

Contributions to the Graphics of Early Romanian Books Printed in Buda (1796–1827)

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In memory of Ioan Chindriș (1938–2015)

This article examines six previously unstudied engravings and lithographs identified in four publications printed at the University Press of Buda between 1796 and 1827. Existing research on the graphic art of early Romanian books printed at Buda is expanded, demonstrating that the visual repertoire of this important printing centre was richer and more diverse than previously assumed. The corpus consists of an allegorical engraving from “Θησαυρὸς Γραμματικῆς” (The Treasure of Grammar), 1796, a portrait of the Banat scholar Ioan Tomici in “Cultura albinelor” (Beekeeping), 1823, and four illustrations included in the Serbian-language “Банатскій алманахъ” (Almanac of Banat), 1826–1827. Through iconographic and bibliographical analysis, the article identifies new connections between Romanian, Greek, Serbian, and Central European cultural environments. It also re-examines the place of publication of the first two issues of the Almanac of Banat, arguing that they were printed at Buda rather than Timișoara. Special attention is paid to the role of images as vehicles of cultural, educational, historical, and identity-building messages and underscores the multicultural character of publishing activity at Buda during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Keywords: Buda University Press; early Romanian books; book illustration; engravings; lithography; Almanac of Banat; Ioan Tomici; Dimitrije P. Tirol; John Hunyadi; Banat.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Romanians in Transylvania became increasingly aware of their ethnic and national belonging to the wider Romanian community. Books printed for Romanian readers in Blaj, Bucharest, Iași, Buda, Vienna, and elsewhere made a significant contribution to the affirmation and development of national consciousness.¹ Nevertheless, because restrictive measures were enforced in Wallachia and

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¹ See for details: Sorin Mitu, *Geneza identității naționale la românii ardeleni* (București: Humanitas, 1997).

Moldavia through the dual censorship exercised by both the Church and the princely authorities, while in Transylvania publishing activity focused mainly on religious works, Romanian authors from all three Romanian lands turned primarily to the University Press of Buda for the publication of their writings, whether original works or translations. This press also accepted commissioned printing projects.² As a result, this printing house pursued a far more flexible editorial policy, and, through its output, anticipated “by more than half a century the appearance of similar works in the Romanian Principalities.”³ Despite numerous obstacles, books printed at Buda circulated widely throughout all Romanian lands. After its relocation to Buda in 1777, the University Press passed from the supervision of the Catholic Church to that of the state⁴ and became an important printing centre for the cultural movements that fostered the development of the national languages of the different peoples of the Habsburg Monarchy, during the Enlightenment and Reform era.⁵

The Romanian section of the University Press of Buda⁶ played a highly important role in the advancement of Romanian scholarship, culture, and spirituality, as well as in the preservation of national consciousness, at the end of the eighteenth century and during the first decades of the nineteenth century. It is worth recalling that, for a time, Samuil Micu, Gheorghe Șincai, and Petru Maior – the distinguished representatives of the Transylvanian School – served there as censors and proofreaders.

² Mircea Tomescu, *Istoria cărții românești de la începuturi până la 1918* (București: Editura Științifică, 1968), 93, 120–21.

³ Domokos Sámuel, *Tipografia din Buda. Contribuția ei la formarea științei și literaturii române din Transilvania la începutul secolului al XIX-lea* (Giula-Gyula: Noi, 1994), 5.

⁴ In 1577, Miklós Telegdi, Bishop of Pécs and administrator of the Archdiocese of Esztergom, founded a Catholic printing house in Nagyszombat/Tyrnavia, present-day Trnava, initially intended to combat the Reformation by printing religious and liturgical texts. After the foundation of the Jesuit University of Nagyszombat in 1635, the printing house became a university press and continued to operate in that city until 1777, when it was transferred to Buda together with the University, following the decree issued by Empress Maria Theresa. See Andrei Veress, “Tipografia românească din Buda,” *Boabe de grâu*, no. III (December 1932): 593; Zsuzsanna Varga, “The Buda University Press and National Awakenings in Habsburg Austria,” in *The Matica and Beyond: Cultural Associations and Nationalism in Europe*, eds. Lajos Krisztina and Stynen Andreas (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 12.

⁵ István Käfer, *Az egyetemi nyomda négyszáz éve, 1577–1977* (Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1977), 104.

⁶ In 1777, when the University and the Printing House left the city of Tyrnavia/Nagyszombat/Sâmbăta Mare, both institutions found new premises in Buda. The University remained there only until 1784, when it moved permanently to Pest. Thus, the expression “the University Printing House of Buda,” used in historiography, refers, after 1784, to the Buda Printing House of the University of Pest.

Given the significance of this institution, I became particularly interested in its activity and legacy. Having carefully examined the substantial bibliography devoted to this cosmopolitan centre, where the progressive ideas of the West were harmoniously combined with those of the East, I observed that, although the graphic appearance of its publications is both interesting and worthy of appreciation, it has received insufficient scholarly attention. Consequently, I decided to investigate this topic in my doctoral dissertation (2007–2011), completed under the supervision of the historian Ioan Chindriș. The results of this research were published at the end of 2011 in the monograph *Din istoria și arta cărții românești vechi: gravura de la Buda (1780–1830)* (*Studies in the History and Art of Early Romanian Books: Graphic Art at Buda (1780–1830)*).⁷

During the period under consideration, the University Press of Buda printed books in sixteen languages.⁸ Of this multilingual output, I examined approximately 250 titles⁹ constituting the Romanian corpus, preserved in major libraries in Romania,¹⁰ as well as in Budapest,¹¹ Vienna,¹² and Chișinău.¹³ In addition, a research stage in Moscow provided access to valuable information concerning engravings found in books depicting the Napoleonic era, particularly those related to the Russian campaigns.¹⁴

The earliest of the approximately 250 titles examined were initially published in Romanian using the Latin alphabet and Hungarian orthography. Following the acquisition of Cyrillic type in 1795 from the printing

⁷ Anca Elisabeta Tatay, *Din istoria și arta cărții românești vechi: gravura de la Buda (1780–1830)* (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2011), 500 p.

⁸ László Sziklay, “Les courants idéologiques, littéraires et artistiques dans les publications de l’Imprimerie Universitaire de Buda,” in *Typographia Universitatis Hungaricae Budaë, 1777–1848*, ed. Péter Király (Budapest: Akadémiai Kladó, 1983), 45.

⁹ See the list in Tatay, *Din istoria și arta cărții românești vechi*, 432–42; Ioan Chindriș, Niculina Iacob, Eva Mârza, Tatay, Otilia Urs, Bogdan Crăciun, Roxana Moldovan and Ana Maria Roman-Negoi, *Cartea românească veche în Imperiul Habsburgic (1691–1830). Recuperarea unei identități culturale / The Early Printed Romanian Book in the Habsburg Empire (1691–1830). Recovery of a Cultural Identity* (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2016) (from now on CRV IH), 364–589.

¹⁰ Cluj-Napoca, București, Sibiu, Alba Iulia, Brașov, Galați, Oradea, Târgu Mureș.

¹¹ Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Könyvtára, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára.

¹² Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Universitätsbibliothek Wien.

¹³ National Library of the Republic of Moldova; “A. Lupan” Central Scientific Library of the Academy of Sciences of Moldova.

¹⁴ Tatay, “Les images de l’époque napoléonienne dans les livres roumains anciens imprimés à Buda (1814–1815),” in *Affinités latines. La culture, élément des relations franco-roumaines*, eds. Ana-Maria Girleanu-Guichard and Jean-Noël Grandhomme (Centre de Recherche Universitaire Lorrain d’Histoire: Université de Lorraine, 2018), 215–24.

house of Stefan von Novaković in Vienna,¹⁵ books were subsequently printed in Romanian with the Cyrillic alphabet, as well as in Latin, Greek, German, and Hungarian. A total of 90 illustrations were identified and analysed, evenly divided between religious and secular subjects (45 of each). Executed in wood, metal, or stone,¹⁶ they were supplemented by numerous headpieces and vignettes.¹⁷

Subsequently, between 2012 and 2016, as a member of the research team of the CRV IH project, I was entrusted with the study of the University Press of Buda. This provided an opportunity to re-examine the approximately 250 volumes previously investigated, leading to several new discoveries and prompting a reassessment of some earlier conclusions.

The present article is intended as a supplement to my study of the graphic art of early Romanian books printed at Buda. It discusses six previously unexamined illustrations¹⁸ – engravings and lithographs – identified in four publications: *Θησαυρὸς Γραμματικῆς* (*The Treasure of Grammar*), 1796; *Cultura albinelor* (*Beekeeping*), 1823; Банатскій алманахъ за годину 1827 (*The Almanac of Banat for the Year 1827*), 1826; Банатскій алманахъ за годину 1828 (*The Almanac of Banat for the Year 1828*), 1827. Although only one of these publications is written in Romanian, all four were included in the corpus because they circulated within the Romanian cultural milieu and formed part of the intellectual and cultural horizons of Romanian readers of the period.

1. Allegorical Composition, *Θησαυρὸς Γραμματικῆς* (*The Treasure of Grammar*), vol. I, Buda, 1796

The decision to include *Θησαυρὸς Γραμματικῆς* (*The Treasure of Grammar*) in the volume *The Early Printed Romanian Book in the Habsburg Empire (1691–1830). Recovery of a Cultural Identity*¹⁹ required us to re-

¹⁵ He, in turn, acquired the Cyrillic type from Iosif Kurczbok, who had also printed Romanian books under the twenty-year privilege granted by Empress Maria Theresa in 1770. See for details Emilian Micu, “Din istoria culturală a românilor din Austro-Ungaria. Contribuiri fragmentare la istoria tipografiei Ilirice-Românești din Viena, 1770–1793 și 1795,” *Transilvania*, Year XLI (ianuarie/aprilie 1910): 17, 21; Käfer, *Az egyetemi nyomda*, 118; Mârza, “Introduction,” in CRV IH, 104, 110.

¹⁶ Tatay, *Din istoria și arta cărții*, 382, 443–47.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, 381, 448–51.

¹⁸ Only the first of these has recently received scholarly attention. See Tatay, “Elemente de medicină (boală, leac, personalități) în grafica de carte românească veche (1701–1830),” *Altarul Reîntregirii*, No. 3 (2024): 81–85, fig. 15; Idem, “Elements of Medicine (Disease, Remedy, Figures) in Romanian Book Graphics, 1701–1830,” *Études Bibliologiques / Library Research Studies*, No. 6 (2024): 125–26, fig. 15.

¹⁹ CRV IH, 368–69.

consider²⁰ the status of this book and to integrate its only engraving, a remarkable **Allegorical Composition** (Fig. 1),²¹ into the broader field of early Romanian book graphics.

Written by Constantin Karaioanis and edited by Polyzois Kontos, *Θησαυρὸς Γραμματικῆς* was published in Buda in two volumes in 1796–1797. Its importance is further enhanced by the fact that it was the first Greek work printed in this typographic centre. The first volume contains a metal engraving signed “Inven. S. Polizoi Codus,” a formula indicating that the composition was conceived by the editor himself. The interpretation of the image must therefore begin with the presentation of the two figures directly involved in the making of the book: Constantin Karaioanis, its author, and Polyzois Kontos, its editor.

Constantin Karaioanis, known as Kiril after entering monastic life, was born in Trikala, probably around 1725, and died, it seems, around 1810. In 1765, he served as personal physician to Grigore Alexandru Ghica, Prince of Moldavia during the periods 1764–1767 and 1774–1777. A cultivated scholar trained in the West, with medical studies pursued in Naples, Karaioanis became one of the prince’s trusted advisers and collaborators. He also played an important role in the organisation of Moldavian educational institutions, which were reshaped according to Western European models.²² Polyzois Kontos’s preface to the book printed in Buda offers an important testimony in this respect:

Realizing that the teaching of grammar was of little use to first-year students, and that many of them struggled through grammatical exercises without any method, the Philhellene and philosopher Prince, having understood the cause of the problem, instructed his physician to write a systematic grammar following a very easy method, that is, to compose a grammar as concise and methodical as possible, so that by means of it the students might attain a solid command of the Greek language. (...) Thus, the Prince’s physician, in obeying this command,

²⁰ Tatay, *Din istoria și arta cărții românești vechi*, 65, note 190.

²¹ The Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest holds three copies of this edition. The engraving is preserved only in the last of these (CRV 598 A), which is in fact a photocopy of the original held by the “Mihai Eminescu” Central University Library in Iași.

²² Constantin Erbiceanu, “Bărbații culți greci și români și profesorii din Academiiile de Iași și București din epoca zisă fanariotă (1650–1821),” *Analele Academiei Române, Memoriile Secțiunii istorice*, tomul XXVII, seria II (1904–1905): 165; Pompei Gh. Samarian, *Medicina și farmacia în trecutul românesc*, v. I, 1382–1775 (Călărași-Ialomița: Tipografia Modernă, 1935), 143–44; André Guillou, “Les débuts de la diplomatie byzantine: Cyrille de Lavra,” *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, No. 82 (1958), 612–13.



Fig. 1. **Allegorical Composition**, Θησαυρὸς Γραμματικῆς (The Treasure of Grammar), Vol. I, Buda, 1796 (Library of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, Romania).

Romanian Principalities: in 1804 he was teaching the children of Prince Constantin Ipsilanti, and around 1807 he was active in Ploiești.²⁴ His works, which were printed in Sibiu, Vienna and Bucharest and circulated in the Romanian Principalities, confirm his place within the Greek-Romanian intellectual networks of the period and help explain his connection with the typographic milieu of Buda.²⁵

set about curing the chronic malady of the schools.²³

From this perspective, Karaioanis's grammar should not be seen merely as a school manual, but rather as the result of a wider cultural and pedagogical project supported by the Moldavian princely milieu. Polyzois's formulation is particularly suggestive, since it transfers the author's medical identity into the sphere of education: the prince's physician is presented as treating not bodies, but the "chronic malady of the schools," namely the absence of a clear and efficient method for teaching grammar.

Polyzois Kontos, in turn, was a Greek scholar born probably in Ioannina around 1745 and deceased in Wallachia, possibly in 1821. He studied in Ioannina and Venice and later lived in several European cities, including Pest, Paris and Vienna, where he was active as a priest and as a teacher of Greek and Latin. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, he was present in the

²³ Erbiceanu, "Bărbații culti greci și români," 165.

²⁴ Rossitsa Gradeva, "Secession and Revolution in the Ottoman Empire at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Osman Pazvantoğlu and Rhigas Velestinlis," in *Ottoman Rule and the Balkans, 1760–1850. Conflict, Transformation, Adaptation*, eds. Antonis Anastasopoulos and Elias Kolovos (Rethymno: University of Crete, 2007), 90; Paula Scalcău, *Grecii din România* (București: Omonia, 2003), 123–24, apud Lăcrămioara Manea, *Circulația cărții românești (manuscrisă și tipărită) în spațiul nord-dobrogean* (Brăila: Istros, 2013), 109.

²⁵ *Învățăture de multe științe* (Sibiu, 1811, Romanian), *Ποικίλη διδασκαλία* (Vienna, 1818, Greek), *Ἠθικαὶ Φαντασίαι* (Bucharest, 1820, Greek) and *Tălmăcirea sfântului Simbol* (Bucharest, 1829, Romanian) are Polyzois Kontos's books included in Ioan Bianu, Nerva Hodoș and Dan Simonescu, *Bibliografia românească veche*, v. III, 1809–1830 (București: Soccec, 1912–1936), 41–45, 279–81, 356–57, 662, 664, and Ὑμνος

The allegorical engraving in Θησαυρὸς Γραμματικῆς places Pallas Athena / Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, in the foreground. She is identifiable through her traditional attributes: the helmet, the owl, the shield bearing the head of the Gorgon, and the spear. Her gaze is directed towards a young pupil, dressed in ceremonial garments, with a long robe and toque. In one hand, Minerva holds a book, an allusion to learning and to the scholarly mission of the work; with the other, she points towards the portrait of the physician Constantin Karaioanis. The latter appears in an oval medallion raised by the winged goddess Nike, who carries a trumpet. Nike may be read both as one of Athena's attributes and as a figure of glorification: Karaioanis's fame is suggested by the fact that his portrait is borne aloft by the goddess of Victory herself.

The Greek legend accompanying the engraving – “Πραξιτέλους απορούσα ἀγάλματι Πότνια Ελλάς, / Σὼν σε πόνων αἰνεῖν, Τεύξε σοι εἶγμα [read: εἶγμα] τόδε” – may be translated as follows: “Venerable Greece, since you have lost the statue of Praxiteles, build for yourself this stronghold, so as to endure your sufferings.” In this allegorical formulation, the “statue of Praxiteles” functions as a metaphor for lost civilisation, while the “stronghold” evoked by the text refers to education, understood as a means of resistance, restoration and cultural continuity.²⁶ The image is therefore not a mere decorative addition to the book, but a visual synthesis of its intellectual programme. Grammar, learning and education are presented as symbolic remedies for cultural decline, while the figure of the physician-scholar Constantin Karaioanis is elevated to the status of a benefactor of schools and of Greek culture.

εἰς τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον Ἀλέξανδρον Ὑψηλάντην Βοεβόδαν (Vienna, 1805, Greek) was included in Ioan Bianu and Dan Simonescu, *Bibliografia românească veche*, v. IV, *Adăugiri și îndreptări* (București: Soccec, 1944), 122.

²⁶ Ioan Serafinceanu, “Adăugiri și îndreptări la Bibliografia românească veche,” *Biserica ortodoxă română*, no. LXXVIII (November-December, 1960): 1128–134, is the one who describes Θησαυρὸς Γραμματικῆς [*The Treasure of Grammar*] for the first time. See also Daniela Poenaru, *Contribuții la Bibliografia românească veche* (Târgoviște: Muzeul Județean Dâmbovița, 1973), 94–96; CRV IH, 367–69. All the three cases mentioned above provides the translation of the text placed below the image, but none of them is accurate. I am grateful for the translation and interpretation to Dr. Gregory Manopoulos (Democritus University of Thrace).

2. Portrait of Ioan Tomici, *Cultura albinelor* (Beekeeping), Buda, 1823



Fig. 2. Portrait of Ioan Tomici, *Cultura albinelor* (Beekeeping), Buda, 1823 (ASTRA County Library, Sibiu, Romania).

Ioan Tomici (1771–1839),²⁷ a Romanian Orthodox priest and later arch-priest of Caransebeș, distinguished himself through an intense activity devoted to the organisation and development of Romanian education in Banat.

The historian Nicolae Bocșan places Ioan Tomici among the leading figures of the Banat Enlightenment, alongside Paul Iorgovici, Dimitrie Țichindeal, Constantin Diaconovici-Loga, Grigore Obradovici, and others.²⁸ His scholarly concerns resulted in the publication at Buda of three works intended for the instruction of peasants and young people: *Cultura albinelor sau învățătura despre ținerea stupilor* (Beekeeping, or Instruction on the Keeping of Beehives) (“17 Novemb. 1823”); *Cultura bombițelor sau învățătura despre ținerea și creșterea*

omidelor sau goangelor de mătasă (Silkworm Breeding, or Instruction on the Keeping and Rearing of Silkworms) (“21 Novembris 1823”); and *Scurte învățături pentru creșterea și buna purtare a tinerimei* (Brief Instructions for the Education and Proper Conduct of Youth) (1827).²⁹ In his writings of a practical nature, Tomici employed religious texts as a means of persuasion, relying on the prestige that biblical authority enjoyed in a predominantly rural and Orthodox Romanian society. The inclusion of religious references in books devoted to secular subjects was intended not only to convey useful knowledge but also to facilitate its acceptance by readers.³⁰

²⁷ Constantin Teodorovici, “Ioan Tomici,” in *Dicționarul literaturii române de la origini până la 1900* (București, Editura Academiei RSR, 1979), 856–57; Mircea Păcurariu, *Dicționarul teologilor români* (București: Editura Enciclopedică, 2002), 499.

²⁸ Nicolae Bocșan, *Contribuții la istoria iluminismului românesc* (Timișoara: Facla, 1984), 179.

²⁹ See their description in CRV IH, 540–543, 561–562.

³⁰ Ioan Lumperdean, *Literatura economică românească din Transilvania la începutul epocii moderne* (București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, 1999), 134.

Among the documents relating to the activity of the Romanian section of the University Press of Buda collected by Veress Endre, there is a letter written by Ioan Tomici at Caransebeș on 18 June 1823 and addressed to the Press. In it, he explains that he had failed to secure a sufficient number of subscribers for *Cultura albinelor*, which he had originally intended to publish in an edition of 1,000 copies, and requests a quotation for a print run of 500 copies.³¹

The copies of *Cultura albinelor* consulted during my doctoral research contained only the engraved plate signed “Lehnhardt sc. Pest,” depicting the components of a beehive.³² The ASTRA County Library in Sibiu, however, preserves a copy containing a lithographic **Portrait of Ioan Tomici** (Fig. 2). This illustration was first³³ identified and reproduced by Bogdan Andriescu and Silviu Borș,³⁴ although it was not analysed, a circumstance that is readily explained by the fact that such an investigation did not fall within the scope of their study.

The portrait depicts Ioan Tomici in bust-length format, turned slightly to the left, with his gaze directed towards the viewer. He is depicted as a mature man – he was fifty-two years old at the time of the book’s publication – with a full white beard, wearing clerical vestments and a pectoral cross – elements that indicate his status as an Orthodox priest and, implicitly, his moral authority. Beneath the image appears a Cyrillic inscription giving his name and offices: “*Protopresbiteru Caransebeșului, a Cinstitului Consistorium din Verșeț și a Tablei de Județ a Măritului Comitat a Crașovii*”³⁵ (Archpriest of Caransebeș, Assessor of the Venerable Consistory of Vrșac and of the Court of Justice of the Illustrious County of Caraș). By including this portrait in *Cultura albinelor*, a work of practical

³¹ Veress Endre, *A budai Egyetemi Nyomda roman kiadványainak dokumentumai, 1780–1848*, ed. Domokos Sámuel (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982), 350–51 (document no. 429).

³² Tatay, *Din istoria și arta cărții*, 247–48, fig. 135; Idem, “Imagini din cărțile de economie tipărite la Buda (1810–1823),” *Transilvania*, Year CXIX (May–June, 2013): 22, fig. 5.

³³ This engraving is likewise absent from Doina Pungă’s study dedicated to lithography, despite her discussion of the lithographs printed at Buda in the journal *Biblioteca românească* (*Romanian Library*) (1829, 1830), edited by Zaharia Carcalechi. See Doina Pungă, *Grafica pe teritoriul României în secolul al XIX-lea. Litografia și gravura în acvaforte* (București: Oscar Print, 2009), 103–104.

³⁴ Bogdan Andriescu and Silviu Borș, *Cartea românească veche în colecțiile Bibliotecii Județene ASTRA din Sibiu, 1801–1830. Catalog* (Sibiu: Armanis & Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2013), 210–12 (with fig.)

³⁵ The term designates Caraș (Krassó) County, an administrative unit of the Kingdom of Hungary.

and economic purpose, Tomici appears not merely as the author³⁶ of the book but also as a mediator between religious culture and the dissemination of useful knowledge among the Romanian public in the spirit of the Enlightenment.

The image bears the signature “Lith. bey Jos. Szakmárý in Ofen.” This refers to József Szakmárý (1801–?), who was active in Pest, Buda, and Vienna from the 1820s until the mid-1840s as a lithographer, practising a relatively new reproductive technique.³⁷ He is known primarily for his portraits, many of them signed, some of which are now preserved in major Hungarian institutions.³⁸

The significance of this lithograph becomes even greater when one considers that the inclusion of portraits of authors, translators, or patrons was not a common practice in books printed for Romanian readers. Prior to 1823, only a limited number of such examples are known: the portraits of Prince Neagoe Basarab and his wife Despina (Elina) in the books printed in 1643³⁹ and 1646,⁴⁰ the portrait of Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem, signed “A.F.”⁴¹ the portraits engraved by Mihail Strilbițchi

³⁶ Ioan Tomici’s volume is in fact a translation of a source text that remains unidentified. See Manuela Anton, “Ioan Tomici,” in *Enciclopedia literaturii române vechi*, general coordinator: Eugen Simion, coordinators: Dan Horia Mazilu, Gheorghe Chivu, Eugen Pavel and Laura Bădescu (București: Muzeul Literaturii Române & Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă, 2018), 905.

³⁷ It was invented in 1798 in Munich by Alois Senefelder. See for details Paul Goldman, *Looking at Prints, Drawings and Watercolours. A guide to technical terms* (London: British Museum Press & Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006), 45–46; Lorenza Salamon, *Comment regarder ... la gravure. Vocabulaire, genres et techniques* (Paris: Hazan, 2011), 282–83.

³⁸ See, for example, the portrait of Péter Ási-Markovics preserved in the Keresztény Múzeum, as well as those held by the Hungarian National Museum depicting Ferenc Deák (1842), Jacobus Nachtigal (1845), and Miklós Wesselényi (?). <https://www.keresztenymuzeum.hu/collections.php?mode=work&cid=788&page=0&cvt; https://gyujtemenyek.mnm.hu/en/online-collection/-/results/6609b514-048e-4bbd-a1b6-d185bc923ed7/solr# result>, accessed both on May 25, 2026.

³⁹ Detail of the heraldic composition decorating the *Anthologion* printed at Câmpulung in 1643. For further details, see Dan Cernovodeanu, *Știința și arta heraldică în România* (București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1977), 53, 55–59, pl. V.7.

⁴⁰ Detail of the heraldic composition decorating the *Liturghier* printed at Dealu Monastery in 1646. For further details, see Cornel Tatai-Baltă, “Grafica de carte din Țara Românească în secolele XVI–XVII,” in *Arta din România. Din preistorie în contemporaneitate*, vol. 1, eds. Răzvan Theodorescu, Marius Porumb (București: Editura Academiei Române & Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2018), 395–396 (with fig.); idem, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj (1750–1830)* (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2023), 46–47; see the image also reproduced in Bianu, Hodoș, *Bibliografia românească veche*, v. I, 1508–1716 (București: Soccec, 1903), 152, fig. 138.

⁴¹ Included in Dositheos’ book *Ἱστορία περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πατριαρχευσάντων* [*History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem*], Bucharest, 1715. Recently, Vera Tchentsova iden-

depicting the Greek monk Nikolaos Mauroeides of Cephalonia (1756)⁴² and Bishop Gavril Callimachi of Moldavia (1786);⁴³ the portrait of Prince Scarlat Alexandru Callimachi (1816),⁴⁴ and that of Paisie, abbot of Neamț Monastery (1817).⁴⁵

Beyond the borders of the Romanian cultural sphere,⁴⁶ however, portraiture was far more common. The portrait of Ioan Tomici therefore enriches the gallery of historical and contemporary personalities represented in early Romanian books printed at Buda, which already included the **physician Constantin Karaioanis** (1798); **Tsar Alexander I of Russia** (1814); the “**Liberators of Europe**” (1814) – Alexander I of Russia, Francis I of Austria, and Frederick William III of Prussia; **Emperor Joseph II** (1817);

tified this enigmatic engraver as Giovanni Antonio (Gianantonio) Faldoni (1689–1770). See Vera Tchentsova, “La naissance du portrait dans l’espace orthodoxe: Représenter l’auteur dans les livres grecs du début du XVIII^e siècle,” in *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond. First Volume of Collected Works of the TYPARABIC Project*, eds. Radu Dîpratu and Samuel Noble (Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter, 2024), 145–75.

⁴² Included in Τὸ Ἀποστολικὸν Δίκτυον [*The Apostolic Net*], Iași, 1756. See for details Tatay and Cornel Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorul Mihail Strilbițchi (a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea)* (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2023), 18–20, fig. 35.

⁴³ Included in *Prăvilioară în care [să] cuprinde ceale șapte taine bisericești* [*A Short Manual of the Seven Sacraments*], Iași, 1784. See for details Tatay, Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorul Mihail Strilbițchi*, 38–40, fig. 45; see the image also reproduced in Bianu and Hodoș, *Bibliografia românească veche*, v. II, 1716–1808 (București: Socec, 1910), 292, fig. 306.

⁴⁴ Included in the Κώδιξ Πολιτικός του Πριγκιπάτου της Μολδαβίας [*Civil Code of the Principality of Moldavia*], vol. 1, Iași, 1816, although the portrait was engraved in Vienna by Blasius Höfel. See Gheorghe Oprescu, *Grafica românească în secolul al XIX-lea*, vol. I (București: Fundația Regală pentru Literatură și Artă, 1942), 225–27, pl. XCV.

⁴⁵ Included in *Adunare a cuvintelor celor pentru ascultare (...) Și viața cuviosului părintelui nostru starețului Paisie* [*Collection of Teachings on Obedience (...) and the Life of Our Venerable Father, Abbot Paisie*], Mănăstirea Neamț, 1817. See Bianu, Hodoș and Simonescu, *Bibliografia românească veche*, vol. III, 179, fig. 360; Gheorghe Racoveanu, *Gravura în lemn la Mănăstirea Neamțul* (București: Fundația Regală pentru Literatură și Artă, 1940), 25, pl. XIV.

⁴⁶ A few examples of portraits published outside the Romanian lands may be mentioned here: **Metropolitan Petro Mohyla** (Kyiv, 1632), **Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu** (Venice, 1712), **Prince Nicholas Mavrocordatos** (Leipzig, 1722) (see Virgil Căndea, *Mărturiile românești peste hotare*, vol. 6.1: *Ucraina-Vatican*, eds. Ioana Feodorov and Andrei Timotin (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române & Brăila: Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei “Carol I”, 2016), 83, 318–19), as well as the portraits of **Dimitrie Cantemir** included in his works published in London (1734), Hamburg (1745), and Frankfurt–Leipzig (1771) (see Tatay, “Romanian Princes Represented in Lithographs Accomplished by Constantin Lecca in Biblioteca românească (Buda, 1829–1830): Truth or Fiction?”, *Etudes bibliologiques/Library Research Studies*, no. 5 (2023): 147, fig. 2, 4–5), or the portraits appearing in books printed in Vienna, such as those of the teacher **Lambros Photiades** (1803) and **Prince Ioan Gheorghe Caragea** (1818) (see CRV IH, 909, 926).

the forty-two portraits of ancient figures reproduced in Pierre Blanchard's *Plutarh nou* (1819); **Romulus, the Founder of Rome**, in *Biblioteca românească* (1821); the portraits of **Dimitrie Cantemir**, **Radu Șerban**, **Michael the Brave**, and **Stephen the Great** published in the 1829–1830 issues of the same journal; and, finally, **John Hunyadi** (1830).⁴⁷

The scholar Dan Râpă-Buicliu was the first to include among early Romanian books the Serbian-language periodical (printed in Cyrillic script) Банатский алманахъ (*Almanac of Banat*),⁴⁸ edited by the Banat-born Dimitrije P. Tirol (1793, Ciacova – 1857, Timișoara),⁴⁹ a classification subsequently adopted by the authors of CRV IH.⁵⁰ Naturally, the publication is also included in the Serbian bibliography compiled in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁵¹

All three known issues of the periodical, for the years 1827, 1828, and 1829, are described by Dan Râpă-Buicliu. He considers each of them to have been printed one year earlier – namely in 1826, 1827, and 1828 respectively – on the basis of the *imprimaturs*. As regards the place of publication, he argues that all three issues were printed in Buda, even though the title pages of the first two bear the imprint “У Темишвару” (“in Timișoara”).⁵² His conclusion is based on the same *imprimaturs* mentioned above, printed in Latin and preserved in the copies held by the Matica Srpska Library in Novi Sad, Serbia (available online),⁵³ as shown in the table below.

⁴⁷ See for details Tatay, *Din istoria și arta cărții românești vechi*, 199–324 (chapter *Ilustrațiile din cărțile laice*).

⁴⁸ I am grateful to Ms. Liana Flutur of the Library of the Banat Museum in Timișoara for her support regarding the Serbian bibliography.

⁴⁹ Dan Râpă-Buicliu, *Bibliografia românească veche. Additamenta*, vol. I (1536–1830) (Galați: Alma-Galați, 2000), 136–37 (no. 310–11), 139 (no. 315).

⁵⁰ CRV IH, 836–38, 972.

⁵¹ Stojan Novaković, Српска библијографија за новију књижевност, 1741–1867 [*Serbian Bibliography for Modern Literature, 1741–1867*] (Beograd: Srpsko učeno društvo, 1869), 144 (1827), 149 (1828) and 155 (1829).

⁵² Râpă-Buicliu, *Bibliografia românească veche*, 136–37.

⁵³ To the best of my knowledge, a single copy is preserved in Romania, at the Timiș County Library (shelfmark D.I. 1787). See Melania Caragioiu, “Valori de patrimoniu în Biblioteca Județeană Timiș,” *În sprîjinul bibliotecarului*, No. I (1980): 46–47.

	No. 1 (for the year 1827) ⁵⁴	No. 2 (for the year 1828) ⁵⁵	No. 3 (for the year 1829) ⁵⁶
Text on the title page	БАНАТСКІЙ АЛМАНАХЪ ЗА ГОДИНУ 1827. ДИМИТРИЕМЪ П. ТИРОЛОМЪ саставлѣнъ. Прва година. У ТЕМИШВАРУ. [<i>Almanac of Banat</i> for the Year 1827, compiled by Dimitrije P. Tirol. First Year. In Timișoara]	БАНАТСКІЙ АЛМАНАХЪ ЗА ГОДИНУ 1828. ДИМИТРИЕМЪ П. ТИРОЛОМЪ саставлѣнъ. Друга година. У ТЕМИШВАРУ. [<i>Almanac of Banat</i> for the Year 1828, compiled by Dimitrije P. Tirol. Second Year. In Timișoara]	БАНАТСКІИ АЛМАНАХЪ за годину 1829. Димитріємъ П. Тироломъ саставлѣнъ. У БУДИМУ Славнимъ Кр. Университета Пештанскаго. [<i>Almanac of Banat</i> for the Year 1829, compiled by Dimitrije P. Tirol. Printed in Buda with the types of the Royal University of Pest]
Imprimatur (on the last page)	<i>Budae die 28. Julii 1826, admittitur ad typum. per Georgium Petrovics m. p. Librorum Censorem</i>	<i>Budae die 25 Septembris 1827, Omissis deletis. Imprimatur. Ioannes Vitcovits m.p. gr. n. u. Ritus Parochus Budensis et Interimalis Librorum Illyricorum ac Graecorum R. Censor.</i>	Same <i>imprimatur</i> as in the preceding issue

⁵⁴ <https://digital.bms.rs/ebiblioteka/publications/view/2764>, accessed on March 26, 2026.

⁵⁵ <https://digital.bms.rs/ebiblioteka/publications/view/2765>, accessed on March 26, 2026.

⁵⁶ <https://digital.bms.rs/ebiblioteka/publications/view/5447>, accessed on March 26, 2026.

	No. 1 (for the year 1827) ⁵⁴	No. 2 (for the year 1828) ⁵⁵	No. 3 (for the year 1829) ⁵⁶
Indication of printing in Buda	У БУДИМУ, Писмены Кральвскогъ Университета Пештанскогъ. [In Buda, with the types of the Royal University of Pest] (cover 4)	Печатанъ у Будиму, словима Кр. Университета Пештанскогъ. [Printed in Buda, with the types of the Royal University of Pest] (<i>imprimatur</i> leaf)	Same indication as in the preceding issue
Book format	C1 + [1] blank leaf + [1] leaf (engraving) + title page + pp. [1–17] + pp. 18–60 + 1 plate + pp. 61–178 + [4] pp. (Contents) + [19] pp. (Subscribers) + [1] p. (Errata) + [1] leaf (<i>imprimatur</i>) + 1 map + [1] blank leaf + C4 (printer's imprint)	C1 + [1] blank leaf + [1] leaf (engraving) + title page + pp. [1–17] + pp. 18–233 + [3] pp. (Contents) + [24] pp. (Subscribers) + [1] leaf (errata, <i>imprimatur</i> , and printer's stamp) + 1 map	[1] leaf (engraving) + pp. [1–17] (including the title page) + pp. 18–24 + pp. 27–233 + [3] pp. (Contents) + [24] pp. (Subscribers) + [1] leaf (errata, <i>imprimatur</i> , and printer's stamp) + 2 blank leaves + 1 map (pp. 25–26 are missing)

In light of the evidence presented above, I consider that the first two volumes of *Банатскій алманахъ* (*Almanac of Banat*), edited by Dimitrije P. Tirol, were printed not in Timișoara but in Buda (like the final issue),⁵⁷ while the capital of Banat merely served as the place where they were compiled. The inclusion in the present study of the four illustrations decorating the first two volumes – the **Coat of Arms of Banat** and the **Map of Banat** (in the first issue), and the **Siege of Belgrade of 1456** together with the **Map of Banat and its Surroundings** (in the second

⁵⁷ The evidence therefore calls for a revision of the records included in CRV IH, specifically the transfer of these two books from the Timișoara printing centre to Buda, as well as the inclusion of a third issue for the year 1829 (see CRV IH, 972).

issue)⁵⁸ – is therefore fully justified. The two images placed opposite the title pages were mentioned by Stefan Jovanović in an article published in the mid-twentieth century, but without any artistic or iconographic commentary.⁵⁹ They were also reproduced in Stevan Bugarski and Ljubomir Stepanov's monograph on Dimitrije Tirol, yet received no scholarly analysis.⁶⁰ About the maps, there is no mention. Anyway, the inclusion of these two maps in *Банатский алманахъ* (*The Almanac of Banat*) was probably not accidental. It may be linked to Dimitrije Tirol's well-known interest in geography, also reflected in the *Смешуце* (*Smešice*) [Miscellanea] section of the almanac, which contains a considerable amount of geographical information.⁶¹

Interestingly, recent Serbian bibliography produced in the Romanian Banat has reached different conclusions. Thus, the *Lexicon of Serbian Writers*⁶² still identifies Timișoara as the place of publication of all three (*sic!*) issues of *Банатский алманахъ* (*Almanac of Banat*). By contrast, the monograph devoted to Dimitrije P. Tirol states:

Towards the end of the year [1826 – *my note*], Dimitrije P. Tirol's *Banat Almanac*, one of the earliest almanacs in Serbian literature, was published. "My almanac is ready," the delighted editor wrote to Vuk Karadžić.⁶³ Although, owing to circumstances, it was printed in Buda, the title page proudly bore the words: "Compiled by Dimitrije P. Tirol. First Year. In Timișoara." Since the editor, in his plans for scholarly and literary societies, had always envisaged the publication of a journal, he may have intended this almanac to serve

⁵⁸ The engravings from the 1828 almanac were reused in the 1829 issue.

⁵⁹ Stefan Jovanović, "О Банатском алманаху Димитрија Тирола" ["On Dimitrije Tirol's Banatian Almanac"], *Зборник Матице српске, Серија друштвених наука* [Matica Srpska Journal for Social Sciences], g. III, br. 4 (1952), 57.

⁶⁰ Stevan Bugarski and Ljubomir Stepanov, *Димитрије П. Тирол, Живот и дело* [*Dimitrije P. Tirol. Life and Work*] (Timișoara: Savez Srba u Rumuniji, 2007), 119 (*The Coat of Arms of Banat*), 121 (*The Siege of Belgrade of 1456*).

⁶¹ Jovanović, "О Банатском алманаху," 58.

⁶² Stevan Bugarski and Živko Milin, *Лексикон Срба књижевника са данашње територије Румуније 1705–2015* [*Lexicon of Serbian Writers from the Present-Day Territory of Romania 1705–2015*] (Timișoara: Savez Srba u Rumuniji, 2016), 204.

⁶³ Dimitrije P. Tirol was a close friend of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787–1864), the scholar who laid the foundations of the modern Serbian standard language and reformed its script and orthography. See Vazul István Popovics, "Karadzsis Vuk, az újabb szerb irodalom megalapítója" ["Vuk Karadžić, the founder of modern Serbian literature"], *Vasárnapi Újság*, Year 44, No. 42 (October 17 1897): 687, available on-line: <chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpgclefindmkaj/https://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00030/02278/pdf/02278.pdf>, accessed on March 10, 2026; Bugarski and Stepanov, *Димитрије П. Тирол*, 47–69 (chapter: *Dimitrie P. Tirol and Vuk Stefanović Karadžić*).

as the organ of the “Society of Lovers of Serbian Literature in Timișoara,” which was soon to be established.⁶⁴

In their extensive and well-documented study of Tirol’s periodical, the authors further note that its models were German almanacs.⁶⁵ They also point out that the final issue differs from the preceding ones only in pages 1–24; pages 25 and 26 are absent, while from page 27 onwards the text simply reproduces that of the second issue.⁶⁶

3. Coat of Arms of Banat, Банатскій алманахъ за годину 1827 (*The Almanac of Banat for the Year 1827*), Buda, 1826

Facing the title page of the first issue of the Банатскій алманахъ (*Almanac of Banat*) is an unsigned metal engraving depicting an allegorical female figure supporting with her left hand a large oval cartouche bearing the **Coat of Arms of Banat** (Fig. 3).⁶⁷ Rendered in a graceful pose, the female figure wears a loosely draped antique garment whose decorative folds leave one breast and much of her legs exposed, in accordance with the iconographic conventions of Classical and Baroque allegory.⁶⁸ She leans against a half-column of antique type and is placed beneath a palm tree – an element that lends the composition an exotic, Mediterranean character, while primarily symbolizing victory and immortality.⁶⁹ Owing to her manner of representation and her association with heraldic symbols, the figure may be interpreted as an allegory of Virtue, Victory, or even as an

⁶⁴ Bugarski and Stepanov, Димитрије П. Тиrol, 118.

⁶⁵ The ornamentation of the title page closely resembles that of books printed in Vienna in the early nineteenth century. See, for example, the title pages engraved by the Viennese artist János Blaschke in 1818 and 1819 in Papp Júlia, *Könyv és kép. A 19. század elején. Blaschke János (1770–1833), illusztrációinak katalógusa* [Book and Image at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century. A Catalogue of the Illustrations of János Blaschke (1770–1833)], v. 1–2 (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó/MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, 2012), 419–20, 426–28, 434–36.

⁶⁶ Bugarski and Stepanov, Димитрије П. Тиrol, 119, 124.

⁶⁷ I am grateful to Dr. Drăgan-George Basarabă for his assistance in clarifying several aspects concerning this coat of arms.

⁶⁸ A similar composition depicting *Mors et Vita*, engraved by the Viennese engraver János Blaschke, appears in Christian Garve’s *Sämmtliche Werke* (Breslau, 1801), v. 12. See Júlia, *Könyv és kép*, 317 (v. 1), 82 (v. 2).

⁶⁹ Jean Chevalier and Alain Gheerbrant, *Dictionar de simboluri*, vol. 3, P–Z (București: Artemis, 1995), 11. The scene of the **Rest on the Flight into Egypt** is frequently depicted beneath a palm tree, which offers the Virgin and the Christ Child shade and sustenance, thereby becoming a symbol of divine providence and protection. See, for example, the painting by Fernando Llanos, executed in 1507 and preserved in Valencia Cathedral, reproduced in Lucia Impelluso, *Natura și simbolurile sale. Plante, flori și animale* (București: Monitorul Oficial, 2009), 27.

idealized personification of the Province of Banat, comparable to the allegorical figures frequently encountered in official heraldry and graphic art at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Within the oval cartouche, rendered with horizontal hatching denoting the tincture azure, is depicted a shield bearing a central tower with a gateway and enclosing palisade walls – an image derived from the fortress of Timișoara, the principal symbol of the historical Banat and of its military role within the Habsburg Monarchy. The shield is surmounted by a fantasy crown closely resembling an archducal coronet, signifying allegiance to Habsburg authority, while in the lower section a sword and a sceptre are shown crossed and bound together with a ribbon. These heraldic attributes suggest the union of military power with administrative and sovereign authority.

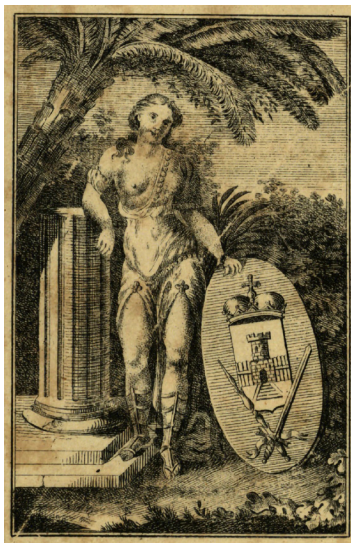


Fig. 3. Coat of Arms of Banat, Банатскій алманахъ за годину 1827 (*Almanac of the Banat for the Year 1827*), Buda, 1826, p. 10 (Matica Srpska Library, Novi Sad, Serbia).

The heraldic structure of this composition derives from a quasi-official representation of what has been described as “the first coat of arms of the historical Banat,” adopted after the region became a Habsburg province following its conquest from the Ottoman Empire in 1716–1718. According to the heraldist Drăgan-George Basarabă, this coat of arms was based on the German seal of Timișoara from 1717.⁷⁰ For example, the **Coat of Arms of the Banat of Timișoara**, depicted on the map of the region drawn in 1776 by Francesco Grisellini and later, included in the book published in Vienna in 1780,⁷¹ shows the fortress of Timișoara within a shield surmounted by the same type of crown. The

⁷⁰ See Drăgan-George Basarabă, “Despre stema Banatului. Certitudini și supoziții heraldice,” *Acta Terrae Fogarasiensis*, No. VI (2017): 159–60, fig. 7 (the seal) and fig. 10 (the coat of arms as depicted on two eighteenth-century maps); idem, *Patrimoniul heraldic al municipiului Timișoara* (Timișoara: Mirton, 2024), 78–81, with figs. (chapter *Stema Banatului Timișoarei*).

⁷¹ Published in Francesco Grisellini, *Descoperirea Banatului Timișoarei. Însemnări de călătorie*, ed. Victor Neumann (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2020), 110 and Basarabă, *Patrimoniul heraldic*, 80. See also <https://www.difmoe.eu/view/uuid:925fca68-7553->

composition is flanked by heraldic eagles and accompanied by the motto *Providentia Augustorum*, emphasizing the protection exercised by the House of Habsburg over the province. The engraving published in the Банатскій алманахъ за годину 1827 (*The Almanac of Banat for the Year 1827*) preserves this traditional heraldic core while reinterpreting it within the allegorical and decorative framework characteristic of the artistic sensibilities of the early nineteenth century.

4. Map of Banat, Банатскій алманахъ за годину 1827 (*The Almanac of Banat for the Year 1827*), Buda, 1826

At the end of the first issue of the Банатскій алманахъ (*Almanac of Banat*) appears a plate depicting a **Map of Banat** (Fig. 4). Particularly noteworthy is the explanatory inscription: “РИПЕРІА или ДАКІА НАБРЕЖНА” (*Riperia ili Dakia nabrežna*), translated as “Riperia, or Riparian Dacia.” At the beginning of the chapter *History of Banat after Grisellini*, we read the following:

In ancient times, the Banat of Timișoara occupied a large part of the renowned Kingdom of Dacia, which, after the Roman conquest, came to be known as Riperia, or Dacia Ripensis, that is, Dacia on the Riverbanks (Riparian Dacia), because the borders of this province were formed by the River Tisza to the west and by the Danube to the south.⁷²

The Italian scholar Francesco Grisellini (1717–1787) travelled through Banat from September 1774 until March 1776. As a result of this journey, he produced a map of the region, published in Vienna in 1776,⁷³ followed in 1780 by the book *Versuch einer politischen und natürlichen Geschichte des temeswarer Banats in Briefen an Standespersonen und Gelehrte* (*An attempt at a political and natural history of the Banat region of*

454a-a072-782cea6f690f?page=uuid:4c1b5206-2eb5-4770-9e05-9bf5b5b2c052, accessed on April 25, 2026.

⁷² Банатскій алманахъ за годину 1827 [*The Banatian Almanac for the Year 1827*] (Buda: The Royal University [Press] of Pest, 1826), 83.

⁷³ Grisellini, *Descoperirea Banatului Timișoarei*, 110 (with fig.). See also Ștefan Both, “Cum a fost recuperată din SUA o hartă veche și rară a Banatului istoric. Va ajunge într-un oraș românesc,” *Adevărul* (18. 01. 2004) (with fig.), available on-line: <https://adevarul.ro/stil-de-viata/cultura/cum-a-fost-recuperata-din-sua-o-harta-foarte-veche-2332428.html>, accessed on March 31, 2026. Institut für donauschwäbische Geschichte und Landeskunde, Tübingen, holds a copy of the book (which also includes the **Map of the Banat**) that is available on-line: <https://www.difmoe.eu/view/uuid:925fca68-7553-454a-a072-782cea6f690f?page=uuid:9d70d339-3bb7-44d4-aab7-0d430f7fde0a>, accessed March 24, 2026.

*Timișoara in letters to members of the nobility and scholars).*⁷⁴

The **Map of Banat** included in the Buda almanac is signed in the lower right corner by the editor himself: “Рез. Тіроль” (Rez. Tirol) (“Engraved by Tirol”). In the lower left corner appears the following inscription:

“Налаціена у Каменографіа код Тренченски у Пеш(т)и” (Nalaciena u Kamenografija kod Trencenski u Pešti) (“Executed in Trentsensky’s lithographic workshop in Pest”).⁷⁵ It is known that Matthäus Trentsensky (1790–1868), trained as an engraver, and his brother Joseph Trentsensky (1794–1839) opened a lithographic workshop in Vienna in 1819, which also maintained a branch in Pest.⁷⁶



Fig. 4. **Map of Banat**, Банатскій алманахъ за годину 1827 (*Almanac of the Banat for the Year 1827*), Buda, 1826, p. 218 (Matica Srpska Library, Novi Sad, Serbia).

5. The Siege of Belgrade of 1456, Банатскій алманахъ за годину 1828 (*The Almanac of Banat for the Year 1828*), Buda, 1827

Facing the title page of the second issue of the Банатскій алманахъ (*Almanac of Banat*) is an illustration (Fig. 5) bearing, in addition to the place of execution, two names: that of the engraver – “Lehnahardt sc. Pest” – and that of the designer (“inventor”) – “Laccatary inv.” The former is also known as the author of four other copper engravings included in early Romanian books printed at Buda: **Solomon and Other Figures of Antiquity**, from P. Blanchard’s *Plutarh nou* (*New Plutarch*), 1819;⁷⁷ the plate depicting the **Components of a Beehive**, from I. Tomici’s *Cultura albinelor* (*Beekeeping*), 1823;⁷⁸ the portrait of **John Hunyadi**, from S. P. Niagoe’s (ed.) *Calendar românesc* (*Romanian Calendar*), 1830;⁷⁹ and

⁷⁴ Available on-line: <https://archive.org/details/versucheinerpoli02grisuoft/page/n161/mode/2up>, accessed May 1, 2026.

⁷⁵ I thank for the translation to Aleksandar Zhabov (PhD student, Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”).

⁷⁶ See for detail *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon online*: https://musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_T/Trentsensky_Brueder.xml, accessed on March 24, 2026.

⁷⁷ Tatay, *Din istoria și arta cărții românești vechi*, 241–42, fig. 124.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, 247–48, fig. 135.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, 267–69, fig. 160.

Woman with Children at Prayer, from L. Şimani's *Pruncii cei părăsiți* (*Abandoned Children*), 1830.⁸⁰ The engraver in question is Sámuel Lehnhardt (c. 1790 – after 1840). Having studied in Vienna between 1814 and 1816 under several engravers, among them Blasius Höfel, he settled in Pest in 1817, where he pursued his career. He distinguished himself through portraits, views, maps, and compositions inspired by classical antiquity, becoming one of the most accomplished engravers active in Hungary during the first half of the nineteenth century.⁸¹ Unfortunately, although we shall encounter it once again below, the second name could not be identified in the specialist literature consulted, and the question therefore remains open for the time being.

Following the reference placed above the engraving (“стр. 124,” where страна / *strana* means “page”), we are directed to page 124 of the Банатскій алманахъ (*Almanac of Banat*), within the chapter *History of Banat after Grisellini*,⁸² a continuation of the chapter bearing the same title in the previous issue.⁸³ The text relates the events of the siege of Belgrade as follows:

The first battle took place on the Danube. Having drawn up his army in battle formation, Hunyadi broke through the enemy fleet and subsequently reinforced Belgrade's defences. The Turks, considering this of little consequence, brought their siege engines closer to the fortress and began attacking the city's fortifications from all sides. After sustaining heavy losses, Mehmed eventually captured the outer defences. Yet Capistrano, raising the crusaders' banner, joined Hunyadi in encouraging the troops to attack the enemy with bravery. They fought with such bravery and determination that the Turks were seized with fear and began to flee. More than 20,000 men, some dead and others wounded, were left on the battlefield. The Hungarians gained immense booty, together with many weapons and banners. Mehmed himself was wounded in one eye and narrowly escaped death, saved

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, 136–38, fig. 93.

⁸¹ Dénes, Pataky, *A magyar rezmetszes története. A XVI. századtól 1850-ig* [*The History of Hungarian Engraving: From the Sixteenth Century to 1850*] (Budapest: Közoktatásügyi Kiadóvállalat, 1951), 170–75; Kinga Frojimovics, Géza Komoróczy, Viktória Pusztai and Andrea Strbik, *Jewish Budapest: Monuments, Rites, History* (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999), 509; Ilona Mona, “Hungarian Music Publication 1774 – 1867,” *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, T. 16, Facs. ¼ (1974): 270; Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, v. XXII (Leipzig: Verlag von E. A. Seemann, 1928), 586.

⁸² Банатскій алманахъ за годину 1828 [*The Banatian Almanac for the Year 1828*] (Buda: The Royal University [Press] of Pest, 1827), 95–127.

⁸³ Банатскій алманахъ за годину 1827, 83–104.

only by his followers. This memorable day, regarded in Hungarian chronicles, and especially in the history of Timiș County, as a most glorious epoch, was nevertheless overshadowed by another event. Exhausted by his extraordinary efforts and military labours, Hunyadi fell gravely ill with a fever that would soon kill him. He was then taken to Zemun, where he entrusted his son Vladislav to the loyalty of his subjects for the last time. There, on 11 August 1456, to the great sorrow of the Hungarian state, he passed away. His body was subsequently transported to Belgrade of Transylvania⁸⁴ and honourably buried in his church.⁸⁵

The engraving therefore depicts the **Siege of Belgrade of 1456** by the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II. In his attempt to capture the city during the summer of that year, the Sultan suffered a crushing defeat. Belgrade, a major strategic stronghold of the Kingdom of Hungary on the frontier with the Ottoman Empire, was skilfully defended by the army of John Hunyadi, the kingdom's principal military commander, assisted by the crusaders led by John of Capistrano, the Franciscan friar and crusade preacher who commanded a large contingent of volunteers.⁸⁶

In the foreground of the engraving, John Hunyadi,⁸⁷ commander of the mounted forces, is depicted in a dynamic pose, raising his sword above his head and leading the attack. Occupying the central position within the composition, he is distinguished by a richly decorated cloak lined with ermine, an element that emphasizes his elevated status. The



Fig. 5. The Siege of Belgrade of 1456, Банатскій алманахъ за годину 1828 (*Almanac of the Banat for the Year 1828*), Buda, 1827, p. 10 (Matica Srpska Library, Novi Sad, Serbia).

⁸⁴ Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár / Weißenburg).

⁸⁵ Банатскій алманахъ за годину 1828, 123–25.

⁸⁶ See for details Camil Mureșanu, *Ioan de Hunedoara și vremea sa* (București: Editura Tineretului, 1957), 178–94 (chapter *În mijlocul poporului său*); Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Hunedoreștii: o familie europeană* (Cluj-Napoca: Școala Ardeleană, 2020), 203–13 (chapter *Bătălia de la Belgrad (1456) în mărturia venețiene*).

⁸⁷ He is readily recognizable, as his features closely resemble those in the portrait engraved by Lehnhardt's teacher, Blasius Höfel, for Sándor Kisfaludy's *Hunyady János. Historiai Drama*, Buda, 1816. See the image in Tatay, *Din istoria și arta cărții românești vechi*, fig. 161.

presence of ermine⁸⁸ is somewhat unusual in a battle scene taking place at the height of summer, as such attire is more commonly associated with official portraits, where clothing and other visual attributes serve to highlight the rank and status of the sitter. Its inclusion in the engraving therefore appears intended primarily to underscore Hunyadi's exceptional position – further suggested by his white horse⁸⁹ – rather than to provide a faithful representation of his actual military equipment.

Several soldiers armed with swords and shields are grouped around John Hunyadi, advancing towards the fortress. The scene is set on the banks of the Danube, suggested by the body of water depicted in the lower part of the composition. In the background rise the walls of the stronghold, furnished with towers and battlements, beneath which the tents of the Ottoman army can be seen. The attackers ascend ladders leaning against the walls, while within the fortress figures engaged in its defence are visible. A fire breaking out in one of the towers heightens the dramatic effect of the scene and conveys the intensity of the fighting. The flames appear to be associated with the impact of projectiles, possibly alluding to the artillery bombardment employed by the Ottoman army during the siege. Dark clouds gathering behind the fortress further contribute to the tense atmosphere of the composition.

From an artistic perspective, the engraving follows a formula widely employed in historical illustration at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century: the principal figure occupies the foreground and is shown in the midst of action, while the military event itself unfolds in the background. The emphasis lies not on the accurate reconstruction of historical reality, but rather on the exaltation of the commander's courage and military virtues.

6. Map of Banat and its Surroundings, Банатскій алманахъ за годину 1828 (*The Almanac of Banat for the Year 1828*), Buda, 1827

As in the previous volume, Dimitrije P. Tirol furnished the second issue of the Банатскій алманахъ (*Almanac of Banat*) with a cartographic representation, this time devoted to a broader territory, as indicated by its ti-

⁸⁸ According to Paola Rapelli, *Simboluri ale puterii și mari dinastii* (București: Monitorul Oficial, 2009), 44–47, it symbolizes high dignity, honour, and judicial authority. The ermine-lined mantle appears in official portraits, lending a particular elegance to the person wearing it.

⁸⁹ In European culture, white was associated with nobility, honour, and high dignity, serving as an important marker of social distinction. See for details Michel Pastoureaux, *Alb. Istoria unei culori* (București: For You, 2023), 138–47.

tle: **Map of Banat and its Surroundings** (Fig. 6). Outside the map appear the following inscriptions: “Написао Димитриј П. Тиролъ” (Napisao Dimitrij P. Tirol) (“drawn by Dimitrije P. Tirol”) on the left; and “Рез. Дим. Лакатари” (Rez. Dim. Lakatari) (“engraved by Dim. Lakatari”) on the right. The latter craftsman, whose name now appears in Cyrillic script, is clearly the same enigmatic figure who signed the preceding engraving in Latin characters (Laccatary). This time, however, the engraver’s first name is also provided – Dim(itrije) – which offers an important clue to his identification. Although little information about him has so far come to light, Dragomir Dujmov notes that a certain Dimitrije Lakatari, described as a Greek painter, was commissioned by the Serbian publisher Josif Milovuk in November 1832 to paint a portrait of Vuk Karadžić.⁹⁰

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The arguments already presented – namely the *imprimaturs* issued in Buda and the repeated statements that the volumes were printed with the types of the University Press of Pest – may be supplemented by four additional considerations: (1) the engraver Lehnhardt, who signed the illustration **The Siege of Belgrade in 1456**, is also responsible for four other copper engravings included in Romanian books printed at Buda; (2) the decorative models used on the title pages of the first two issues reappear in the volumes of *Calendarul românesc* (*Romanian Calendar*) for the years 1829 and 1830, compiled by Ștefan P. Neagoe, teacher at the Romanian school in Pest;⁹¹ (3) according to Andrei Veress, the only printing houses operating in Timișoara at that time were those of Jacobus Josephus Jónás (1803), Josephus Klapka (1818–1829), and Joseph Beichel (1829–1836), none of which printed books in Cyrillic script;⁹² and (4) prior to the publication of the Банатскій алманахъ (*Almanac of Banat*), Tirol had already published three works at Buda, according to Serbian bibliography. The first records on its title page both “in Timișoara” (referring, of course, to the place where the text was compiled) and “in Buda”

⁹⁰ Dragomir Dujmov, Будимпештом српски знамен [*Serbian Traces throughout Budapest*] (Budimpešta: 2012), 115.

⁹¹ Georgeta Răduică and Nicolin Răduică, *Calendare și almanahuri românești, 1731–1918. Dicționar bibliografic* (București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1981), 213–16, nr. 444–48 (with fig.). Five issues of the *Calendar* edited by Neagoe were published for the years 1828–1832. The last three included portraits signed by Lehnhardt, depicting **John Hunyadi** and his sons, **Ladislaus** and **Matthias**. See for details Tatay, *Din istoria și arta cărții românești vechi*, 267.

⁹² Veress Andrei, *Bibliografia româno-ungară*, vol. II (București: Cartea Românească, 1931), 374.



Fig. 6. Map of Banat and its Surroundings, Банатскій алманахъ за годину 1828 (*Almanac of the Banat for the Year 1828*), Buda, 1827, p. 275 (Matica Srpska Library, Novi Sad, Serbia).

as the place of printing, while the other two explicitly identify Buda as the place of publication.⁹³

Although Dimitrije P. Tirol's activity unfolded primarily within the Serbian cultural milieu of Banat, his editorial and cultural work in Timișoara places him among the notable figures of the region's intellectual life during the first half of the nineteenth century. The publication of the Банатскій алманахъ (*Almanac of Banat*) at Buda fits naturally within a broader

series of illustrated works issued by the same press, including *Biblioteca românească* (*Romanian Library*) (1821, 1829–1830, 1834), edited by Zaharia Carcalechi, and *Calendarul românesc* (*Romanian Calendar*) (1828–1832), compiled by Ștefan P. Neagoe.

In 1952, lamenting the lack of attention paid to Dimitrije Tirol by Serbian historiography, Stefan Jovanović wrote: “Moreover, had Tirol been a Romanian, Romanian scholarship would have claimed him and counted him among its own figures; however, to our knowledge, this has not happened.”⁹⁴ Nearly three quarters of a century later, the present study may be regarded as a partial response to that observation. Regardless of the question of his ethnic identity, the evidence presented here demonstrates that Tirol occupies a legitimate place within the history of Romanian book culture. Through the Банатскій алманахъ (*Almanac of Banat*), his connection with the Buda printing milieu, and the illustrations discussed above, he forms part of the multicultural heritage shared by the Romanian, Serbian, and Hungarian spheres.

⁹³ These three publications are: Ода... господара Дмитрија Антоновића [*Ode... to Mr. Dimitrije Antonović*], 1817 (2 leaves, Buda, Royal University Press of Pest); Привѣствователна книжица... [*Greeting Booklet...*], 1818 (2 leaves, Buda, Royal University Press of Pest); and Славенска Граматика [*Slavonic Grammar*], 1827 (54 pages, Buda, Armenian Press). See Novaković, Српска библијографија, 109 (no. 522), 114 (no. 546), and 144 (no. 693).

⁹⁴ Jovanović, “О Банатском алманаху,” 63.

Conclusions

The present study supplements existing research on the graphic art of early Romanian books printed at Buda by introducing six illustrations that have either remained unnoticed until now or have received only brief mention in the scholarly literature. Their identification demonstrates that the visual repertoire of Buda publications was richer and more diverse than previously assumed and confirms the need for further investigation into this important printing centre.

The allegorical composition in *Θησαυρὸς Γραμματικῆς* (*The Treasure of Grammar*) (1796) highlights the cultural connections between the Greek and Romanian intellectual milieus of Central Europe, illustrating the way images could serve educational and cultural purposes. At the same time, the portrait of Ioan Tomici, identified in a copy of *Cultura albinelor* (*Beekeeping*) (1823), enriches the still relatively limited corpus of portraits of authors, translators, and patrons encountered in early Romanian books and represents one of the earliest known lithographs associated with a Romanian publication printed at Buda. The analysis of the illustrations included in the *Банатскій алманахъ* (*Almanac of Banat*) for the years 1827 and 1828 has also made it possible to reconsider the place of printing of the first two volumes of the periodical. The combined evidence provided by the *imprimaturs*, typographical statements, and the material characteristics of the surviving copies supports their attribution to the University Press of Buda, while Timișoara appears to have been merely the place where the almanac was compiled and edited. Consequently, the two engravings and the two maps contained in these volumes should be incorporated into the iconographic heritage of Buda printing.

Taken altogether, the illustrations examined here reflect the multi-cultural character of Buda's publishing activity, where Romanian, Greek, and Serbian cultural and artistic traditions intersected. They demonstrate that images were far more than simple decorative elements; rather, they played an active role in conveying the educational, cultural, historical, and identity-building messages promoted by books printed in this important press of Central Europe during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.