed of four to a maximum of six beams arranged perpendicularly, two or three at a time. At Calna, there are five (Figure 3). The braces, each composed of two elements integrated into the roof slope, are joined to the massive beams of the rectangular grid. By their size and joining, the braces, which normally would only be subject to tension, compress and take over much of the tower's weight.

tengelyéhez igazodik (22. kép). Ez a módszer viszont szimetriát kölcsönöz az összterefogatnak, és arra utal, hogy az építők a templom településen belüli szimbólumértékét, valamint távoli szemszögből, a faluba vezető utak felől, a jelzésértékét tartották szem előtt. Még ma is, amikor a hagyományosnál jóval nagyobb méretű épületek jelentek meg, a templomtorony messziről látható, bár tornya csak 13 méter. Ez a szerkezettől eltérő tengelyválasztás a templom tervezett jellegét és a megjelenése iránti figyelmet tükrözi. Vannak a kálnainál nagyobb templomok, ahol a torony tengelye megegyezik a hajóéval, és a déli tornác hozzáadásával a torony az általános térfogathoz képest eltolódik, mint például Bánffydongó (23. kép) és Tötör (24. kép) Kolozs megyei települések esetében. Természetesen ez nem tevődik fel a tornác nélküli templomoknál, vagy a XVIII. századból származó, három oldalról tornáccal körülvett templomok ritka esetében.

Szintén figyelemre méltó a torony szerkezeti megoldása és az előcsarnok szerkezetével való kapcsolata, amely Erdély-szerte általánosan alkalmazott. Ez teszi különlegessé az erdélyi és maramarosí fatemplomokat a többi szomszédos régióéhoz képest, ahol fatemplomok találhatóak: Olténia, sőt, Ukrajna és Lengyelország is.

A torony négy oszlopa egy négy vagy maximum hat gerendából álló rácsra támaszkodik, amely gerendák egymásra merőlegesen vannak elhelyezve, kettesével vagy hármasával. Kálnán öt ilyen gerenda van (3. ábra). A tető dőlésszögébe illeszkedő két-két elemből álló merevítések a rács masszív gerendáiba csatlakoznak. A méret és az ékelés miatt a merevítés, amely általában csak húzásnak lenne ki-

téve, összenyomódik, és átveszi a torony súlyának nagy részét. Ily módon felszabadul a torony által az alapját alkotó, vízszintes gerendákra gyakorolt függőleges nyomás egy része. Az alap gerendái idővel eltorzultak volna, mivel a fa nem viseli jól a hajlítást. De ezekben a gerendákban a ferde merevítők erő kifejtése révén nyújtás is keletkezik, és a fa nagyon jól reagál a nyújtásra (4. ábra). Mindez az összetett szerkezet az előcsarnok falaira helyezi a terhet. A nagyon széles toronyalapnak köszönhetően a torony ellenáll a szélleheléseknek is (25. kép). Ily módon a torony oszlopai az előcsarnok fölött végződnek, és nem futnak le az alapozás szintjére. Az előcsarnok tehát mindig síkfödém, és nem boltíves, mint a bizánci falazott templomok esetében. Ez a megoldás egyedivé teszi az erdélyi templomokat. Az olteniai fatemplomokban ezek az oszlopok a tornácra a padló szintjéig ereszkednek le, mint például Pișteștii din Dealban (Gorj megye), ami gyakorlatilag használhatatlanná teszi a tornácot, vagy a torony nagyon kis méretű, és szerkezetileg kapcsolódik a tető szarufáihoz (26. kép). Ezt az Erdélyre jellemző szerkezetet Dióshalom és Nyárfás máramarosi települések templomainál olyan tökéletességre vitték, hogy toronymagasságaik elképzelhetetlenek egy faszerkezet számára.

A tárgyalt szerkezeti megoldás talán a református templomok haranglábainak struktúráját másolja. Ez nyilvánvaló abban az esetben, ha a torony a templom mellett helyezkedik el, mint például a Kolozs megyei Kisfenesen (27. kép) vagy Tóházán (28. kép). Különleges esetet képvisel a Fehér megyei Magyarbagó fatemploma. Itt a nyugati bejárat tengelyében helyeztek el egy haranglábát, majd később a templom teteje bővült, bekebelezve a tornyot is (29. kép). A református haranglábakat idéző megoldás kiemeli az előcsarnok fölötti torony struktúrájának eredetiségét, mert Magyarbagón a merevítés egyszerű, a torony terhelésének átvétele nélkül. Tehát ebben az esetben nem volt szükség az említett megoldásra, mert a talpat alkotó négy masszív gerenda közvetlenül a talajon fekszik. Ennek az újszerű kivitelezésnek kivételes varázsa is van, hiszen így egy nagy tornác jön létre, amely a falu szélén, a dombon elhelyezkedő templom fekvésének köszönhetően előnyös rálátást is biztosít a környékre. Ezt a példát azonban nem tekinthetjük átmeneti szakasznak, hiányzó láncszemnek a térszerveződés alakulásában, hiszen a templom 1733-ból, a harangtorony pedig a XIX. századból való. Ez a példa inkább kivétel. Ám itt is, egy elnéptelenedéssel fenyegetett faluban, 2000 után igen nagy templom épült, és a régi templom látványát beszenyezték az új templom támogatói a szüleik közelmúltbeli sírjaival.

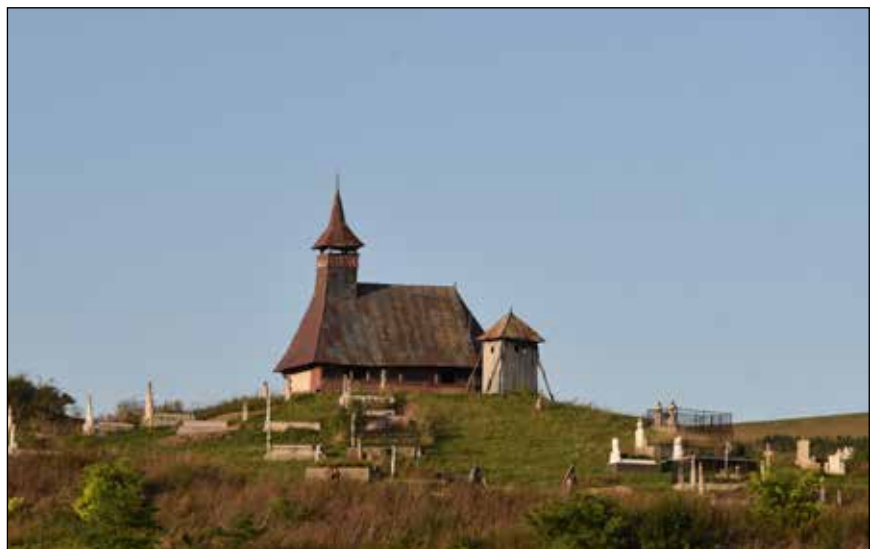
A kálnai templom homlokzatai egyszerűek, díszítés nélküliek. Az északi, tornác nélküli homlokzaton a hajót az előcsarnoktól elválasztó fal csatlakozása olvasható le, egy apró részlet, amely nagy diszkrécióval érzékelteti a belső szerke-



■ **Photo 27.** *Finișel (Cluj County), wooden church with adjoining belfry* © Ionel-Virgil POP

■ **27. kép:** *Kisfenesen (Kolozs megye) fatemploma a mellette álló haranglábbal* © POP Ionel-Virgil

This way, a part of the vertical load exerted by the tower on the base's horizontal beams is released. Normally, the beams at the base would have warped over time because wood does not resist well to bending. But, through the effort introduced by the oblique bracing, a stretch is also introduced in these beams, and the wood resists to tension very well (Figure 4). This entire combined structure is placed over the walls of the pronaos. Thanks to the very wide base, the tower is resistant to the wind's thrusts (Photo 25). This way, the tower's posts end above the pronaos and do not reach the foundation level, and this is the reason why the pronaos is always provided with a ceiling instead of being vaulted, as in the case of Byzantine masonry churches. This solution is what makes Transylvanian churches unique. In the wooden churches of Oltenia, the posts ascend to the porch's floor, as in Pișteștii din Deal (Gorj County), due to which the tower becomes practically unusable or there is a need to reduce its dimensions and to connect it structurally to the roof structure's rafters (Photo 26). This system was brought to perfection



■ **Photo 28.** *Crîșeni (Cluj County), wooden church with an added belfry* © Ionel-Virgil POP

■ **28. kép:** *Tóházán (Kolozs megye) fatemploma a mellette álló haranglábbal* © POP Ionel-Virgil



■ **Photo 29.** Băgău (Alba County), the bracing of the tower no longer introduces any stretch in the base on which it rests © Ionel-Virgil POP
■ **29. kép:** Magyarbagó (Fehér megye), a torony merevítése már nem nyújtja meg a talpgerendát, amelyre terhel © POP Ionel-Virgil

in Surdești and Plopiș (Maramureș Region), where the achieved heights are difficult to imagine for a wooden structure.

This system may have originated in the belfries of Calvinist churches. When these towers are next to the church, such as in Finișel (Photo 27) or Crișeni (Photo 28), both in Cluj County, the source of inspiration is obvious. The wooden church in Băgău (Alba County) represents a special case: here, the belfry was placed in the axis of the western entrance, and later the roof of the church expanded to include the tower as well (Photo 29). This direct descent from the Calvinist belfry shows the originality of the structural solution regarding the tower over the pronaos because, in the case of Băgău, the braces are normal; they do not take over the load of the tower, i.e., in this case, the mentioned structural solution was not needed, as the four massive beams that form the base rest directly on the ground. The solution adopted in Băgău is full of charm, resulting in a large porch that also provides beautiful prospects, due to its location on a hill at the edge of the village. However, we cannot consider this example as an intermediate phase or a missing link in the evolution of spatial organisation, for the simple fact

zetet, ami azért fontos, mert a templomot északi oldalról lehet megközelíteni (30. kép). A felső rész záródása fecskefarkú, amely egy 40 centiméteres konzolt alkot, erre támaszkodik az ereszgerenda, amelyre faszegekkel rögzítették a szarufákat (31. kép).

A kálnai templomot a közelmúltban restaurálták, a zsindelecserét 2021 márciusában fejezték be. A tervező, aki Romániának egy másik régiójából származik, túlméretezett tetetőkaput is javasolt, amely egyben a templomhoz vezető bejárat is lett volna. Azonban szerencsére meglepően könnyen lemondott erről a tervéről: a nagy kapuról, amely ezt a kis templomot szolgálta volna ki. Áprilisban a zsindeley színezése bosszantóan kirívó lett. 2021 júliusában már látható volt a patinázódási folyamat, amely egy év alatt tökéletessé teszi a héjazatot. Bármilyen felújítás jár némi feltűnőséggel, de a fa esetében a héjazat többszöri cseréje elkerülhetetlen. A restaurálás fő problémája, az anyag hitelességének megőrzése, ebben az esetben a zsindeley időszakos cseréjére vonatkozó kézművesség megőrzésére hárul (32. kép). Teljesen más vonatkozik a faanyag többi részére, ahol minden pótlás veszteséget jelent, és a műemlék értékének csökkenéséhez vezet. A templom már nincs használatban, a falusiak közelmúltbeli adományait, a kendőket és ikonokat eltávolították, így a templom egyszerűségének teljes pompájában szemlélhető meg. Annak ellenére, hogy a kendők hagyományosak, templomi elhelyezésük szokása abból a korból származik, amikor az asszonyok otthonaikban szőtték őket, és a minták egyszerűek voltak. Ezeket ma szintetikus anyagokból készült ipari termékekkel váltják fel.

A kálnai templom minőségét a más templomokkal való összehasonlítás is kiemeli, amelyek esetében a környezet rossz irányba változott meg. Ez a vélemény általános a szakemberek és a műértő közönség körében, de ezt soha nem verik nagyobbra. Az okok sokrétűek: vonakodás bármi



■ **Photo 30.** Calna, the northern elevation, where the joining of the wall between the pronaos and the naos can be seen © Ionel-Virgil POP
■ **30. kép:** Kálna, az északi homlokzaton látható az előcsarnok és hajó közti fal © POP Ionel-Virgil



■ **Photo 31.** Calna, detail of fastening the common rafters to the wall plate with wooden nails © Ionel-Virgil POP
■ **31. kép:** Kálna, a szarufák faszegek rögzítése az ereszgerendához, részlet © POP Ionel-Virgil



■ **Photo 32.** Calna, the south elevation, after replacing the shingle and clearing the terrain, 2021 © Ionel-Virgil POP

■ **32. kép:** Kálna, a déli homlokzat 2021-ben, zsindelevéscseré és tereprendezés után © POP Ionel-Virgil

negatívát kijelenteni az egyházzól, hamis szerénység, sőt néha hazaszeretet. Téves hozzáállás, mert így az e téren kevésbé képzett papság és az alacsony iskolázottságú, de nem érzéketlen közösség nem tud jó útra térni. A helyzet széles körben elterjedt, és a kommunizmus szüleménye, amikor is minden értéket kiforgattak és felforgattak. A totalitárius politikai rezsim szisztematikusan törekedett az elit réteg megsemmisítésére. Elsősorban a vidéki papokat vették célba, akik ezen réteg csúcsán helyezkedtek el. A főpapság az új, sajnos megkérdőjelezhető építészeti templomok építésétől tette függővé papjai előléptetését. Az egyszerű falusi ember, aki számára pozitív támpontot jelent temploma és minden, ami hozzá kapcsolódik, összezavarodott, és már nem tudja, mit hogyan kell értenie. Minden pusztítás, amely a vidéki örökséget célozza meg, könnyen elfogadásra talál.

Miért más a helyzet Kálnán, ezen a kis zsáktelepülésen? A falunak volt egy szülőtte, akinek tekintélye és hozzáértése, de egyben komoly szerepvállalása is azt eredményezte, hogy buzdításait követték. Pontosan ő a prototípusa annak az értelmiséginek, akit a kommunista rezsim megpróbált megsemmisíteni, és ez többnyire sikerült is neki. Ez viszont egy olyan nemzeti tragédia, amely túlmutat a vidéki örökség védelmén.

Következtetésképp, tipológiáját és díszítését tekintve hétköznapiak mondható a kálnai templom, de az arányainak harmóniája és jól megőrzött hangulata szinte tökéletessé teszi.

that the church dates from 1733 and the belfry from the 19th century. This example is rather an exception. But even here, in a village threatened with depopulation, a very large church was built after the year 2000, and one's view when approaching the church is polluted by the recent graves of the parents of the new church's sponsors.

The elevations of the church in Calna are simple, without decorations. On the northern elevation, which does not have a portico, the joining of the wall that separates the pronaos from the naos can be read, a small detail that allows, discreetly, a glimpse of the interior structure, which is important because one approaches the church from the northern side (Photo 30). At the top of the walls, the elements are bound with dovetail joints, forming 40-centimetre-long brackets that support the wall plates. The common rafters are fastened to the wall plates with wooden nails (Photo 31).

The church in Calna was subject to a recent conservation intervention; the shingle replacement was finalised in March 2021. The designer, from another geographical area, also proposed an oversized cemetery gate, which is the current access to the church. However, the idea of building such a large gate for such a small church was abandoned with surprising ease. In April, the shingle showed dissonant chromatics. In July 2021, however, it already started to acquire a patina. After one year, it will be perfect. Any renewal generates some dissonance, but in the case of wood, replacing the roofing is inevitable. In this case, the major concern of conservation for preserving the authenticity of the material substance is transferred to the maintenance of the craft for periodic replacement (Photo 32). The problem is raised quite differently for the rest of the wooden material, where any replacement represents a loss and leads to a decrease of the historic building's value. As the church is no longer in use, the textiles and recent icons gifted by the villagers could be removed from its interior, allowing us to perceive it in the full splendour of its simplicity. Even though the presence of textiles is traditional, the habit of placing them in the church dates from an era when the cloth was weaved at home and its models were simple. Today, these are replaced with industrial products made of synthetic materials.

The qualities of the church in Calna are also highlighted when compared with other churches whose environment suffered serious alterations. These opinions are general among specialists and connoisseurs, but never mentioned. The reasons are manifold: a restraint from saying something negative about the church, false modesty, sometimes even patriotism. This attitude is completely wrong, as it impairs the improvement of the clergy, which is not prepared well in this domain, and that of the community, with a low degree of education but not entirely insensitive to the issue. This generalised situation is owed to transitioning through communism, when all values were overturned and reversed. The totalitarian regime has carried out a systematic policy of destroying the elites, targeting first the rural clergy, the peak of the elite. As a measure to promote priests, the high clergy has imposed the construction of new churches, which were carried out with an architecture of questionable quality. As a consequence, the average villager, in whose view the local church, with everything about it, is a positive landmark, has become confused and does not know what to understand anymore. Thus, all the damage done to rural heritage is easily accepted.

Why is it then that in Calna, a cul-de-sac village, the situation is different? All of this is owed to one villager, whose authority and competence, but also sustained involvement, encouraged others to follow his directions. He embodies perfectly the prototype scholar that the communist regime tried to annihilate, and in most cases succeeded to do so. This is, however, a national drama that goes well beyond the protection of rural heritage.

In conclusion, as typology and decoration, the church in Calna can be considered ordinary, but the harmony of its proportions and its well-preserved ambience raises it to perfection.

Architect Călin HOINĂRESCU (1944-2022)¹

Arhitect Călin HOINĂRESCU (1944-2022)¹

Călin HOINĂRESCU műépítész (1944–2022)¹

■ The National Heritage Institute announces with deep regret the departure from the ranks of the most dedicated protectors of historic buildings of architect Călin HOINĂRESCU, who between 1993 and 1994 was director to the Directorate of Historic Buildings, Ensembles and Sites, whose successor after its 1994 abolition is currently the National Heritage Institute.

He dedicated most of his activity of more than 50 years to the study, protection, and preservation of the built heritage, especially that of Prahova County.

Based on a solid culture regarding the field of built heritage, both specific to worship and civil or vernacular, with a rich experience of working on conservation sites, he was a renowned practitioner in the field of historic building conservation. In his capacity as a “healer” of historic buildings, as he often called himself, and an expert of the Ministry of Culture in the field of historic building conservation, he got involved in the most varied and difficult conservation projects, of which we mention only a part: the ensemble of the former Apostolache Monastery, the Palace of Culture in Ploiești, the Turnu Monastery, the conservation and consolidation of the Nicolae Simache Clock Museum in Ploiești, the old church of the Sinaia Monastery, the Prahova County Museum of History and Archaeology, the Bellu Mansion in Urlați, the Sfânta Veneri Church in Ploiești, the House with Coats of Arms in Chiojdu.

■ Institutul Național al Patrimoniului anunță cu profund regret plecarea din rândurile celor mai dedicați protectori ai monumentelor istorice a arhitectului Călin HOINĂRESCU, care în perioada 1993-1994 a fost directorul Direcției Monumentelor, Ansamblurilor și Siturilor Istorice al cărei continuator, după desființarea sa în 1994, este în prezent Institutul Național al Patrimoniului.

Cea mai mare parte a celor peste 50 de ani de activitate a dedicat-o studierii, protejării, conservării patrimoniului construit, cu precădere a celui de pe teritoriul județului Prahova.

Întemeiat pe o solidă cultură privind domeniul patrimoniului construit, atât cel specific cultelor cât și cel civil sau vernacular, cu o bogată experiență a lucrului pe șantierele de restaurare, a putut fi un practician de marcă în domeniul restaurării monumentelor istorice. În calitatea sa de „vindecător” al monumentelor, cum deseori menționa despre sine, și expert al Ministerului Culturii în domeniul protejării monumentelor istorice, s-a implicat în cele mai variate și dificile proiecte de restaurare, dintre care menționăm doar o parte: ansamblul fostei mănăstiri Apostolache, Palatului Culturii din Ploiești, Mănăstirea Turnu, restaurarea și consolidarea Muzeului Ceasului „Nicolae Simache” din Ploiești, Biserica veche a Mănăstirii Sinaia, Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Arheologie Prahova,

■ A Nemzeti Örökségvédelmi Intézet mély sajnálattal tudatja Călin HOINĂRESCU építész távozását a legelhivatottabb műemlékvédők soraiból, aki 1993–1994 között a romániai Műemlékek, Együttesek és Történeti Helyszínek Igazgatóságának igazgatója volt, tevékenysége az 1994-es megszüntetést követően a jelenlegi Nemzeti Örökségvédelmi Intézetben folytatódott.

Több mint 50 éves tevékenységének nagy részét az épített örökség tanulmányozásának, védelmének és megőrzésének szentelte, kiváltképpen a Prahova megyében található műemlékeknek.

Mind az egyházi, mind a világi vagy a népi épített örökség területén kialakult szilárd ismereteire alapozva, valamint közvetlenül a restaurálási munkatelepeken szerzett gazdag tapasztalata által, egy kiváló és elismert gyakorlati szakemberré vált a műemlék-restaurálás terén. Mint a műemlékek „gyógyítója”, ahogyan magát gyakran megnevezte, és a romániai Művelődési Minisztérium műemlékvédelmi szakértője, részt vett a legváltozatosabb és legösszetettebb műemlék-helyreállítási projektekből, amelyeket csak részlegesen említünk itt meg: az egykori Apostolache-kolostor együttese, Ploiești-en a Kultúrpalota, a Turnu-kolostor, a Ploiești-en található Nicolae Simache Óramúzeum helyreállítása és megerősítése, a Szinaja-kolostor régi temploma, a Prahova Megyei Történelmi és Régészeti Múzeum, a Bellu-kúria

¹ Article published on the website of the National Heritage Institute, <https://patrimoni.ro/noutati/item/1166-arhitect-calin-hoinarescu-1944-2022>.

¹ Articol publicat original pe pagina Institutului Național al Patrimoniului, <https://patrimoni.ro/noutati/item/1166-arhitect-calin-hoinarescu-1944-2022>.

¹ A Nemzeti Örökségvédelmi Hivatal honlapján közzétett cikk, <https://patrimoni.ro/noutati/item/1166-arhitect-calin-hoinarescu-1944-2022>.



His activity as a conservation specialist of historic buildings was constantly complemented by that of militant for the creation of a guild of restorers, through his efforts establishing the National Union of Restorers of Historic Buildings (UNRMI), a non-governmental professional organisation of the most active specialists and experts from the field of built heritage and related fields in Romania, of which he was president for many years.

Between 1982 and 1986, at a time when Romanian villages were threatened by systematisation by narrowing, merging, or even dissolving the dwelling areas of the villages, he coordinated a study for the inventory of rural housing. He started the actual studies on village architecture around 1978, coordinating the editing of the work *The Rural Dwelling in Romania*, on which he collaborated with specialists and complex interdisciplinary collectives.

After 1990, Călin HOINĂRESCU contributed to the development of the List of Historic Buildings by completing it with numerous objectives that today still form the basis of the historic buildings' record in Prahova County.

In 2013, in collaboration with his wife, architect Manuela HOINĂRESCU, he published *The Traditional Rural Habitat in Prahova*, a reference work for the evolution of the types

Conacul Bellu de la Urlați, Biserica „Sfânta Vineri” din Ploiești, Casa cu blazoane din Chiojdu.

Activitatea sa de restaurator al monumentelor istorice a fost completată în permanență de cea de militant pentru crearea unei bresle a restauratorilor, prin eforturile sale fiind creată Uniunea Națională a Restauratorilor de Monumente Istoric (UNRMI), organizație profesională neguvernamentală a celor mai activi specialiști și experți din domeniul patrimoniului construit și din domeniile conexe din România, al cărei președinte a fost pentru mulți ani.

În perioada 1982-1986, într-o vreme în care satele românești erau amenințate de sistematizare prin restrângerea vetrei satelor, de comasare sau chiar desființare, a coordonat un studiu de inventariere a locuințelor din mediul rural. Studiile efective privind arhitectura sătească le-a început în jurul anului 1978, coordonând editarea lucrării *Locuința sătească din România*, la care a colaborat cu specialiști și colective interdisciplinare complexe.

După 1990, Călin HOINĂRESCU a contribuit la elaborarea Listei Monumentelor Istoric prin completarea acesteia cu numeroase obiective care constituie și astăzi baza evidenței monumentelor din județul Prahova.

Urlați-ból, a Sfânta Vineri-templom és a Címeres ház Chiojduból.

Műemlék-restaurátori tevékenysége folyamatosan kiegészült a restaurátorok céhének létrehozásáért küzdő erőfeszítésével, amelynek nyomán megalakult a romániai Műemlék-Restaurátorok Országos Egyesülete (UNRMI), mint a romániai épített örökség és az ezzel kapcsolatos területek legaktívabb szakembereinek és szakértőinek civil szakmai szervezete, amelynek elnöki tisztségét is betöltötte hosszú éveken át.

1982 és 1986 között, amikor a romániai falvakat belterület-szűkítéssel, összevonással vagy akár megszüntetéssel is fenyegette a kényszeres vidékrendezés, ő koordinált egy, a vidéki lakóházak felleltározására irányuló tanulmányt. A tényleges faluépítészeti tanulmányokat 1978 körül kezdte el, a *Falusi lakóhely Romániában* című dolgozat szerkesztésével, amelyhez szakemberekkel és interdiszciplináris kollektívákkal működött együtt.

1990 után Călin HOINĂRESCU hozzájárult a műemlékjegyzék kidolgozásához, amelyet számos, ma is a Prahova megyei műemléki nyilvántartás alapját képező objektummal egészített ki.

2013-ban feleségével, Manuela HOINĂRESCU építésszel közösen kiadta *A hagyományos Prahova-vidéki élettér* című művet, amely referenciamunka a szabad paraszti, bo-





■ **Photo 1-3.** TUSNAD conference 2009, from the Transsylvania Nostra Foundation photo library.

■ **Foto 1-3.** Conferința TUSNAD 2009, din fototeca Fundației Transsylvania Nostra.

■ **1-3 kép.** TUSNAD konferencia 2009, a Transsylvania Nostra Alapítvány fotótárából.

of free peasant, noble, and monastery properties, throughout the 15th to the 19th centuries. Added to this are the articles published in journals such as *Revista muzeelor și monumentelor – Monumente istorice și de artă*, *Revista monumentelor istorice*, *Revista UNRMI* [the Journal of Museums and Monuments – Historical and Art Monuments, the Journal Historic Buildings or in the Journal of the National Union of Restorers of Historic Buildings].

His professional competence recommended him as a member of the Muntenia Zonal Commission of the National Commission for Historic Buildings and of the Commission for the attestation of specialists and experts in the field of historic buildings – CADMI.

In 2003, his activity was recognised at the European level, when he received the *Dedicated Service Award* from *Europa Nostra* for “For 35 years of service as an architect to the cause of conservation, both in times of immediate danger to the architectural heritage of Romania’s rural areas, and more recently, in helping develop effective support for conservation by civil society.”

May his memory be eternal,
God rest his soul!

În anul 2013, în colaborare cu soția sa, arhitect Manuela HOINĂ-RESCU, a publicat lucrarea *Habitatul rural tradițional prahovean*, o lucrare de referință pentru evoluția tipurilor de proprietate moșnenească, boierească și mănăstirească de-a lungul secolelor XV-XIX. La aceasta se adaugă articolele publicate în *Revista muzeelor și monumentelor – Monumente istorice și de artă*, *Revista monumentelor istorice* sau în *Revista UNRMI*.

Competența sa profesională l-a recomandat ca membru în Comisia Zonală Muntenia a Comisiei Naționale a Monumentelor Istorice și în Comisia de Atestare a Specialiștilor și Experților în Domeniul Monumentelor Istorice – CADMI.

În anul 2003 activitatea sa a fost recunoscută la nivel european prin decernarea premiului *Serviciu dedicat* acordat de *Europa Nostra* pentru „35 de ani de serviciu ca arhitect pentru cauza conservării, atât în momente critice pentru patrimoniul arhitectural al zonelor rurale ale României, cât și mai recent, în contribuția la dezvoltarea unui sprijin eficient al societății civile pentru conservarea patrimoniului.”

Fie-i amintirea neștearsă,
Dumnezeu să-l odihnească!

jări és kolostori birtoktípusok XV–XIX. századi fejlődésének tanulmányozásához. Ezenfelül számos tanulmánya jelent meg a romániai szaksajtó különböző folyóirataiban: *Revista muzeelor și monumentelor – Monumente istorice și de artă*, *Revista monumentelor istorice*, *Revista UNRMI* [Múzeumok és Műemlékek Folyóirata – Történeti és Művészeti Emlékek, Műemlékek Folyóirata, a Műemlék-Restaurátorok Országos Egyesületének Folyóirata].

Szakmai felkészültsége alapján a Műemlékek Országos Bizottságának a Munténiai Övezeti Bizottsága, valamint a romániai Műemlékek Szakembereit és Szakértőit Hitelesítő Bizottság (CADMI) tagjává választották.

2003-ban tevékenységét európai szinten is elismerték az *Europa Nostra* által az *Odaadó Szolgálatért* díj odaítélésével, „35 éves műépítési szolgálataért, amelyet Románia vidéki térségeinek építészeti örökségének megőrzése érdekében fejtett ki, kritikus pillanatokban, valamint az örökségvédelem civil társadalom részéről történő hatékony támogatásának fejlesztése érdekében a közelmúltban.”

Emléke legyen áldott,
nyugodjon békében!