

“DE PILOSO FONTE SUM”: ON DISHONORABLE BACKGROUNDS, LAWSUITS, GUILDS, AND ARTISANS IN EARLY RENAISSANCE CLUJ

Ciprian FIREA*

ABSTRACT. “*De piloso fonte sum*”: On Dishonorable Backgrounds, Lawsuits, Guilds, and Artisans in Early Renaissance Cluj. This study, based on an exceptional source (a judicial record of 1549, published here for the first time) aims at the restitution of the biography and the distinctive character and personality of an early Renaissance painter from Transylvania, Gregorius Pictor, while making recurrent references to the artistic milieu of the sixteenth century Cluj – the town where he was mainly active. The study reveals, undoubtedly, one of the most comprehensive painters’ biographies of Transylvania in early modern times.

Keywords: *painter; painters’ guild; biography of artists; Renaissance; Cluj; Transylvania.*

When he died, in late December 1548 or maybe in early January 1549, the painter Gregorius – Gergely, as most of his acquaintances probably called him – was about 80 years old. One can infer his age knowing that he had recollections from the time of the victorious battle of the Transylvanians against the Ottomans at Câmpul Pâinii / Kenyérmező (*tempore conflictus in Campo Kynyr*) on the 13th of October 1479. Distance and coldness had been installed for many years between him and his wife Catherina – whom, in their younger years, he probably nicknamed Kata. Reliable sources suggest that marital tension had set

* **Ciprian FIREA PhD** (cfirea@yahoo.com) is researcher at the Institute of Archaeology and Art History of the Romanian Academy in Cluj-Napoca, Romania. He is interested in medieval and early modern art and architecture; art and liturgy; patronage; heraldry; *memoria*; altarpieces; scientific investigation of artworks; digital art history.



in after the death of their children. Margareta, wife of Blasius Textor, a witness in the matter to be discussed in the following lines, informed that the couple's children had already died long time ago. She knew the story from her first husband (at that time deceased), who had been in the service of the painter (probably his apprentice or journeyman). In any case, from that moment on Gregorius lived in turmoil with his wife, whom he held responsible for the children's death: *quasi ipsa in culpa esset mortis puerorum*. The lack of any direct heirs *in articulo mortis*, at the painter's deathbed and in the funerary cortege seems to have fueled the ambitions of some alleged relatives allured by the inheritance. Like birds of prey, they sniffed death and its potential benefits to the heirs, therefore they attacked the widow in a lawsuit. Their greed resulted in a long trial, including appeals and, thus, in preserved written records, which can only please nowadays historians. Had it not been for the lawsuit initiated by those who hoped to get their hands on the earthly goods left behind by a sixteenth century painter from Cluj, one might never have known today that this artisan ever existed. Without the trial records luckily preserved in the archives,¹ Gregorius Pictor would have never existed for us at all.² Given the scarce source materials concerning Transylvanian painters, Gregorius' case is privileged among his fellow artists. Because of this source, his biography is one of the most comprehensive painters' biographies before the modern times.³ However, this rich information does not refer at all to his oeuvre and commissions (totally obliterated by the source focused upon in this study), but rather to various details of everyday life, to his distinct personality and abundant biographical facts. Besides, the document reveals interesting information concerning the artistic environment in the town of Cluj during the early Renaissance period, previously almost completely ignored in existent literature. Such information has been briefly disclosed in a previous contribution,⁴ but here the scope is larger, since the analysis focuses on the thorough examination of the primary source.

¹ See, below for details concerning the source.

² This is a paraphrase after Truus van Buren, discussing the letters of Katarina Lemmel as singular sources on her art patronage: "without those letters Katerina would not have existed for us at all"; see Truus van Bueren, "Care for the Here and the Hereafter: A Multitude of Possibilities," in *Care for the Here and the Hereafter. Memoria, Art and Ritual in the Middle Ages*, ed. Truus van Bueren (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 22.

³ For comparison, see other Transylvanian painters' biographies in Ciprian Firea, and Saveta Pop, *Pictorii Transilvaniei medievale (cca. 1300-1600). Un Dicționar* (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2021).

⁴ Ciprian Firea, "O breaslă a pictorilor la Cluj în secolul al XVI-lea? Mărturii documentare inedite," in *Cluj - Kolozsvár - Klausenburg - 700. Studii de istorie urbană*, ed. Mária Lupescu Makó et al. (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2018), 345-350.

This study has a two-folded goal: on the one hand, it introduces to the larger public a significant documentary source, edited now for the first time.⁵ On the other hand, based mainly on this illuminating source, the study aims at the restitution of the biography and individuality of an early Renaissance Transylvanian painter, making recurrent references to the artistic milieu of sixteenth century Cluj – the town where he was mainly active. As already suggested, this source sheds light on details of daily life, gestures, and dialogues, revealing the lives of our ancestors that thus seem closer to our own than we might suppose otherwise. It evokes social paradigms and conventions, various details of the organization of trades, but also the gossip and scandals in the neighborhood. This contribution exploits but a part of the generous documentary source. Certainly, it can be further explored in many different ways.

The quite large document (it consists of 167 lines), survived in one piece in its original form and is currently preserved in Sibiu Branch of the Romanian National Archives (Fig. 1). It belongs to the collection of medieval documents, series U IV, no 571, and is available online at arhivamedievala.ro (SIAN: SB-F-00001-1-U4-571). The document was issued by the municipality of Cluj, on the 31st of May 1549.⁶ It was written (fortunately, in legible Renaissance practical writing) by a scribe who was responsible for a number of documents emitted by the town, from the 1520s to the 1550s.⁷ The document was addressed to the burgomaster and the members of the town council of Sibiu,⁸ as the superior (appeal) court of a cause judged in Cluj in the first instance. As already mentioned, the cause was initiated by some individuals allegedly entitled to inherit a part of the estate of the deceased Gregorius Pictor. Ladislaus Azthalos (Joyner) and his sister Helena from Turda, son and daughter of late Elias Azthalos and Catharina, claimed that, as Gregorius Pictor was the brother of their deceased mother Catharina, and since he had died without direct heirs, they had the right to inherit a part (*dualitas*, which means 2/3 of the paternal inheritance)⁹ of the possessions of the deceased, on the grounds of the laws of the town of Cluj (*secundum iura huius civitatis*). The other part (1/3) of the inheritance would remain with the painter's widow. The latter, also named Catharina, declared that she had no

⁵ I warmly thank my colleague Andreea Mârza for kindly revising my initial transcription of the original Latin.

⁶ *Feria sexta proxima post festum Ascensionis Domini, anno eiusdem 1549.*

⁷ See, for example, the collection of documents (cartulary) detailing the boundaries of the town Cluj, a copy from 1555 of previous royal charters and privileges (accessible online on the web page of the National Hungarian Archives, <https://archives.hungaricana.hu>; DF 281236). This cartulary seems to be copied by the same scribe, probably a notary of the town.

⁸ *Prudentibus et circumspcctis magistro civium, iudicibus ac iuratis civibus civitatis Cibiniensis etc., dominis et amicis nobis honorandis.*

⁹ I would like to thank Mária Pakucs for clearing out for me this juridical detail.

knowledge about the affinity between the claimants (or their deceased mother) and her late husband, but if they wanted to obtain the demanded property, they would have to prove their degree of kinship: *in qua linea consanguinitatis sunt ipsi actores fratres domini sui, vel mater ipsorum actorum qua in linea consanguinitatis fuerit consanguinea domini sui, probent ergo actores*. In the end, the claimants did not succeed in demonstrating their consanguinity with Gregorius, therefore the court of Cluj rejected their cause. The claimants then appealed to the superior court, which compelled the municipal authorities from Cluj to record the entire dossier and the respective testimonies and to send them to Sibiu.

Consequently, most of the document's content consists of recorded statements from different witnesses concerning their knowledge of the alleged kinship between the claimants and the deceased painter. About 25 different witnesses were inquired, the majority of whom were residents of Cluj (16), but also from Turda (7) and Teiuș (1). Besides being declarations on truth or proofs, these statements additionally provide "slices" of the painter's life, whose biography can thus be reconstructed, as well as a vivid restitution of his distinctive character and personality. The following lines aim to outline this biography, using information from different witness testimonies and arranging it in a more coherent and chronological order. The numbers in the brackets correspond to the specific line(s) in the document where the information is collected from.

Gregorius was born in the market town of Teiuș, most depositions concurred on this based on painter's own statements. His oldest recollections were from the time of the battle *in Campo Kynyr* [77], thus from the year 1479. Let us note this milestone in the history of medieval Transylvania. Gregorius was probably born around 1470–1475. No witness offers information about who his parents were, but we have hints concerning his early education: as a child, Gregorius was instructed by a priest (*cum puer fuisset apud quendam sacerdotem in oppido Thywys educatus extitisset* [132–133]). In this early schooling days, he was in contact with a little girl named Catharina, who was later considered (by the claimants and a part of the witnesses) to be the painter's sister (*audivit ab ore Gregorii Pictoris hoc quod hoc dixit quod ipse cum uxore Elie Azthalos frater uterinus est* [87–88]), or his cousin (*ita audivi ab ipsis quod mater defuncte iamdicte domine Chatarine cum patre Gregorii Pictoris fuissent ambo uterini* [41–42]). On the contrary, the supporters of the defendant explained during the trial that, in fact, Catharina was the daughter of a woman hosted by the priest/teacher in Teiuș, whom the latter called "his sister" (a spinster with child? a disguised mistress of the priest?) and, therefore, the children grew up together, sharing everything and calling each other "brother" and "sister" (*in oppido Thywys... ubi quoque matre istius uxoris Helie, que eciam tunc puella parva fuisset, habitasset, quam matrem dictus sacerdos sororem appellitasset. Ibi itaque pariter ut pueri viventes quicquid*

ut eique porrectum et datum fuisset inter se dividissent et perunde ut ipse Gregorius dictam puellam sororem appellasset, ita eadem se fratrem vocasset. [133–135]]. Casually, they continued to call each other like this even in their mature years, wherefrom the confusion of the claimants.

At a young age, Gregorius left Teiuș or even the country for more or less 25 years: *postmodum, ipse Gregorius ex hoc regno ad exterarum nationum perductus fuisset, ubi plus minus annis viginti quinque permansisset* [136–137]. Let us dwell upon the syntagm *ex hoc regno ad exterarum nationes*. Did Gregorius leave the Hungarian kingdom? There is no information whether the move was at his parents' will, or whether he just left to find his own way (supposedly, at about 15 years of age), first as an apprentice and afterwards as a journeyman. It is certain though that during this time (approximately 25 years) he fulfilled his craftsmanship as a painter. Unfortunately, one does not know where exactly this happened. Establishing the precise environment where an artist learned his craft is always useful for assessing his style.¹⁰ Nevertheless, at a certain moment, Gregorius decided to come back to his motherland, and he established himself in the town of Cluj, working as a master painter (ca. 1505–1510?). Apparently, he always kept in mind the little girl he had once left behind in Teiuș, since he brought her a gift upon his return: a rosary. At that moment, however, Catharina was already married, with children (probably, Ladislaus and Helena, the future claimants): *et cum redire voluisset, adhuc memor dicte puelle eidem unum rosarium adduxisset. Cum autem rediisset, iam uxor dicti Helie mensatoris fuisset habens liberos* [136–137]. How exactly did Gregorius manage to find his female-friend after so many years, not in Teiuș, not even in Cluj, but in Turda, remains unanswered. Among the witnesses called for during the trial, *honestissima domina Margaretha, consors Blasii Textoris* offered a long deposition [118–138] with many details concerning the life of Gregorius.

Since the first Catharina was unavailable, Gregorius Pictor married another woman called Catharina, this time from Cluj. The marriage probably provided him with the opportunity to become a citizen. He was already a man in his late thirties by then, maybe even in his early forties. We do not know any details about Catharina's family, but some of the witnesses seem to have been her kindred. The very first person to protest against the claimants from Turda was a *sororius* (probably a brother-in-law, i.e. the husband of a sister), named Blasius Kereki [24]. It is highly plausible that he was the closest male relative of Catharina, and therefore he played a role of a tutor in the legal process that followed.

¹⁰ I use the masculine as long as there is very sparse evidence (in fact, there is no evidence at all until now) concerning female painters in medieval Hungary and Transylvania.

Alongside a wife, Gregorius also acquired a house (probably equipped with a workshop) and the citizenship of Cluj around the year 1510. It is known from a deposition that this house was situated on the Bridge Street / *Platea Pontis* / Híd Utca (*Hydwcza*) [47], the street that led towards north from the *Theatrum* (main square) to the gate tower in front of the bridge over Someș river. Recently, archaeologists have discovered the foundations of this gate tower in the middle of the nowadays Regele Ferdinand Street. The location of the painter's house is highly significant. During the same period (the first two decades of the sixteenth century) another painter from Cluj had his residence on the same street. This is proven by the remains of the edifice, namely a splendid Renaissance door-frame (Fig. 2) disclosing the name of the owner, *Bernardus Pictor* (sic!) and the dating mentioned in a Latin inscription, which alludes to very contemporary events: *Tempore Secte Crvciate Domino Iohanne Zapolia Vaivode Trivmphanti Favste*, meaning the revolt of the "crusaders" led by Gheorghe Doja, crushed in 1514 by the voivode John Zapolya¹¹. This street seems to have been preferred by artists (painters) of Hungarian origin. We can assume that *Pictor* was a special spelling choice of the painter Bernardus /Bernát, while Gregorius /Gergely himself was a Hungarian language speaker (as will be shown further on).

Master Gregorius started his trade in Cluj, where he even had some apprentices, but in fact his business was not fully authorized by the guild. There was something missing, and this particular deficiency was central to the inquiry discussed. The painters' guild of Cluj (it should be acknowledged that this is the earliest undisputable evidence concerning the existence – only supposed previously, but never documentary attested – of such a guild active in late medieval and early-modern Cluj:¹² *contubernium ceterorum magistrorum pictorum* [99]; *ceha magistrorum pictorum* [108]; *ex parte czehe* [125]), was vainly asking Gregorius

¹¹ On Bernardus Pictor /Pictor see, Jolán Balogh, *Az erdélyi renaissance (1460–1541)*, (Kolozsvár, Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1943), 62, 85, 174, 257, 359, 378; Virgil Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Țările Române* (București: Editura Academiei, 1959) 619; Gheorghe Sebestyén, and Victor Sebestyén, *Arhitectura Renașterii în Transilvania* (București: Editura Academiei, 1963), 87; Jolán Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia), 26, 43, 45, 159, 184, 389; Melinda Mihály, "Monumente renaștentiste, baroce și neoclasice din patrimoniul Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei" (PhD diss., Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, 2013) 62, 68, 207–208; Ciprian Firea, *Polipticele medievale din Transilvania: artă, liturghie, patronaj* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2016) 325; András Kovács, "Arhitectura și sculptura Renașterii," in *Arta din România. Din preistorie în contemporaneitate*, ed. Răzvan Theodorescu, and Marius Porumb (București, Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Academiei Române, Ed. Mega, 2018), 518; Firea and Pop, *Pictorii*, 34.

¹² While for Sibiu, Brașov, and Bistrița there are preserved written regulations of the guilds, approved by the municipalities or councils. See, Ciprian Firea, and Adinel Dincă, "Breslele artistice din Transilvania medievală și regulamentele lor. Un statut nou descoperit de la Bistrița," *Ars Transilvaniae* 25–26 (2015–2016): 173–184.

Pictor to present a certificate of “honorable birth”. This was a common request of guilds all over Europe, Transylvania included, that the artisan to become master had to prove by a written document that he was born in an honorable, Christian family. Such a demand would exclude from the trade those with “genealogical issues” or “inappropriate” religious or confessional affiliations. This particular prerequisite of the craft was not fulfilled by Gregorius, unable to present a certificate (*littere genealogie*) to his defense. The masters of the guild repeatedly asked for it (*dicti magistri sepius ipsum super adducentis litteris genealogie sue sollicitassent* [99]), but to no avail. They even warned that the apprentices of the irregular master might face problems in order to be recognized by the guild: *sepius magistri pictores sibi exprobrassent quasi minus esset contubernio idoneus ex quo apud talem magistrum artem suam perdidicisset, qui litteras sue genealogie iuxta contubernii consuetudinem non haberet* [104–106]. The certificate is invoked several times throughout the whole inquiry, since its mere existence would have solved the entire case. However, its absence is nonetheless eloquent. It was most probably intended to conceal certain details of the painter’s ascendance. On the other hand, precisely this absence triggered the entire investigation meant to reveal his origins.

The painters of Cluj, Gregorius’ fellows, certainly played an essential part in the judicial inquiry, as they were highly interested knowing his genealogy. Consequently, the document under scrutiny attests to the presence of (at least) three other masters (besides Gregorius himself and the above-mentioned Bernardus) who were active in the town of Cluj during the first half of the sixteenth century. For comparison, throughout the entire fifteenth century only one painter’s name is known from documentary sources, a certain Lucas Pictor, inhabitant of the suburbs of Cluj.¹³ The celebrated Thomas Pictor (Thomas de Coloswar) was from Cluj only by origin, while conducting his activity far away, *in medio regni* at Buda or even further West.¹⁴ Another Thomas, who painted in the 1480s an altarpiece for the Dominican convent in Cluj was much probably an inhabitant of Bistrița.¹⁵ Therefore, the judicial inquiry under scrutiny appears to be the most generous documentary source concerning painters and the artistic life of late medieval Cluj.

The first master to be interviewed was a certain Anthonius Pictor, probably the most established member of the craft at that moment. He can be traced in local sources between 1530–1556.¹⁶ His deposition was rather neutral, mentioning only that Gregorius was repeatedly asked for his *littere genealogie*,

¹³ Firea and Pop, *Pictorii*, 131.

¹⁴ Firea and Pop, *Pictorii*, 257–259 (with the essential bibliography).

¹⁵ Firea and Pop, *Pictorii*, 255–257.

¹⁶ Firea and Pop, *Pictorii*, 21–22.

in order to authorize his trade in accordance with the rules of the craft (*sua negotia iuxta consuetudinem contubernii clara, testataque reddere posset* [100]). Yet, he was not able to do this, invoking that all his kindred were already deceased (*universos consanguineos suos, agnatos et affines iam olim vita functos esse* [101–102]). The second painter, Johannes Pictor,¹⁷ declared that he had learned his craft as an apprentice with Gregorius Pictor (*artem suam pictoriam ... apud dictum magistrum Gregorium complevisset* [103–104]) and that he was warned by the other masters that his apprenticeship might not be recognized within the guild. Therefore, Johannes pressed his master again and again to present his *littere genealogie*. Gregorius answered that he was born in Teiuș, but all his relatives were already dead (*in oppido Thywys quidem natus sum, sed omnes propinqui mei ... et affines iam olim mortui sunt* [107–108]), which was understandable since he was already quite old when his fellows were asking for that cursed piece of paper (*fratres, iam senes sumus, nec possumus tales litteras adducere* [110–111]). A second painter, named Johannes (*alter Joannes Pictor*), and the third member of the guild to give a testimony, offered one of the most insightful and vivid perspectives on Gregorius' personality. He seems to have been quite a joker, a detail that can be inferred from his answers to several other witnesses in the trial over time. The second Johannes Pictor (probably the younger one) related that, when the officials of the guild asked Gregorius over and over again: "where are you from?" (*unde ergo es tu?*), the playful painter replied laughing: "I am from the hairy fountain (or spring)" (*de piloso fonte sum* [112]), an allusive, though rather transparent reference to his maternal origin. To be even clearer, the witness reproduced the expression in Hungarian language, his and undoubtedly also Gregorius's maternal tongue: *in sermone ungarico, "zewrkuthy wagyok"* [111–112]. Reportedly, he gave similar witty replies to other witnesses as well: "Where are you coming from?"; "Not from the wood, neither from some stone". (*Unde ergo provenisti? Ex silva ne, an lapide aliquo* [124]). Or, when overwhelmed by recurrent inquiries concerning his origins, Gregorius provided the most irreverent answers, that would have certainly excluded him from the trade: "I do not know, I might be the son of a priest (!) or of some Wallachians, thus I cannot find any kindred or relatives" (*Nescio an alicuius sacerdotis, vel valachi sum filius, ex quo nullos affines et consanguineos reperere possum* [127–128]). In sixteenth century Cluj, such origins would have been considered by the social establishment as "unhealthy background", if one is allowed to refer to Transylvanian Renaissance realities using the terminology preferred later on by Romanian communist authorities. Both extractions (from a priest father, or from an Orthodox Wallachian/Romanian) would have been considered highly inappropriate by the painters' guild. But, nevertheless, it

¹⁷ Firea and Pop, *Pictorii*, 99–100.

could have been partially or even totally true. Perhaps the real reason behind Gregorius’s long absence from his native land was also determined by the intention to conceal his real origins. Let us remember that he spent his childhood in the proximity of a *sacerdos*. Moreover, one should notice that the only testimony from his native Teiuș was given by a woman named Angalith (sic!), the widow of a certain Philippus Olah, most probably a Romanian. After he returned and established himself in Cluj, Gregorius was never keen to re-discover or “proclaim” these origins. In spite of recurrent harassment from the officials of the guild, he continued to run his business, even though he was not meeting the conditions of the guild. Thus, in sixteenth century Cluj (as nowadays) there was still some room for maneuver between established norms and real life.

The business went on, but there is no evidence at all as to how successfully. Unfortunately, there is no hint whatsoever concerning Gregorius’ commissions, commissions or artworks executed by him. Considering the period of his training roughly between 1485–1490 and 1500–1505, he must have been trained in a Late Gothic manner, with some Renaissance influxes (depending on how acquainted the artistic center and his master were to the new trends developing around the year 1500). The repertory of paintings dated to the first half of the sixteenth century and preserved in Cluj (and surrounding area) is very limited. The rather mediocre painted altarpieces from Vlaha (Fig. 3),¹⁸ Călățele (Fig. 4),¹⁹ or Ciuleni²⁰ might be evocative for the style presumably practiced by Gregorius Pictor himself. There is even a fair possibility that one of these works could be attributed to him.

The fortune of our painter was changeable. There were moments in his life when he manifested a rather extravagant lifestyle. One of the witnesses was a cupbearer and a “guitar man” – meaning a musician playing a cord instrument – who had been more than once welcome to the painter’s house (*Calixtus Citharedus ... quod cum olim fuisset vinorum pocillator et citharedus apud ipsum magistrum Gregorium Pictorem persepe laute receptus extitisset* [112–114]). This implies that Gregorius was a bon viveur and he sometimes organized drinking parties with music at his house. This probably happened a long time ago (*olim*) (ca. 1515–1530), when the host was still in his full powers and also when the business went well (the commission for painting was still functioning). Later on, especially after the Reformation started to manifest its effects, the command for art collapsed and things went bad for painters. One of the declarants, Lucas Coriarius (Tanner), stated that in the past (but probably closer to the moment of the testimony,

¹⁸ Emese Sarkadi Nagy, *Local Workshops – Foreign Connections. Late Medieval Altarpieces from Transylvania* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2012), 120–121; Firea, *Polipticele medievale*, 315–316.

¹⁹ Sarkadi Nagy, *Workshops*, 148; Firea, *Polipticele medievale*, 159–161.

²⁰ Marius Porumb, “Muzeul Mitropoliei Clujului,” *Ars Transilvaniae* 22 (2012): 13.

ca. 1530–1540)²¹ Gregorius Pictor was very poor and often borrowed money from him: *sepeditus quondam Gregorius Pictor egestate forte compulsus sepius ad se rogatum pecuniam accessisset* [93–94]. Having enough of lending money to him, Lucas (presumably a neighbor) asked Gregorius if he did not have some relatives that could help him out in this matter: *Mi magister Gregori, sepe venis ad me et rogas pecuniam mutuo. Nonne sunt tibi aliqui consanguinei vel affines qui in istis tuis necessitatibus tibi possent subvenire?* [95–96]. The answer coming from a man in financial need was rather humorous: “Such are my kinsmen and relatives as you, and as the rest of the good men who help me from time to time with some small money” (*tales sunt mei consanguinei et affines ut tu, et reliqui boni viri qui me subinde sua stipe adiuvant* [97]). Pushed by poverty and by the burden of a large household, Gregorius intended to exchange his house, perhaps for a smaller one, thus gaining some extra money. The last testimony attesting him alive, around the Christmas of 1548, concerned this particular matter. A certain Johannes Cleyn (probably a German from Cluj), recently elected as a Centumvir,²² had heard of Gregorius’s intention: *audivi quod per concambium permutare vis domum tuam, ergo si permutare vis, tunc michi dabis* [140].

Since a letter addressed by the council of Turda to the municipality of Cluj on January 19, 1549²³ already contained the claimants’ testimonies in the lawsuit concerning Gregorius’s heritage [28–57], most probably he could not accomplish his plan to move house. The painter died around the New Year’s Eve, and the old house remained (together with the lawsuit to come) to his widow, Catharina. At that moment, she had probably had enough with her late husband, as they had been living a miserable life together. The death of their children profoundly affected the couple, as suggested by different testimonies. The abovementioned Calixtus, *pocillator et citharedus*, had noticed and also addressed Gregorius in the matter of his rudeness towards his unique and legitimate wife: *magister Gregorius duriter uxorem suam tractasset... Quid tam inequaliter, duriterque tractas uxorem tuam? Hec unica tibi est, nec aliquos habetis liberos, sanus esset ut liberaliter istam unicam vita ... tractares* [114–116]. The children died (probably sometime between ca. 1510 and 1515) of unknown causes, but the painter blamed his wife for this tragedy and treated her badly: *pueri ipsius Gregory Pictoris mortui fuissent ac propterea tandem inquiete vixisset cum uxore sua, quasi ipsa in culpa esset mortis puerorum* [120–121]. When the crisis was going on, one apprentice could no longer stand the tension between the husband and his wife and left the

²¹ ...*precedentibus temporibus*, but not *olim*, once upon a time.

²² The elections were held usually at Christmas each year. On the organization of the town of Cluj in sixteenth century, see also the recent work of Ágnes Flóra, *The Matter of Honour. The Leading Urban Elite in Sixteenth Century Transylvania* (Brepols: Tournhout, 2019).

²³ *Datum Thorde, sabbato post Marcelli, anno Domini 1549.*

painter’s workshop (*ob hanc inquietam vitam ... noluisse apud magistrum Gregorium permanere, sed reliquisset eum* [121–122]). He also changed his craft to turner (*torneator*).

When Catharina was finally freed of her conjugal yoke, she must have discovered with great displeasure that her late husband bequeathed her more troubles: litigation with people claiming his legacy, courts, trials and public exposure of her private life. Fortunately, Catharina’s torment ended on June 18, 1549, when the appeal court from Sibiu added the final verdict on the verso of the same document cited in the previous lines: *sententiam dominorum civium Coloswariensium in vigore conservaverunt ex eo quod actores nullis testimoniis et probationibus evidente sese consaguineos esse et quali linea forent, consanguinei forent. Ideo attractam, liberam et absolutam pronunciarunt... .*

To conclude, the explored documentary source offers an exceptionally generous amount of data concerning the biography (and also the particular character or personality) of an artist living in a Transylvanian town in the early Renaissance. While other European regions benefit from much larger documentary evidence, the discussed source is unusually rich in information for this part of the world. Based on the evidence provided by the records of a lawsuit, the historian can reconstruct one of the most detailed biographies of a local early modern artist (painter), as well as his working environment (the social network, the trade, the neighborhood, the town, etc.). Undoubtedly, this documentary source (transcribed in the annex) will prove useful for further inquiries as well.

Annex

31.V.1549. Cluj

Address (on verso): *Prudentibus et circumspcctis magistro civium, iudicibus ac iuratis civibus civitatis Cibiniensis etc., dominis et amicis nobis honorandis*

Prudentes et circumspccti domini, amicique nobis honorandi, salutem et amicitie nostre commendacione. Vestre noverint dominaciones 1/ quod tempore preterito in sede nostra iudiciaria mota est quedam causa inter circumspcctos Ladislaum Azthalos de Thorda 2/ filium circumspccti quondam Elye Azthalos et domine Chaterine, consortis sue, olim in oppido Thorda commorantes, atque 3/ honestam dominam Helenam, filiam predicti Elye Azthalos, nunc consortem circumspccti Francisci Litterati, in oppido Thorda predicto 4/ commorantes, ut auctores ab una, atque honestam dominam Chaterinam, relictam circumspccti quondam Gregorii pictoris, olim 5/ concivis nostri, ut in causam attractam partibus ab alia. Actores igitur, contra attractam proposuerunt in hunc modum 6/ quod quondam Gregorius pictor, olim concivis huius civitatis, maritus predictae domine Chaterine attracte, fuit frater honeste 7/ quondam domine Catherine, consortis providi quondam Elye Azthalos, matris scilicet ipsorum in Thorda commorantium. Ipse ergo Gregorius 8/ Pictor ex vivis decessit, nullumque heredem post se reliquit. Ideo ipsi actores, secundum iura huius civitatis, omnium 9/ bonorum suorum dualitatem optarent eis dari, quia illa bona in ipsos tamquam fratres devoluta sunt. Et pro maiori 10/ testimonio, post mortem Gregorii Pictoris, ipsos huc vocari fecit circumspcctus Petrus Theremy, concivis noster, nunciavitque eis, 11/ tamquam fratribus, ut veniant huc ad revidenda bona quondam Gregorii Pictoris. Res tandem seorsum in domo quondam Gregorii 12/ Pictoris reposuerunt cuius clavem ipsis dederunt, quam et nunc apud se habent ex rebus quibus ipsius Gregorii Pictoris aliquam 13/ partem ad manus ipsorum dederunt. Ideo ipsi, tamquam fratres, dualitatem omnium bonorum predicti Gregorii Pictoris 14/ secundum iura huius civitatis ad manus ipsorum dari optant. Contra quorum proposita attracta respondit in 15/ hunc modum quod ipsa hoc nescit, quod si actores isti, vel mater ipsorum, fratres domini sui fuerunt, et si pro ipsis miserunt 16/ ut huc veniant ad videnda bona, hoc etiam ipsa nescit quis vocari fecit ipsos, quia non voluntate sua venerunt huc, sed 17/ solummodo actores ipsi sese fratres domini sui duxerunt et hac condicione res et bona domini domini sui secessum poni fecerunt, clavemque 18/ illius acceperunt ipsi tammodo tale testimonium non prohibuerunt de hoc quod quondam dominus suus frater ipsorum vel matris ipsorum fuisset, 19/ sed sub hoc tempus aliqua eciam ex rebus quondam domini sui ipsi actores ad manus ipsorum acceperunt, quas attracta 20/ ab eis reddi et restitui optat. Si ius dat infra decisionem litis tam diu quousque probare poterint actores id quod 21/ in qua linea consanguinitatis sunt ipsi actores fratres

domini sui, vel mater ipsorum actorum qua in linea consanguinitatis 22/ fuerit consanguinea domini sui, probent ergo actores illud, quia ipsa nescit, et neque intelligit. Inter hec verba quidam 23/ sororius attracte nomine Blasius Kerekes dixit actoribus: non intelligimus inquit, unde, et qualis fratres essetis vos 24/ qui ad hoc respondissent, quare hunc nos huc vocari fecistis denegate tunc nos quod non sumus fratres. Tunc ad hoc attracta 25/ hoc non respondit, ego non denego. Ad hoc verbum ipsi actores coram domino iudice nostro et suo assessore protestacionem fecerunt. 26/ Hiis ergo auditis, dominus iudex noster, cum suo assessore, causam parcium ambarum ad probabilia admisit documenta. 27/ Actores ergo in testimonium ipsorum produxerunt unas litteras que erant sub hoc tenore: Prudentibus ac circumspectis dominis, 28/ iudicis, iuratisque civibus civitatis Coloswariensis, amicis et vicinis nobis semper honorandis. Iudex, iuratique cives 29/ civitatis Thordensis, prudentes ac circumspecti domini, amici et vicini nobis semper honorandi, salutem et nostram sinceram commendacionem. 30/ Quia providi Ladislaus Azthalos et domina Elena cum suo marito Francisco Litterato, filii relicte iam pie memorie domine Chatarine, 31/ consortis quondam Elie Azthalos, cives et commansores nostri petierent nos, ut testes, pro tuicione cause sue coram vobis mota 32/ ex concivibus nostris productos, more alio solito, communi lege requirente, admitteremus eorumque fassiones sub sigillo 33/ civitatis nostre minore ad vetras dominaciones rescriberemus, quorum quidem postulatis admises. Nos testes infrascriptos fateri 34/ et examinari fecimus qui deposito prius singulorum firmissimo iuramento fassi sunt modo prout sequitur. Chatarina consors 35/ Fabiani Dobos fassa est se de linea consanguinitatis inter Gregorium pictorem et relictam quondam Elie Azthalos nihil 36/ novisse, sed tempore mortis dicti Gregorii, presente se, Petrus Theremy et consors Gregorii demortui orassent ipsam ut 37/ mortem Gregorii annunciaret consanguineis eius, uti transcenderent, viderent porro quid boni frater ipsorum haberet quid 38/ vero non ne plus minus tandem affirmaverent ipsum habuisse etc. Paulus Ember fassus est quod cum Franciscum Litteratum ipse 39/ transportaverit, fuerintque in domo Gregorii defuncti hospitati, uxor eiusdem quesivisset testem quo non modo sentiret ipsos 40/ viro ac marito suo fratres fuisse carnales qui testis sic respondeat: Ego, inquit, ita audivi ab ipsis quod mater defuncte 41/ iamdicte domine Chatarine cum patre Gregorii Pictoris fuissent ambo uterini. Ad que, dicta uxor Gregorii respondit: sic 42/ et ipsa inquit ita audivi a meo misero marito et absque lite concordarem cum ipsis, verum tamen ipse Ladislaus et Elena 43/ materna eius, simili preminunt iracundia cum marito meo. Sebastianus Lutifigulus audisse se ab ore 44/ relicte Elie Azthalos asserit quod sepissime dixerit ipsam, unicum fratrem, Gregorium videlicet Pictorem, habere se in Coloswar. 45/ Elyzabeth consors Michaelis Pwskas fassa quod cum semel fuisset cum ipsa relicta Elie Azthalos Coloswarini dixerit 46/ ipsa relicta: Veniamus, inquit, ad Hydwcza visitature unicum ibi fratrem meum, qui si mori contingeret, eius bona 47/ universa de iure ad me devolverentur. Elena, consors Mathie Azthalos, fassa est se scire quod semel dicta relicta 48/ Elie Azthalos omnes res suas ad Gregorium Pictorem comportaverit que dixit preter hunc

unicum fratrem non habeo. 49/ Barbara Zytha relicta fassa est quod cum semel fuisset in Coloswar, memoratus Gregorius obiavit eam interrogans 50/ ut valet, inquit, consanguinea mea nosti eam ipsa testis quam ille Chatarinam Elie Azthalos novi bene valet, 51/ ille iterum illa michi propinquior consanguinea non est. Agatha, consors Petri Zenyessy, fassa est se ex ore relicte Elie 52/ Azthalos audivisse se non habere propinquiorem consanguineum ipso Gregorio Pictore. Chatarina, relicta Elie Zytha, cum 53/ fassionibus precedentium duarum testium, sua rite concordat fassione per omnem modum. Hec sunt fassiones testium quas 54/ nos vestris dominacionibus fide nostra mediante rescripsimus, rogamusque easdem velint hiis nostris miseris fratribus iuris compendium 55/ sine aliqua longa exequitione iuris administrari facere. Quod vestris dominacionibus maioribus gratificari studebimus valere easdem 56/ felices esse optamus. Datum Thorde, sabbato post Marcelli, anno Domini 1549.²⁴ Item actores produxerunt 57/ aliasquoque litteras que erant sub hoc tenore: Prudenti et circumspecto iudici Stephano Barath etc., domino nobis colenti et 58/ Observandissimo, servicium et amiciciam cum omni honore. Honorabiles et circumspetti domini iudices et iurati, 59/ venit coram nos his Ladislaus Azthalos et quesevit probacionem et fassionem. Et relicta Phillippi Olah, nomine Angalyth 60/ iurata et fassa est coram nos iudice Benedicto Barany et coram suis iuratis talem fassionem ex quo ex ore audivit 61/ hec Angalit, coniux Philippi Olah, ut coniux Elie Azthalos et Pictor Gregorius unus fuit et fuerunt de Thewys 62/ nati. Datum in Thewys feria quinta ante Reminiscere 1549.²⁵ Item produxerunt actores et aliasquoque litteras que 63/ erant sub hoc tenore: Prudenti et circumspecto iudici Stephano Barath²⁶ iudici Coloswariensis cum suis iuratis, domino 64/ collendissimo et observandissimo. Benedictus Barany, iudex oppidi Thewys, salutem et amiciciam cum omni honore. 65/ Prudentes et circumspetti iudices et iurati significamus tenore presencium nos iudices, Benedictus Barany, et iurati 66/ ex quo relicta Philippi Olah, nomine Angalit, iurata fassa est coram nos ut hec relicta Philippi Olah Angalit ex 67/ proprio ore audivit relicte Helie Azthalos ut unus esset cum Pictore Gregorio, relicta Elie Azthalos hec fassa est 68/ cum iuramento. Valere vestram amiciciam optamus, Deus conservet multo. Anno 1549. Datum in Thewys, feria quinta 69/ post Reminiscere.²⁷ Quid omiserat rector vicium ipsius scriptoris erut. Item actores produxerunt et aliorumquoque testes nostros 70/ concives²⁸ qui iuramento ipsorum deposito fassi sunt modo infrascripto. Item Michael Aurifaber fassus est quod scit 71/ hoc que uxor Elie Azthalos hospitata est apud Gregorium Pictorem et audivit

²⁴ 19 January 1549.

²⁵ 14 March 1549.

²⁶ István Baráth = Steffen München (/Monk) was the member of an important family of Cluj. He was appointed several times as *iudex regius* in the middle of sixteenth century. (I thank Zsolt Kovács for this information).

²⁷ 21 March 1549.

²⁸ Superscript: "et alios eciam".

ab ipso Gregorio Pictore quod dixit hoc 72/ quod ipsa est sibi cognata,²⁹ sed nescit ipse testis per quem modum. Item honesta domina Anna, relicta circumspetti 73/ quondam Gasparis Alperth, fassa est eodem modo ut supradictus Michael Aurifaber. Item providus Laurencius Alperth, 74/ filius predicti Gasparis Alperth, fassus est eodem modo sicut mater sua predicta. Item circumspectus Thomas Bachy 75/ fassus est quod tempore preterito requirebant unam cuppam super Gregorium Pictorem et dicebat ipse Gregorius Pictor quod indigne 76/ requierunt super eum. Et dixisset ipse Gregorius testi quod ipse adhuc tempore conflictus in Campo Kynyr³⁰ habuisset unam 77/ consanguineam in Thywys. Item circumspectus Andreas Renold fassus est quod tempore preterito venit ad eum Gregorius 78/ Pictor et dixit ei veni, inquit, ad me quia nunc venerunt aliqui fratres qui requierunt aliquid super me, ipsum ergo 79/ pro testimonio vocasset. Et ipse testis illuc ivisset ubi et alii etiam erant et dixissent Gregorio Pictori aliqui 80/ vade, inquit, ad Thordam et certifica tuum negotium quia mulier valde infirmatur qui respondisset: Ego non vadam. 81/ Item providus Thomas Litteratus de Thorda fassus est quod tercio anno ab hiuc, dum hic habitaret in scola litteraria, 82/ una dierum exiens invenisset eum Gregorius Pictor et ad se vocasset quem interrogasset unde esset, ille se 83/ respondisset esse de Thorda, et eum testis interrogaret ipsum quod quaeras ipse hoc interroget, respondisset 84/ Gregorius Pictor: Ideo, inquit, quia ibi ego fratrem habeo. Noscis ne inquit uxorem Elie Azthalos, testis 85/ respondisset se illam bene noscere et dixisset ipse illa, inquit, michi cognata et frater³¹ est. Rogo ergo te 86/ ut dum Thordam transuri gravetis, michi potefac aliqua enim sibi nunciabo. Item providus Paulus 87/ Nagh in possessione Colosmonosthra residens fassus est quod ipse audivit ab ore Gregorii Pictoris hoc quod hoc 88/ dixit quod ipse cum uxore Elie Azthalos frater uterinus est. Huic autem testi attracta contradixit hac ratione quod 89/ nequam ipsimet actores dicunt tam propinquam consanguinitatem sicut is testis fatetis fassioni. Tamen eius dominus 90/ iudex noster cum suo assessore iuridice locum dedit nosquoque iurati cives locum dedimus. Attractaquoque produxit 91/ testes suos, concives nostros, qui singuli iuramento ipsorum deposito fassi sunt. Primus itaque testis circumspectus Lucas 92/ Coriarius fassus est in hunc modum quod cum precedentibus temporibus sepedictus quondam Gregorius Pictor egestate forte compulsus 93/ sepius ad se rogatum pecuniam accessisset. Eidem nonnumquam denarios triginta, aliquid eciam plus. Minusque dedisset mutuo 94/ ubi aliquocies ipsum interrogasset et secum colloquutus fuisset in hec verba: Mi magister Gregori, sepe venis ad me 95/ et rogas pecuniam mutuo. Nonne sunt tibi aliqui consanguinei vel affines qui in istis tuis necessitatibus tibi possent 96/ subvenire? Respondisset: Tales sunt mei consanguinei et affines ut tu, et reliqui boni viri qui me subinde sua stipe 97/ adjuvant. Secundus testis: Circumspectus Anthonius Pictor fassus est in

²⁹ Strikethrough "~~consanguinea~~".

³⁰ The Battle of Câmpul Pâinii (Kenyérmező), 13 October 1479.

³¹ Strikethrough "~~consanguinea~~".

hunc modum quod dum ipse Magister Gregorius 98/ ad contubernium ceterorum magistrorum pictorum accedere debeat dicti magistri sepius ipsum super adducentis litteris genealogie sue 99/ sollicitassent, quibus sua negotia iuxta consuetudinem contubernii clara, testataque reddere posset, sed nunquam potuissent efficere 100/ ut tales litteras adduxisset, cumque acriter in hoc ipsum urgerent dixisset: universos consanguineos suos, agnatos et affines 101/ iam olim vita functos esse, postremo aliquocies hysce hortatibus pulsus, ita semel ipsum explicuisset quod cum tempore posset 102/ tales adducere litteras. Tertius testis circumspectus Joannes Pictor fassus est in hunc modum quod ex quo artem suam 103/ pictoriam iuxta annos sue erudicionis apud dictum magistrum Gregorium complevisset. Sepius magistri pictores sibi 104/ exprobrassent quasi minus esset contubernio idoneus ex quo apud talem magistrum artem suam perdidicisset, qui litteras sue 105/ genealogie iuxta contubernii consuetudinem non haberet. Hoc parte compulsus fuisset eundem magistrum Gregorium sepissime adire 106/ et admonere quo huic negotio mature consuleret, litterasque sue genealogie adduceret. Qui respondisset: in oppido Thywys 107/ quidem natus sum, sed omnes propinqui mei, inquit, et affines iam olim mortui sunt. Quartus testis circumspectus 108/ alter Joannes Pictor fassus est in hunc modum quod aliquocies in cehe magistrorum pictorum ipsum magistrum Gregorium 109/ super adducentibus litteris sue genealogie et sui ipsius notificatione sollicitassent, molestassentque. Ipse vero dixisset: Fratres, iam 110/ senes sumus, nec possumus tales litteras adducere, ac cum similis verbis sepe ipsum ursissent dicentes: Unde ergo 111/ es tu? Ridendo respondisset: de piloso fonte sum, in sermone ungarico, "zewrkuthy wagyok". Quintus testis 112/ providus Calixtus Citharedus fassus est in hunc modum quod cum olim fuisset vinorum pocillator et citharedus, apud ipsum 113/ magistrum Gregorium Pictorem persepe laute receptus extitisset ubi cum vidisset qualiter idem magister Gregorius duriter 114/ uxorem suam tractasset, illi dixisset: Quid tam inequaliter, duriterque tractas uxorem tuam? Hec unica tibi est, nec aliquos habetis 115/ liberos, sanus esset ut liberaliter istam unicam vita comite tractares. Quoniam statim post mortem tuam aliqui affines 116/ consanguineique tui alicunde consurgentes venient et preter meritum omnia bona tua occupantes distrahent, ubi dictus 117/ magister Gregorius dixisset: Nulli michi, inquit, sunt consanguinei, neque affines, nisi hec unica uxor mea. Sextus 118/ testis honesta domina Margaretha, consors Blasy Textoris, fassa est quod prior maritus suus olim apud dictum 119/ Gregorium Pictorem in serviciis existens, pueri ipsius Gregory Pictoris mortui fuissent ac propterea tandem inquiete vixisset 120/ cum uxore sua, quasi ipsa in culpa esset mortis puerorum. Ob hanc inquietam vitam maritus fateri noluisset apud 121/ magistrum Gregorium permanere, sed reliquisset eum. Cui eciam prius sepius dixisset: Quid tumultuaris propter mortem puerorum 122/ cum uxore tua, nonne habes affines adhuc et consanguineos? Qui illi respondisset: Nullos habeo. Cui rursus dixisset: 123/ Unde ergo provenisti? Ex silva ne, an lapide aliquo. Et dum apud torneatorem maritum scilicet istius fatens pro fabro fiens 124/ globulis, vexilis apponens egisset, dictus maritus suus illi magistro Gregorio

expossuisset qualiter ex parte czehe plurimas 125/ fatigas haberet, respondisset magister Gregorius: ibidem michi quoque contigit cum nullas litteras genealogie mee adducere 126/ possum et subdidisset dicens: Nescio an alicuius sacerdotis, vel valachi sum filius, ex quo nullos affines et consanguineos 127/ reperere possum. Item Thorde apud Eliam mensatorem simul hospicio excepti vidisset ipsa fatens. Qualiter magister 128/ Gregorius cum uxore dicti hospitis per humaniter iocaretur unde prenota interrogasset dictam uxorem dicti 129/ hospitis an ipsa esset affinis vel consanguinea dicti Gregory, que respondisset: Ita sum illi consanguinea ut tu. 130/ Ac postmodum exinde dictus magister Gregorius sumpta occasione declaravisset qualiter se habeat negocium 131/ mutuo cognicionis inter se et uxorem supradicti Helie mensatoris, dicens quod cum puer fuisset apud quendam sacerdotem 132/ in oppido Thywys educatus extitisset, ubi quoque matre istius uxoris Helie, que etiam tunc puella parva fuisset, habitasset 133/ quam matrem, dictus sacerdos sororem appellitasset. Ibi itaque pariter ut pueri viventes quicquid ut eique porrectum et datum 134/ fuisset inter se dividissent et perunde ut ipse Gregorius dictam puellam sororem appelasset, ita eadem se fratrem vocasset. 135/ Postmodum, ipse Gregorius ex hoc regno ad exterarum nationes perductus fuisset, ubi plus minus annis viginti quinque 136/ permansisset et cum redire voluisset, adhuc memor dicte puelle eidem unum rosarium adduxisset. Cum autem rediisset, 137/ iam uxor dicti Helie mensatoris fuisset habens liberos. Septimus testis circumspectus Joannes Cleyn fassus 138/ est in hunc modum quod in preterita Nativitate Domini³² fuit inter dominos centum electos communitatis nostre et dixit Gregorio Pictori: 139/ Sororie audivi quod per concambium permutare vis domum tuam, ergo si permutare vis, tunc michi dabis, tamen sorory summus. 140/ Tunc dixit ei: quis dixit tibi? Respondit testis, dictum est michi, sed si hoc facere volueris, nunc fac hoc, quia ecce 141/ Thorde etiam cognatos habes, et fortasses postea te illi in hoc tuo proposito impedirent quod facere tandem non poteris. Qui 142/ Gregorius Pictor ad hoc hec respondisset: cuiusmodi cognatos habeo, dicunt quidem ipsi, sed ego nescio illos unde 143/ essent michi cognati. Hys igitur intellectis, dominus iudex noster cum suo assessore inter partes predictas 144/ talem tulit sententiam: Quod ipsa in causam attracta terciam³³ et iuramentum suum deponat super hoc, quod ipsa 145/ non audivit a suo domino quondam Gregorio Pictore quod uxor Elye Azthalos, mater actorum, et actores sibi 146/ consanguinei et fratres fuissent. Si iuramentum suum super hoc deposuerit, extunc ab acquisitione et impetitione 147/ actorum libera et absoluta maneat. Si autem iuramentum suum modo premissis non deposuerit, extunc teneatur ipsis 148/ actoribus dualitatem universorum et singulorum domini sui pure extradare et manibus ipsorum assignare. De qua 149/ quidem sententia domini iudicis nostri actores contenti non sunt, attracta etiam non est contenta, sed ambe partes hanc 150/ causam per viam

³² 25 December 1548.

³³ Correct: *tercium*.

appellacionis in conspectum nostrum iuratorum civium prononciaverunt. Nos igitur iurati cives 151/ denuo auditis ambarum partium propositionibus, allegationibus, responsis et probabilibus documentis in hac causa 152/ talem tulimus sententiam: Quod ex quo actores probare non potuerunt hoc quod in linea consanguinitatis fuit mater 153/ ipsorum et ipsi consanguinei predicto quondam Gregorio Pictori marito attracte, ideo ipsam attractam nullum iuramentum 154/ deponat, sed ab adquisicione actorum ipsorum libera et absoluta maneat. De qua nostra sententia attracta contenta 155/ est, actores vero non sunt contenti, sed causam cum tota serie adiudicacionis nostre in conspectum vestrarum 156/ dominacionum pronotaverunt et appellaverunt quam illuc transmisimus. Deinde noverint dominaciones vestre quod post 157/ edictam et prononciatam nostram sententiam, actores adduxerunt nobis unas litteras preceptorias reverendissimi domini thesaurary 158/ et locumtenentis etc. domini nostri gratiosi super hoc ut fassionem circumspecti Anthony Litterati, concivis nostri, audiremus et 159/ super fassione ipsius litteras nostras eisdem actoribus dare debeamus, iuris ipsorum ad cautelam. Dum igitur ipse 160/ Anthonius Litteratus fassionem facere vellet. Attracta fassione sue contradixit asserentem quod ipse fateri non potest in causa actorum 161/ Quia antea ipse procurabat in causa actorum, iudicium antea ipsum amovit de hoc, ut scilicet ipse in causa 162/ actorum contra attractam procurare non potest secundum consuetudinem et iura civitatis nostre. Ideo istud nos iudicialiter 163/ revidimus et iuridice nobis visum est, quod propter premissas causas ipse Anthonius Litteratus in causa actorum fassionem 164/ facere non potest. Super hoc eciam actores non sunt contenti, sed ad vestras dominaciones appellaverint. Vestras dominaciones Deus 165/ altissimus conservet sanas, et felices ad vota. Datum in civitate Coloswar, feria sexta proxima post festum 166/ Ascensionis Domini, anno eiusdem 1549³⁴ 167/.

Sentence of the appeal court of Sibiu (on verso):

1549 feria tertia ante Corporis Christi³⁵ / In eam causa in premissibus litteris expressata domini / consulatus Cibiniensis iudicarie deliberantes / sententiam dominorum civium Coloswariensium in vigore / conservaverunt ex eo quod actores nullis / testimoniis et probationibus evidente sese / consanguineos esse et quali linea forent, / consanguinei forent. Ideo attractam, liberam / et absolutam prononciarunt et ex parte / Anthony Litterati fassionis in vigore / retinuerunt. Actores citius / appellaverunt.

³⁴ 31 May 1549.

³⁵ 18 June 1549.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Balogh Jolán. *Az erdélyi renaissance (1460–1541)*. Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1943.
- Balogh Jolán. *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század*. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1985.
- Firea, Ciprian. *Polipticele medievale din Transilvania: artă, liturghie, patronaj*. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2016.
- Firea, Ciprian. “O breaslă a pictorilor la Cluj în secolul al XVI-lea? Mărturii documentare inedite,” in *Cluj - Kolozsvár - Klausenburg - 700. Studii de istorie urbană*, edited by Mária Lupescu Makó et al., 345–350 (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2018).
- Firea, Ciprian, and Adinel Dincă. “Breslele artistice din Transilvania medievală și regulamentele lor. Un statut nou descoperit de la Bistrița.” *Ars Transsilvaniae* 25–26 (2015–2016): 173–184.
- Firea, Ciprian, and Saveta Pop. *Pictorii Transilvaniei medievale (cca 1300–1600). Un Dicționar*. Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2021.
- Flóra Ágnes. *The Matter of Honour. The Leading Urban Elite in Sixteenth Century Transylvania*. Tournhout: Brepols, 2019.
- Goldenberg, Samuil. *Clujul în sec. XVI. Producția și schimbul de mărfuri*. București: Editura Academiei, 1958.
- Kovács András, “Arhitectura și sculptura Renașterii.” In *Arta din România. Din preistorie în contemporaneitate*, edited by Răzvan Theodorescu, and Marius Porumb, 511–592. București, Cluj-Napoca: Editura Academiei Române, Editura Mega, 2018.
- Mihály Melinda. “Monumente renaștentiste, baroce și neoclasiche din patrimoniul Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei.” PhD diss., “Babeș-Bolyai University”, Cluj-Napoca, 2013.
- Porumb, Marius. “Muzeul Mitropoliei Clujului.” *Ars Transsilvaniae* 22 (2012): 5–24.
- Sarkadi Nagy Emese. *Local Workshops – Foreign Connections. Late Medieval Altarpieces from Transylvania*. Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2012.
- Sebestyén, Gheorghe, and Victor Sebestyén. *Arhitectura Renașterii în Transilvania*. București: Editura Academiei, 1963.
- Van Bueren, Truus. “Care for the Here and the Hereafter: A Multitude of Possibilities,” in *Care for the Here and the Hereafter. Memoria, Art and Ritual in the Middle Ages*, edited by Truus van Bueren, 13–28. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005.
- Vătășianu, Virgil. *Istoria artei feudale în țările române*. București: Editura Academiei, 1959.

Illustrations

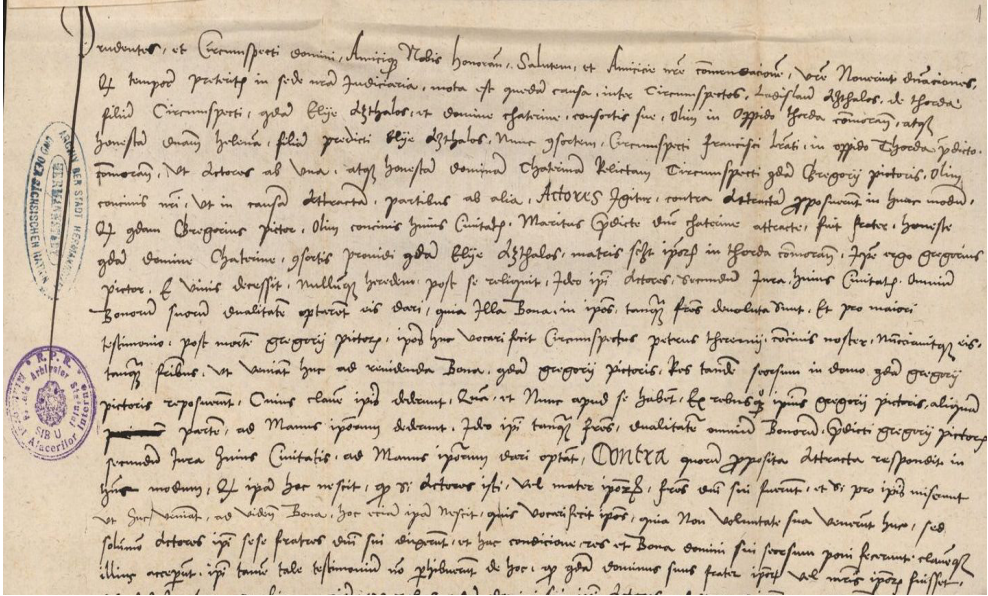


Fig. 1. The document from arhivamedievala.ro (SIAN: SB-F-00001-1-U4-571). Detail. (photo: arhivamedievala.ro)

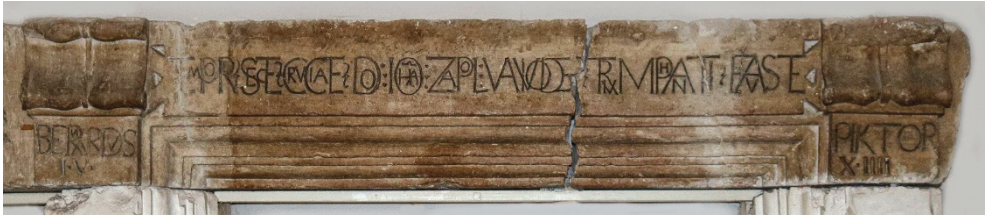


Fig. 2. Door frame of the house of Bernardus Pictor, once in Platea Pontis / Híd Utca (now in the National Museum of History of Transylvania, inventory no. F 2749, VI. 1680) (photo: Museum)

“DE PILOSO FONTE SUM”: ON DISHONORABLE BACKGROUNDS, LAWSUITS,
GUILDS, AND ARTISANS IN EARLY RENAISSANCE CLUJ



Fig. 3. The altarpiece of Vlaha, Cluj County (now in Batthyaneum, Alba Iulia, inv. no. 452)
(photo: C. Firea)



Fig. 4. The smaller altarpiece from Călățele, Cluj County (now in the Museum of the Orthodox Metropolis in Cluj). Detail (photo: C. Firea)