

# The Social Circle of Miklós Barabás at the Inception of his Career

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In August of 1816, at six years of age Miklós Barabás arrived in Nagyenyed (today Aiud, Romania) to enroll in the town's esteemed Calvinist school. After having spent more than a decade at the school he resolved to take his leave in early 1828, acting in part in response to the encouragement of others, in spite of the fact that he had consistently been given good marks as a student and had won the support of his professors. In all probability his decision was influenced by the commissions he had received before Christmas the previous year to paint miniature portraits on ivory, for which he had to travel to Koslárd (today Coslariu, Romania). As to why he decided, at only seventeen years of age and without any financial support from his family, to devote himself to painting, Barabás offered the following explanation: "The Hussar officers, in fact others as well who had travelled a little bit, were always telling me what echoed in my ears later: »Why are you wasting your time at school? [...] You want to be a priest in some little village? Or a chancellery clerk who has to starve for the first 12-15 years of his career?« And as I myself found happiness only in drawing, the determination to take this up exclusively fully matured in me."<sup>1</sup>

The recent emergence of a sketchbook dating from the months when Barabás decided to make art his profession and began to work *officially* as a painter is of considerable significance to the scholarship on his art and career. Individual pages from this sketchbook had been familiar to art historians for many decades, as they constitute part of the collection of the Hungarian National Gallery. However, their connections to one another and to this newly found sketchbook have only recently become apparent.<sup>2</sup> The sketchbook's importance is multi-faceted: in addition to offering early examples of his budding artistic skill, it is the sole example of a method Barabás mentions in his autobiography, a method that he soon abandoned, namely doing sketches of portraits in a small notebook on the basis of which he later made final versions. The sketchbook also modifies somewhat our image of how his art evolved and confirms the opinion according to which "his glossy manner, which generalizes features, is only an adopted mannerism."<sup>3</sup> In other words, these early examples depict the sitters without traces of idealization, but rather with strongly marked features. In an earlier essay I offered a survey of the sketchbook from this perspective.<sup>4</sup> Here I examine it from another perspective, the significance of which is primarily that of cultural history. The title page, according to which the "portrait collection" was done at the end of 1827 and the begin-

ning of 1828, indicates that the sketchbook, this particularly personal, visual memory, provides an account of the people with whom Barabás met and who exerted an influence on the development of his life and career at this formative time.

Given its format, one can treat the sketchbook as a kind of visual diary that offers a chronological survey of the people with whom Barabás came into contact at the end of 1827 and the beginning of 1828. The main steps of this kind of investigation are the identification of those depicted, examination of their social roles, and consideration of the relationships they had with Barabás. The first part of the notebook, which originally must have contained around 60 pages, is filled with images of his fellow schoolmates from Nagyenyed. The last such portrayal is found on page 23. It depicts István Vizi, a figure whom Barabás mentioned repeatedly in his autobiography. The second, larger portion of the notebook is comprised of depictions of the commissioners in Nagyszeben (today Sibiu, Romania).

In the period in question Nagyenyed, like Kolozsvár (today Cluj, Romania) and Székelyudvarhely (today Odorheiu Secuiesc, Romania), was considered one of the most important cultural centers in Transylvania, primarily due to its large student population. There is substantial literature on the city's importance with respect to the cultural history of the region.<sup>5</sup> The most exhaustive survey is given by the publication titled *Nagyenyedi diákok 1662–1848* (Students of Nagyenyed, 1662–1848), written by Zsigmond Jakó and István Juhász and published in 1979. In the years during which Barabás attended the school in Nagyenyed the institute's rector was Dr. György Barisz, but the professor of law, Károly Szász, exerted a much larger influence on the student population. When he delivered his inaugural speech in 1822 he not only championed progressive ideas, but, more importantly, he spoke in Hungarian. Professor Szász undoubtedly had a profound impact on all his students, and it is not surprising that Barabás mentioned him in his autobiography and depicted him on the quodlibet he made in 1826. The reforms at the Nagyenyed school that have been ascribed to Professor Szász include the introduction of principles of instruction championed by Pestalozzi (teaching by demonstration), less use of Latin, and the goal of educating future citizens whose progressive mentality would enable them to shoulder tasks important to national and political life.<sup>6</sup> The first generation of his students – to which Barabás and his peers (several of whose faces appear in the sketchbook) belonged – were undoubtedly aware of their teacher's role as a reformer.

With one exception, the names of the students whose depictions appear on the pages of the sketchbook can all be found in the list of students in the aforementioned monograph about the college, which contains the names of students in the upper years (so-called *toga students*).<sup>7</sup> This *Matricula studiosorum* gives the names in their Latin forms, followed by the student's place of birth and the year in which his name was included in the list.<sup>8</sup>

The depictions in the sketchbook bear numerous affinities: all of the figures appear in three quarter profile wearing a vest, with buttoned jacket and a neck-tie. The small differences include the manner in which the tie has been tied (Károly Incze has an actual bow) or the quality of their attire (Dávid Székely has a ruffled shirt and an ornate tie), and Sándor Kováts appears to be bearing some kind of mark on his suit. Their various coiffures also do not indicate a compliance with strict orders concerning

the attire of students. *Kadri's* hair – a student we know only by nickname – is distinctly disheveled. The manner of execution is very similar: with the exception of the depictions of István László and Dávid Székely, Barabás placed considerably more emphasis on the face than on the rest of the model's figure. The sitters all appear to turn their gazes towards the viewer. Were they to exist as separate pages, their relationships to one another would be beyond doubt. One may venture to make the remark that these drawings are not preliminary sketches for later portraits, but were done as exercises in drawing faces and therefore bear the signs of experiments Barabás undertook to satisfy his own curiosity and explore new compositional possibilities. As such, they were not the earliest examples. We know from his autobiography that Barabás had made drawings of his peers at age fourteen. It is an enticing thought to wonder whether these models were at the time of their depiction just as significant, as representatives of the student population of the college, as those figures who later constituted the subject of the bulk of Barabás' career as a painter, a kind of national pantheon from which no one who had a leading role in art, science or politics was absent.

Similarly to the *Matricula studiosorum*, in which representatives of later generations inscribed notes concerning their predecessors<sup>9</sup> (thus Barabás became “sculptor celebris”), the sketchbook pages depicting students also contain remarks concerning their later professions. These remarks, as well as the names, information regarding their families, and professions presumably date from the same time as the decorative title page and the numbers found on the lower right corners of the pages, all of which were done in ink. Undoubtedly they too were penned by Barabás, as there are personal references among them, yet it is also certain that these observations were made after the 1848 revolution, as they sometimes refer to the roles the people depicted played in the war. In light of this, the cataloguing nature of the title page, the numbering and the subsequent annotations bear affinities with the register of works he kept between 1830 and 1893, as well as the autobiography he wrote, a product of his inclination to self-interpretation and self-reflection, the object of which was to construct an image for subsequent generations.<sup>10</sup>

Before taking a closer look at the students Barabás depicted, one should note the assertion made by Jákó and Juhász, namely that the student population of Nagyenyed consisted of youths from the most diverse financial backgrounds: “As a collective the student population was the most liberated micro-society in the Principality of Transylvania, within the Habsburg Empire.”<sup>11</sup> Most of Barabás' peers remained in the region after completing their educations. István László was killed in 1848 in Zalatna (today Zlatna, Romania) by Romanians who participated in the resistance against the revolution. After the mining town of Zalatna was burned down, the fleeing population (about 700 people) was massacred on October 24<sup>th</sup> in the neighboring village. The incident came to be one of the most reported events of the Hungarian-Romanian clashes during the revolution. The college record and Barabás' inscription indicate that Dávid Székely served as a guardsman, only later to become a country commissioner. Others left Transylvania. Péter Bod, for example, later became a chancellery scribe in Vienna. Nothing proves better that the remarks penned at the bottom of the pages were written by Barabás than a quotation from Károly Incze, claiming that “He was in the habit of saying: *Little Károly is not pretty, but pleasant.*”



Fig. 1. Miklós Barabás: Lujza Bethlen. Private collection. 18,7×11,8 cm. 1827

Among the students, a person who was in all probability outside of the school's circle appears on page 13. Albert Baricz is not listed among the students, and his attire suggests that he was in the military. In his autobiography Barabás often makes mention of having moved in circles outside of the school, which included meetings with Hussar officers. In light of this it is not impossible that the sheet depicting Captain Count Wolkstein holding his helmet – part of the National Gallery's collection<sup>12</sup> – was originally part of this series. In his case there was much more emphasis placed on the depiction of his attire, which might be related to its distinctive feature, namely that it was signed and dated by the artist. This detail and the workmanship suggest that the image of Count Wolkstein is not a sketch, but a finished work. Barabás learned the method of making preliminary drawings – or as he refers to them, *picture-sketches* – from János Szabó, who “first drew his models in a *coarse* manner in a sketchbook, then treated them in a

*neater* way on a separate sheet of paper later. I too imitated this method in Szeben, but gave up this practice later in Kolozsvár, as I saw that during copying some of the resemblance is always lost, and I also regarded it as pointless pain and a great loss of time.”<sup>13</sup> However, the fact that the drawing remained in the possession of the artist until the end of his life speaks against the assumption that it is a finished work. There are two further images of men from the military world in the National Gallery collection that might also once have been part of this sketchbook: Captain Mitisz<sup>14</sup> and Lieutenant Colonel Mikics (Mukics).<sup>15</sup>

Before Christmas of 1827 Barabás travelled to Koslárd, taking with him sheets of ivory in order to paint the miniature portraits of Róza Bethlen, Lujza Bethlen, the Hussar lieutenant Somogyi and Zsigmond Barcsay. The chronology of the sketchbook is somewhat complicated by the fact that mingled among the portraits of students and soldiers stationed in Nagyenyed are the sketches for the Koslárd miniatures. These are: a Saxon landowner named Fronius from Koslárd;<sup>16</sup> Hitsch, who was the tutor of Fronius' children;<sup>17</sup> Mrs. Miske, daughter of Fronius (later Mrs. Hitsch);<sup>18</sup> a Hussar lieutenant named Somogyi, fiancé of count Róza Bethlen;<sup>19</sup> and Lujza Bethlen, later the wife of Zsigmond Barcsay.<sup>20</sup> A small version of the image József Miske's wife (née Karolina Fronius) is possibly also included in the quodlibet Barabás made at age sixteen.<sup>21</sup> Another sitter, Zsigmond Barcsay, is listed among the managing members of the Transyl-



vanian Museum Association in the 1868 yearbook. The page numbered 21, which is still part of the intact sketchbook, portrays his wife, Lujza Bethlen, and was done in Koslárd. She is depicted with an intricate coiffure, wearing a shawl and a choker-like velvet ribbon from which hangs a floriform medallion. It is uncertain whether page 23, which depicts István Vizi, was also done in Koslárd (as he travelled there with Barabás) or back in Nagyenyed in the first days of January when they returned.

As previously noted, Vizi is a recurring figure in Barabás' autobiography.<sup>22</sup> From this vital source we learn that Vizi and Barabás made copies together from the two volume edition of the *Musée Napoleon Album*. In 1825 they entered a drawing competition which they both won, and in the early 1830s they both studied at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts (having applied together, they both tried to enter the class of Karl Gselhofer).<sup>23</sup> Their fates were intertwined for years, and it is therefore not surprising that at least on one occasion Barabás depicted himself alongside Vizi on the same painting.<sup>24</sup> Vizi, the college's other talented artist, was at once a companion, an aid and a rival to Barabás. It becomes evident from the autobiographical references regarding Vizi that Barabás did not consider him particularly talented, nor did he think much of his "servile behavior" at the Vienna Academy.<sup>25</sup> After his studies in Vienna, Vizi returned to Nagyenyed and worked primarily as a wood and copperplate engraver, becoming the supervisor of the college's printing press. In the depiction of Vizi found in the Barabás sketchbook Vizi alone appears with an attribute, an artist's crayon held in his right hand.

After Christmas Barabás spent a few days in Nagyenyed, only to leave again on January 5<sup>th</sup> for Nagyszében, as he writes "with 250 forints in my pocket, respectably equipped with salon attire and undergarments." The English traveler Charles Colville Frankland, who passed through Nagyszében in March of 1827, described the city in the following manner: „Hermannstadt is a large, dirty straggling town, the mud being half axle deep in the streets. [...] Its walls are now falling into decay, and still bear marks of barbarian violence and prowess in the shape of shot holes which are more carefully preserved by the good citizens than the walls, which show such honourable records."<sup>26</sup> This unfavorable description of the town notwithstanding, Nagyszében was regarded as a blossoming cultural center, which was due primarily to the enthusiasm for culture on



Fig. 2. Miklós Barabás: István Vizi. Private collection. 18,7×11,8 cm. 1827



Fig. 3. Miklós Barabás: Miss Haas. Private collection. 18,7×11,8 cm. 1828

the part of the city's aristocrats and middle class citizens. Examples of this enthusiasm include the opening of the town's first theater in 1769 in Count Möringer's own home, or the launching of the newspaper entitled *Theater Wochenblatt* and the building of the first bookshop in 1778, financed by Martin Hochmeister (1740–1789). Of course from the point of view of Barabás, the most significant event was the opening of the Brukenthal Museum on February 25<sup>th</sup>, 1817. According to the 1818 census the overall population of Nagyszeben – not including the military personnel stationed there – was more than 12 thousand. The major role played by the town in the region is indicated by the visit Duke Maximilian paid in the spring of 1826. The theater, which had burned down in 1826, had been rebuilt and was reopened the following year.<sup>27</sup> Thus at the time of Barabás' arrival in early 1828 the town was the political, military and cultural center of the region.

Barabás' first model in Nagyszeben was a flag-bearer by the name of Dandorf. Their meeting is narrated in great detail in the painter's autobiography. According to this account, the soldier addressed him as "portraitist" on the day of his arrival to the city at a masquerade ball. The following day Barabás drew a picture of Dandorf, as well as of his friend and fellow flag-bearer, a man named Kovács. The sheet bearing the image of the former is in the National Gallery, while a depiction of the second flag-bearer is found in the sketchbook. To be a flag-bearer, or a "Fähnrich" soldier, was once an honored position in the military, but by the 19<sup>th</sup> century it had come to denote one of the lowest ranks among officers. Barabás had undoubtedly attended the masquerade ball in the hopes of making acquaintances and subsequently getting commissions. However, he may well not have been aware that dancing and attending balls were at the time a hotly debated subject in Nagyszeben from the perspective of morality and health,<sup>28</sup> a debate in which even the local doctors participated – among them the *Stadtphysikus* who, due to the possibility of over exertion and accidents, advised against it. Nagyszeben society was divided on the matter, and the debate reached the point that certain "hot-blooded" dances were prohibited in 1826.<sup>29</sup> From this perspective it is not uninteresting that the first family in Nagyszeben each of the members of which Barabás depicted was that of the dance master Leissch (father, mother, daughter and son all appear on the pages of the sketchbook).

Soon the four members of the Benigni family also sat for the artist: the depictions of Louis, Heinrich and Ida are all in the National Gallery collection (the drawings of the two men have been trimmed, so the original numbers are missing), but the portrait of Clarisse remains to be found. Father to these grown children was the Austrian-born Joseph Benigni (1782–1849), who had been stationed in Nagyszeben from his previous post in Vienna in 1802. Here he had been a field-draftsman at the military headquarters. Later he was appointed secretary to the high generalship. In 1830 he was promoted to be auditor. Following his retirement, in the last decade and a half of his life he devoted his time entirely to scholarly work, writing numerous works on the history and geography of Transylvania.<sup>30</sup> His imposing private library later became part of the collection of the University Library in Cluj.<sup>31</sup> It is a curious fact that two pamphlets of his series entitled *Versuch über das siebenbürgische Costüm* were illustrated by József Neuhauser; in turn these compositions were later copied by Ferenc Neuhauser, from whom Barabás briefly took drawing classes in Nagyszeben.<sup>32</sup> The two Benigni sons presumably occupied important official positions in the town. Louis' name can be found in the list of councilors in the Officers' Registry of the Principality of Transylvania, as court scribe of Talmács (today Tâlmăciu, Romania).<sup>33</sup> Barabás' autobiography sheds light on the social interaction that accompanied the making of a portrait: "I became acquainted with the family of the war secretary named Benigni and I drew likenesses of his two sons and two daughters: Louis, Heinrich, Clarisse and Ida. Every week they held a music quartet [...]. I was a welcome guest in their home, they held very refined conversations which had a very pleasant influence on me, and since none of them spoke Hungarian I was inclined to speak only German, which was to my great advantage."<sup>34</sup>

In the following paragraph of his recollection Barabás writes, "to this day the portraits of Mr. Haas, the superintendant of the museum and library founded by Bruckenthal, as well as his daughters are among my drawings."<sup>35</sup> Johann Haas was the superintendant of the museum between 1821 and 1828.<sup>36</sup> The drawing depicting him is the property of the National Gallery,<sup>37</sup> and the depiction of one of the two Haas girls is contained in the sketchbook. Her sister was probably on the now missing 35<sup>th</sup> sheet. The young girl wears a double row of pearls and pearl earrings, and also has a crown of hair decorated with a bow, all clearly expressions of her social standing. Barabás continues his recollection: "I drew the likeness of many notabilities, among them Countess Mrs. Nemes, Baron Joseph Bruckenthal, General Mesmacher and others. [...] I still have the majority of these drawings in my possession."<sup>38</sup> He refers to the commissions made in Nagyszeben exclusively as "drawings"; there is no mention of ever having made miniature portraits. Today the sheet bearing the depiction of General Mesmacher/Mösmarcher is in the National Gallery,<sup>39</sup> while the location of the image of Mrs. Nemes is unknown. I am unaware of the whereabouts of the depiction of Joseph Brukenenthal, but it is possible that the names Joseph and Michael have been mixed up, as at the time J[ohann] M[ichael] Josef von Brukenenthal (1781–1859) was considered the head of the family. In his will Samuel Brukenenthal named him director of the museum's supervisory foundation. A work in the National Gallery is catalogued as a depiction of Michael Brukenenthal (as the inscription on the drawing states). Michael, however, was the disinherited son of Samuel.<sup>40</sup>

Alongside the town's nobility ("Baron Rosenfeld Zekelius" is possibly Károly Czekelius von Rosenfeld<sup>41</sup>, Baron Standa<sup>42</sup>), several soldiers were included in the sketchbook (Wagner aide-camp,<sup>43</sup> Stoll<sup>44</sup>). The majority of those depicted, however, were representatives of the middle class. Their occupations were often indicated (in case of women and children the occupation of the head of the family, as for instance in the case of the daughter of a doctor by the name of Latzl).<sup>45</sup> Some are only remembered by their professions, like the bookseller assistant on sheet 42. We learned that the clerk named Czilich on sheet 35 was also a famous flutist.

Finally I would mention a separate likeness, which has been slipped into this sketchbook along the years. It is a depiction of the cantor of Csombord (today Ciumbrud, Romania). The paper itself appears to be different in quality. The watermark observable on the sketchbook pages is missing. The damage visible on the four corners suggests that this was once pasted into a notebook. The rendering of the model is somewhat rudimentary, and it is certain that it dates from this early period. Barabás writes in his autobiography that during his years at the college, "I often went over to Csombord [...] my last visit there was in the autumn of 1828."<sup>46</sup> Csombord lies on the left bank of the Maros (today Mures) River, about four kilometers east of Nagyenyed. The model's less static depiction, however, is noteworthy: the artists no doubt tried to reproduce the cantor's characteristic gestures as he explained or conducted. In this instance it is doubtful that the person depicted sat for Barabás. The depiction might instead be an example of a work Barabás made on the basis of his memories. Its placing in the notebook suggests that the notebook constituted something of a souvenir.

Further research into the identities of the people depicted, especially with the use of archival sources, is yet to be done, but on the basis of the detailed descriptions of the period found in the autobiography and the partial identification of the models it becomes clear that in these winter months Barabás came into contact with a fairly wide circle of Nagyszeben society. He associated with aristocrats, officials who played important roles in the city's life, representatives of the middle class, soldiers, and Hungarian and German speakers alike. The "highly refined conversations", the musical life (the Benigni family, the official named Zillich/Czilich) and the company of erudite gentlemen (Károly Czekelius von Rosenfeld was an ardent collector of antique documents<sup>47</sup>) had an animating effect on the young Barabás, who had a predisposition for art and culture. This is particularly meaningful if one regards portrait-making as a form



Fig. 4. Miklós Barabás: Cantor from Csombord. Private collection. 15,2x11,1 cm. Between 1826–1828



of social intercourse: as we are not dealing with a quick business transaction, but rather should imagine Barabás creating these images in the models' homes and participating in conversations that deepened the acquaintanceships. The most telling example of this was his regular interaction with the Benigni family, but the fact that he often sketched all the members of a given family (including the small children) also suggests this. It is therefore hardly surprising that several decades later he remembered them, as attested by the later inscriptions found on the sheets and the narratives in the autobiography from the end of his life. The poise and refinements Barabás gained through his social interaction in Nagyenyed undoubtedly contributed to the commissions he received in Nagyszében, as well as to his later successes and his career as an artist. As he notes with respect to the years he spent in the smaller city, "I acquired a manner and demeanor necessary outside of the college."<sup>48</sup>

### Notes

- 1 Miklós Barabás, *Önéletrajz (Autobiography)* (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Szépművészeti Céh, 1944), 46.
- 2 Zsuzsanna Szegedy-Maszák, "Barabás Miklós 1827–1828-ból származó *portrait gyűjteménye*," (*The Portrait Collection of Miklós Barabás from 1827–1828*) in *Eszmény és hasonlatosság. Tanulmányok és adatközlések Barabás Miklós születésének 200. évfordulójára (Ideal and Resemblance. Essays and Data in Honour of the 200th Birthday of Miklós Barabás)* ed. Mihály Jánó (Csíkszereda–Sepsiszentgyörgy: Pallas–Akadémia Kiadó, Székely Nemzeti Múzeum, 2010), 7–56.
- 3 Gabriella Szvoboda D., *Barabás Miklós* (Budapest: Képzőművészeti, 1983), 34.
- 4 Szegedy-Maszák, 2010, 7–56.
- 5 Károly P. Szatmáry, *A gyulafehérvári-nagyenyedi Bethlen-főtanoda története (Bethlen College of Gyulafehérvár-Nagyenyed – History)* (Nagyenyed, 1868); Ferenc Váró, *Bethlen Gábor kollégiuma (The College of Gábor Bethlen)* (Nagyenyed, 1903).
- 6 Zsolt Trocsányi, *A nagyenyedi kollégium történetéhez (1831–1841) (Essay on the History of the College in Nagyenyed [1831–1841])* (Budapest, 1957); Zsigmond Jakó and István Juhász, *Nagyenyedi diákok 1662–1848 (Students in Nagyenyed 1662-1848)* (Bukarest: Kriterion könyvkiadó, 1979), 38.
- 7 The exception is a student indicated as "Kadri," which presumably signifies a nickname. Perhaps an András, whose last name begins with a "K," as in 1824 a student named András Kádas is listed in the *Matricula studiosorum*.
- 8 They are listed in the following formats: István László: Stephanus László. (Haerus) (from Nagyenyed, 1825); Elek Vajna: Alexius Vajna. (Pol.) (from Torda, 1824); Sándor Kováts: Alexander Kováts. Crudeliter interfectus... Ao. 1848. (from Patzolka (today Peșelca, 1824); Dávid Székely: David Székely. (Miles, gardista) (1826); Péter Bod: Petrus Bod. (Doctor) (1824); Károly Incze: Carolus Intze. (from Uzon, 1826); István Vizi: Stephanus Vizi, litographus. (from Kézdivásárhely, 1822). Jakó and Juhász, 1979, 224–229. The portraits depicting István László, Elek Vajna, Sándor Kováts, Dávid Székely, Károly Incze and István Vizi are in the sketchbook, while the portrait of Péter Bod is in the Hungarian National Gallery (MNG 1937–3115).
- 9 Jakó and Juhász, 1979, 44.

- 10 On this subject see: Zsuzsanna Szegedy-Maszák, “Autobiography as Image as Text. Miklós Barabás,” in *Text and Image in the 19–20<sup>th</sup> Century Art of Central Europe*, ed. Katalin Keserü and Zsuzsanna Szegedy-Maszák (Budapest: Eötvös University Press, 2010), 125–138.
- 11 Jakó and Juhász, 1979, 24.
- 12 MNG 1937–3086
- 13 Barabás, 1944, 54–55.
- 14 MNG 1937–3088
- 15 MNG 1937–3089
- 16 MNG 1937–3096
- 17 MNG 1937–3104
- 18 MNG 1937–3100
- 19 MNG 1937–3103
- 20 Private collection
- 21 Mihály János, “Arcképek a Quodlibetből,” (Portraits from the Quodlibet) in János, 2010, 57–78.
- 22 István Vizi (Hódmezővásárhely, 1807 VIII. 20. – ?).
- 23 Gyula Fleischer, *Magyarok a bécsi Képzőművészeti Akadémián* (Budapest, 1938); Barabás, 1944, 29–30.
- 24 On the now lost oil painting made in 1830 in Vienna Barabás depicted himself drawing a landscape as István Vizi is leaning on a tree. He had given the painting to Vizi as a present. Barabás, 1944, 70.
- 25 Barabás, 1944, 64.
- 26 Charles Colville Frankland, *Travels to and from Constantinople in the Years 1827 and 1828*, Volume 1. 15.
- 27 Emil Sigerus, *Chronik der Stadt Hermannstadt: 1100–1929* (Sibiu: Editura Honterus, 1930), 37.
- 28 Nagyszeben of course was not the only city in which dancing denoted a debated subject matter, but it is not surprising that in a puritan, Saxon environment the division manifested itself in a more concrete manner, a consequence of which are numerous sources that have come down to us. Tailors, musicians and propagandist of body culture obviously had an interest in advocating dancing and its role in marrying off daughters and entertaining soldiers should also not be overlooked.
- 29 Lisa Fischer, *Eden hinter den Wäldern. Samuel von Brukenthal: Politiker, Sammler, Freimaurer in Hermannstadt/Sibiu* (Hermannstadt), 92.
- 30 His publications include *Statistische Skizze der siebenb. Militär-Grenze* (Hermannstadt, 1816); *Handbuch der Statistik und Geographie des Grossfürstenthums Siebenbürgen* (Hermannstadt, 1837); *Kurze Geschichte des Grossfürstenthums Siebenbürgen* (Hermannstadt, 1840). Between 1836 and 1849 he edited the journal *Siebenbürger Bote* and oversaw work for the periodical entitled *Transsilvania* for seven years (1833–1838), as well as publishing seven volumes of the *Siebenbürgischer Volksalendernek* (1843–1849).
- 31 Lajos György, *A Benigni-könyvtár (The Benigni Library)* vol. 155 of Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum–Egyesület, 1943), 4–5.

- 32 According to Gábor Bencsik “Scholarship often attributes these regrettably now lost illustrations to Ferenc Neuhauser, but according to a review published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* in 1807 (page 639) it is clearly stated that the originals were made by József [Neuhauser] and it was based on these that Ferenc made four pictures sometime around 1810.” [http://ciganyokrol.blog.hu/2009/08/07/a\\_roma\\_integracio\\_programja\\_5](http://ciganyokrol.blog.hu/2009/08/07/a_roma_integracio_programja_5) [viewed February 20th, 2011.]
- 33 *Erdélyi Nagyfejedelemség Tiszti Névtára 1848. évre (Office-Holders' Directory of the Grand Principality of Transylvania for the Year 1848)* (Kolozsvár), 84.
- 34 Barabás, 1944, 53–54.
- 35 Barabás, 1944, 54. Barabás recalls with affection: “Mister Haas, [...] was so kind to me that if I wanted to visit the gallery in the morning to practice drawing, he would give me the keys and come only much later.”
- 36 Gudron–Liane Ittu, author of the latest book on the history of the Brukenthal Museum, was kind enough to supply me with this information.
- 37 MNG 1937–3091
- 38 Barabás, 1944, 54.
- 39 MNG 1937–3090
- 40 MNG 1937–3087
- 41 MNG 1937–3092
- 42 Private collection, sheet no. 39.
- 43 Private collection, sheet no. 46.
- 44 Private collection, sheet no. 57.
- 45 Private collection, sheet no. 36.
- 46 Barabás, 1944, 57.
- 47 Gusztáv Mihály Hermann, “*Villa nostra olachalis* (Egy hamis oklevél utóéletéről),” (*Villa nostra olachalis [Afterlife of a Pseudo-Diploma]*) in *Tanulmányok a székelyföldi románság történetéről (Essays on the History of Romanians in Szeklerland)* (Csíkszereda, 1999), 34.
- 48 Barabás, 1944, 34.

