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RESEARCH ARTICLE

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## Abstract

Recently, researchers have found that several buildings or building parts, previously believed to be Gothic, had been built in the Baroque period. This research is based on the most comprehensive collection of the Gothicized buildings from the Baroque time in Hungary. They can be clearly separated into two groups, the reconstruction of medieval churches and the chapels of the Holy Sepulchre. These examples show that, beyond the generally mentioned two methods of Gothicizing in the Baroque period (survival and revival), there is a third way, which can be connected to the heyday of Baroque and to the buildings of demanding clients. Since they were neither marginal, provincial nor 'out-of-date' buildings, we cannot consider them as anachronistic phenomenon and it should be possible to explain their formation with the same factors that generated the construction of traditional Baroque works.

The key to this is that the message or the meaning, could play a key role in the thematic and stylistic aspects of Baroque buildings. The building has not always expressed its formal and spatial message with the peculiar paraphernalia of architecture as an artistic genre but has instead, carried a message translatable into words. This can be referred to as symbology or symbolism. Optionally, the expression of this message can be more important than the stylistic characteristics. In the Baroque, four basic methods existed for this, which can be indicated by the following attributes: imitative, attribution, speculative and didactic.

## Keywords

Baroque architecture • Gothic Survival • Gothic Revival  
• Baroque restoration • architectural symbolism • Holy Sepulchre

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## 1 Gothicized Baroque buildings

### 1.1 Gothic Survival and Gothic Revival

It is well known that the Gothic forms did not completely disappear from architecture even between the period of the Gothic and the Romanticism of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Gothicizing tendencies appearing in the Renaissance and the Baroque era are usually divided into two groups.

One of them is the *Gothic Survival*, meaning the quasi-continuous survival of the Gothic. The Gothic lived together with Renaissance architecture for a long time, including in Hungary. Builders long insisted on using its forms, mainly in the field of sacred architecture. Even in the first part of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, during the period of late-Renaissance, we can see several examples of the Gothicized realization of sacred buildings.<sup>1</sup> The most important Gothicizing element, the lancet window with tracery was late-Renaissance, but Gothic space forms, and sometimes rib vaults – or their imitation – have also appeared. A fine example of the late appearance of the Gothic – of the *Gothic Survival* in Hungary – is the chapel of the Nádasdy Castle in Sopronkeresztúr (in German: Deutschkreutz). The Renaissance castle had four corner towers and was organized around a courtyard encircled with loggia, but the chapel – uniquely in the building – was constructed with tracery lancet windows. The coexistence of styles is enhanced by the appearance of early-Baroque stucco on the vault of the chapel. In Hungary, in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, we cannot witness this kind of formal survival of the Gothic, although the space-types of the Gothic – for example the polygonal apse of churches – have long played an important role. Nevertheless, *Gothic Survival* was also of considerable importance in other parts of Europe [21], for example, in the Anglo-Saxon areas; in general, it greatly determined the development of Baroque architecture in Northern Europe.

The other tendency is the *Gothic Revival*, which is often used for marking the revival of lancet forms and the beginning of the Romanticism. Appearing in Hungary from the last

<sup>1</sup> Tibor Koppány has thoroughly elaborated this issue. [11]

quarter of the 18th century, this early-Romanticist Gothicizing lived on and organically evolved until the 1840s, when the Romanticism became the prevailing style. Initially, it did not appear in the form of independent buildings but as details in the architecture of the classicist late-Baroque: either on paintings (for example, on the ceiling mural of the Lyceum of Eger, painted in 1778) or on the decorative painting of the church in Hegyeshalom, painted around 1780-1800 [10, p. 260]); on carpentry work, in the lancet motif of wrought iron ornaments (e.g. on the gate of the parish church in Hatvan or Gyula; the western gate of the 'Chain Castle' in Mór [5, p. 202]; the window grill at Bécsi kapu Square 7, Buda [7, p. 168]<sup>2</sup>); or as building details (like the openings of the gallery of the Roman Catholic church, in Mecseknádasd [10, p. 246-248]; or of the vestibule of the church in Gidófalva [12]). Gothicizing, which created individual buildings, first appeared in the small structures of scenic gardens (e.g. the artificial ruin and mosque in the Esterházy garden, Tata; the garden pavilion of the Viczay Castle in Hédervár and the chapel of the Csáky garden, Hotkóc (in Slovak: Hodkovce) [10, p. 237]). Later – together with Classicism – it turned up on churches (like the Roman Catholic church, Pétervására); however, it became common only in the 19th century. The *Gothic Revival* in Hungary – as in many parts of Europe – is characterized by the method that forms, mainly with their lancet nature, evoke only the Middle Ages but do not actually resemble Gothic buildings; they find new ways in their use of material and structural solutions. They also differ from the monuments of the *Gothic Survival* in that first they appeared atypically on sacred buildings.

## 1.2 Gothicizing reconstruction of medieval buildings

However, there is a third appearance of Gothic architectural forms in the Baroque period, which cannot really be classified either to the *Gothic Revival* or to the *Gothic Survival* since it turned up at another time, with different motives and other forms. Hereinafter, I will discuss two clearly separable groups of these monuments: the Gothicized reconstruction of medieval buildings and the chapels of the Holy Sepulchre.

The most famous representative of the Gothicizing reconstructions was Santini in Bohemia, who used forms referring to the medieval antecedents in the reconstruction of the churches in Sedlec, Kladruby and Zeliv. Among these forms, the most fascinating ones are the dynamic stucco ornaments imitating rib vaults on the lunette vaults.<sup>3</sup> Although there is nothing

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2 Dénes Komárik [10] emphasizes that this kind of gothicizing was so widespread and occurred in so many places he does not even try to collect the examples.

3 Gothicizing in the heyday of Baroque appeared in several parts of Europe. [13, 21] Among these examples, the Gothicized reconstructions of the French cathedrals are rather exciting (e.g. the Blois Cathedral built between 1680-1700), or the new church constructions of the Netherland's Jesuits [8]. However, within the narrow limits of this study their evaluation not included.

really like Santini's inventive and extravagant architecture, we can still meet Gothicized buildings – which were erected in the heyday of Baroque with intentions similar to that of Santini – in other places.

It should be emphasized that the architectural tools of Gothicizing were also used in Vienna in the 18th century. In 1748, Maria Theresa had the Burgkapelle renovated with Gothic forms, behind which gesture there could be a political message addressed to those impugning the legitimacy of her reign, with reference to the traditions of her dynasty. However, this example is not unique since the church of the Augustinian, of the Minorits and also of the Teutonic Order were reconstructed with Gothic forms. [4, p. 161]

Hungarian research has gradually discovered more and more buildings that are good examples of historical reconstruction in the Baroque period.<sup>4</sup> The new findings inspired the researchers to reinterpret the phenomenon.<sup>5</sup>

The following is an attempt to collect the Gothicized monuments already known.<sup>6</sup>

First, the church in Farkas Street, Cluj-Napoca (in Hungarian: Kolozsvár) should be mentioned: the former Franciscan church was ravaged by the Protestants in 1603; its furniture was destroyed, and the vaults collapsed. The church was renovated by George I Rákóczi in 1640-47. On the model of the original, the nave was roofed with a Gothic net vault. Although the architectural environment in which it was created cannot yet be called Baroque, only Renaissance, its example was very instructive, since for the reconstruction of the vault, no competent professional could be found in the country, so three stonecutters had to be 'imported' from Kurland (Courland, today Latvia). This

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4 The main results of the recent past concern the Pauline monastery in Márianosztra [3], and the Cathedral of Gyulafehérvár (in Romanian: Alba Iulia) [16].

5 In 1978, Dénes Komárik, in his study on the early Gothicizing Romanticism, wrote in detail about the Gothicized Baroque buildings as the antecedent of the Romanticism for the first time [10]. He did not analyse the relationship with the Gothicizing of the end of 18th century; in case of these monuments, he also refused the architecture theoretical approach. However, his work is very important due to the collection of the monuments of this phenomenon. In case of the church in Gyöngyöspata, he was mistaken as although the north aisle is really a 18th century reconstruction, its vault is not Gothicized but a standard bucket vault with lunettes. Probably, he mixed it up with the vault of the sanctuary, which had a rib vaulted reconstruction from 1610. [11] Also, later research did not prove his statements on the church of Nagyharsány; Ferenc Mende, who led the reconstruction works of the church in 1978, said the vault of the sanctuary was from the 15th century. [14] The additions to the vault ribs, built at the turn of the century, as well as the gallery dividing the sanctuary, from the 18th century, were demolished during the reconstruction. In addition, an important summarizing study is the paper of Péter Farbaky [4], which examines the phenomenon from the point of view of the country's rebuilding after the Turkish occupation. Gothicizing in the Baroque period was typical not only for buildings, but also for other works of art. In this respect, see also: [1, 9, 20].

6 The Gothic reconstructions from the 17th century that also could be built in the spirit of the Gothic Survival are not listed here. Regarding this, see [11].

shows that, by the middle of the 17th century, the craftsmanship of Gothic architecture had vanished even in Transylvania, no matter how architecturally conservative this area was; so we cannot speak about the traditional survival of the style, namely about ‘Gothic Survival’.<sup>7</sup>

Another famous Gothicized building of Transylvania is the Black Church in Brasov (in Hungarian: Brassó; in German: Kronstadt). [22] After the church was devastated by fire in 1689, the reconstruction lasted nearly a century. In the different construction phases, the builders tried to adjust to the earlier forms to varying extents. From the Gothicizing point of view, the most interesting elements are the galleries finished in 1710-1714, which divide the aisles into two stories along the whole length, and having no known medieval antecedents. The galleries are supported by ribbed star vaults, on their front surface there are wimpergs with ogee arch and pinnacles. The Gothic forms used in the reconstruction were the symbols of denominational identity, which emphasized the historic continuity in a political situation, and strengthened the re-Catholicisation.

Interestingly, the reconstruction of the sanctuary of the Cathedral of Alba Iulia (In Hungarian: Gyulafehérvár) carried a similar message but with a ‘different sign’; the clarification of its 18th century history of construction is a great achievement of the recent past. In the ecclesiastical centre of the Transylvanian Roman Catholics, the application of Gothicizing forms was just a reference to the time before the Protestant Reformation, the aim being to justify the regaining of the church from the Protestants. The early-Gothic sanctuary, being in danger of collapsing, was demolished to its foundations in 1753-54 and rebuilt with the use of the original stones, similarly to the old forms. [16]

András Kovács drew attention to the church of Monariu (in Hungarian: Malomárka; in German: Minarken), a small Saxon village near Bistrița (in Hungarian: Beszterce; in German: Bistritz) in Transylvania. [12] The Lutheran church, which is also interesting for its central spatial formation, was built in 1755-57 (its tower is more recent: 1776-1782), after the village and its church was abruptly destroyed by flood on 14th July 1751. In the interior, the openings between the pillars supporting the gallery are built with Gothicizing lancet forms on both floors. It is assumed that the medieval-like forms, which quote the church of Bistrița, as well as the central disposition of the church, evoke the destroyed medieval church.<sup>8</sup>

Examples can be presented not only from Transylvania. The Inner City Parish Church in Pest was reconstructed in phases

<sup>7</sup> Tibor Koppány suggests that Italian masters suited for the task might have been found closer, e.g. in Vienna or Pressburg, but probably they were discouraged by the great distance, the ‘unknown’ and the Protestant country. [11, p. 455]

<sup>8</sup> Opinions are divided on whether the lancet portals of the Calvinist church built in 1727 in Marosvécs (in Romanian: Brâncovenesti) are from the 18th century or not. Because of the Baroque enveloping of the medieval walls, Kisanna Barabás finds it conceivable that the portals are in situ Gothic relics and not modern Gothicizing elements. [2]



Fig. 1. The sanctuary of the Cathedral of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia)

after the recapture of the capital. The sanctuary was kept in its Gothic form, and in order to match it, some parts of the vault were reconstructed in 1725 with the imitation of rib vaults. In the middle of the 18th century, the early-Gothic portal of the Roman Catholic church of Ipolyság was ‘renovated’ following the original forms – but with recognizably Baroque details. [10, p. 231]

The Blessed Gizella Chapel in Veszprém survived the Turkish times without serious damage. Nevertheless, when building the new palace of the Bishop, they started to demolish the two-story poor condition building that stood between the palace of the Provost and that of the Bishop; at that time, the lower level (today the Chapel) functioned as a wine cellar. The demolition and the duct, which was led through the former chapel, generated large-scale protest. Then, in 1769, the workers found medieval frescoes on the wall of the Provost’s palace, preserved to this day. Under pressure from the dissatisfaction, the plans of the palace were modified; the lower level of the chapel was rebuilt, probably according to the concept of Jakab Fellner, who was also the architect of the palace. The southern wall of the chapel was moved 28 cm to the south. To replace the partly destroyed vault ribs, new ribs were carved, the shattered



Fig. 2. The interior of the church in Malomárka (Monariu)

frescoes were replaced by new ones (which were removed from the walls in 1937), and new lancet openings were placed into the end walls. [4, pp. 168-171]

The Pauline monastery in Márianosztra was founded by Louis the Great; it was abandoned by the monks in Turkish times and fell into disrepair. After the expulsion of the Turks, the Pauline Order retrieved its property, and they rebuilt the church from the foundations, partly modelled on the old church. The sanctuary was first completed in a Gothicized form in 1717-1718, with the nave and towers built in 1719-1722, already with clear Baroque elements. In 1990 and 1999, Lajos Bozóki carried out wall probing in the sanctuary, and found that the whole sanctuary was built in the Baroque era. [3] While the vault of the sanctuary is confusingly similar to the Gothic forms, the 18th century origin is clearly visible on the lancet windows: they are without tracery, and made with simple Baroque profiles. The message of these medieval-like forms can easily be interpreted: the settlement of the Pauline Order in Márianosztra is not some kind of new beginning but the continuation of the medieval life of the monastery.

The assumption is that the church in Márianosztra is not the only Pauline church with Gothicized elements: the church of the Pauline monastery in Máriavölgy (in Slovak: Marianka) could also have mainly been built in the Baroque period.<sup>9</sup> The purist reconstruction of the sanctuary around 1870 makes its evaluation difficult, but the nave still shows its form from the 18th century. The nave copies the spatial arrangement of the Jesuit Church of Nagyszombat (in Slovak: Trnava) – although this is designed with lancet windows – and is covered with a barrel-like vault with lunettes, on the surface of which the world of Gothic rib vaults is imitated by stucco braids started

<sup>9</sup> The church was recently renovated, but I have no information on any publication related to the building that would clarify the details of the construction history.



Fig. 3. The vault of the church in Máriavölgy (Marianka)

from half-columns with Composite capital. An undulated rib runs along the ridge, which is covered with a cloud-like ornament where the ribs join – at the site of the keystone. The lancet arch is articulated by simple rectangular belts that start to rise from cantilevers with a Baroque-like cross section profile.

Máriavölgy was one of the most important places of pilgrimage in medieval Hungary; its significance was increased by its proximity to Pressburg (in Hungarian: Pozsony), and that it was the centre of the Pauline Order. Unlike most of the Pauline monasteries, Máriavölgy operated without interruption even during the Ottoman times; thus, this important monastery had to show a representative design and also bear witness to the medieval past of the Order.

From 1647, the Habsburgs regularly visited Máriavölgy in order to pray to the Virgin Mary icon. (Of course, this gesture had a symbolic content too: the Habsburgs – as Hungarian kings – were in the wake of Louis the Great, the founder of the monastery.) However, Charles III visited Máriavölgy only once, after his coronation, on 22nd May 1712. In the summer of 1722, after the Parliament of Pressburg adopted the Pragmatic Sanction (=Pragmatica Sanctio) the king made a thanksgiving pilgrimage not to Máriavölgy but to Mariazell – also founded by Louis the Great. [17, p. 89] The reason for this could be that the Baroque reconstruction of the church' structure can

be dated approximately to this time since in 1728, the frescoes depicting the legend of St Paul the Hermit, were still under preparation, the side altars were built in 1724-29 and the main altar in 1736. The main sponsor of the renaissance could have been the great builder Imre Esterházy. From general of the Pauline Order, he became first, Bishop of Zagreb, then that of Veszprém; he was then made Archbishop of Esztergom in 1725, receiving his archbishop pallium in Máriavölgy from Ádám Acsády, who followed him in the episcopal office in Veszprém. [17, p. 84] Presumably, further research will explore several Gothicized Baroque buildings in Upper Hungary and around Pressburg.<sup>10</sup>

In the Baroque period, this architectural nostalgia was used as a method for reproducing not just the Gothic era. The Romanesque Cistercian monastery in BÉlapátfalva was significantly reconstructed in 1730-1744, essentially only the west and north end walls remained from the 13th century walls. [16, p. 166] The outer appearance of the church was defined by the basilica-like cross-section and the reconstructed Roman slit windows. The interior is covered with barrel vault with lunettes, articulated by lancet belts.

The monastery church of Pannonhalma was reconstructed during the time of Abbot Egyed Karner (1699-1708). According to the records of the Order, the Romanesque portal of the south aisle, the Porta Speciosa was rebuilt 'ad formam antiquam', and the Romanesque gates of the entrance leading down into the crypt were completely re-carved. [4, p. 162] The south wing of the Gothic cloister was rebuilt in 1723. [10, p. 231] Structurally the ceiling, which imitates rib groin vault, is actually a bucket vault with lunettes.

The tool used for emphasizing the historical continuity could also be the historicizing of early-Renaissance. As an example, we can mention the Szatmáry-tabernacle in Pécs, which was completed to become an altar. Unfortunately, the additions built after 1783 were removed from the altar during the purist reconstruction of the cathedral. [4, p. 172]

After reviewing the Gothicizing monuments, the question arises: do they have features that are common in form? In the traditional style-critical sense they do not, since all the reconstructed monuments were different, as well as the architectural environments in which they were realized, so the form of the details also differed from each other. However, we can conclude in general that the most important formal element that refers to the Middle Ages is the lancet. It is either without tracery or only the medieval carvings are reused. The sections are varied; sometimes the Gothic profile is reproduced, other times a simple profile is applied with a rectangular or Baroque-like cross section. The rib vault only occasionally occurred, and even more rarely appeared with a structural role. A more

in-depth evaluation of the monuments may shed light on masters who contributed to several historicizing reconstructions.

In the search for common features, we should talk not so much about the detailing but rather about the intention of the builders. It is common in all of the buildings that their medieval history, namely the own history of the buildings was an identity-bearing element carrying political or social message. One of the most important historical aspects of the country's reconstruction after the Turkish occupation was to emphasize the medieval origin, and from the perspective of sectarian infighting, to prove continuity.<sup>11</sup>

### 1.3 Chapels of the Holy Sepulchre

The reconstruction of the discussed monuments, that is the medieval churches – as has already been mentioned – are non-exclusive representatives of Gothicizing in the Baroque period. The chapels of the Holy Sepulchre create another clearly separable group of monuments.<sup>12</sup> Apparently, they do not have a lot to do with Gothicizing renovations, but for the use of Gothic elements, they can still be juxtaposed.

The chapels, built as part of the larger Baroque Calvary-complexes, were constructed following the design of the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem – which still stands today. However, their more direct antecedent was probably not the building in the Holy Land, but the engraving illustrations, and the similar 16-17th century monuments, located in German-speaking countries (e.g.: Görlitz, 1481-1504; Graz, 1634; Vienna, 1639; Linz 1659). As a reference to the original building, a lancet dead-arcade ornament ran along their apses from outside, with an open small spirelet placed above the sanctuary. Otherwise, the other parts of the chapels were built with simple Baroque details.

This kind of chapel of the Holy Sepulchre can be seen today on the Calvary hill in Győr, in Pannonhalma and Úrvölgy (in Slovak: Spania Dolina), Upper Hungary.<sup>13</sup> Known from the illustrations – but unfortunately no longer in existence – the former chapels of the Holy Sepulchre in Forchtenstein (in Hungarian: Fraknó), Eisenstadt (in Hungarian: Kismarton), Sopronbánfalva and Buda had a similar Gothicized appearance.

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<sup>11</sup> It is a wrong approach to consider these reconstructions as the early manifestation of 'historic preservation'; on the contrary, because of the original buildings or building parts disappeared during the interventions, and that we can see the examples of several demolished medieval buildings of great significance, it can be concluded that the society of the 18th century had no affinity for the protection of medieval buildings merely for 'historic preservation' reasons.

<sup>12</sup> István Szilágyi wrote a very profound paper on this theme. [19]

<sup>13</sup> Szilágyi does not mention the example of Úrvölgy in his study. The dead-arcades appear in a reduced form and with semi-circular closure on the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in Kőszeg.

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<sup>10</sup> For example the Loretto chapel in Holics (in Slovak: Holič) is presumably also a Gothicized Baroque building.



Fig 4. The chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in Győr

## 2 The role of symbols in Baroque architecture

At a conference in memory of Zoltán Szentkirályi, it may be welcomed that we also try to interpret this phenomena from the architecture-theoretical point of view. In my opinion, they should be discussed in relation to the Baroque architecture because they are actually not ‘Gothic’ phenomena.<sup>14</sup> As they were not created in the Gothic period, they are not the clear reproductions of the Gothic; these buildings do not perfectly mimic the medieval forms, just refer to them, and the Gothic details are usually mixed with elements of the Baroque style. The design of these buildings cannot be evaluated as a cost-saving approach, because not only would it not justify the secondary use and supplementation of medieval carvings but also because the programme-creating will of the builders can be identified behind the forms referring to the Middle Ages.

It is also an important aspect that, generally, the cited works are not at all marginal, irrelevant buildings, which could easily be charged with excessive conservatism, anachronism or provincialism – which might be true for the phenomena of the continuing existence of the Gothic – since in most of the cases, the builder was a bishop or a monastic order; many times, none other than the queen was behind the investment – i.e. as the person financing the costs.

If we do not consider them as anachronistic phenomenon, we should be able to explain their formation with the same general factors – being valid for the art of the era – which resulted in the creation of traditional Baroque works of art.

In my view, this phenomenon can be clearly explained by the fact that the message, they tell could fill a key role in the thematic and stylistic aspects of the Baroque building – I might even say work of art. It wants to convey its formal or spatial message not always with the special tools of architecture as an artistic

<sup>14</sup> In the epilogue of its study – intending to be provocative – Szilárd Papp also defines the sanctuary of the Cathedral of Alba Iulia as a Baroque work of art. [16, p. 168]

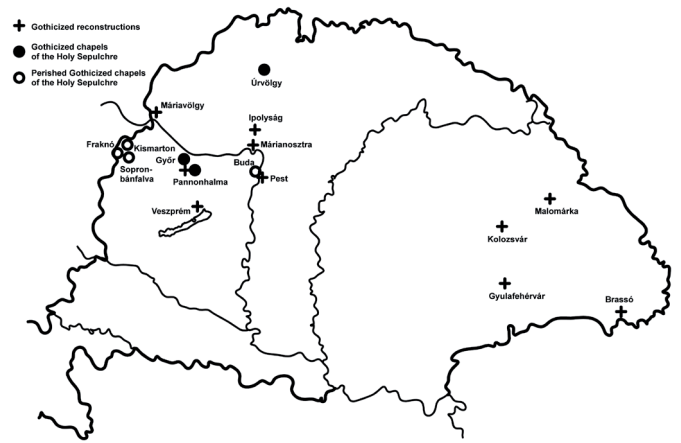


Fig 5. Map about the Gothicized buildings of Hungary

genre, but carries a message translatable into words. This can also be referred to as symbolism. Optionally, the expression of this message can be more important than the stylistic features.

Of course, with all this, the aim is not to declare that the importance of symbolism and the message was atypical in periods before the Baroque; although the interpretation of the message and the form of the occurrence could be very different, just as the appearance of symbols varied according to the field of art even within the same era.

We can find an imposing parallel when we compare this aspect of architecture with Baroque music. Baroque music also carries a message; it is a ‘speech-like music’ or with a later expression, it can be called ‘programme-music’ and not an ‘absolute’ one. [6]

In my opinion, in the Baroque, there were four basic methods for the communication of the building’s message and the expression of its symbols.

1. The most direct method of symbolism is when the building models a concrete place, referred to as ‘imitation’ symbolism. Even if the imitation is performed by copying a specific building, the emphasis is not on the imitated building itself but on the original concept that both buildings try to imitate. The Stations of the Cross – the ‘models’ of Golgotha – provide the clearest examples of imitation.
2. A less direct but still very rational method of expressing a symbolic message is ‘attribution’ symbolism, when a building evokes another building or a cliché-like architectural form, because of the inherent content and message of that building or architectural detail. Here, either the prestige or hierarchical role of the sample buildings can be relevant or the widespread meaning of the cited building detail. An example of the former is the Grassalkovich Palace in Gödöllő, which refers to the Royal Castle of Buda; or the Armenian Great Church in Erzsébetváros (in Romanian: Dumbrăveni), the facade copying the Cathedral of Kalocsa, the seat of the Archbishop. For the latter, a good example is the towers appearing on palaces [15] or churches.

3. The most indirect symbolism is when a building's shape or detail forms refer to a phenomenon, a concept or an existing thing (a saint or God), which reference can be understood through logic. Thus, it can be called 'speculative' symbolism. The general knowledge of the time greatly facilitated or made clear the interpretation of these references, expressed in this speculative way, for the people of the period. Good examples for this speculative symbolism could be the triangular churches referring to the Holy Trinity.
4. In addition to these, the message of a building could be completed with a fourth method, which was probably the easiest to understand, but which had the least architectural consequences. This method of 'didactic' symbolism, classifies here mainly the works of the related arts, especially sculpture and painting, which works create a concrete iconographic programme in case of a church. Optionally, the knowledge and understanding of this programme can be essential in case of a concrete building if we wish to translate the manifestations of these three symbolic languages.

The chapels of the Holy Sepulchre carry 'imitation' symbols while the Gothicized church reconstructions carry 'attribution' symbols. In the first case, the buildings try to realize a copy of

a concrete medieval building, in the second case they speak about their own medieval past. If we wish to fit the Gothicized buildings into the phenomena of Baroque architecture organically, then we should list their 'speech-like' nature and symbolism to the characteristics of the Baroque.

Zoltán Szentkirályi did not specifically deal with the issue of Gothicized buildings or methods of symbolism. Nevertheless, what the paper has briefly sketched above, does not contradict his assertions of Baroque architectural theory. In Szentkirályi's works, the consideration played a primary role, namely that the Baroque works of art need to be interpreted and evaluated not only from a formal approach or on a stylistic basis; but the artistic form is defined objectively by three factors: the worldview typical of the period, the psycho-physical features of man and the social relations (indirectly, through the topic). In his study, *The relationship of technique and form in architecture*, [18] he underlines that a building, beyond its primary function, also mediates thematic layers. It is therefore possible to organically integrate the Gothicized buildings in the architectural phenomena of the Baroque era through a more profound understanding of this thematic layer.

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