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## TRANSILVANICA

# A Motif from the *Pugillus Facietiarum* Painted Inside a House in Sibiu (1631)

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*The allegorical motif of “Woman and the Men of the Four Elements” painted in Sibiu reveals a previously unknown aspect of residential decoration in the early decades of seventeenth-century Transylvania.*

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THE MURALS discovered in the urban patriciate houses of the Principality of Transylvania, dating from the early decades of the seventeenth century, reflect, at least in iconography, the strong connection of the local elite with Central and Western European late Renaissance and Mannerist visual art.<sup>1</sup> The ensembles preserved in Sibiu (Hermannstadt, Nagyszeben), Braşov (Kronstadt, Brassó) and Sighişoara (Schäßburg, Segesvár) come from the time of Prince Gabriel Bethlen (1613–1629), a period extremely favorable for the arts, when, alongside the local talent, painters from outside Transylvania were invited to work on the princely residences, artists such as Johann Herlesperger, David Preckhell, Johann Spillenberger (1624), Michael Rubiner (1625), Stefan Székesfehérvári (1626), and Johann Medveczky (1629). This phenomenon continued during the short reign of his widow, Katharina von Brandenburg (1629–1630), and under his successor, George Rákóczi I (1630–1648),

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who ennobled local painters, John Egerházi of Band (Mezőbánd) (1631) and Stephan Csengeri of Baia Mare (Frauenbach, Nagybánya) (1632). In the cities, very few painters are mentioned, though Hans Böhm, “a foreigner to the place,” painted a landscape on the outer façade of the *Bürgertor* in 1612,<sup>2</sup> one Paul of Silesia was paid 57 florins for renewing the Bistrița (Bistriz, Beszterce) church tower decoration in 1635, and one John of Brașov is recorded as traveling between the princely residences of Oradea (Großwardein, Nagyvárad) and Cetatea de Baltă (Kokelburg, Küküllővár) in 1629.

The iconography of Transylvanian painting in the first part of the seventeenth century includes typical late Renaissance themes from Classical mythology, the Old Testament, and ancient and contemporary history, supplemented by new topics from the repertoire of international Mannerism, inspired by the life of the elite, such as banquets, hunting scenes and moralizing allegories for educating the young via *exempla contraria*, precisely in the manner of the contemporary anthologies of engravings,<sup>3</sup> conceived on the model of emblem and friendship books.<sup>4</sup> The figural scenes are generally associated with phytomorphic decorations specific to the “Transylvanian floral Renaissance,” as Jolán Balogh styled it.<sup>5</sup>

ONE OF the best known ensembles of pre-modern mural painting was discovered at Sibiu, within the old part of a house in Piața Mică/Small Square/Kleines Ring 22, decorating one of the rooms on the ground floor. The paintings are dated 1631 and were uncovered in 1957, being consolidated in 1968, but their present state of conservation is precarious. The murals comprise figural and decorative panels, separated by floral bands: on the southern wall, a judgment scene is painted,<sup>6</sup> associated with the episode of Esther and Ahasuerus from the Old Testament,<sup>7</sup> followed by a panel with flowers, birds and grotesques. On the opposite side, at the intrados of the northern side access, which today is walled up, two soldiers—*Landsknechte*, armed with muskets and spears—are represented. Above the main register, on the lateral walls, hunting scenes are depicted in frieze, while the semi-cylindrical vault is decorated with a wreath in the center, symmetrically framed by bunches of fruits and flowers, that in the entrance being later covered by a Baroque stucco heraldic cartouche in 1694, when the house was rearranged and enlarged.<sup>8</sup>

On the northern wall of the room is an image which has undergone considerable deterioration, but in the center of which can still be made out a woman who stands with one hand on her hip and a handkerchief in the other, dressed in sumptuous vestments, framed by four men, two on either side. As I have discussed elsewhere,<sup>9</sup> this motif is referred to in the literature as “Woman and the Men of the Four Elements,”<sup>10</sup> and the men are shown searching for their fortune in water (a fisherman with a rod and the inscription: *ich such’s i[m] Wasser*), in



FIG. 1. "Woman and the Men of the Four Elements," wall painting inside a room of the house in Piața Mică 22, Sibiu, 1631.



FIG. 2. "Woman and the Men of the Four Elements," engraving in *Pugillus facetiarum*, Jakob von der Heyden, Strasbourg, 1608, <https://archive.org/details/pugillusfacetiar00heyd/page/n67>.



FIG. 3. "Woman and the Men of the Four Elements" painted in Sibiu and the *Pugillus facetiarum* engraving partially overlaid.

air (a nobleman hawking: *ich suchs inn der Lufft*), in earth and in fire. The last two figures are barely visible, but this portion of the design may be recovered by comparison with the graphic model, an engraving attributed to Jakob von der Heyden of Strasbourg (1608),<sup>11</sup> with German and Latin verses below, which probably accompanied the Sibiu representation too, but are now almost invisible: *O, ihr narren alle vier/wasz ihr sucht das fint ihr hier* (Oh you fools, all four, /What you seek you'll find right here), and *Aera perlustrant & aquas & viscera terrae /Et flammis fatui o coram quam quaeritis adsum* (They comb the skies, the waters, the flames, the bowels of the earth/Fools, what you seek is here right in front of you!). The allegory has, in the background, hills, a lake with a town on its far bank, and a cloudy sky.

**T**HE ORIGINAL motif is part of the anthology *Pugillus facetiarum*,<sup>12</sup> a print-book published in Strasbourg by Jakob von der Heyden (1608), who also engraved almost all of the plates with their German and Latin captions, the present verses being signed by *Angel P[hilips]*.<sup>13</sup> The new edition, *Speculum Cornelianum* (1618), more than doubles the number of sheets and comprises, in addition to those from the first edition, plates from Crispijn de Passe's *Academia sive Speculum vitae scholasticae* (1612), and a number of blank pages at the end of the book, showing that the anthology was conceived on the model of the *alba amicorum* or friendship books.<sup>14</sup> The moralizing verse captions at times contrast with the erotic suggestiveness of the images themselves.

**T**HE *PUGILLUS facetiarum* has its origins in the comedy *Studentes*, written in Latin by Christoph Stymmel of Frankfurt (1549), and re-published by Albert Wichgreve in Rostock, under the title *Cornelius Relegatus* (1600).<sup>15</sup> This satire of student life, extremely popular—for moral and educational reasons, allegedly—was translated into German by the pastor Johannes Sommer in 1605. The main character is an “anti-hero,” the archetype of the *Bummelstudent*, well-known in the university culture of the pre-modern age, for, as he puts it himself, *Cornelius bin ich genant, allen Studenten wolbekant*.<sup>16</sup>

The theme is based on the Biblical motif of the Prodigal Son,<sup>17</sup> the most powerful rites of passage metaphor for youths in the seventeenth century,<sup>18</sup> combined with elements of student life. *Cornelius* is sent by his parents to university, where instead of learning he falls prey to all vices and fails miserably. Because of his excesses, he is suspended, arrested and disinherited, his parents die, and he is presented with an illegitimate child. He tries to kill himself, but the rope breaks and a bag of money, hidden in the ceiling, falls on his head, whereupon he decides to change and live a new life, a course of reformation which leads to a happy ending.



The name *Cornelius* derives from the *depositio cornuum*, an academic initiation ritual that was common in German universities, this fictional *pseudostudiosorum* character appearing even on prize medals, such as those of the Altdorf Academy from 1615 (Nuremberg, GNM).<sup>19</sup> In the student slang of the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries, *cornelius* was also used as a common noun which, like its derivatives *cornelizatio* and *cornelizantem*, denoted a negative mental and physical state, as well as the hangover caused by excessive consumption of alcohol.<sup>20</sup> The term *cornelisatio* also appears in the *Siebenbürgische Chronik* written by Georg Kraus (1607–1679), a scholar from Sibiu who is known to have studied at Strasbourg (1626), the city in which the *Pugillus facietarum* was printed the previous decades.<sup>21</sup>

JAKOB VON der Heyden's print representing "Woman and the Men of the Four Elements" was also copied (in reverse) into the Dutch anthology *Jeucht Spiegel* (Arnhem, 1610, attributed to Zacharias Heyns) and in its developed form, *Nieuwen Jeucht Spiegel* (Arnhem, 1617, attributed to Jan Jansz),<sup>22</sup> which includes the majority of the engravings from the first edition of the *Pugillus*. The title of the accompanying poem, printed on the opposite verso of the Dutch publications, *DES WERELTS LUST//DE MEEST ONRUST* (The world's lust// gives most unrest),<sup>23</sup> recalls the definition of *Cornelius* as it appears in the collection of humorous texts entitled *Facetiae facietiarum* (Amsterdam, 1645), which states that "Cornelium esse spiritum corporeum . . . qui certis exacerbatum causis hominem inquietam" (Cornelius is the spirit of the body . . . which certainly exacerbates the causes of men's unrest).<sup>24</sup>

In England, the reinterpreted motif, etched by Frederick van Hulsen, was "Sould by Hugh Perry" (c. 1628), and later, by Peter Stent, appearing in his advertisement of 1654 as part of the set of engravings, there entitled "12 Emblems."<sup>25</sup>

THIS ALLEGORY that satirizes the battle between the sexes has its own history, appearing individually, in engravings, *alba amicorum*, on medals and *Humpen*. Malcolm Jones, who gave the title to the motif,<sup>26</sup> mentions antecedent examples from the sixteenth century: an engraving of Hans Weiditz (c. 1521) in the Kupferstichkabinett der Museen der Stadt Gotha, and a print from the collection of Ferdinand Columbus (d. 1539), known only from descriptions. Balthasar Jenichen's engraving (c. 1580), which was copied into the friendship book of *Bernardus Paludanus* (The Hague, KB 133 M 63, f. 375r), and also painted in enamel on a Bohemian *Humpen* dated 1584 (Bremen, Focke Museum),<sup>27</sup> reproduces the four men symbolizing the air (a falconer), the water (a fisherman with a net), the earth (a man digging), and the fire (a man at a forge), framing the woman at the center of the composition, who is entirely

naked, wearing only jewels around her neck. The inscription on the complicated scroll above her head clearly shows that the woman is what the men are looking for in the four elements: *HABT IR KEIN WEIBSBILT NIE ERKENNT/DAS IRS SVCHT IN DEN 4 ELEMENT?/SOLTS IO GSEHN HABN AN DEN KINDN/DRVM SVCHTS ALDA HIE WERT IRS FINDN* (Have you never known a woman/that you seek in the 4 elements?/You're looking all over for it like these children/Though it's here you will find it).

A different and somewhat more artistic approach to the theme is Johannes Wierix's engraving of 1601, today known as the "Allegory of the Elements,"<sup>28</sup> or the "Allegory of Lust,"<sup>29</sup> because of its inscription.<sup>30</sup> The four men are involved in the same occupations, but the one symbolizing fire is represented as an alchemist seated in front of his alembic.

The friendship book of Hanns Ludwig Pfinzing von Henfenfelden from Nuremberg (1570–1632), with contributions dated between 1580 and 1605, includes a painting depicting the same topic in which the nude young female is presented not centrally, but laterally, at the end of the row of figures; wearing only a mantle on her shoulders, she stands with her feet on an open coffer full of coins and jewels (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Hist. 176, f. 77r).<sup>31</sup> In this image appears for the first time, to my knowledge, the comment later ascribed to the woman in the *Pugillus facetiarum*: *Die Juncthfrau—O, ihr Narren alle vier, was ihr sucht, das hab ich hier*. The following verses are different, however, and refer to the search for luck and not for a woman in the four elements: *Dieweil das Wetter ist so still/mein Glück ich in der Luft such/en will* (Since the weather is so still,/I search for my luck in the air). And further: *Erdt—Ich aber such es in der Erden/hoff es soll mir zutheilwerden/Feuer—So ichs durchs Feuer nicht bring rauss/So richt ich nichts auss/Wasser—Ich aber suchs in Wasser grundten/Hoff ich wolls eh(e)r dann (h)i(e)r finden*.<sup>32</sup>

In Peter Rollos' *Philotheca Cornelianiana* (1619),<sup>33</sup> the motif is a combination of the sixteenth-century representations and the *Pugillus facetiarum* type, with the woman in the center of the image, clothed but showing her legs, and standing on a coffer which is empty—for the treasure is herself. The caption again specifies that it is luck that the four men are looking for: *Weil das Wetter ist so still/mein glück ich auch versuchen wil* (Since the weather is so still,/I search for my luck). Two further but different lines are added: *In fewer, wasser, erdt und luft/Wirdt manches wunder ding gesucht/Seltsame sachen practiciert/Wie man bey dieser figure spürt* (In fire, water, earth and air/many wonderful things are sought/and strange activities practiced/as one may see from this image).

In the *Pugillus facetiarum* only (1608), the man symbolizing the earth is a miner, while the poem attached to the motif in the Dutch *Jeucht Spieghel* (1610) and *Nieuwen Jeucht Spieghel* (1617) compares the man representing fire to the alchemist (*De Vierd int blickerich Vyer, on d'Alghemiste tracht*), just as Wierix had represented him earlier (1601). The scholarly literature shows that during

the Renaissance, “the lines between metallurgy, mining, and practical alchemy are extremely difficult to draw,”<sup>34</sup> while the analogy between alchemy and love became a recognized metaphor in contemporary English literature.<sup>35</sup> Malcolm Jones shows that John Donne’s elegy XIII, “Love’s progress,” envisages “woman as the quintessence—etymologically, of course, the ‘fifth essence’—‘a supposed substance distinct from the recognized four elements.’”<sup>36</sup> As the “quintessence,” the “philosopher’s stone” or the “elixir of life” was the central goal of alchemy, this perhaps hints at a second level in the interpretation of the *Pugillus facetiarum* motif. The landscape in the background also has alchemical connotations, similar to Theodor de Bry’s Emblem XXXVI in Michael Maier’s *Atlanta fugiens* (1618): *Lapis projectus est in terras, & in montibus exaltatus, & in aere habitat, & in flumine pascitur, id est, Mercurius* (The Stone is cast upon the Earth, exalted on Mountains, resides in the Air, and is nourished in the Waters).<sup>37</sup>

The motif is differently transposed on the so-called *Glückslöser* or *Glückstaler* issued by Friedrich Ulrich, duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, prince of Wolfenbüttel (1613–1634), in 1622 and 1624, with the reverse divided into four equal compartments showing the men practicing hawking (air), fishing (water), agriculture (earth), and metallurgy or alchemy (fire).<sup>38</sup> The explanatory inscription is: *DER MENSCHEN IN DER WELDT/TRACHTN ALSO NACH GELT* (Men in the world/Strive thus for money). On the opposite side, the woman is substituted by *FORTUNA*, but with the *Pugillus facetiarum* text still preserved: *O, IHR NARREN* (sometimes replaced with *LEUTEN*) *ALLE VIER, WASZ IHR SUCHT DAS FINT IHR HIER*.

*Fortuna*, the Roman goddess who influences human destiny according to her whim, is personified in Renaissance art by an entirely naked woman, wearing only jewels around her neck, standing on a globe with a sail in the sea, as in the engraving in Theodore de Bry’s *Emblemata Nobilitati* (1592), which was also copied and colored into the abovementioned *album amicorum* of Hanns Ludwig Pfinzing von Henfenfelden (1580–1605, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, 7r),<sup>39</sup> with the verses: *Dem einen Licht der Sonnen schein/dem andern schlecht der Hagel drein/Und einer hatt viel Gutt und Geldt—einer die lehre Tasche beheldt/Das ligt nicht an Kunst und Verstandt/Das Glück hatt es in seiner Handt/Vertraust’u ihm so soll man auch/dich halten für ein grossen Bauch*. “The empty bag”—*die lehre Tasche*—is literally held in her left hand for the unfortunate ones, while the cup of rewards, crowns and necklaces is offered to the fortunate, on whom she lavishes “many goods and money”—*viel Gutt und Geldt*—in the allegories painted by Frans Francken I (1615–1620) and Cornelis de Baellieur (c. 1650).<sup>40</sup>

The English literature of the period refers to “Dame Fortune” as a “strumpet,” “harlot” and “whore,” who gives her favors in exchange for money.<sup>41</sup> In Urs Graf’s drawing now in Frankfurt (Städelsches Kunstinstitut), a work that strongly reflects the artist’s own fears and obsessions, “the prostitute Fortu-

na”—*DIE DIRNE FORTUNA*—is paid by a mercenary,<sup>42</sup> who is also called a “soldier of Fortune”—*Glücksritter*—in order to secure her favors. The Christian prayer, “God give us luck”—*GOT GEB V(N)S GLVK* is followed by *GLVK (A)VF M(E)INER S(E)ITEN*, “Luck by my side,” a paraphrase of the Classical maxim,<sup>43</sup> and recalls Aby Warburg’s definition of the *Fortuna* personification as “an iconic formula between the medieval trust in God and the Renaissance trust in self.”<sup>44</sup>

**T**HE *PUGILLUS facietiarum* image of “Woman and the Men of the Four Elements” was also copied into the friendship books of Adam Schrimpf (1615)<sup>45</sup> and Georg Geiger, the latter album lost during World War II.<sup>46</sup> From the second half of the sixteenth century onwards, *libri amicorum*, *alba amicorum*, *Stammbücher* or *Studentenalben*, spread outwards from Germany and the Netherlands, gradually becoming popular throughout much of Early Modern Europe, fostering the building of personal and professional relationships.<sup>47</sup>

*Small and portable, and often oblong in format, friendship albums enabled university students, merchants, humanists and others from north of the Alps to collect signatures, mottos, coats-of-arms and visual imagery as they moved between universities and other centres. Consisting of blank sheets, sometimes formatted with printed frames or interleaved with inspirational proverbs, alba amicorum are repositories for an extraordinarily wide range of amateur and professional images, from regional costumes and foreign sites, to portraits and allegorical figures.*<sup>48</sup>

Professors, researchers, philosophers, scientists, artists and fellow students were invited to write a brief *memento* of their meeting with the album owner, which frequently took the form of a message of encouragement for the professional future of the young man. These friendship books can also be considered *miscellanies* which include original songs and poems, advice, opinions, and comments on the entries contributed by others, and, especially by the late sixteenth century, they are enlivened by paintings—deriving mainly from engraved prints—commissioned by contributors from professional manuscript painters or done by themselves. The quality of these paintings and drawings is often high, as skilled professional artists adorn the pages with the contributors’ family crests and other motifs. The growing popularity of such albums soon led to the publication of emblem books with interleaved blank pages, or, as in the case of at least one copy of the *Pugillus facietiarum*, with such pages bound in at the end of the book.

The few *alba amicorum* known in Transylvania are later than the mural painting of Sibiu and iconographically distinct. Anton and Paulus Schirmer’s friendship books, known together as the *Schirmersche Familienbuch*,<sup>49</sup> have entries dated between 1651 and 1654, and between 1681 and 1685, respectively, from



the places where they studied and travelled, e.g. Wittenberg, Augsburg, Sibiu, and Cluj (Klausenburg, Kolozsvár).<sup>50</sup>

**T**HE ALLEGORICAL motif of “Woman and the Men of the Four Elements” painted in Sibiu, inside the Kleines Ring 22 house (1631), after Jakob von der Heyden’s engraving (1608, Strasbourg), reveals a previously unknown aspect of residential decoration in the early decades of seventeenth-century Transylvania, being at the same time the only example of mural decoration known to be a literal copy after designs in the *Pugillus facetiarum*, and one of the very few of this kind in non-manuscript art. Published explicitly for the expanding *alba amicorum* market, the designs are indeed relatively common in seventeenth-century albums, but seem otherwise to have contributed only rarely to the applied arts.<sup>51</sup> That this anthology exerted a considerable influence in Transylvania is suggested by the fact that a second motif from the volume inspired the murals of a contemporary house in the same city, on the former Fleischergasse 17 (1628), in which banquet scenes were painted.<sup>52</sup>

The identification of these motifs in the Sibiu murals and of their graphic source is important evidence both for their diffusion, and for its demonstration of the familiarity of the *Siebenbürgischer Sachsen* urban elite with the latest Western European art and culture.

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## Notes

1. Dana Jenei, *Renașterea transilvăneană—identitate culturală în context european* (Bucharest, 2013), 121–123; ead., “Pictura murală din Transilvania Renașterii în secolele XVI–XVII,” in *Arta în România din preistorie în contemporaneitate*, eds. Răzvan Theodorescu and Marius Porumb (Bucharest–Cluj Napoca, 2018), 1: 618.
2. Georg Kraus, *Cronica Transilvaniei 1608–1665*, transl. and introduction by Gheorghe Duzinchievici and Eugen Reus-Mârza (Bucharest, 1965), 16; Paul Binder, “Date despre picturile murale din secolul al XVI-lea de la Brașov și Sibiu,” *Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice* (Bucharest) 40, 2 (1971): 19; Andrei Kertesz-Badrusz, “Aspecte privind tematica picturii transilvănene din secolul al XVI-lea în lumina documentelor de epocă,” *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei*, Seria artă plastică (Bucharest) 28 (1981): 138.
3. Korine Hazelzet, *Verkeerde Werelden: Exemplar contraria in de Nederlandse beeldende kunst* (Amsterdam, 2004), 28, cf. Benjamin B. Roberts, *Sex and Drugs before Rock ‘n’ Roll: Youth Culture and Masculinity during Holland’s Golden Age* (Amsterdam, 2012), 71.

4. Hubert Meeus, “In dees spiegel zal de domme jeucht met vreucht leeren,” *De zeventiende eeuw* 7 (1991): 127–134.
5. Jolán Balogh, *Az erdélyi Renaissance*, vol. 1, 1460–1541 (Kolozsvár, 1943).
6. Vasile Drăguț, “O pictură laică din Sibiu la 1631,” *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei* 9, 2 (1962): 398–403; Jenei, “Pictura murală din Transilvania Renașterii,” 618. The scheme of the painting recalls the illustration to *Fasciculus constitutionum de poenis, vulgo Straffbuch* (1598).
7. Anamaria Haldner, “Tematica picturilor murale din Piața 6 Martie Sibiu,” *Studii și comunicări: Arheologie și istorie* (Sibiu) 21 (1981): 93, identified the scene and transcribed the inscription: *[E]ste[r aus] ibres Herzens Qual / [U]dt den König zum Abendmahl*.
8. Of “the two giants” in the façade decoration mentioned at the beginning of the eighteenth century by Georg Soterius, “*Cibinium*”: *Eine Beschreibung Hermannstadts vom Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Lore Wirth-Poelchau (Cologne–Weimar–Vienna, 2006, 41), only a fragment of a single figure painted on a monumental scale was recovered by the restorers in 2017. In 1775, after Florin Blezu, the owner of the house was Johann Czekelius von Rosenfeld (1739–1809), *Provinzial-Bürgermeister*, then member of the Transylvanian *Gubernialrath*, the grandson of Michael Cekelius (1680–1770), Baron von Rosenfeld since 1722, and the son of Johann von Rosenfeld (1713–1789) and Anna Maria von Bausnern.
9. Jenei, “Pictura murală din Transilvania Renașterii,” 674. Vasile Drăguț and his followers named it “the allegory of happiness.”
10. Malcolm Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England: An Historical Oversight* (New Haven–London, 2010), 318–320.
11. *Katalog der Freiherrlich von Lipperheide’schen Kostümbibliothek* (Berlin, 1892), cf. <https://archive.org/details/pugillusfacietiar00heyd/page/n67>.
12. *Pugillus facietiarum iconographicarum in studiosorum potissimum gratiam ex propijs eorundem Albis desumptarum; et iam primum hac forma editarum. Allerhand kurtzweilige Stücklein, allen Studenten furnemblich zu lieb auss Ihren eigenen Stambüchern zusammen gelesen und in dise Form gebracht* [A handful of illustrated witticisms, chiefly for the benefit of students and taken from their own albums], <https://archive.org/details/pugillusfacietiar00heyd/page/n3>.
13. The other verses were signed by *J[acob] a Bruck, M. Casp[ar] Brüllovius, J[ohannes] P[aulus] Crusius [I. P. C.]*, *F[rantz] [Christoph] Carol[us]*, *[Matthäeus] Zuber[ius]*, *[Andreas] Saurius* and *Albrecht Schmidt*, while most of the engravings are attributed to Jakob von der Heyden, but only two bear his monogram.
14. Ilja M. Veldman, *Profit and Pleasure: Print Books by Crispijn de Passe*, transl. Michael Hoyle (Rotterdam, 2001), esp. 329–330; id., “The Portrayal of Student Life and Universities in the Early Modern Period,” in *Education and Learning in the Netherlands, 1400–1600: Essays in Honour of Hilde de Ridder-Symoens*, eds. Koen Goudriaan, Jaap van Moolenbroek, and Ad Tervoort (Boston, 2004), 329–330.
15. M. Alberti Wichgrevi, *Cornelius Relegatus, sive Comoedia Nova, festiviſimè depingens Vitam Pseudostudiosorum & continens Nonnullos Ritus Academicos in Germania*

(Rostochii, 1600), <https://digital.ub-uni-leipzig.de/mirador/index.php#84f16dbc-7756-4104-8a20-a4ec9c14b31b>.

16. Frederick J. Stopp, "Wichgrevius and 'The Speculum Cornelianum,'" in *Sprache und Bekenntnis: Hermann Kunisch zum 70. Geburtstag: 27. Oktober 1971*, eds. Wolfgang Frühwald and Günter Niggel (Berlin, 1971), 29–30; Ulrich Rasche, "Cornelius relegatus in Stichen und Stammbuchbildern des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts: Zur Memoria studentischer Standeskultur in deren Formationsphase," *Einst und Jetzt: Jahrbuch des Vereins für corpsstudentische Geschichtsforschung e. V.* 53 (2008): 15–47; id., "Cornelius relegatus und die Disziplinierung der deutschen Studenten (16. bis frühes 19. Jahrhundert): Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Ikonologie studentischer Memoria," in *Frühneuzeitliche Universitätskulturen: Kulturhistorische Perspektiven auf die Hochschulen in Europa*, eds. Barbara Krug-Richter and Ruth-E. Mohrmann (Cologne–Weimar–Vienna, 2009), 157–221, esp. 190 ff.
17. Stopp, 31.
18. Roberts, 21.
19. Stopp, 31.
20. Reinhold Köhler, "Cornelius: Eine Ergänzung zum deutschen Wörterbuche," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* (Halle), 1 (1869): 452–458.
21. Kraus (p. 16), used the word in describing the contradictory state of mind of a counselor of Sighișoara, during a mission at Prince Gabriel Báthory's court, in 1611. After completing his studies in Cluj (1622), Sibiu (1624), Strasbourg (1626), Vienna (1627) and Padua (1628), and a longer journey through Italy, Kraus returned to Transylvania and settled in Sighișoara, where he became the city notary from 1646 until his death.
22. Meeus, 127–134.
23. *D'Een in de Locht syn Iacht, begherich zal aen vanghen,/De tweed' int Water Vischt, en Henghelt met verlanghen. / De derd' int Aertrijc, 'tghen groot vort gheacht,/ De vierd' int blickerich Vyer; na d'Alghemiste tracht. / Alleen om hun vermaec, elc sonderlingh zal kieser,/Een Element alleen, en zoo den tijt verliesen: / Doch die ghetempert is, soect vrecht in sulcken Dier;/ Daer in hy d'Aerde vint, het Water, Locht ende Vyer*, [http://emblems.let.uu.nl/nj1617006\\_compare\\_frame.html?position=left](http://emblems.let.uu.nl/nj1617006_compare_frame.html?position=left).
24. Köhler, 452–459.
25. [https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=3188331&partId=1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3188331&partId=1). The text beneath the image states: *Fyer, Ayre, Earth, Water, represents, to thee their sundry, Elaments,/By which thou maist receiue thy fill,/that powerfull cann preserue & kill, and London printed and sould by P. Stent.* Jones, p. 320, fig. 312.
26. Ibid., 320. I thank Dr. Malcolm Jones for his assistance generously offered in documenting "our motif" painted in Sibiu. His extremely rich Pinterest boards with images of non-religious European art from the late Middle Ages to c. 1700 (at *malcm 2557* and *malcmjones*), including the *alba amicorum* boards, are the source of the majority of analogues mentioned in the text.
27. Franz Carl Lipp, *Bemalte Gläser: Volkstümliche Bildwelt auf altem Glas* (Munich, 1974), 33, fig. 175.

28. <https://www.sciencephotogallery.com/allegory-elements-17th-century-9227677.html>.
29. [https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=3017646&partId=1&people=134403&peoA=134403-3-9&page=1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3017646&partId=1&people=134403&peoA=134403-3-9&page=1).
30. Jones, 319.
31. [http://digital.bib-bvb.de/view/bvbmets/viewer.0.6.4.jsp?folder\\_id=0&dvs=1546942646387~727&pid=6397951&locale=en&usePid1=true&usePid2=true](http://digital.bib-bvb.de/view/bvbmets/viewer.0.6.4.jsp?folder_id=0&dvs=1546942646387~727&pid=6397951&locale=en&usePid1=true&usePid2=true).
32. I thank Maria Marin for help in the transcription, translation and interpretation of these captions.
33. Peter Rollos, *Philotheca Cornelianana: Sive Emblematum Novorum hortus florentissimus* (Frankfurt, 1619).
34. Tara E. Nummedal, "Practical Alchemy and Commercial Exchange in the Holy Roman Empire," in *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen (New York–London, 2002), 219.
35. W. A. Murray, "Donne and Paracelsus: An Essay in Interpretation," *The Review of English Studies* 25, 98 (1949): 121–122. In "Love's alchemy," "the image of digging love's mine in the first two lines of the poem suggests the philosophic quest for a love spiritual in essence and implies the Renaissance identification of gold and soul, providing the doctrinal basis to form the central alchemy conceit." Parisa Shams and Alireza Anushiravani, "Mystical Alchemy in the Poetry of Donne and Milton," *Jung Journal: Culture & Psyche* 7, 3 (2013): 62, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19342039.2013.787810>.
36. Jones, 320.
37. <http://93beast.fea.st/files/section1/maier/Maier%20-%20Atalanta%20Fugiens.pdf>, p. 107.
38. [https://www.coingallery.de/Loeser/3\\_Friederich\\_Ulrich.htm](https://www.coingallery.de/Loeser/3_Friederich_Ulrich.htm).
39. The globe on which she stands, expressing her fickleness, is clearly identified as the world in Nicoletto da Modena's engraving of 1500–1510 (London, British Museum).
40. In Balthazar Nebot's later painting (c. 1730), *Fortuna* on the globe is blindfolded and floats in the air.
41. Gabriel A. Rieger, *Sex and Satiric Tragedy in Early Modern England: Penetrating Wit* (London, 2016); Robert William Dent, *Shakespeare's Proverbial Language: An Index*, vol. 1 (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 1981), 115; id., *Proverbial Language in English Drama Exclusive of Shakespeare, 1495–1616: An Index*, vol. 2 (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 1981), 360.
42. Christiane Andersson, "Jungfrau, Dirne, Fortuna: Das Bild der Frau in den Zeichnungen von Urs Graf," *Kritische Berichte* 16, 1 (1988): 35. "The picture satire is a weapon in the gender struggle, through which Graf not only disenchanting the power of the woman, but wants to distance himself from his own sexuality: his last salvation."
43. *Fortis Fortuna adjuvat* (Pliny, *Epistles* 6, 16), *Audentes Fortuna adiuvat* (Terentius, *Phormio*, 203), *Audentis Fortuna iuvat* (Virgil, *Aeneid*, 10, 284). The text is written on the bed-frame on which *Fortuna* sits.
44. Aby Warburg, "Francesco Sassettis letztwillige Verfügung, in Kunstwissenschaftliche Beiträge August Schmarsow gewidmet zum fünfzigsten Semester seiner akade-



mischen Lehrtätigkeit” (Leipzig, 1907), cf. [http://www.engramma.it/eOSindex.php?id\\_articolo=2975](http://www.engramma.it/eOSindex.php?id_articolo=2975).

45. Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, M.S. Thott 420 8vo, along with many other albums it is available on the library’s website website: <http://www.kb.dk/e-mat/mas/130019389767.pdf>.
46. Piotr Oszczanowski and Jan Gromadzki, *Theatrum vitae et mortis: Grafika, rysunek i malarstwo książkowe na Śląsku w latach ok. 1550–ok. 1650* (Wrocław, 1995), no. 333. Malcolm Jones notes that other representations of the motif are to be found amongst the dismembered album leaves in the Frommann collection in Stuttgart, and I add the *Serresch Studentenalbum* in the Stadtarchiv in Halle.
47. Meeus, 136. *Libri amicorum* are presented in the recent works as precursors of modern social media. Sophie Reinders: “Social Networking is our DNA’: Women’s Alba Amicorum as Places to Build and Affirm Identities,” in *Identity, Intertextuality, and Performance in Early Modern Song Culture*, eds. Dieuwke van der Poel, Louis P. Grijp, and Wim van Anrooij (Leiden, 2016), 161.
48. Bronwen Wilson, “Social Networking: The ‘Album amicorum’ and Early Modern Public Making,” in *Beyond the Public Sphere: Opinions, Publics, Spaces in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Massimo Rospocher (Bologna–Berlin, 2012), 205.
49. <http://dspace.bcuculuj.ro/handle/123456789/13244>, <http://dspace.bcuculuj.ro/handle/123456789/13243>; Gustav Gündisch, “Das Schirmerische Familienbuch,” *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 8, 4/2 (1985): 151–157.
50. Martin Ziegler (1680–1703, Wittenberg, Leiden, Dresden, Leipzig, Königstein etc.), <https://www.maremagnum.com/libri-antichi/arte-mnemonica-in-gratiam-martini-ziegler-transilvani/157339618>. Gheorghe Asachi Technical University in Iași (Romania) also preserves the *album amicorum* of Martin Weigmann (d. 1622), a theologian from Bardejov (Slovakia), cf. András Emődi, “Martinus Weigmann peregrinációs albuma 1598–1621,” *Acta Papensia* 7, 1–2 (2007): 45.
51. The use of designs from other similar contemporary print-books and single-sheet prints is well-attested in *alba amicorum*, and on Bohemian enamel-painted *Humpen*. Two such *Humpen* decoration are derived from the *Pugillus facietiarum*, for example, the popular *Cornelius*, now in Nuremberg, the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, and the motif of the naked woman caught in the lobster-pot, in Wrocław. Eugen von Czihak, *Schlesische Gläser* (Breslau, 1891), 108, fig. 28, and 237–238, available via [archive.org](http://archive.org).
52. The image on the southern wall, better preserved, is a free adaptation after Jakob von der Heyden’s *Pugillus facietiarum* engraving, representing a students’ dinner with musicians; Dana Jenei, “Murals from 1628 painted inside the house of GREGER STAMP, CIRCVMSP(ECTI) VIRIDOMINI [...] CIVIS ET MERCATORIS CIVIT(ATIS) / CIB(INIENSIS) OPTIMI,” in *Brukenthal: Acta Musei* 14.2 (2019): 341–353.

**Abstract****A Motif from the *Pugillus Facietiarum* Painted Inside a House in Sibiu (1631)**

The article shows that inside the room on the ground floor of a house in Sibiu, Piața Mică/Small Square/Kleines Ring 22, the allegorical motif of “Woman and the Men of the Four Elements,” inspired by Jakob von der Heyden’s engraving from the *Pugillus facietiarum* anthology (1608, Strasbourg) was painted in 1631. This discovery reveals a previously unknown aspect of residential decoration in the early decades of seventeenth-century Transylvania, the motif being at the same time the only example of mural decoration known to be a literal copy after designs in the *Pugillus facietiarum* and one of the very few such in the non-manuscript art of pre-modern Europe. That this anthology exerted a considerable influence in Transylvania is suggested by the fact that a second motif from the volume inspired the murals of a contemporary house in the same city, on the former Fleischergasse 17 (1628). The identification of these motifs in the Sibiu murals and of their graphic source is important evidence both for their diffusion, and for its demonstration of the familiarity of the *Siebenbürgischer Sachsen* (Transylvanian Saxon) urban elite with the latest Western European art and culture, including the friendship books—*Stammbuch* or *alba amicorum*.

**Keywords**

Sibiu, pre-modern iconography, wall paintings, engravings, “Woman and the Men of the Four Elements,” *Pugillus facietiarum*, *alba amicorum*