

## FUNERARY MONUMENTS OF MEMBERS OF THE GREEK COMPANY OF SIBIU

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### *Historiographical considerations*

Information about the cemeteries where merchants of the Greek Company of Sibiu and members of their families were buried from the last years of the seventeenth century until the end of the nineteenth century, are included in the series of works that have made up the rich historical bibliography on Levantine trade in the Habsburg Monarchy. Nicolae Iorga – who published a significant number of epigraphic documents, notes and inscriptions preserved in Romanian churches and cemeteries collected during his trip to Transylvania in 1906<sup>1</sup> – first reported the existence of graves of emigrant merchants from the Balkan Peninsula. He also initiated the systematic investigation of the activity of the Greek Companies of Sibiu and Braşov, as reflected in letters and documents from the archives of the two associations, as well as from the archives of the “Hagi Constantin Pop” Trade House.<sup>2</sup> The same archival effort was subsequently undertaken by Dumitru Z. Furnică,<sup>3</sup> Nestor Camariano,<sup>4</sup> Ioan Moga<sup>5</sup> and, later, Andrei Oţetea,<sup>6</sup> Elena and Dumitru Limona, Teodor Bodogae and Loredana Dascăl.<sup>7</sup> On the spiritual life of the Orthodox merchant

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<sup>1</sup> N. Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții ardeleni și maramureșene*. Vol. II. *Inscripții și însemnări* (vol. XIII of the series *Studii și documente cu privire la istoria românilor*) [Letters and Inscriptions from Transylvania and Maramureș. Vol. II. Inscriptions and Notes (vol. XIII of the series Studies and Documents on the History of the Romanians)] (Bucharest: Atelierele Grafice Socec & Co, 1906).

<sup>2</sup> N. Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții ardeleni și maramureșene*. Vol. I. *Scrisori din arhiva grecilor Sibiului, din arhiva protopopiei neunite a Făgărașului și din alte locuri* (vol. XII al seriei *Studii și documente cu privire la istoria românilor*) [Letters and Inscriptions from Transylvania and Maramureș. Vol. I. Letters from the Archives of the Greeks of Sibiu, from the Archives of the Non-Uniate Deanery of Făgăraș and from Other Places (vol. XII of the Studies and Documents on the History of the Romanians series)] (Bucharest: Atelierele Grafice Socec & Co, 1906); N. Iorga, *Scrisori de boieri și negustori olteni și munteni către casa de negoț sibiană Hagi Pop publicate cu note genealogice asupra mai multor familii* (vol. VIII of the series *Studii și documente cu privire la istoria românilor*) [Letters of Boyars and Merchants from Oltenia and Wallachia to the Sibiu Trading House of Hagi Pop Published with Genealogical Notes on Several Families (vol. VIII of the Studies and Documents on the History of the Romanians series)] (Bucharest: Atelierele Grafice Socec & Co, 1906).

<sup>3</sup> Dumitru Z. Furnică, *Documente privitoare la comerțul românesc. 1473-1868* [Documents Concerning the Trade in Romania] (Bucharest: Tipografia România Nouă Theodor I. Voinea, 1931).

<sup>4</sup> Nestor Camariano, *Catalogul manuscriselor grecești din Biblioteca Academiei Române* [Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Romanian Academy]. Tom II (Bucharest: National Printing House, 1940), 116-120.

<sup>5</sup> Ioan Moga, “Politica economică austriacă și comerțul Transilvaniei în veacul XVIII” [Austrian Economic Policy and the Trade of Transylvania in the Eighteenth Century], *AIIN* VIII (1936-1938): 86-165.

<sup>6</sup> Andrei Oţetea, “Casa de comerț Hagi Constantin Pop din Sibiu și rolul ei în dezvoltarea comerțului din Țara Românească” [The Hagi Constantin Pop Trading House in Sibiu and its Role in the Development of Trade in Wallachia] *Comunicări și articole de istorie* (Bucharest: Societatea de Științe Istorice și Filologice, Secția Istorie, 1955): 29-44.

<sup>7</sup> Dumitru Limona, Elena Limona, *Catalogul documentelor grecești din Arhivele Statului de la Orașul Stalin* [Catalogue of Greek Documents from the State Archives in Stalin City], vol. I-II (Bucharest: Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului, 1958); Dumitru Limona, *Catalogul documentelor referitoare la viața economică a Țărilor Române în sec. XVII-XIX. Documente din Arhivele Statului Sibiu* [Catalogue of Documents Relating to the Economic Life of the Romanian Countries in the Seventeenth-Nineteenth Centuries. Documents from the State Archives of Sibiu], vol. I-II (Bucharest: Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului, 1966-1967) (forwards: *Documente din Arhivele Statului Sibiu*); D. Limona, E. Limona, “Catastihurile Casei Comerciale “Ioan Marcu” din Sibiu” [The Registers of the “Ioan Marcu” Commercial House in Sibiu], *RA* 2 (1959): 225-243; Teodor Bodogae, “Le privilège commercial

community in Sibiu, including their early desire to build a church and establish their own necropolis following the example of other “Orthodox brotherhoods” in Transylvania, Nestor Camariano published a study documenting unpublished sources (ms. 976) from the collection “Greek Manuscripts” of the Romanian Academy Library.<sup>8</sup> A number of studies have been devoted to the same manifestations of spiritual life, even if with less relevance to the funerary side of religious activity; these include one by Cornelia Papacostea-Danielopolu,<sup>9</sup> a chapter in Olga Cicanci’s monograph on Greek companies in Transylvania which makes special reference to the Greek Company in Sibiu,<sup>10</sup> and studies by Athanasios E. Karathanasis,<sup>11</sup> Teodor Bodogae<sup>12</sup> and Mircea Păcurariu.<sup>13</sup>

Research conducted by Daniel Dumitran<sup>14</sup> on the presence of members of the Companies of Sibiu and Braşov, as well as of non-company merchants in various other localities of the Principality, has highlighted their contribution to the affirmation of urban Romanian Orthodox and Uniate communities, a significant factor being the construction of so-called “Greek churches” with cemeteries around them towards the end of the eighteenth century in the suburbs of several cities (for example Cluj, Făgăraş, Alba Iulia and Sebeş).

With reference to the cemeteries of Sibiu which belonged to various ethnic groups and religious denominations in the late Middle Ages, pre-modern and modern periods, but with relatively little interest in the Romanian ones, a series of historical studies have been published in the last decades authored by Mihaela Grancea, Valeria Soroştineanu, Gudrun-Liane Ittu and Răzvan Pop, among others.<sup>15</sup> More

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accordé en 1636 par G. Rákócz aux marchands grecs de Sibiu”, *RRH* 4 (1972): 647-653. For a framing of the Greek Merchants’ Company of Sibiu in the Romanian historical and archival context, see Loredana Dascăl, *Din arhiva Companiei Negustorilor Greci din Sibiu (1453-1895). Texte epistolare greceşti* [From the Archive of the Company of Greek Merchants from Sibiu (1453-1895). Greek Epistolary Texts] (Iaşi: Editura Universităţii “Al. I. Cuza”, 2013), 20-24.

<sup>8</sup> Nestor Camariano, “L’organisation et l’activité culturelle de la Compagnie des marchands grecs de Sibiu”, *Balcania* VI (1943): 222.

<sup>9</sup> Cornelia Papacostea-Danielopolu, Lidia Demény, “Grecs, Roumains, Bulgares et Serbes dans la Compagnie “Grecque” de Braşov (1777-1850)”, *Bulletin d’Association d’Etudes du Sud-Est Européen* nr. 2 (1972): 266, 268-269; Cornelia Papacostea-Danielopolu, “Organizarea şi viaţa culturală a Companiei greceşti din Braşov (sfârşitul secolului al XVIII-lea şi prima jumătate a secolului XIX-lea)” [The Organization and Cultural Life of the Greek Company of Braşov (Late Eighteenth Century and First Half of the Nineteenth Century)], in *Studii istorice sud-est europene* [Southeastern European Historical Studies], vol. I (Bucharest: Editura Academiei RSR, 1974), 159-212.

<sup>10</sup> Olga Cicanci, *Companiile greceşti din Transilvania şi comerţul european între anii 1636-1746* [Greek Companies in Transylvania and European Trade between 1636-1746] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei RSR, 1981), 156-168.

<sup>11</sup> Athanasios E. Karathanasis, *Elenismul în Transilvania* [Hellenism in Transylvania] (Bucharest: Omonia, 2003).

<sup>12</sup> Teodor Bodogae, “Sibiul, vatră de viaţă ortodoxă românească” [Sibiu, Home of Romanian Orthodox Life], in *Arhidieceza Sibiului – Pagini de istorie* [Archdiocese of Sibiu - Pages of History] (Sibiu, 1981), 13-22; Teodor Bodogae, “Câteva momente mai importante din trecutul catedralei mitropolitane din Sibiu” [Some More Important Moments from the Past of the Metropolitan Cathedral of Sibiu], *MA* 5 (1987): 96-102.

<sup>13</sup> Mircea Păcurariu, “Scurtă istorie a vieţii bisericeşti a Sibiului”, in *Catedrala mitropolitană din Sibiu – 1906-2006* [A Brief History of the Church Life of Sibiu, in The Metropolitan Cathedral – 1906-2006] (Sibiu: Andreiana Publishing House 2006), 9-20.

<sup>14</sup> Daniel Dumitran, “Spre o reală toleranţă pentru răsăriteni? Problema concivilităţii în oraşele libere din Transilvania” [Towards a Real Tolerance for the Easterners? The Problem of Concivility in the Free Cities of Transylvania], *AUA hist.* 15, II (2011): 257-308.

<sup>15</sup> Mihaela Grancea, “Dispariţia cimitirelor vechi din Sibiu, efect al modernizării urbane” [The Disappearance of the Old Cemeteries in Sibiu, an Effect of Urban Modernization], *Monumentul* II (2009): 155-164; Mihaela Grancea, “«Oraşul celor morţi» şi interacţiunile culturale specifice artei funerare moderne. Studiu de caz: Cimitirul Municipal Sibiu” [“The City of the Dead” and the Cultural Interactions Specific to Modern Funerary Art], in Ioan Popa, Mihaela

recently, as part of a project coordinated by Maria Crîngaci Țiplic to investigate the archaeological and historical perspective of medieval ecclesiastical topography in the cities of Sibiu and Braşov, a section was dedicated to cemeteries.<sup>16</sup>

A recent study on the evolution of the Jewish community in Alba Iulia as reflected in funerary art is worth noting, first of all because of its methodological approach to the subject. The article, by Daniel Dumitran, Sidonia Petronela Olea and Claudiu Stoian,<sup>17</sup> proposes a model for the systematic investigation of Jewish cemeteries by “correlating historical, epigraphic and artistic dimensions” which can be applied, by extrapolation, to necropolises of other religious communities of the same period.

### *Introduction*

One issue related to the beginnings of the Levantine merchant community in Sibiu – from the moment they chose to operate in the city in the mid-sixteenth century, but especially after they acquired the right of association (1636), by virtue of which they also constituted themselves into a privileged Company (1639)<sup>18</sup> – concerns an important aspect of their church life, namely the concern to establish a cemetery consecrated according to the rites of the Orthodox confession. The establishment of the cemetery became a necessity towards the end of the seventeenth century, as more and more merchants joined the association. The main reason, stated as such in 1691, for building a place of worship in the village of Bungard, near Sibiu, was to secure, by purchasing several areas of land, a sufficiently large area around the church (about 4,682 m<sup>2</sup>) for the burial of the deceased members of the Company (*pro suorum decedentium humatione*).<sup>19</sup>

It is possible that, until then, in a period when burials were quite rare events in the life of the community, they were celebrated in the progadia of the only Orthodox church in Sibiu, beyond the city walls. Its existence is attested to by an epigraphic document, an inscription on “a piece of white stone” identified by Nicolae Iorga in a side of the “cemetery of graves” of the church in Iosefin suburb. The fragments of the text that he has been able to make out – “here strove master Stoica founder ... archbishop chir Ghinadie ... the year of our Lord 1638 (in another place 1631, n. n.) ..., day 19 June ...”<sup>20</sup> – seem to

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Grancea, ed., *Interferențe culturale în Sibiu secolelor XVIII-XX* [Cultural Interferences in Sibiu During the Eighteenth and the Twentieth Centuries] (Sibiu: Astra Museum, 2014), 57-106; Valeria Soroștineanu, “Biserica din Groapă și grecii din Sibiu” [The Church in the Pit and the Greeks from Sibiu], în Popa, Grancea, ed., *Interferențe culturale în Sibiu secolelor XVIII-XX*, 37-57; Valeria Soroștineanu, “Cimitirul Bisericii din Groapă” [The Cemetery of the Church in the Pit], *SUCH* VII (2010): 135-153; Gudrun-Liane Ittu, “Cimitirul Central (Municipal) din Sibiu, un loc al memoriei («lieu de mémoire») și de artă funerară” [The Central (Municipal) Cemetery of Sibiu, a Place of Memory (“lieu de mémoire”) and of Funerary Art], *ATF* V (2016): 527-536; Răzvan C. Pop, “Ethnic, Civil and Military Cemeteries in Sibiu Throughout the Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries”, *BAM* 1 (2013): 107-120.

<sup>16</sup> Maria Crîngaci Țiplic, “Explorând topografia ecleziastica medievală a Sibiului și a altor locuri sacre” [Exploring the Medieval Ecclesiastical Topography of Sibiu and Other Sacred Places], in Maria Crîngaci Țiplic, ed., *Spațiul sacru în orașul medieval: perspective arheologice și istorice* [Sacred Space in the Medieval City: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives] (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2021), 269-293; Andrei Nacu, “Topografia cimitirelor din Sibiu reflectată pe planurile orașului publicate înainte de mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea” [Topography of Cemeteries in Sibiu Reflected on City Plans Published Before the Mid-Nineteenth Century], in Crîngaci Țiplic, ed., *Spațiul sacru în orașul medieval*, 295-304.

<sup>17</sup> Daniel Dumitran, Sidonia Petronela Olea, Claudiu Stoian, “The Evolution of the Alba Iulia Jewish Community Reflected in Funerary Art: A Proposed Model for Researching Jewish Cemeteries”, *Museikon* 7 (2023): 149-196.

<sup>18</sup> Camariano, “L’organization”, 210.

<sup>19</sup> Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții*, vol. I, 3.

<sup>20</sup> Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții*, vol. II, 180 (doc. 612). The full text of the inscription, in the version published by N. Iorga is as

have been composed as a votive formula rather than an epitaph. It mentions the founder, whose name is also mentioned in the same quality in 1638 in the remaining inscription (now disappeared) from the church of Boița,<sup>21</sup> near Sibiu, as well as on the Trinity stone cross erected there in 1640:<sup>22</sup> “the humble and diligent servant of God Stoiciu, (son) of Nicholas and Mother Stama, from the place called Plika, in the county of Kastoria”.<sup>23</sup> Nicolae Iorga assumed that, in addition to the Romanian church in the *măierimea* [garden] of Cisanadia Gate built in the time of Bishop Ghenadie Brad<sup>24</sup> by *jupân* [master] Stoica, there was a cemetery<sup>25</sup> in which the metropolitan Ghenadie III<sup>26</sup> was buried in 1660. The place of worship was probably demolished in 1702 together with other buildings, as there was a plan to build a citadel on the perimeter of that area. However, the project never materialised and the site remained empty until 1773, when the first buildings of the future Iosefin district were erected there. It is possible that it was the land occupied previously by the church of Master Stoica that was bought by Stana, the widow of companion (company member) Hagi Petru Luca, on which, through the labours of her and her son-in-law Hagi Constantin Pop, the settlements of Hagi Pop Foundation were built, starting in 1788.<sup>27</sup>

### *Bungard Cemetery*

Deceased members of the Greek Company of Sibiu were buried at Bungard over the course of a century, from 1695, when the cemetery took shape, until 1795, the year in which the administration of the patronal church was transferred to the trusteeship of the Orthodox parish of the locality. Only sporadic burials took place even after this transfer, as was the case, for example, with the 1801 burial of an old member of

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follows: “... [au o]steanit jupan Stoica titor a [...] [ar]hiemitropolit chir Ghinadie ... [anno Do]mini 1638 ...esc, die 19 Iunius ... Czerafino C. De XSC. W. C”. Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții*, vol. I, VI; Camariano, “L’organization”, 219, n. 1; Cicanci, *Companiile*, 159, n. 1. It is improbable that the mention of the name Czerafino refers to Serafim Ilaro of Ivir, who was recorded as a priest of the Company only on July 5, 1640. For the year 1631, see N. Iorga, *Neamul românesc în Ardeal și Țara Ungurească* [The Romanians in Transylvania and the Hungarian Kingdom], vol. I (Bucharest: Editura Minerva, 1906), 153.

<sup>21</sup> Marius Porumb, “Vechi inscripții românești din Transilvania” [Old Romanian Inscriptions from Transylvania], *AMNXX* (1983): 763.

<sup>22</sup> Ioan Albu, “Comanditarul troitei din piatră de la Boița (1640): un negustor “grec”?” [The Benefactor of the Triptych in Boița. A “Greek” Merchant?], *Transilvania* 10 (2016): 71, 72; On a stone cross on the altar of the high church of Căinenii Mici (jud. Vâlcea), the inscription from 1632 mentions Stoica, Nica and Stana at the top of the list of founders (Victor Brătulescu, “Biserici din Argeș și Vâlcea” [Churches in Argeș and Valcea], *BCMI* 79 (1934): 40, 41.

<sup>23</sup> The full content of the Pisania is as follows: “Ανηγγέρθη ὁ παρὼν καὶ θεῖος ναὸς τῆς ὑπεραγίας δεσποίνης ἡμῶν θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας ἧγουν τῆς κοιμήσεως ὑπὸ κόπου καὶ δαπάνης τοῦ εὐτελοῦς καὶ φιλοπόνου δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ ΖΟΙΟΥ υἱοῦ τοῦ Νίκου καὶ μητρὸς Ταμος καὶ χώρας ὀνομαζομένης Πλήκας ἐκ μέρους τῆς Καστορίας καὶ ἀνεκαίνισεν αὐτὸν ἐκ θεμελίων τὸ σωτηρίο ἔτος (δηλονότι τῷ σωτηρίῳ ἔτει) 1638 ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀδάμ καὶ κτίσεως κόσμου ζρμς' (7146) Ἰουνίου ιε εἰς τοὺς χρόνους ῥηγὸς Γεωργίου Ρακκοτύζκου”. “This divine church has been erected in honor of our Blessed Lady, Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, more precisely, of the Assumption (of her), through the labor and at the expense of the humble and diligent servant of God Stoiciu (son) of Nicholas and Mother Stama, in the place called Plika, in the county of Kastoria, and it was finished and built from the foundation in the year of salvation 1638, and from Adam and the creation of the world 7146 June 15 in the time of King George Rákóczi.”

<sup>24</sup> Metropolitan Ghenadie II of Transylvania (1627-1640).

<sup>25</sup> N. Iorga, *Istoria Bisericii Românești și a vieții religioase a românilor* [The History of the Romanian Church and of the Religious Life of the Romanians], vol. I (Vălenii de Munte: Editura Neamul Românesc, 1908), 354.

<sup>26</sup> Păcurariu, “Scurtă istorie”, 39.

<sup>27</sup> N. Iorga, *Contribuții la Istoria Literaturii Române în veacul al XVIII-lea și al XIX-lea*, I. *Scritori bisericești* [Contributions to the History of the Romanian Literature in the Eighteenth and the Nineteenth Centuries. I. Church Writers] (Bucharest: Institutul de Arte Grafice Carol Göbl, 1906), 1.

the Company, Manicati Safranu.<sup>28</sup> A list of the names of merchants who were buried in Bungard – and in other places in the country, such as the cemeteries in Bistrița, Baia Mare and Cluj – was identified by Nestor Camariano in the “Manuscript of the Greek Company of Sibiu” (ms. gr. 976, fol. 160–161, Romanian Academy Library).<sup>29</sup>

A historical and architectural relic of the seventeenth century, the merchants’ church was demolished in 1824 to make room for a more spacious one. Even the old funerary monuments “have not escaped the practical spirit of the newer inhabitants of the village, who have used them according to their needs”.<sup>30</sup> Thus, by the early years of the twentieth century, all that remained of the former cemetery of the Company members was “the surrounding wall, the stone cross embedded in it and a few grave slabs with Greek letters”.<sup>31</sup> Moved, in the meantime, to the porch beneath the tower of the new church, the cross, artistically carved from a block of stone (fig. 2), recalls in calligraphic epitaphs that “Here rests the servant of God Ioan Marcu of Mesopotamia, [who lived to be 71 and passed away in] January 1763”.<sup>32</sup> The birthplace of Ioan Marcu (1692–1763) was therefore in the Aromanian village [of Seatiste], in the region of Kastoria in western Macedonia.<sup>33</sup> He emigrated to Oltenia when the province was still under Austrian rule, entering into the trading business in Râmnicu Vâlcea. From there he moved in the 1740s to Sibiu, where he founded the trading house that operated under his name until the end of the century. Ioan Marcu was a very active and respected member of the Greek Company; he was their *proestos* [provost] for over a decade,<sup>34</sup> and distinguished himself through philanthropic actions in support of churches and schools in Râmnic and Sibiu.

As for the slabs with Greek epitaphs, mentioned as existing since the beginning of the last century, none of them are still in the cemetery. Only a few remaining fragments of these tombstones, reused by masons in the nineteenth century when the building was erected again, were discovered by chance after the plaster was removed from the plinth of the church (fig. 9).

Only two of the broken and hammered stones still preserve their funerary inscriptions. On a shattered remnant of a slab (fig. 11), a fragment of a proper name – *MANO* (probably Manoli or Emanoil) – can still be distinguished. On another (fig. 10), preserved in a better condition, the epitaph is comprehensible, if also scratched by the tools of the workmen: “Here rests the servant of God, Nikolas Theodoru Stoian, who lived 18 years and passed away to the Lord in the year ...”.<sup>35</sup> In the documents of the Company several merchants baptised Stoie or Stoian are mentioned: Stogios (Stoie) of Melenic (juror,

<sup>28</sup> Limona, *Documente din Arhivele Statului Sibiu*, vol. I, 417.

<sup>29</sup> Camariano, “L’organization”, 222, n. 3.

<sup>30</sup> Elena Ciora, “Biserica din Bungard” [The Church from Bungard], *MA* 5-8 (1959): 529.

<sup>31</sup> Iorga, *Neamul românesc*, vol. I, 142.

<sup>32</sup> “Ἐνθάδε/ κείται ο δού/λος Του Θεού Ἰω/άννης Μάρ/κου από Με/σοποταμια/ ζησας επι/ 71 εκοιμήθη/ εν ετων/ 1763, Ἰωννουάρσιου”. Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții*, vol. II, 71.

<sup>33</sup> Until now, the origin of the Marcu family was hypothetically placed in the locality of Seatiste (Σιάτισσα) in the region of Kozani in western Macedonia. Dumitru Limona, *Negustorii “greci” și arhivele lor comerciale*, edited by Loredana Dascăl [“Greek” Merchants and Their Commercial Archives, edited by Loredana Dascăl] (Iași: Editura Universității “Al. I. Cuza”, 2016), 78.

<sup>34</sup> Ioan Marcu held the position of president of the Company of Sibiu between 1749 and 1760, succeeding Gheorghe Horvat and being succeeded by Gheorghe Manicati Safranu (Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții*, vol. I, 51, 72, 73). D. Limona exaggerated when he stated that Ioan Marcu was *proestos* of the Company for two decades. Limona, introduction to *Documente din Arhivele Statului Sibiu*, vol. I, 8.

<sup>35</sup> “[Ἐνθάδε]/ κε[τ]α[ι]/ ο δουλο[σ] του [Θεου]/ Νικόλασ Θ/εοδώρο[υ]/ [Σ]τοηαν/ ζ[η]σα[σ]/ ετη [1]8/ εκ[οιμη]/θη εν/ Κυριω/ ετει ...”.

in 1639),<sup>36</sup> Stoianis Stathi (*haragiar* [collector], in 1653),<sup>37</sup> kir Stoianos Kirenas (*proestos*, after 1663),<sup>38</sup> Stoianis Tiedecos (1703),<sup>39</sup> Hagi Stoian (Στοιγιαν, 1710).<sup>40</sup> In 1769, a certain Stoian Nicolau, together with Master Petru Petco, founded the church of St Nicolae in Căinenii de Vâlcea (Căinenii Mari, Vâlcea county).<sup>41</sup> The Căineni customs was used as a border-crossing point by the companies from Sibiu,<sup>42</sup> and the village was a place they usually stopped and were well received during their business trips.

We do not know anything more about this Stoian Nicolau, but we do know that, at the expense of the other founder, Petru Petco, an icon of St John the Baptist from the chapel of the Company of the “Romans” in Sibiu was set in silver in 1771. We also know that prominent members of the association, such as Vilara and Marcu, are mentioned in the proskomidiary’s diptych among the benefactors of the church of Căineni.<sup>43</sup>

There is, however, no evidence to link any of these mentioned bearers of the first name Stoian – which was quite frequent in the onomastics of the time<sup>44</sup> – with the young man buried at an unknown date in the church cemetery of Bungard. In the latter’s case we are dealing with a compound patronymic – Teodoru Stoian – which could indicate a possible kinship with one of the faithful customers of the Ioan Marcu House, the merchant Stroie Teodoru from Râmnicu Vâlcea.<sup>45</sup> Teodoru had business ties with Gheorghe Marcu, the *proestos* of the Greek Company, periodically sending him cattle skins and wax for sale on commission.<sup>46</sup> If we can only claim that the names Teodoru Stroie and the person mentioned in the epitaph are a relative match, we at least know that the merchant from Râmnic had a son who, in 1791, was studying at the Greek school in Sibiu.<sup>47</sup>

#### *Cemetery of the Orthodox church in the suburb of Iosefin*

The Annunciation Orthodox Church in Iosefin (Josephstadt) suburb, commonly called the “Church in (or from) the Pit” because of its location in a low area in the Trinkbach valley, was a place of patronal worship.<sup>48</sup> The stone inscription from the proscomedary states that: “this holy church was built in the days of the Emperor Joseph the Second, at the expense of the Stana Hagi Petru Luca, from the foundation

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<sup>36</sup> Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții*, vol. I, VI.

<sup>37</sup> Cicanci, *Comaniile*, 61.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 121.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.

<sup>41</sup> Brătulescu, “Biserici din Argeș și Vâlcea”, 41, 42.

<sup>42</sup> Cicanci, *Comaniile*, 147.

<sup>43</sup> Moreover, in the same locality there was another church built a few decades earlier by two other companions, on this act of foundation we will come back later. Also, the church in the neighboring village of Căinenii de Argeș (Căinenii Mici, Vâlcea county), built in 1733, was adorned with paintings by other companions: brothers Toma, Gheorghe, Enache and Costea Vilara (Victor Brătulescu, “Comunicări - Căineni Argeș, biserica cimitirului” [Communications - Căineni Argeș, the Cemetery Church], *BCMI* 79 (1933): 90).

<sup>44</sup> Domnița Tomescu, “Raportul dintre sacru și profan în antroponomia românească medievală (sec. 15-17)” [The Relationship Between the Sacred and the Profane in Medieval Romanian Anthroponymy (Fifteenth-Seventeenth Centuries)], in Oliviu Felecan, ed., *Proceedings of the international onomastics conference “Names and Naming”*, 4th ed: *Sacred and Profane in Onomastics* (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, Argonaut, 2017), 412.

<sup>45</sup> Limona, “Catastihurile”, 241.

<sup>46</sup> Limona, “Negustorii “greci”, 87.

<sup>47</sup> Limona, *Documente din Arhivele Statului Sibiu*, vol. I, 136, 137.

<sup>48</sup> Bodogae, “Sibiul”, 18.

in 1788, and was consecrated in 1789, but [in] 1802 they tore it down and from the foundation they rebuilt it at the expense of Hagi Constadin Pop, as the record of this holy place shows”.<sup>49</sup> During the period of the first edification, the land originally owned was enlarged purchasing other neighbouring sites to ensure sufficient space for the cemetery, but also for the construction of a parish house, a school and the teacher’s residence. A notarial deed, concluded in 1814, initialised the donation of all these lands, which belonged to the widow of the merchant Hagi Constantin Pop, to the Church of the Annunciation.<sup>50</sup> The surface area resulting from the merger of those plots was 1,081 fathoms and 4 feet (about 3,890 m<sup>2</sup>). A cadastral plan (figs 12, 13) dated July 3, 1849 has also been preserved in the parish archives. It details the situation of the buildings and the way the land was divided into zones with different functions. A sketch drawn up by engineer Michael Guertner shows that the cemetery covered about half the area owned by the Hagi Constantin Pop Foundation.

### *The tombs of the founders*

In the proscomediary, the names of the founders and benefactors of the church begin with those of the church’s founders, Petru and Stana,<sup>51</sup> although many years passed between the death of the first and the erection of the place of worship in 1788-89. According to archival documents, Hagi Petru Luca fell ill in January 1770<sup>52</sup> – probably quite seriously, since it was necessary to make a rapid inventory of the capital held by his company, which was taken over the following year by his son-in-law, Hagi Constantin Pop.<sup>53</sup> It is not known whether the merchant’s death occurred in that short period of time, but it is certain that in 1775 the Company’s accounts refer to “the widow Stănuța, wife of Hagi Petre Luca”.<sup>54</sup>

We know that the burial of the Hagi Petru Luca, a prominent member of the Greek Company, took place in Bungard. In the epitaph (figs 14, 15) placed in Iosefin cemetery by his nephew Zenovie Hagi Constantin Pop (to indicate the place in front of the apse of the church where, on March 3, 1856, the remains of the founders were reburied after being gathered together), only Stana and the couple’s two children, Păuna and Ioan (Ianache)<sup>55</sup> are mentioned. However, Hagi Petru Luca is believed to be the first among the founders’ family members who were buried in the cemetery of the church in Iosefin.<sup>56</sup> A clue as to where his earthly remains are buried was introduced in a report from 1964 which stated that “in the nave of the church, under a large stone slab, is the tomb of Hagi Petru Luca”.<sup>57</sup> The existence of the

<sup>49</sup> Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții*, vol. II, 179.

<sup>50</sup> Constantin Oancea, Ioan Ovidiu Abrudan, “The Donation Act of Hagi Constantin Pop’s family for the Annunciation Church in Sibiu”, *Religions* 11 (March 2020): 1-15.

<sup>51</sup> The “Pomelnic” contains names in two columns. On the first one are mentioned the members of the founding family: PETRU (Hagi Petru Luca), STANA (Hagi Petru Luca), H. CONSTANDIN (Pop), PĂUNA (Hagi Constantin Pop), IOAN LUCA (Ianache Hagi Petru Luca), MARIA (Manicati), ALEXANDRU (H. C. Pop), ZENOVIS (H. C. Pop), CONSTANDIN (H. C. Pop), LUCA, CADIȚA. The second column lists the names of some benefactors of the church - clergy, relatives and close members of the Pop family: IERODIACON BARBU, IOANA, ERINISTITA, DUMITRU, SANDA, IEROMONAH ȘTEFAN, RADA, CONSTANDIN, H. STAN (Hagi Stan Jianu), ȘTEFAN, IOANN, STAN (Stan Ștefan Popovici).

<sup>52</sup> Limona, *Documente din Arhivele Statului Sibiu*, vol. I, 70.

<sup>53</sup> Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții*, vol. I, 86.

<sup>54</sup> Limona, *Documente din Arhivele Statului Sibiu*, vol. I, 38.

<sup>55</sup> Ianache Petru Luca was also involved in the family business. The last documented reference to his name is in 1808 (Iorga, *Scrisori de boieri*, V).

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, VII.

<sup>57</sup> From the report on the state of the church on September 6, 1964, drawn up by priest Ioan Albu (parish priest from 1942-1968).

tombstone embedded in the pavement, albeit with an epitaph whose content had become indecipherable with the passage of time,<sup>58</sup> was also mentioned in a historical study published in 1966.<sup>59</sup> Since this information can no longer be compared with data obtained in situ, as new paving has since been laid over the stone floor, the possibility that Hagi Petru Luca was reburied in the church of his wife Stana remains a hypothesis.

It is possible that the *hagica* died before the consecration of the place of worship in Iosefin suburb, which took place on May 25, 1789. Otherwise it is hard to understand a strange circumstance of 1791 which aroused the displeasure of Bishop Gherasim Adamovici. He complained, in a “citation” submitted on August 31, 1791 to the Company, about the boldness with which, without the permission of the bishop and disregarding the church ordinances, “Chiru Hagi Popii Constandinu has dug up his late mother-in-law”,<sup>60</sup> laying a foundation wall over the graves of some of the deceased, some of them even moving them to the hearth<sup>61</sup> of the new church in Josephstadt.

Since Ianache Hagi Petru Luca was the heir to the name and the house of his parents, he assumed responsibility for what happened in place of his brother-in-law, Constantin Pop. In his correspondence with the proestos and jurors of the Company, he refuted the accusations, pointing out that:

it was not made known through the publication that it is forbidden to dig up the dead without the authorisation of the bishop and that it is not customary to inform the bishop first when moving the dead from one place to another. So it is seen that the disinterment and removal of the dead has hitherto been carried out by virtue of an ancient custom<sup>62</sup> in the presence of priests according to the law, without the prior approval of the bishop. As to the accusation that the foundation of the wall was laid over the dead, and because of this the dead were moved to another place, it is clear that the bishop was misinformed, for no dead were raised from the grave, because when the foundation was laid, when it was found that there was a dead person underneath it, pillars were put in that place, and the vault was placed over it.<sup>63</sup>

From this we can deduce that Hagi Constantin Pop exhumed the earthly remains of his mother-in-law in order to relocate them in a new tomb near or even inside the church, whose construction Stana did not live to see completed. However, from the content of Ianache Hagi Petru Luca’s statement, another interesting piece of information emerges from what was hypothetically admitted earlier, namely that in

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<sup>58</sup> According to the testimonies of those who still remember today the existence of the tombstone, it was located on the longitudinal axis of the nave, just below the large chandelier or a little closer to the solea and the imperial doors, distinguished by the reddish color of the tiles that made up the floor. A similar case is to be found in the church of St Parascheva in Rășinari, where the red stone tombstone of Bishop Ghedeon Nichitici has its epitaph completely erased due to the erosion it has suffered from repeated trampling for over two centuries.

<sup>59</sup> Nicolae Lupu, *Cetatea Sibiului* [The Citadel of Sibiu] (Bucharest: Editura Meridiane, 1966), 56.

<sup>60</sup> Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții*, vol. I, 114, 115.

<sup>61</sup> Meaning “place on which something was built”. *Wiki.dexonline*, accessed October 20, 2024, <https://dexonline.ro/definitie/vatr%C4%83>.

<sup>62</sup> “According to ancient tradition, Romanians dug up their dead three years after the death of a child, five years after the death of a young person and seven years after the death of an old person. In our country, the custom of disinterment after seven years was brought from Holy Mount Athos, where the rocky ground made burial sites even more limited. In the Christian tradition, it is customary for disinterment to take place seven years after death precisely because that is when the last Christian service of nominal Christian burial takes place, after which it is included in the family’s common register. Emil Bărboșelu, Mihai Valică, “Deshumarea și reînhumarea” [Exhumation and Reburial], *Crai Nou*, October 28, 2021, accessed October 19, 2024, <https://www.crainou.ro/2021/10/28/deshumarea-si-reinhumarea/>.

<sup>63</sup> On the correspondence of Ianache Petru Luca with the Company see Limona, *Documente din Arhivele Statului Sibiu*, vol. I, 141-150.

the area where the church was built and around it, works that were still in progress in 1791 revealed the existence of graves that do not seem to have been marked on the surface of the ground, which suggests that they came from an older abandoned cemetery.

Starting in 1805, news about the poor health of Hagi Constantin Pop, who died in Sibiu on October 18/30, 1808, can be found in the family correspondence.<sup>64</sup> He was buried in the cemetery of the church he rebuilt in 1802. Fulfilling the wish of the deceased, Păuna Hagi Constantin Pop passed the administration of the trading house to their son, Constantin (Dincă). But the arrangement did not last even a year. A funeral announcement, published in German on June 21, 1809, informed the people of Sibiu that “Mr Constantin Popp, the youngest member of the local Greek trading company, ended his earthly journey in the nineteenth year of his life yesterday evening at 6 pm. The body will be laid to rest at the resting place in the cemetery next to the Josephstadt non-Uniate Church on Thursday afternoon, June 22, at 4 pm.”<sup>65</sup>

In the fall of 1827, probably in October, Păuna Hagi Constantin Pop passed away,<sup>66</sup> some time after her brother had died. On an unknown date, but before 1856, the only daughter of the Pops, Maria, who was married to Iosif Manicati Safran, was buried in the cemetery of the patron church, alongside all her relatives. They are mentioned in the order in which they died in the collective memorial in the epitaph written by Zenovie Pop in Greek, Romanian and German to mark the grave where their remains were laid to rest.

Zenovie died at the age of 81, on June 29, 1866, and was buried next to his prematurely deceased son, Constantin, in the Orthodox section of the St. Marx Cemetery in Vienna. On the grave monument, his name, accompanied by his noble title, is written in German and Greek: *Zenobius Constantin Freiherr Popp v. Böhmstetten* \* *ZHNONOBIOΣ KONΣΣΤΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΠΟΠΠΙ [...]* του *ΒΟΜΣΤΕΤΤΕΝ*.<sup>67</sup>

*Gravestones of other company members, buried in the cemetery of the Annunciation Church*  
*The tomb of Constantin Arpaș*

Following the establishment of a cemetery near the church in Iosefin district, a number of merchants, as well as people close to church's patrons, the Pop family, found their resting place there. The Pop line ended, towards the end of the nineteenth century with the last of the merchants from Sibiu, who died after the organisation dissolved itself in 1854.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Iorga, *Scrisori de boieri*, 45-47, 169.

<sup>65</sup> D. Z. Furnică, *Din istoria comerțului la Români, mai ales băcănă, publicațiune de documente inedite, 1593-1855, bogat ilustrată* [From the History of Trade in Romania, Especially Grocery Trade, Publication of Previously Unpublished Documents, 1593-1855, Richly Illustrated] (Bucharest, 1908), XXXV.

<sup>66</sup> Iorga, *Scrisori de boieri*, 75.

<sup>67</sup> Margit Maria Havlik, “Der Sankt Marxer Friedhof. Die griechisch-orthodoxe Abteilung” (Diplomarbeit zur Erlangung des Magistergrades der Philosophie aus der Studienrichtung Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik eingereicht an der Universität Wien, 2006), 55, 61, accessed October 19, 2024, ([https://www.byzneo.univie.ac.at/fileadmin/user\\_upload/i\\_byzneo/abschlussarbeiten\\_stassinopoulou/Diplomarbeit\\_Havlik\\_Margit\\_Der\\_Sankt\\_Marxer\\_Friedhof.pdf](https://www.byzneo.univie.ac.at/fileadmin/user_upload/i_byzneo/abschlussarbeiten_stassinopoulou/Diplomarbeit_Havlik_Margit_Der_Sankt_Marxer_Friedhof.pdf)).

<sup>68</sup> Others, which are suspected to have existed in the past, are nowadays nowhere to be found, as is, for example, the case of the tombstone of the associate of the Hagi Constantin Pop firm, Stan Ștefan Popovici (†1850), from Banat, who was also a temporary (1838) “birău” of the Company. The same can also be said about the godson of the Pop family, the oculist Ioan Piuaru Molnar, whose name today marks an “imaginary” tomb, the place in the cemetery where he was buried in 1815 being unknown.

The oldest funerary monument in the cemetery dates from the period of the church founded by Stana Hagii Petru Luca. It is a grave slab (fig. 16) with a specific profile resembling the crest of a hill. A noble coat of arms is carved in relief in the upper part of the gravestone (fig. 18). The coat of arms depicts a shield in the field of which a knight in gallop is depicted holding an hourglass in his right hand. A second heraldic element is a military helmet crowned with a royal diadem on which an hourglass is again placed between spread eagle wings. Clusters of acanthus leaves radiate from the sides of the shield. The Greek epitaph states: “Here rests the servant of God Constantin Arpaş, who passed away at the age of [?]5 years, on March 2, 1796, in Sibiu”.<sup>69</sup>

Regarding the Arpaş family and Constantin Arpaş himself there is scattered information in the documents and letters from the Company’s archive. The members of the Arpaş family were “boyars of Făgăraş who had become merchants” after vowing “not to accept the religious union with Rome”.<sup>70</sup> In 1748, *chir* [master] Pantazi Arpaş, a Companist from Sibiu, originally from Făgăraş, is mentioned.<sup>71</sup> From the next generation, several others individuals are known. Marina Arpaş was first married to a Fogoroşi – they had two sons together, Ianache and Gheorghe, who also became members of the Company of Sibiu – and then married a second time to the merchant Calochiriţi Hagii Tihu.<sup>72</sup> She died in 1778 or early the following year. Another Arpaş, Ioan (Enache),<sup>73</sup> who recommended himself as a *nobile persona*, was in 1776 the district assessor of Făgăraş area.<sup>74</sup> A leader of the anti-Unionist movement,<sup>75</sup> he was the first *gociman* of the church built in 1783 by the non-uniatic merchants of Făgăraş.<sup>76</sup> He is also mentioned in the context of trials of some cases within the Company in Sibiu, signing as a witness together with Constantin Arpaş. The latter, who settled in Sibiu, was a juror in the consistory of the association. It is likely that a nephew who bore the same name was appointed in 1835 by bishop Vasile Moga to occupy the position of first churchwarden of the Greek church of Orăştie.<sup>77</sup>

It is not known to what degree those of the Arpaş lineage, who were all related to the Greek merchants of Sibiu, were also related to each other. With regard to Constantin Arpaş, it seems that he was related by collateral line to a prominent family in the company. He was the grandson of Maria (Pană) Căpităneasă Marcu from Braşov, who corresponded in a familiar tone with the proestos of Sibiu, Ioan Marcu,<sup>78</sup> thanking him for the “paternal” care he had shown to her granddaughter, Safta.<sup>79</sup> Constantin Arpaş was a business partner of the Marcu brothers, regularly buying Transylvanian wax with them and

<sup>69</sup> “Ενθάδε κείται ο δούλου του Θ[εο]υ Κωνσταντίνου Αρπάση [δε ετη] ?5 έ κοιμηθεί 1796 Μαρτίου 2, έν Σιμπιννίου”.

<sup>70</sup> Iorga, *Scrisori şi inscriptii*, vol. I, XX.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 47-50.

<sup>72</sup> Limona, *Documente din Arhivele Statului Sibiu*, vol. I, 83, 88.

<sup>73</sup> Other known names are those of Veronica Ştefan Arpaş and Antal Arpaş, who were the grandchildren of the merchant from Sibiu Dumitru (Duma) Dutcă (Iorga, *Scrisori şi inscriptii*, vol. I, 118, 129), the Duma and Arpaş families being in-law, Anastase Hâciu, *Aromânii: comerţ, industria, arte, expansiune, civilizaţie* [Aromanians: Trade, Industry, Arts, Expansion, Civilization] (Focşani: Editura “Cartea Putnei”, 1936), 310.

<sup>74</sup> Iorga, *Scrisori şi inscriptii*, vol. I, 91.

<sup>75</sup> Aurel Dragne, “Biserică şi societate în secolul al XVIII-lea. Situaţia clerului român din Țara Făgăraşului” [Church and Society in the Eighteenth Century. The Situation of the Romanian Clergy in the Area of Făgăraş], *Acta Terrae Fogarasiensis* V (2016): 85.

<sup>76</sup> Iorga, *Scrisori şi inscriptii*, vol. I, XXI.

<sup>77</sup> V. Necşa, “Din trecutul bisericii din Orăştie” [Past Days of the Church from Orăştie], *Telegraful Român (Foişoara)*, no. 6 (1930): 3.

<sup>78</sup> The form of address is: “Honest and our well-wisher, your master Ioan”.

<sup>79</sup> Iorga, *Scrisori şi inscriptii*, vol. I, 73-76.



But how could Constantin Arpaş have appropriated the coat of arms of these families? The most plausible explanation is that he acquired it through marriage with a person who had inherited the title by hereditary succession. Ioan Dragoş and Maria Ivaşcu had an only daughter, born after their ennoblement, whom they married to an aristocrat of the Roman Catholic faith. By 1763 she was already a widow, though she had not yet reached the age of twenty. She converted to the Latin rite as a posthumous tribute to her husband. The incident deeply saddened Ioan Dragoş, who felt that his daughter had dishonoured her family by abandoning their ancestral faith. It is known that he was a fervent Greek-Catholic and close to the ecclesiastical milieu of Blaj.<sup>85</sup> At his own expense, he renovated the Uniate church dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary” in Alba Iulia – Lipoveni, adding the bell-tower and thus acquiring the quality of a founder, reinforced by the donation of a silver candle inscribed with his name and marked with the insignia of his nobility.<sup>86</sup> The tomb of Ioan Dragoş de Thurna’s wife, Maria Magdalena Ivaşcu, who died at the age of sixty on August 5, 1771,<sup>87</sup> is located near the church, and the family coat of arms is represented on the tombstone (fig. 17, 19).

Although unlikely, the hypothesis of Constantin Arpaş’s wife coming from the family of the nobles of Thurna should not be excluded. The young woman’s second marriage to a non-uniate nobleman may have received the blessing of Ioan Dragoş, as a price for the return of his daughter to the bosom of Eastern Catholicism.

However, it can be presumed that Marişca Arpaş’s parents were Nicolae Ivaşcu and Eva Panaiot, and that she was born sometime after the issuance of the family ennoblement diploma (1742), in which only Sofia and Ioan are mentioned as descendants of the couple. This hypothesis is supported by the links of Nicolae Ivaşcu – a member of the Company of Greek-rite merchants of Alba Iulia (*Mercatorem graeci ritus non unitus in Transylvania, Alba Carolinensem*) – with the community of Levantine merchants from Sibiu to which Constantin Arpaş belonged. How close those relations were can be deduced from the cordial greeting that Nicolae Ivaşcu – “a nobleman, residing in Beligrad” – offers at the beginning of a letter dated January 22, 1749 to Ioan Marcu: “to my good friend and proestos of the honourable Company of Sibiu”, as well as to his wife and children.<sup>88</sup> Nicolae Ivaşcu happened to come often to Sibiu on “merchant business” and his son Ioan also settled there. Subsequently, he was accepted into the Company and opened his own shop in the city around 1770.<sup>89</sup>

Nicolae Ivaşcu died in 1772, a fact that can be deduced from the documents of the process of claims against the merchant’s estate, judged by the court of the royal court of Sibiu between 1773-1775.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Radu Nedici, “Confesiune și promovare socială. Elita laică greco-catolică din Transilvania în disputa latinizării de la mijlocul secolului al XVIII-lea” [Confession and Social Promotion. The Transylvanian Greek-Catholic Lay Greek-Catholic Elite in the Latinization Dispute of the Mid-Eighteenth Century], *AUA hist.* 14, I (2010): 121.

<sup>86</sup> Dumitran, “Spre o reală toleranță”, 273.

<sup>87</sup> The Latin epitaph inscribed on the tombstone reads: “HIC QUIESCIT IN DOMINO MARIA MAGDALENA IVASKO CONSORS A[CTUA]LI SPEC. (spectabile) D. IOANNIS DE THURNA S.C.R.A. MAESTATIS POSTÆ PRÆFECTI ALBÆ CAROLINENSIS. QV. ANNUM MDCCCLXXI DIEM V AUGUSTI S[UP]REM[UM] HA(BUIT) [...] ÆTATIS ANNO SUÆ LX”. Here rests in the Lord Maria Magdalena Ivascu, wife of the distinguished Mr. Ioan de Thurna of His imperial and royal apostolic Majesty, Prefect of the Post Office of Alba Iulia. She was buried in 1771, August 5, 1771, [...] aged 60 years”.

<sup>88</sup> Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții*, vol. I, 51, 52.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 85, 89; Limona, *Documente din Arhivele Statului Sibiu*, vol. I, 38, 63, 70.

<sup>90</sup> “Acte ținând de procesul de pretenții față de masa succesorală a negustorului Nicolae Ivaşcu (1773-1775)” [Documents Relating to the Claim Process Against the Estate of Merchant Nicolae Ivaşcu (1773-1775)], Fund *Magistratul oraşului și scaunului Sibiului. Judicat - Acte neînregistrate* [Magistrate of the City and Seat of Sibiu. Judged - Unregistered Documents], no. 607, Serviciul

Despite all these assumptions, Maria Arpaș's origins still remain shrouded in mystery, as does the question of her husband's acquisition of a noble title.

*The tomb of Maria Bobeș*

The second-oldest funerary monument preserved in the cemetery is a small stone cross (fig. 28) on which one can still make out a fragment of an epitaph written in the Cyrillic alphabet: “Near this cross rests the handmaid of the Lord, the priestess Maria the priestess of [...] [the priest of the g. o. (*Greek-oriental*) [of the] holy church of Iozefstat, Bucur Bobeș, who [...], died in 180[4?]”.<sup>91</sup> Probably originally from the village of Bungard,<sup>92</sup> Bucur Bobeș, who was ordained in 1780 in Buda, was parish priest of the church in Iosefin<sup>93</sup> from at least 1796.<sup>94</sup> In the year of his wife's death, he was among the six assessors of the Consistory that led the Church of the Non-Uniates in Transylvania, headed by the vicar Ioan Popovici de Hondol.<sup>95</sup> The son of Bucur and Maria, George Bobeș was ordained in 1803 in Arad, by Bishop Pavel Avacumovici for the same parish in Sibiu.<sup>96</sup>

*Ecaterina Stoica's tomb*

A massive slab of andesite (figs 29, 30) covers the tomb of another woman whose identity is recorded in the inscription written in Greek: “Here rests the handmaid of the Lord, Ecaterina, wife of Mr Răduț Stoica. She lived 53 years, and passed away to the Lord on May 20, 1806, in Sibiu”.<sup>97</sup> The well-known merchant from Sibiu to whom she was married had been the intermediary, in the name of and with the money of the Company, in the purchase of a property on *Fleischerilor* Street, where the church and the Greek school were to be built, along with houses for the priest and the teacher.<sup>98</sup> Ecaterina was related to two other companions. Her older brother, Constantin Preda († 1780), traded in goods brought from Bucharest and Constantinople. Another brother, Zamfir Preda († April 13, 1808), was accepted as a brother in the Company of Greek merchants in 1780.

*The graves of merchants from the Guma family*

A funerary monument that can no longer be seen today stated that “Here lies the servant of God Hristodul

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Județean Sibiu al Arhivelor Naționale [Sibiu County Service of the National Archives], accessed October 20, 2024, [https://arhivelenationale.ro/site/download/arhive\\_judetene/sibiu/Magistratul-Orasului-si-Scaunului-Sibiu.-Judicat-Acte-Juridice-Neinregistrate-1592-1879.pdf](https://arhivelenationale.ro/site/download/arhive_judetene/sibiu/Magistratul-Orasului-si-Scaunului-Sibiu.-Judicat-Acte-Juridice-Neinregistrate-1592-1879.pdf). The complaint against the heir of the late merchant Nicoae Ivașcu, Ioan Nicolae Ivașcu, concerned an outstanding debt to the Viennese wholesaler Franz Wilhelm Natorp. His firm, which supplied camp apothecaries and garrisons of the Habsburg army in Transylvania and Banat with medicines and other medical supplies, owned pharmacies in Timișoara, Sibiu and Alba Iulia, where Natorp had a representative (“plenipotentiary”), Franz Handelmayer, who is also mentioned in the trial documents.

<sup>91</sup> “Лѣнѣ ачасть/ круче съ вдихнѣще роа/ба луи дзеу преотѣса/ Марѣ дин [...] [прео]тулуи г.о./ [...] бесѣричи дин Іωзе/фщат Букур Бобеш/ фиинд [...] / рѣпос[...] 180[4?].”

<sup>92</sup> A certain Ion Bobeș was among the “elders” from the village of Bungard who testified, in 1694 and 1695, about the authenticity of the deeds of sale of some lands in the locality to Maria Cantacuzino Bălăceanu and to the merchants of the Company of Sibiu. Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții*, vol. I, 4-6.

<sup>93</sup> Eugen Gagyi de Etéd, “Documente istorice: Regulatio Diocesis Transilvanicae Disunitae anno 1805” [Historical Documents: Regulatio Diocesis Transilvanicae Disunitae anno 1805], *Transilvania*, no. 3 (May-June 1911): 276, 277.

<sup>94</sup> Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții*, vol. I, 121.

<sup>95</sup> Matei Voileanu, *Icoane din viața Bisericii - anul 1804* [Icons from the Life of the Church – Year 1804] (Sibiu: Tipografia Arhidiecezană, 1926), 5.

<sup>96</sup> Gagyi de Etéd, “Documente istorice”, 276, 277.

<sup>97</sup> “Ἐνθάδε κείται ἡ θυλὴ τ[ο]ῦ/ Θε[ο]ῦ Αἰκατερινα σύζυγος τ[ο]ῦ/ Κυρ Ραδυτζ Στοηκα ζήσασα/ ἐτη 53 ἐ κοιμήθη[κε] ἐν Κύριῳ/ ἐν ἐτει 1806 μαιυ 20./ ἐν Σίμπιννίῳ.”

<sup>98</sup> Limona, *Documente din Arhivele Statului Sibiu*, vol. I, 8; Bodogae, “Câteva momente”, 98-101.

Nicolau Guma of Ioanina, from the place Nega(de)s, who lived 33 years, passed away to the Lord in 1808, June 4, Sibiu”. Nicolae Iorga, who published the Greek inscription in 1906,<sup>99</sup> stated that this Hristodul or Aristodul was one of the Albanian or Vlach emigrants from Epirus who joined the Greek Company of Sibiu in the eighteenth century.<sup>100</sup> An ancestor of the merchant, Ghiuma or Guma from Negades (a village which the Vlachs called Neagu), repaired and maintained the church of the monastery dedicated to the Virgin Mary – *Eleusa* on the cloister from the island in Lake Ioanina.<sup>101</sup>

Hristodul died at a fatigical age, just a few months before Hagi Constantin Pop’s death, but he left behind a son, Nicolae Guma, who grew up apparently enjoying the care and, later, the trust of the Pop family. After leaving Sibiu in 1827 to settle in Vienna, Zenovie Pop appointed him to represent him in the epitropy of the patronal church in Iosefin.<sup>102</sup> Nicolae Guma passed away on August 10, 1862 and was buried in the cemetery of the same church, probably near his father’s grave. A funerary obelisk (fig. 33) was dedicated to him by his daughter in 1906, which could explain the disappearance of the original monument and of the cross on the grave of Hristodul Nicolae Guma.

### *The Cross of Anastasie Ziguris*

Guarding one of the oldest graves in the cemetery, from which was recently removed and resituated in the courtyard of the former school, a small stone cross (fig. 34) commemorated the name of another Levantine merchant from Sibiu: “Here lies the servant of God Anastasie Ziguris from the town of Kastoria. He lived 72 years and died in the Lord in 1810, November 8”.<sup>103</sup> Nothing about this individual is known for certain other than the information presented in the laconic wording of the Greek epitaph.<sup>104</sup> It is not known, for example, to what degree he was related to other bearers of the name Ziguri, often mentioned in the documents of the association. During the second half of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth, Nanu Nicolae Ziguri, a juror and captain of the Company,<sup>105</sup> lived in Sibiu. His brother, Constantin Nicolae Ziguri, also a merchant, residing in Pest,<sup>106</sup> was concerned with the recovery of his parents’ estates in Macedonia. Somewhat later, Tasu Ziguri, who traded in Râmnicu Vâlcea (1826),<sup>107</sup> and Mihai Ziguri (1847), member of the “imperial and royal Greek Company of Sibiu”<sup>108</sup> are mentioned.

<sup>99</sup> “Ενθάδε κείται ό/ ο δ[ο]υλος του Θεου/ Χριστόδουλος Νικολάου Γκούμα/ έξ Ίωαννινών αποχωρίου Νεγάδος/ ζήσας χρονους 33./ εκοιμήθη εν Κυριω 1808, Ίιουνου 4,/ Σιμπιν”. Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții*, vol. II, 181.

<sup>100</sup> N. Iorga, “Fundatiunile Domnilor români în Epir” [The Foundations of the Romanian Lords in Epirus], *Boabe de Grâu*, excerpted from *AARMSI XXXVI* (1914): 6 (886).

<sup>101</sup> Marcu Beza, “Urme românești în Epir” [Romanian Traces in Epirus], *Boabe de Grâu* 11 (1935): 664; Virgil Căndea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare: creații românești și izvoare despre români în colecții din străinătate*, II. Finlanda - Grecia [Romanian Testimonies Abroad: Romanian Creations and Sources about Romanians in Collections Abroad, II. Finland - Greece] (Bucharest: Editura Biblioteca Bucureștilor, 2011), 674.

<sup>102</sup> Church Protocol, Ms. 57, Biblioteca Metropolitană din Sibiu [Metropolitan Library of Sibiu].

<sup>103</sup> “Ενθάδε κέπτεται ό/ δ[ο]υλος τ[ο]υ Θεου/ Αναστάσιος/ Ζηγούρης εκ πόλεως Καστοριά, ζήσας/ ετη 72, και/ Αναπαω/ έη Κ[υρι]ω/ του 1810, Νοεμβ. 8”. Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții*, vol. II, 180.

<sup>104</sup> Unless he is the same as Stan N. Ziguri, mentioned in 1804 as a juror of the Company of Sibiu. Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții*, vol. I, 156.

<sup>105</sup> Limona, *Documente din Arhivele Statului Sibiu*, vol. I, 199.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 442, 449.

<sup>107</sup> Inventar-Indice pentru Ms. 703 (*Colecția Manuscrise*) din Fondul arhivistic *Casa Comercială Hagi Ianuș Consta Petru și frații* [Inventory-Indices for Ms. 703 (Manuscript Collection) from the archival fonds *Casa Comercială Hagi Ianuș Consta Petru și frații*], Serviciul Arhive Medievale, Fonduri Personale și Colecții, Arhivele Naționale ale României [Medieval Archives Services – Personal Fonds and Collections, National Archives of Romania] (Bucharest, 2019), 56, 60, 68.

<sup>108</sup> Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții*, vol. I, X, 181; Limona, *Negustorii “greci”*, 340.

Among the descendants of the Ziguri family who remained in their homeland, there may have been a schoolteacher who later became a merchant, Filip Anastasie Ziguri (Φίλιππος Αναστασίου Ζυγούρης, 1865-1951) from Seatiște. He wrote a historical monograph<sup>109</sup> of this village near Custura (Kastoria), once inhabited almost entirely by Vlachs.

*The tomb of Eliade Manase*

The tomb of Eliade Manase's sophisticated appearance – an allegorical representation of the human and civic virtues that crown the existence of an illustrious man (figs 35-37) – does not fit within the usual pattern of tombstones or crosses in the cemetery, nor is the person to whom it was dedicated among the merchants or priests of the Greek Company of Sibiu. Equally unusual is the epitaph composed in Latin, which, together with the monument itself, is a homage paid to him by one of his sons:

In memory of Eliade Manase, physician and doctor of philosophy, born in Melenic on February 25, 1733, who died in Sibiu on October 15, 1813.

To the man of special education, the official physician of the Prince of the Wallachians, one who is to be commended for the integrity of his life and citizenship, the upstanding citizen, the caring friend, the family parent, and a too-devout member of his family.

George de Manase,  
The only survivor of six children,  
to his beloved father.  
L.L.O.P.<sup>110</sup>

In the biography of Eliade Manase – a distinguished professor (1759-1780) and director of the Princely Academy of Bucharest (1761),<sup>111</sup> as well as an architect of the educational reform in Wallachia undertaken in 1776 by the ruler Alexandru Ipsilanti<sup>112</sup> – there is some information regarding the circumstances of his settlement in Sibiu in the last years of his life, and regarding the presence of his tomb in the church cemetery in Iosefin.

Eliade Manasseh was an Aromanian<sup>113</sup> born in Melenik, a small Macedonian town with a mild climate and picturesque appearance, a favourite resting and retirement place for Phanariot officials.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Φιλίππου Αν. Ζυγούρη, *Ιστορικά σημειώματα περί Σιατίστης και λαογραφικά αυτής* (Σιατίστα: Επιμέλεια Θεοδώρα Ζωγγράφου-Βώρου, 2010) [Philip An. Ziguri, *Historical Notes about Siatiste and Its Folklore*].

<sup>110</sup> “MEMORIAE/ ILLIADIS MANASZY/ MEDIC. ET PHILOS. DOCTORIS/ NATI MELENICI/ DIE XXV FEBR. MDCCXXXIII./ DENATI CIBINII/ DIE XV OCTOBR. MDCCCXIII. – INSIGNI DOCTRINA VIRO/ PRINCIPIIS VALACHORUM ARCHIATRO/ MORUM URBANITATE VITAE INTEGRITATE/ COMMENTABILI/ CIVI PROBO AMICO INDULGENTI PATRI FAMILIAS/ SUORUM STUDIOSSIMO/ GEORGIUS DE MANASZY/ DE SEX LIBERIS UNUS SUPERSTES/ PATRI DESIDERATISSIMO/ L.L.O.P.”.

<sup>111</sup> Constantin Erbiceanu, *Bărbați culti greci și români și profesori din Academiile domnești din Iași și București din epoca zisă fanariotă (1650-1821)* [Greek and Romanian Learned Men and Professors from the Princely Academies of Iași and Bucharest During the So-Called Phanariot Era (1650-1821)] (Bucharest, 1905), 162; Ion Ionașcu, “Academia domnească de la Sf. Sava în perioada 1716-1775” [The Princely Academy of St. Sava During the Period 1716-1775], *București. Mat. Ist. Muz.* 5 (1967): 31.

<sup>112</sup> N. Iorga, *Byzantium after Byzantium*, Avant-propos d'Alexandre Paléologue (Paris: Éditions Balland, 1992), 225.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Béla Borsi-Kálmán, “Újabb adatok a Manasses-Manasz család származásáról és Eliadész Manaszisz életéről” [New Data on the Origin of the Manasses-Manasz Family and the Life of Eliades Manassisz], in József Juhász et al, ed., *Kelet-Európai Sorsfordulók, Tanulmányok a 80 éves Palotás Emil tiszteletére* [Eastern European Changes of Fortune. Studies in Honor of the 80th Anniversary of Emil Palotás] (Budapest: L'Harmattan - ELTE BTK BTK Kelet-Európa Története Tanszék, 2016), 25.

Some of the founders of the merchant companies of Sibiu and Braşov were also from there.<sup>115</sup> His father was close to Ion (Ienachi) Ipsilanti, father of the future ruler of the two Romanian principalities. About the same age and having known each other since childhood, Eliade Manase and Alexandru Ipsilanti worked together throughout their lives, animated by feelings of mutual trust and admiration. The two were linked by their common project to modernise and Europeanise the education system in Wallachia. Eliade Manase was not only the official physician of the Phanariot ruler but also his confidant and his advisor in matters of domestic and foreign policy. On several occasions, Ipsilanti entrusted him with secret missions as his emissary to the Court of Vienna.<sup>116</sup> According to the diploma of George de Manase's ennoblement, the Habsburgs admired his father's "irreproachable honesty and loyalty and the useful services rendered by his father, who, in addition to the merits he had acquired as a physician over some 30 years in Sibiu, in the Grand Duchy of Transylvania, promoted, as the designated representative of the Moldavian ruler, the common interests of the two countries from 1788 to 1796".<sup>117</sup>

As for Eliade Manase, his relationship with Transylvania and Sibiu was also familial. He had relatives<sup>118</sup> in the city he often visited and where he was to meet his future wife,<sup>119</sup> Elisabeta Manicati. The Manicati family originated from Melenik; its members emigrated from there around the same time as Eliade Manase.

Having become by marriage the brother-in-law of the proestos of the Company from Sibiu, Gheorghe Manicati Safranu, Eliade was permanently engaged in supporting the interests and objectives of this community, especially those related to spiritual life and education. On his recommendation, in 1766, Archimandrite Neofit of Morea of the Church of St George in Bucharest<sup>120</sup> was named parish priest for the Chapel of the Companions, and in the same year he was asked to find a suitable teacher to teach at the Greek school in Sibiu,<sup>121</sup> for whose library Manase was careful to send books regularly. Later, in 1799, Dr Manase contributed with money for the construction of a school building next to the new Greek church, consecrated with the name "Transfiguration", also at his suggestion. By size of his donation (3,000 Fl), he was the second most generous benefactor of these establishments after the proestos Gheorghe Manicati and level with Hagi Constantin Pop.<sup>122</sup>

After leaving the Princely Academy in Bucharest in 1780, Eliade Manase spent a short period in Constantinople and then lived with his family in Transylvania and Vienna (1801-1804). He eventually settled in Sibiu (1810), acquiring the status of an Imperial Subject.<sup>123</sup>

At least two of his children, Teodosie and George, followed his example and studied at the Academy of St Sava and then at western universities.<sup>124</sup> On January 8, 1813, eight months before Eliade

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<sup>115</sup> Dascăl, *Din arhiva*, 27.

<sup>116</sup> Borsi-Kálmán, "Újabb adatok", 32.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Erbiceanu, *Bărbați culți*, 162.

<sup>119</sup> Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor* [Documents on the History of the Romanians], vol. VII (1750-1818) (Bucharest, 1876), 374 (CCXXVIII).

<sup>120</sup> Iorga, *Contribuții*, 186.

<sup>121</sup> Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții*, vol. I, 79, 80.

<sup>122</sup> Camariano, "L'organization", 247, 248.

<sup>123</sup> Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, 374.

<sup>124</sup> Theodosius studied chemistry, while George probably studied law, eventually becoming a district judge of Torontal County. Two photographs of George Manase survive, one from his grammar school years and another of him with his wife, dressed in

Manase's death, George, who was a citizen of Sibiu, was elevated by Emperor Francis I of Austria to the rank of "Freiherr".<sup>125</sup> Also in 1813, he bought the Hodoni estate in Timiș County from his cousin Gheorghe Manicati Safranu;<sup>126</sup> ownership of the estate was later confirmed by Emperor Ferdinand I of Austria, who granted him the title "de Hodoni".<sup>127</sup> The coat of arms acquired with the ennoblement diploma of 1813 (fig. 39a, 39b) is the same one that George de Manase applied to the funerary monument dedicated to his father (fig. 38) in the cemetery of the Church in the Pit. The emblem shows a shield with mountain ridges in the field, above which a raven flies with wings outstretched, holding a cross in its beak and grasping in its claws a staff on which a serpent is coiled. Above the shield are two military helmets with royal diadems. Over one is superimposed the same Wallachian symbol of the cruciger raven, and above the other is an armed human arm bearing the staff of Aesculapius. Clusters of blue and black coloured acanthus radiate from the sides of the shield.

*The tomb of Elisabeta Dimu*

On a small stone cross (fig. 40) is written in Greek: "[Here rests] Elisabeta Dimos. January 8, 1823".<sup>128</sup> Elisabeta (b. Stefani) was married to the merchant Atanasie Dima (Dimu), who is known to have gone bankrupt in 1803. His shop in Sibiu was sealed and the goods and other valuables in his house were seized by persons delegated by the Company in order to cover the merchant's debts by selling them (which was done in 1810) and to pay a sum due to his wife for the maintenance and upbringing of their children.<sup>129</sup> In the summer of the following year, the Dima's divorce was judged in the Consistory of the Dean's See of Sibiu. In a report addressed to the non-Uniate protopope Ilie Popovici, the assessors informed him that the Greek Company of Sibiu had favoured the merchant "and facilitated all his attempts to postpone the trial under various pretexts". Moreover, because Atanasie Dima, who had hired a Saxon lawyer as his defender, did not show due respect to the Consistory, and through this intercession addressed offensive words to the protopope's chair, the Consistory instructed the protopope to request that Dima be punished "with being kept under house arrest with water and bread, so as others can see that".<sup>130</sup>

*The tomb of Ecaterina Știrbei*

On a cross carved in porphyry stone (fig. 41), a funerary inscription mentions the name of a representative of the great boyar of Wallachia: "Here lies the servant of God Ecaterina, Great-Vornice, Știrbei, of the lineage of the Crăciunești, in Bucharest; she lived 60 years, and passed away to the Lord on March 24/April 6, 1823, in Ermanupole".<sup>131</sup> She was married to the wealthy and distinguished Craiova boyar Barbu C. Știrbei (1753-1813), both of them being in a close and lasting friendship with the Hagi Constantin Pop family.<sup>132</sup> As a widow, Ecaterina Știrbei spent the last years of her life in Transylvania, where she

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hussar uniform.

<sup>125</sup> MNL Coats of Arms - DatabasesOnline (gov.hu) HU-MNL-OL-A57-63-0237, accessed October 20, 2024, [https://archives.hungaricana.hu/hu/libriregii/hu\\_mnl\\_ol\\_a057\\_63\\_0237/](https://archives.hungaricana.hu/hu/libriregii/hu_mnl_ol_a057_63_0237/).

<sup>126</sup> Son of Gheorghe Manicati Safranu Sr. († 1801).

<sup>127</sup> MNL Coats of Arms - DatabasesOnline (gov.hu) HU-MNL-OL-A 57-66-0529, accessed October 20, 2024, [https://archives.hungaricana.hu/en/libriregii/hu\\_mnl\\_ol\\_a057\\_66\\_0528/](https://archives.hungaricana.hu/en/libriregii/hu_mnl_ol_a057_66_0528/).

<sup>128</sup> "[...] Ελισάβετ Δήμου ανπ [ἀναπαύω] τη 8 Ιανουαρ 1823".

<sup>129</sup> Limona, Documente din Arhivele Statului Sibiu, vol. I, 424.

<sup>130</sup> Voileanu, Icoane din viața Bisericii, 104-106.

<sup>131</sup> "Εδω κείται η θυλη τῷ Θεῷ/ Αικατερηνη μεγαλη βορνιτσέσ/σα Στηρβαιη ἐνημημενη ἐκ/ Κρατσουπέσηων εν Βυκκουρεστι/ οισ ζησασα δε εετη 60/ ἐκοιμήθη ἐν Κυριω τη 24 Μαρτιυ / 6 Απριλιυ 1823/ εν Ερμανυπολει". Iorga, *Scrisori și inscriptii*, vol. II, 180.

<sup>132</sup> Iorga, *Scrisori de boieri*, LXIX.

apparently fled in 1821 after the outbreak of the Revolution in Wallachia. She lived with her relatives, Catinca and Dumitru Bibescu, in Braşov and eventually in Sibiu, where she had asked Pauna Hagi Constantin Pop to intercede for her to rent a spacious dwelling.<sup>133</sup>

*Tomb of the merchant Ioan Panaiot Steriu*

On a granite funerary obelisk (fig. 42) there is a Greek inscription in memory of “The best father, Ioan P. Steriu, [who] passed to the Lord on April 6/18, 1836, at the age of 55, in the presence of his grateful children”.<sup>134</sup> In his 1809 application for membership in the Company of Sibiu, Ioan Panaioti Steriu indicated that he was the son of the Braşov Companist Panaioti Steriu, a native of the village of Agrafta, in the Pind Mountains. The applicant had served his apprenticeship working for Gheorghe Manicati Safranu’s company for four years and stated that at that time he had his own property and that he was of legal age (28 years old).<sup>135</sup> It seems, however, that the Steriu family had several representatives in the Company: in 1838 Gheorghe Panaiot Steriu, the heirs of Panaiot Steriu, the heirs of Panaiot I. Steriu and Panaiot N. Steriu were listed as members.<sup>136</sup>

*The burial place of Archimandrite V. Meletios*

The last priest of the merchants’ church is also found among those buried in the Orthodox cemetery in Iosefin after the dissolution of the Company (1854). The epitaph (fig. 43) mentions him as “Servant/honour of the Most High,<sup>137</sup> Archimandrite V. Meletios, benefactor and pastor of the Greek chapel in Sibiu, who passed away to the Lord (on) June 21, 1863, aged 74 years”.<sup>138</sup> The announcement of his death was published in *Telegraful Român* on June 23, and in the following issue of June 27 a short obituary was published from which we can take some brief information about his origins and character. It is mentioned that he arrived in the city:

in his youth, when the Greeks of Sibiu, as representatives of Levantine trade, were in a privileged, flourishing state. After most of them had either died or moved away or finally became Romanianized, the venerable old man remained alone faithful to his origin, and always his face shone with a pale glow, when some happy event gave him the opportunity to speak about Elada (where his homeland lay, on the island of Morea) or even in the Hellenic language.<sup>139</sup>

In an article published in 1913, on the semicentenary of the death of “the last Greek priest from Sibiu”, Onisifor Ghibu claimed, on the basis of the aforementioned obituary, that Meletios had been pastor for a long period, from 1834 to 1863,<sup>140</sup> a claim contradicted by Nestor Camariano. He referred to an entry in the register of the Company which showed that Meletios served as parish priest of the Greek church in Sibiu between December 1, 1833 and December 1, 1838, after which he was replaced by a priest named Dorotei. All that is mentioned about the latter is that the members of the Company owed him an honorarium for services rendered during the years 1840-1841. Although Dorotei’s successor is not

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid., 60.

<sup>134</sup> “Τῷ ἀριστῷ πατρὶ/ Ἰωωαννῆ Π. Στεριου/ μετασταντι εἰς Κισ Κυριον/ τη 6/18 Ἀπριλιου 1836/ ἐτῶν 55/ παρὰ/ τῶν εὐχαριστῶν τεκνῶν”.

<sup>135</sup> Limona, Documente din Arhivele Statului Sibiu, vol. I, 424.

<sup>136</sup> Iorga, Scrisori și inscripții, vol. I, X.

<sup>137</sup> “He who dwells in the help of the Most High shall dwell under the covering of the God of heaven.” Ps. 90, 1.

<sup>138</sup> “Τῷ τοῦ ὑψίστου θεράποντι, Ἀρχιμανδριτῆ Β. Μελετιῶ, εὐεργέτῃ καὶ ἐφημερίῳ τοῦ ἐν Ἑρμανουπόλει γραικικοῦ παρεκκλησιῶ, ἀποδημησαντι προσ Κυριον, 21 Ἰουνουνιου 1863, ἐτῆ 74”.

<sup>139</sup> *Telegraful Român*, no. 52 (June 27, 1863): 208.

<sup>140</sup> Onisifor Ghibu, “Un semicentenar” [A Semicentenary], *Luceařrul*, no. 24 (1913): 813.

mentioned in the register, according to Camariano, it can be deduced that it was an Archimandrite Meletios, who was different from the parish priest of the same name from the previous decade.<sup>141</sup>

The comments made by the author of the obituary of 1863 are, however, clear and support Ghibu's claims about Meletios's long service at the altar of the Transfiguration Church, even if his presence in Sibiu may have been briefly interrupted. "The one who passed in bliss, ... the soul father for half a century, ... was one of the oldest (and therefore ancient) fathers around us, – for our elders also mentioned him as old".<sup>142</sup>

The Archimandrite's memorial is the last one on which an inscription has been written in Greek. Meletios also given sermons in the later years of his priesthood in Romanian.<sup>143</sup> After 1854, the epitaphs on all the crosses in the cemetery were written in Romanian.

*The tomb of Elena Nedelcovici (figures 44, 45)*

In 1855, Elena Nedelcovici, wife of George Nedelcovici, a merchant from Braşov, was buried near the church in Iosefin. Elena Nedelcovici, who died at the age of only 22, came from the prominent Tatarţi family of merchants from Orăştie, in whose house Metropolitan Andrei Şaguna was sometimes hosted.<sup>144</sup> Three members of the family were bishops, as well as donors and founders of the Greek Church in Orăştie. The first Kiria Tatarţi (1750-1835), who served in the time of Bishop Vasile Moga. In the church protocol of 1835, words of pious homage were written on his death by the priests and the congregation:

"being a very good father, he was very hard-working and took care of our church with many labours; he served for 34 years and through his reign many things were done, that is: the altar was extended and the beautiful and gilded altar was made again, the bells were poured [cast] again and many more were made. The most costly and beautiful ornaments were also made by his own power of attorney and by the very donation of him and his family".

The next *ficurator* [trustee], the homonymous son of the first, was installed by Metropolitan Şaguna in 1847 and served until his death in 1853, when Spiridon Tatarţi took his place.<sup>145</sup> Elena Nedelcovici may have been Spiridon's sister.

*Traders Gheorghe Zaharia and Gheorghe Vlad*

Two less important members of the former Company are mentioned in funerary inscriptions. The first was Gheorghe Zaharia, a possible descendant of some Armenian merchants from Dumbrăveni, attested with that patronymic in the eighteenth century. He died on January 30, 1864 and was buried with his family in the church cemetery of Iosefin (fig. 46).

In September 1866, news of the death (on August 27) of the citizen and merchant from Sibiu Gheorghe Vlad (1829-1866) was published in *Telegraful Român*.<sup>146</sup> On the funeral monument dedicated to him by his widow Ana (n. Creţariu), the couple's two sons, who died at an early age in 1864 and 1866 respectively, are mentioned, as well as the name of Ana Vlad's sister, Carolina (fig. 48). She died in the prime of life shortly after the death of her husband, Albert Şerban de Cernesci.

<sup>141</sup> Camariano, "L'organization", 221, 222.

<sup>142</sup> *Telegraful Român*, no. 52 (June 27, 1863): 208.

<sup>143</sup> Ghibu, "Un semicentenar", 814.

<sup>144</sup> Hâciu, *Aromânii*, 310.

<sup>145</sup> Necşa, "Din trecutul", 2.

<sup>146</sup> *Telegraful Român*, no. 69 (Sept. 1/13, 1866): 274.

*Tomb of Dumitru Andronic*

The Romanian Transylvanian press reported extensively on the funerals of the late merchants Dumitru Andronic and Antonie Bechnițiu. In his 1877 will, the former ordered that his remains should be buried with the ceremonies befitting his estate and person.<sup>147</sup> Aromanian,<sup>148</sup> born into a family of “industrialists” from Bucharest, he came and settled in Sibiu as a well-to-do man, increasing his wealth through prosperous business. He had no heirs and devoted most of his life’s work to charity, setting up a foundation to support Romanian Orthodox craftsmen in Transylvania. The executor of Dimitrie Andronic’s will made sure that after his death (4/16 July 1880) he remitted to the church of Iosefin a bond in Austrian currency, of one thousand florins, and he also fulfilled the last article of the will by organising the merchant’s funeral and erecting a funerary monument over his grave (fig. 49), which to this day is the most sumptuous of all the monuments in the cemetery.

*The memorial of the Bechnițiu (Bechnitiu, Bechnitz) family*<sup>149</sup>

As mentioned earlier, when he decided to leave Sibiu to settle in Vienna, Zenovie Hagi Constantin Pop passed the administration of the Hagician Foundation (1852), which included the church and the school in the suburb of Iosefin, to a special epitrope, whose president was the archbishop and metropolitan Andrei and included representatives of the patronage the merchants Antonie Bechnițiu and Nicolae Guma. Bechnițiu – who in the course of 1862 prepared a resting place for himself and his family in the church cemetery in Iosefin, marking it with a funerary monument carved in porphyry stone (fig. 47) – served as epitrope and “plenipotentiary” of the foundation’s patron until 1879, when he resigned. He was assisted after Guma’s death (1862) first by Dimitrie Joliovici, then by the lawyer Ioan Onițiu and later by the lawyer Petru Roșca.<sup>150</sup>

According to the biography sketched by Nicolae Cristea,<sup>151</sup> Antonie Bechnițiu (1805-1881) was born in 1805 in Vaida Recea. As he was orphaned at the age of six, he grew up in the family of his godfather and became a practicing merchant in his godfather’s shop. It is presumed that throughout this time he was in Bucharest, from where, according to Ioan Slavici, he took refuge during the Greek Revolution and then settled permanently in Sibiu.<sup>152</sup> Initially he worked as a journeyman for the companion Stan Costa (the Greek), whose shop Bechnițiu bought in 1836.<sup>153</sup> Through trade, probably in fabrics, he managed to accumulate a fortune over time that allowed him to occupy an important place in the society of the city. It was from this position that Metropolitan Șaguna chose him to “connect the middle class, the merchants and craftsmen in Sibiu” with the national and ecclesiastical leaders. In the course of his life he was an

<sup>147</sup> *Telegraful Român*, no. 79 (July 8, 1880): 313.

<sup>148</sup> According to the testimony of professor and publicist Victor Păcală. Hâciu, *Aromânii*, 330, n. 10.

<sup>149</sup> “In numele lui Domnedieu/ celu pre-bunu și pre-potinte/ se puse/ estetu monumentu/ spre a se signare locul/ repausare osemintelor/ familiei Bechnitiu/ cu spesele lui/ Antoniu Bechnitiu/ negutiatoriu în Sabiiu/ anul D. MDCCCCCLXII (1862)”. [In the name of the almighty this monument was laid for the burial of the bones of the Bechnitiu family, at the expense of Antoniu Bechnitiu, merchant from Sibiu/ year of the Lord. MDCCCCCLXII (1862)].

<sup>150</sup> The names of the representatives of the patronage of the special epitrope are mentioned in several administrative documents issued between 1854-1881. *Archives of the Hagician Foundation* (unpublished collection).

<sup>151</sup> *Anuarul I. al Reuniunii Sodalilor Români din Sibiu, cuprinzând unele date de la întemeierea ei până la 31 decembrie 1899* [Yearly I. of the Romanian Sodalists’ Meeting of Sibiu, Containing Some Data from Its Foundation to December 31, 1899] (Sibiu: 1900), 77 sq.

<sup>152</sup> Ioan Slavici, “Lumea prin care am trecut” [The World I’ve Been Through], excerpt from *Convorbiri Literare* (Bucharest: Artele Grafice Socec&Co., S.A., 1930), 92.

<sup>153</sup> Bechnițiu had a shop in the Small Square (in the building at no. 24).

“adviser in the Metropolitan Consistory, member of the Şaguna Foundation, founding member and first cashier of the *Association*, member of the Romanian Socialists’ meeting and founder of the church in the city”.<sup>154</sup>

At his death on August 11/23, 1881, Antonie Bechniţiu was the last of the Macedonian Romanian merchants buried in the cemetery from Iosefin suburb. Resting next to him rests his wife, Ana Bechniţiu, born into an Aromanian family in Lipova, Deşco, who died on August 5, 1887 at the age of 65,<sup>155</sup> and at least two of their five children – merchant Atanasie Bechniţiu (1864-1892)<sup>156</sup> and lawyer and publicist Ioan Bechniţiu (1848-1898).<sup>157</sup>

But the one who truly ends the line, “the last companion and the oldest merchant in Sibiu”, was Grigore Matei, who died at the age of 81 on January 15, 1890 (fig. 50). A Romanian, born in Târgovişte and settled in Sibiu in 1821, he signed, as the last proestos, the act of dissolution of the Association in 1854.<sup>158</sup>

### *Artistic considerations*

In addition to observing them from the perspective of their role in preserving the memory of the personal, social, ethnic and confessional identity of those to whom they were dedicated, the funerary monuments referred to above can also be analysed in terms of their appearance, from the diversity of shapes obtained by artistic processing (cutting or carving) of the lithic material from which they were made and through which their symbolic and religious destination was established. Among the rock types used, the pink-coloured Marmorean limestone (Moneasa limestone) was preferred for several tombs in the cemetery,<sup>159</sup>

<sup>154</sup> *Anuarul I.*, 77, italics in the original.

<sup>155</sup> “Necrolog” [Obituary], *Familia*, no. 31 (1887): 372.

<sup>156</sup> Soroştineanu, “Cimitirul”, 144.

<sup>157</sup> “Ioan Bechnitz, terminând o viaţă plină de iubire şi de suferinţe, a răposat azi la ora 1 din zi, în vârstă de 50 de ani. Partea pământescă a neuitatului frate şi unchi se va înmormânta Duminică, în 30 August (11 Septembrie), din locuinţa sa, Strada Pintenului Nr. 25, în progadia bisericii greco-orientale din suburbiul Iosefin. Cuprinşi de durere aduc această ştire jalnică. Sibiu, în 28 August (9 Septembrie) 1898. *Emil Cosmutza*, c. şi r. sublocotenent în batalionul de pionieri 12, ca nepot; *Sofia Cosmutza* n. Bechnitz, ca soră.” [John Bechnitz, ending a life full of love and sorrow, passed away today at 1 o’clock, aged 50 years. The earthly portion of his unforgettable brother and uncle will be buried on Sunday, Aug. 30 (Sept. 11), from his home, 25 Pintenului St., in the progadia of the Greek Eastern Church in the suburb of Iosefin. Grief-stricken I bring this pitiful news. Sibiu, August 28 (September 9) 1898. *Emil Cosmutza*, imp. and royal. second lieutenant in the 12th pioneer battalion, as nephew; *Sofia Cosmutza* b. Bechnitz, as sister]. “Necrolog”, *Telegraful Român*, no. 93 (Aug. 29 v. / Sept. 10 n. 1898): 375; “† Ioan Bechnitz, proprietar şi particular în Sibiu, a răposat în 9 Septemvre n. c. în etate de 50 ani. Răposatul a fost cunoscut şi stimat ca un bărbat erudit cu deosebire în stiinţele juridice. Dânsul a desfăşurat câţva timp activitate şi pe tărâmul ziaristicii române, însă cu modestie, fără pretenţia de a-şi face reclamă personală înaintea publicului. N-a ocupat niciun post, nici n-a exercitat vreo profesiune liberală, ci a trăit ca un om cu stare materială independentă, dedicându-se numai studiilor sale private şi căutându-şi de sănătate, căci avea o constituţie debilă. – Fie-i memoria binecuvântată! [† Ioan Bechnitz, proprietor and private individual in Sibiu, died Sept. 9 according to the new calendar aged 50. The deceased was known and esteemed as a learned man especially in the legal sciences. He also worked for some time in the realm of Romanian journalism, but modestly, without the pretense of personally advertising himself to the public. He did not hold any post, nor did he exercise any liberal profession, but lived as a man with an independent material state, devoting himself solely to his private studies and seeking health, as he had a weak constitution. May his memory be blessed.] “Necrolog”, *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, no. 195 (Sunday, September 6/18, 1898): 3.

<sup>158</sup> Iorga, *Scrisori şi inscripţii*, vol. II, X; Grigore Matei is survived by several family members – his wife (Elena Matei b. Stamati Teodor), his mother-in-law (Zenovia Stamati Teodor), his two daughters (Elena Greg. Matei and Anastasia Florian) and one of his sons-in-law (Ioan Florian).

<sup>159</sup> This is possibly the case of the tombstone in the church, the commemorative plaque of the founders of the Hagi Constantin

but also the greyish limestone,<sup>160</sup> the Triassic sandstone,<sup>161</sup> andesite<sup>162</sup> and granite.<sup>163</sup>

A first class of monuments is represented by the grave cross of the merchant Ioan Marcu, preserved in the awning of the church of Bungard. Although in the context studied it represents a singular case, its morphology and decorative scheme of post-Brancovenian style are common to those of several crosses dating from approximately the same period and coming from the same south and south-west Transylvanian area, more precisely from the cemeteries of the Uniate churches of the Maieri (fig. 8) and Lipoveni (fig. 7) in Alba Iulia, as well as from the progadia of the wooden Uniate church in Broșteni (com. Păuca commune, Sibiu county). One peculiarity of these crosses lies in the way the ends of their free arms were carved (except, therefore, the one implanted in the ground) into the stylised shape of a lily flower. Another specific element is the edging with which the crosses were hemmed at the edges, presenting a simple linear profile that, from case to case, is emphasised to a greater or lesser degree. Some of the monuments to which we refer are supported on a more voluminous plinth or pedestal, carved in the form of a pyramidal trunk and ornamented with a sculptural motif of a bundle of acanthus leaves. The most elaborate part of the carved decoration are the ornaments of acanthus twigs interwoven on the arms of the crosses, with square knobs in loops, inscribed with Cyrillic or Greek letters from which the acronym “seal” is composed: *IC-XC NI-KA*. On the lower arm of the cross, the ornamentation has been replaced throughout by the cartouche reserved for the epitaph.

This kind of ornamentation, inspired by the symbolic motif of the “Tree of Life”, is often found in the period, as already mentioned in one case, the church of Maierii Bălgradului, and in five or six monuments with unidentified recipients preserved, probably, from a larger series in the cemetery of the church in Lipoveni. The Bungard cross and a group of five funerary monuments from the church in Broșteni (transferred to Sibiu during the reign of Metropolitan Nicolae Bălan) are closely related in terms of decoration and remarkable artistic execution. These stone crosses (figs 3, 4, 5, 6), which are also the oldest examples in this category, once surrounded the tombs of members of the Neagoe family of founders. The inscriptions, as many as can still be made out today, mention: the priestess Soră († January 18, 1719) – the wife of the priest Stroe Neagoe, the priestess Maria († 1740) and the priest Ioan († March 1740) as well as the priestess Anna († 17[?]), of the Uniate protopope of Armeni, parish priest and founder of the mural painting in the church of Broșteni, Man Neagoe († 1765 or 1766).

As for the type of funerary monument represented by the 1796 tombstone of Constantin Arpaș, the only matches are in cemeteries other than those in which the companions from Sibiu were buried. With regard to the specimens of this kind identified from the period between the beginning of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the following century, the oldest and the most recent of these have the geometrical structure of a sarcophagus lid. In other words, they are prismatic stone blocks with a triangular or trapezoidal cross-section, intended to horizontally cover tombs dug into the ground or arranged under the floor of churches. The first case is the funerary monument (fig. 22) dedicated, in 1705, to the memory of Maria Görög (Grecu) of Făgăraș († May 1, 1701) and her three children by the deceased’s

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Pop family, the monument dedicated to Ecaterina Știrbei, the one dedicated to Archimandrite Meletie, to Elena Nedelcovici, to George Zaharia or to the Bechnițiu family.

<sup>160</sup> In the case of the monument of Ioan Panaiot Steriu, the monument of Dumitru Andronic and that of Grigore Matei.

<sup>161</sup> In the case of the cross of Ioan Marcu, from Bungard, and the tombstone of Constantin Arpaș.

<sup>162</sup> The case of Ecaterina Stoica’s tombstone.

<sup>163</sup> In the case of the funerary monument of the Vlad family and that of the protopope Ioan Panovici.

parents, Petru Görög of Târnova,<sup>164</sup> a judge of the Greek merchant company of Orăștie, and his wife, Cristina Nadra of Clopotiva. Embedded in 1802 in the wall of the eastern apse of the Adoration of the Assumption Church in Orăștie when it was rebuilt and enlarged, the tombstone probably came from the cemetery or even from inside the pre-existing church.<sup>165</sup> In the other case, the stone, cut and shaped in the form of a trapezoidal prism, was placed in 1808 near the Holy Trinity Church on the Hill, over the tomb of Despina Pulpas (fig. 23), widow of the Macedo-Romanian merchant Ioan Trandafir, one of the founders of this Orthodox place of worship, which is also the oldest in Cluj, and of her nephew, Nicolae Trandafir.

Compared to the neoclassicist geometric rigor of these two monuments, the one dedicated to Constantin Arpaș in Sibiu differs from the neoclassicist geometric rigor of these two monuments. The one dedicated to Constantin Arpaș in Sibiu differs in the anthropomorphic profile of the sarcophagus lid, suggesting the presence of a human body lying down and hidden under a shroud, which makes it look more like a tomb effigy. The series of figurative elements carved in relief consisting of the heraldic effigy, acanthus tendrils framing the cartouche of the epitaph, and a skull at the bottom of the stone, form an exuberant decoration, as if applied to a funerary covering. This monument and the corresponding one in the church cemetery in Lipoveni dedicated to Maria Magdalena Ivașcu, are works of art that stand out from all the others for their Baroque style. The latter no doubt served as a model for the stonemason who carried out the commission in Sibiu, unless it was the same craftsman who produced them a quarter of a century apart.

Of the nine tombstones in this category (figs. 24-27) – as many as can still be found in the Lipoveni cemetery – only that of Maria Ivașcu has acquired such a sophisticated expression through artistic processing, the others falling either into the aforementioned design of a prismatic-shaped stone block, or into the so-called “Hogback” form, with the profile representing the crest of a hill.

Regarding this kind of monument, it should be mentioned that most of them, including the one dedicated to Constantin Arpaș, have a hollowed-out space in the upper part provided for implanting a vertical element, most probably a stone cross, in the manner illustrated by the monument with similar articulation dedicated to the protopope Gheorghe Petrașcu (hieromonk Gherasim † 1800), in the cemetery of the Greek Church in Făgăraș (fig. 31). In this case, the cross was fixed to a massive rectangular slab with a slightly curved front, edged with a carved margin in the shape of a laurel leaf garland. The andesite tombstone covering the tomb of Răduț Stoica’s wife’s from Sibiu and the series of four monuments placed between 1812-1826 over the tombs of merchants in the cemetery of the “Greek” church in Brașov were made in an almost identical manner (fig. 32).

A singular case of funerary figurative plastic art is represented in Iosefin cemetery by the monument dedicated by George Manase to his father in 1813. Conceived, in the neoclassical spirit, as an allegory of the virtues that crowned the beneficiary of this posthumous homage throughout his life, the sculpture depicts an ephebe watching over the urn on which the Manase family effigy is resting.

The monuments placed in the cemetery during the second half of the nineteenth century are also handcrafted and come in various shapes and sizes: obelisks, crosses or funerary stars crowned by classical

<sup>164</sup> Petru Görög de Târnova appears in the Conscription of the nobles of Zarand county in 1704 (Ionuț-Cosmin Codrea, *Istorie, societate și viață culturală în Țara Zarandului: secolele XVI-XIX* [History, Society and Cultural Life in the Land of Zarand: 16<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> Centuries] (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2020), 366, Appendix I.

<sup>165</sup> Marius Porumb, “Inscripții inedite de la Orăștie” [Unpublished Inscriptions from Orăștie], *AMN hist.* 31, II (1994): 275, 276.

cornices and frontispieces. Among those who carved them were craftsmen recognised for their work on behalf of Christian and Mosaic patrons throughout the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Among these stonemasons one can mention Iosif Roubischek Senior, from Sibiu<sup>166</sup> (author of the monuments dedicated to Paul Dunca de Sajo and Zaharia Boiu), the Viennese artist Anton Wasserburger (author of the monument to Ioan P. Steriu) and the Budapest-born S. Komorner (author of the monument to the protopope Ioan Panovici).

### *Conclusions*

Until they established their own cemetery, Levantine merchants residing in Sibiu who chose not to return to their native places, or who happened to die unexpectedly while in the city, were buried near the churches in the surrounding Romanian suburbs or villages, to whose construction some of them had contributed. This was the case, for example, with the Chiprovian Wallachian merchant Ilie Cujmăreț, who died in 1719 and was buried, because he was Catholic, near or even in the Uniate church of Sadu (fig. 1). In 1661, Bishop Leontios of Paphos was buried in the Orthodox church of Boița,<sup>167</sup> founded by the Macedonian merchant Stoica, when he died suddenly while far from his homeland in Sibiu, from where he had come to donate several books to the Greek school of the Company. Stoica himself most probably prepared his final resting place in one of his two foundations, either in Boița or Sibiu, in the vicinity of the Cismădia Gate. A remaining vestige of the latter church, a stone-built inscription, was identified at the beginning of the last century in the vicinity of the patronal church of the Hagi Constantin Pop family, built at the end of the eighteenth century on a site which at the time was apparently known to have been consecrated long before. And it was not only the seventeenth-century church building that left traces but also, as far as has been documented, the Orthodox cemetery that existed around it.

But the cemetery that officially served the community of the non-Uniate merchants was the one next to the patron church in the village of Bungard. A fairly large number of Sibiu's merchants were buried there over the course of about a century, starting in 1695, at a time when the most intense activity in the association's history took place. Unfortunately, in the time that elapsed after the transfer of the patrimony of the church of Bungard to the parish community of the locality, and particularly after the abolition of the Company in the middle of the nineteenth century, the cemetery was entirely stripped of the funerary monuments that had once lined the merchants' graves. The discovery of some of the monuments that were laid as the foundations of the rebuilt church calls for a systematic archaeological investigation of the place of worship and its surrounding area.

Another historic cemetery, that of the Church in the Pit, in the Iosefin suburb of Sibiu, is now at risk of sharing the same fate. Founded together with the church in 1789, it served as the burial place of

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<sup>166</sup> "Fac cunoscut onor. p. t. public, că am preluat prin cumpărare atelierul de pietrărie a reponat. tatălui meu și îl voi conduce sub noua firmă «Prima pietrărie sibiană și depozit de monumente pentru morminte al lui Daniel Roubischek mai înainte Iosif Roubischek sen. Sculptor și măiestru pietrar. Sibiu, Bahnhofplatz nr. 4». Cel mai mare depozit de cruci și monumente pentru morminte din cea mai tare și mai durabilă peatră de nisip, și trachyt, divers marmoră, granit, silez, andesyț și granit sved, negru, syenit, labrador etc. [...]" [I make known to your hon. public, that I have taken over by purchase the stonemasonry workshop of my reposed father, and will run it under the new firm "First stonemasonry and deposit of monuments for tombs in Sibiu, of Daniel Roubischek, formerly Iosif Roubischek sen. Sculptor and master stonemason. Sibiu, Bahnhofplatz nr. 4. The largest warehouse of crosses and monuments for tombs of the hardest and most durable sandstone, and trachyte, various marble, granite, siliceous, andesite and Swedish granite, black, syenite, labrador etc. [...]" *Foaia Poporului*, no. 39 (October 1907): 509.

<sup>167</sup> Camariano, "L'organization", 240.

the founders of the Hagi Constantin Pop family, the merchants of the company and their relatives, and other people with whom the company or the founders' family had a connection. It functioned as an Orthodox confessional cemetery until 1916, when the authorities banned burials in the old cemeteries inside the city, the last person buried that year near the church in Iosefin being the Metropolitan Ioan Mețianu. Since the reopening of the cemetery in the 1990s, due to its intense exploitation until the present day, the dislocation of some of the old gravestones and the abandonment of others in the process of deterioration has seriously damaged its historical authenticity.

The oldest of the surviving sepulchral monuments of the merchant-companions of Sibiu is located next to the church in Bungard and dates from 1763. The next one is from 1796 and is in the cemetery in Iosefin, where there are still a few other from the first decade of the nineteenth century. And it was also there that the last of the former members of the Greek Company were buried in 1890.

On crosses or tombstones, epitaphs written in Greek and, only after the mid-nineteenth century, in Romanian, generally follow a standardised formula, mentioning the faith, name and age of the person, the place and date of death and, in a few cases, the name of the place or region of origin. The merchants whose graves can still be seen today came from the lands inhabited by the Vlachs in the Balkans, such as Macedonia (Kastoria, Plika), Epirus (Ioanina, Negades, Melenik), Pind (Agrafa) and Moreea. Others, also Aromanians, were born in Transylvania or Wallachia.

Although only very few of the funerary monuments that once existed in the cemeteries of Levantine merchant communities have been preserved to this day, they are representative in the way they correspond to a variety of morphological types – crosses, tomb slabs, funerary stars in the form of plaques, obelisks or aediculae; they are enriched or not with figurative decorations; and they are reminiscent at first of Brancovenian stone carving, later taking on a Baroque or Neoclassical expression. Analysed from an artistic point of view, they reveal similarities with monuments found in the cemeteries of the Orthodox “brotherhoods” or in which non-company merchants were buried, such as those in Alba Iulia, Orăștie, Făgăraș and Brașov.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 1. Tombstone of the merchant Ilie Cujmăreț from Cyprovice (1719). Cemetery of the “Assumption of the Virgin Mary” church in Sadu (Sibiu county). Credits: I. Abrudan.



Fig. 2. Funeral cross of the merchant Ioan Marcu. Cemetery of the Orthodox church in Bungard (Șelimbăr commune, Sibiu county). Credits: I. Abrudan.



Fig. 3. Funeral cross from the cemetery of the wooden church in Broșteni (Șelimbăr commune, Sibiu county). Collection of the Orthodox Archdiocese of Sibiu. Credits: I. Abrudan.



Fig. 4. Funeral cross from the cemetery of the wooden church in Broșteni (Șelimbăr commune, Sibiu county). Collection of the Orthodox Archdiocese of Sibiu. Credits: I. Abrudan.

## Funerary Monuments of Members of the Greek Company of Sibiu



Fig. 5. Funerary cross from the cemetery of the wooden church in Broșteni (Păuca commune, Sibiu county). Collection of the Orthodox Archdiocese of Sibiu. Credits: I. Abrudan.



Fig. 6. Funerary cross from the cemetery of the wooden church in Broșteni (Păuca commune, Sibiu county). Collection of the Orthodox Archdiocese of Sibiu. Credits: I. Abrudan.



Fig. 7. Funerary cross from the cemetery of the church “Assumption of the Virgin Mary” – Lipoveni, Alba Iulia. Credits: Wikimedia Commons.

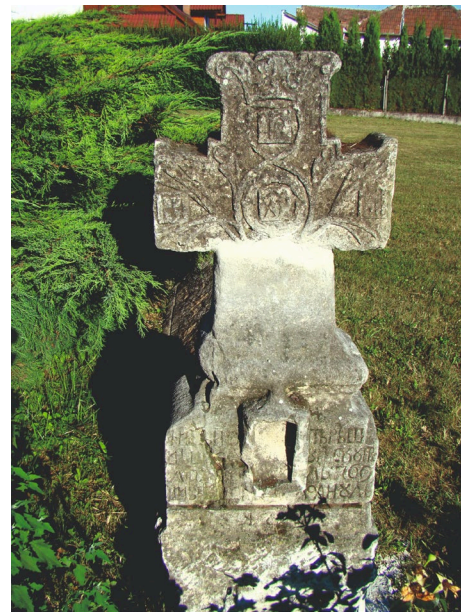


Fig. 8. Funerary cross from the cemetery of the “Holy Trinity” church – Maieri, Alba Iulia. Credits: Wikimedia Commons.



Fig. 9. Tombstones of merchants from the Greek Company of Sibiu. The Orthodox church in Bungard. Credits: I. Abrudan.



Fig. 10. Tombstone of Nicolae Teodoru-Stoian. Orthodox church in Bungard. Credits: I. Abrudan.



Fig. 11. Fragment of a broken tombstone. Cemetery of the Orthodox church in Bungard. Credits: I. Abrudan.

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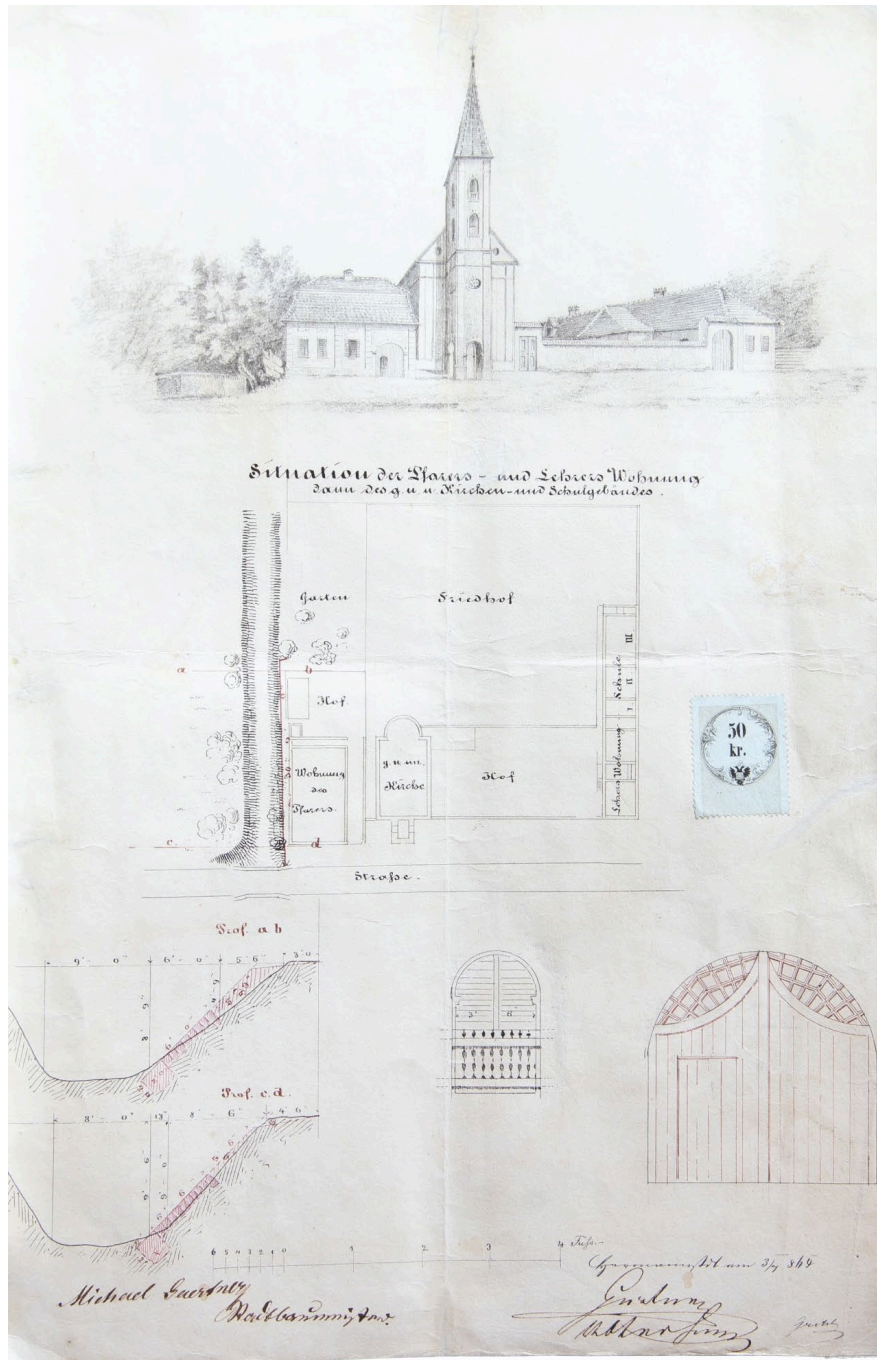


Fig. 12. Cadastral sketch of the ensemble of Hagician settlements in the Iosefin suburb, Sibiu, 1849. Archive of the Hagician Foundation. Credits: I. Abrudan.



Funerary Monuments of Members of the Greek Company of Sibiu



Fig. 15. The epitaph on the grave of the founders of the Hagi Constantin Pop family. Credits: I. Abrudan.



Fig. 16. The tombstone of Constantin Arpaș. Sibiu, The Cemetery of the Church in the Pit. Credits: I. Abrudan.



Fig. 17. The tombstone of Maria Magdalena Ivașcu. Alba Iulia, the old Lipoveni cemetery. Credits: A. Buda.



Fig. 18. The coat of arms of the Dragoș de Thurna and Ivașcu de Turda families, on the gravestone of Constantin Arpaș. Sibiu, The Cemetery of the Church in the Pit.  
Credits: I. Abrudan.



Fig. 19. The tombstone of Maria Magdalena Ivașcu. The result of the photogrammetric analysis. Credits: Dr. Călin Șuteu.



Fig. 20. Coat of arms of the Dragoș de Thurna and Ivașcu de Turda families, on the ennoblement diploma. Credits: “MNL Coats of Arms – DatabasesOnline (gov.hu) HU-MNL-OL-F 7-No. 33”.



Fig. 21 (a). Coat of arms of the Dragoș de Thurna family. Credits: Csergheö, Csoma, *Der Adel von Ungarn sammt den Nebenländern der St. Stephans-Krone*, Tab. 113.



Fig. 21 (b). Coat of arms of the Ivașcu de Turda family. Credits: Csergheö, Csoma, *Der Adel von Ungarn sammt den Nebenländern der St. Stephans-Krone*, Tab. 113.

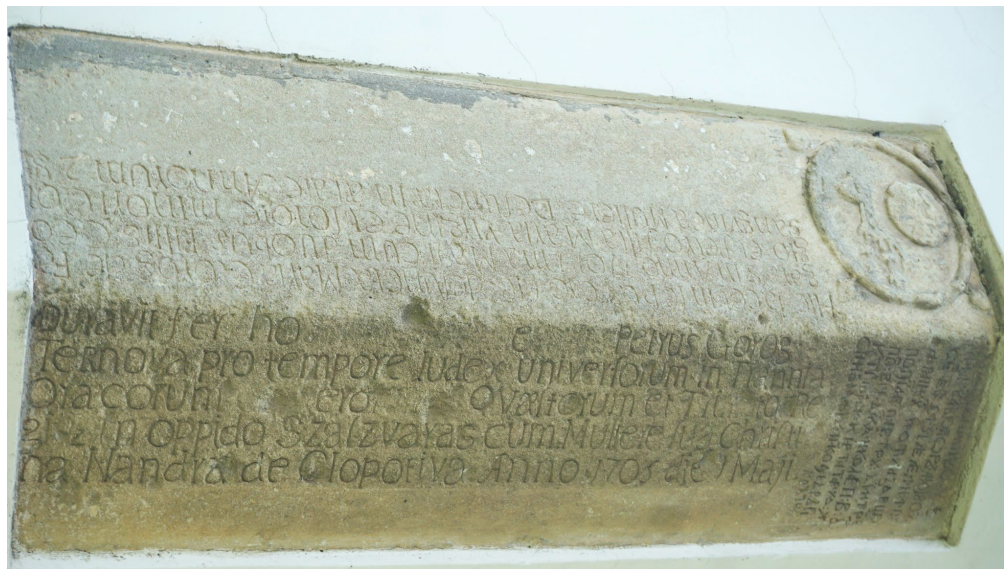


Fig. 22. The funerary monument of Maria Görög (Grecu) de Făgăraș († 1 May 1701) and her three children. The “Assumption of the Virgin” Church in Orăștie. Credits: A. Buda.



Fig. 23. The tombstone of Despa Pulpas. Cluj-Napoca, “Holy Trinity” church on the Hill. Credits: Wikimedia Commons.



Fig. 24. “Hogback” tombstones. Alba Iulia, old cemetery of Lipoveni. Credits: A. Buda.

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Fig. 25. "Hogback" tombstones. Alba Iulia, old cemetery of Lipoveni. Credits: A. Buda.



Fig. 26. "Hogback" tombstones. Alba Iulia, old cemetery of Lipoveni. Credits: A. Buda.



Fig. 27. "Hogback" tombstone. Armeni (com. Loamneș, Sibiu county). Credits: I. Abrudan.



Fig. 28. Funeral cross of priestess Maria Bobeș. Sibiu, the cemetery of the Church in the Pit. Credits: I. Abrudan.



Fig. 29. Tombstone of Ecaterina Stoica. Sibiu, cemetery of the Church in the Pit. Credits: I. Abrudan.



Fig. 30. Ecaterina Stoica's tombstone (detail).

## Funerary Monuments of Members of the Greek Company of Sibiu



Fig. 31. The funerary monument of Archpriest Gheorghe Petrașcu (hieromonk Gherasim). The cemetery of the “Greek” church in Făgăraș.  
Credits: Vasile Stan.



Fig. 32. Tombstone in the cemetery of the “Greek” church in Brașov.  
Credits: Daniel Dumitran.



Fig. 33. The tomb of the Guma family. Sibiu, the cemetery of the Church in the Pit.  
Credits: I. Abrudan.



Fig. 34. The cross of Anastasie Ziguris. Sibiu, the cemetery of the Church in the Pit. Credits: I. Abrudan.

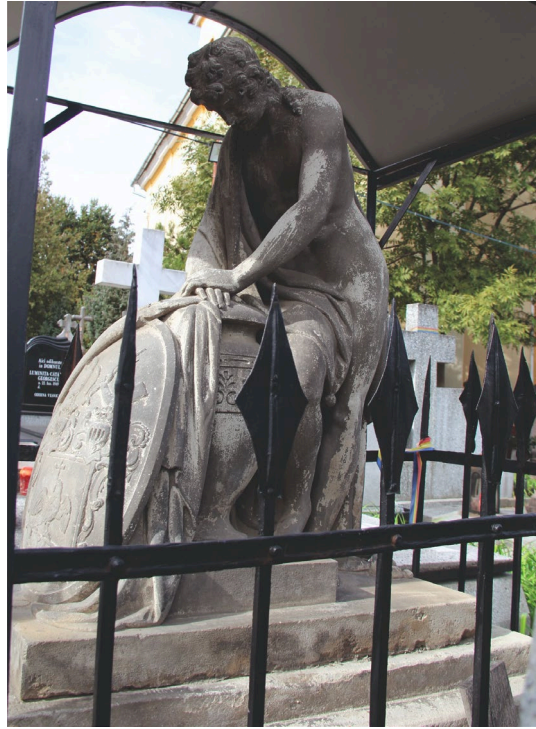


Fig. 35. The tomb of Eliade Manase. Sibiu, the cemetery of the Church in the Pit. Credits: I. Abrudan.



Fig. 36. The tomb of Eliade Manase. Sibiu, the cemetery of the Church in the Pit. Credits: I. Abrudan.

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Fig. 37. The tomb of Eliade Manase. Sibiu, the cemetery of the Church in the Pit. Credits: I. Abrudan.



Fig. 38. The coat of arms of George Manase de Hodoni applied to the funerary monument dedicated to his father. Credits: I. Abrudan.



Fig. 39 (a). The coat of arms acquired by George Manase together with the ennoblement diploma of 1813.

Credits: Királyi Könyvek - 63.237, Magyar Nemzeti Országos Levéltára. Manasz György nagyszabeni polgár | Királyi Könyvek | Hungaricana.



Fig. 39 (b). The coat of arms of George Manase.



Fig. 40. The funerary cross of Elisabeta Dimu. Sibiu, the cemetery of the Church in the Pit. Credits: I. Abrudan.



Fig. 41. The funerary monument of Ecaterina Știrbei. Sibiu, the cemetery of the Church in the Pit. Credits: I. Abrudan.



Fig. 42. The funerary monument of Ioan Panaiot Steriu. Sibiu, the cemetery of the Church in the Pit. Credits: I. Abrudan.



Fig. 43. Sibiu, the cemetery of the Church in the Pit. The tomb of Archimandrite V. Meletios. Credits: I. Abrudan.

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Fig. 44. The funerary monuments of Elena Nedelcovici and Elisabeta Foliovici. Sibiu, the cemetery of the Church in the Pit. Credits: I. Abrudan.



Fig. 45. The funerary monument of Elena Nedelcovici. Sibiu, the cemetery of the Church in the Pit. Credits: I. Abrudan.



Fig. 46. The funerary monument of the merchant Gheorghe Zaharia. Sibiu, the cemetery of the Church in the Pit. Credits: I. Abrudan.



Fig. 47. The funerary monument of the Bechnițiu family. Sibiu, the cemetery of the Church in the Pit. Credits: I. Abrudan.



Fig. 48. The funerary monument of the merchant Gheorghe Vlad. Sibiu, the cemetery of the Church in the Pit. Credits: I. Abrudan.



Fig. 49. The funerary monument of Dumitru Andronic. Sibiu, the cemetery of the Church in the Pit. Credits: I. Abrudan.



Fig. 50. The funerary monument of the merchant Grigore Matei. Sibiu, the cemetery of the Church in the Pit. Credits: I. Abrudan.