The Conqueror of the Turks
in the Kunstkabinett. Curiosity and the Cult of the Hero in Pál Esterházy’s Poem Egy csudálalatos ének
(A Song of Wonder)

Fidelitatis industriaeque exemplum – this is the line written on the wall of the Esterházy castle in Forchtenstein (Hung. Fraknó / Croat. Fortnava). The Esterházy family – which had left the ranks of the smaller nobility at the beginning of the 17th century – was indeed an example of loyalty and diligence: it became one of the most illustrious and richest aristocratic families in Hungary during the Baroque era. Their ever-increasing influence was due to their faithfulness to the Habsburgs and Catholicism, to their achievements in the fight against the Ottoman conquerors as well as to their excellent marriage strategy. They possessed great treasures and were the richest and most powerful landowners in early modern Hungary. Their ambitions, however, were never satisfied by war and politics alone. No aristocratic family supported culture (mainly the arts) as much as they did. The long-lived Paul (Hung. Pál) Esterházy (1635–1713, Fig. 1) was unique even among his culture-minded relatives; as the son of Nicholas (Hung. Miklós) Esterházy (1583–1645), the founder of the family’s power, his loyalty and diligence matched that of his father who had the above-mentioned line written on the castle wall. His steadfastness – apart from following his father’s exemplar – was rooted in personal reasons. Four male members of the family, including Pál’s older brother Ladislav (Hung. László, 1626–1652), the head of the Esterházy family, had died in the 1652 battle of Nagyvezekény (Slovak. Velke Vozokany). The 17-year-old Esterházy who had been contemplating a religious career and artistic plans was suddenly forced to take the heavy responsibilities of the head of the family. From this moment on, he spent all his life on the political stage, in the public sphere. Nevertheless, he never gave up his private ambitions.

As the most generous patron in the country, continuously enlarging the collection and the treasury he had inherited from his father, he facilitated the creation of numerous works of art and was himself experienced in music and poetry. He was a ‘lover of the arts’ in the traditional and at the contemporary sense.

Fig. 1 Jacob Hoffmann: Pál Esterházy in the year 1681. Copperplate. Budapest, Magyar Történeti Képcsarnok, Cat. No. 55.1337 (Photograph: Museum)
same time ‘noble’ sense of this expression (Words such as ‘amateur’ and ‘dilettante’ had originated in the context of pleasure and entertainment – ‘delectare’, ‘dilettare’ – and gradually took on a negative connotation, thereby changing the perception of collectors like Pál Esterházy into old-fashioned characters). His interest covered several artistic genres; his sensibility and the range of activities in which he engaged were so diverse that later generations were fascinated by his personality. However, it has rarely been supposed that the truly Baroque universality of his artistic and creative activities was the expression of a coherent world view. The intention of the art collector and the poet may appear different on the surface, yet they originate from a similar mindset. The artistic programme of the Esterházy patronage might help to interpret his literary works and vice versa: the meticulous reading of the poems may provide us with a closer insight into the underlying concept of his collection of works of art.

One of Pál Esterházy’s early manuscripts is an epic poem entitled Egy csudálatos ének (A Song of Wonder) whose contents are enigmatic and difficult to understand. The precise date of its writing is unknown; all we know for certain is that it formed part of his first collection of poems assembled in 1656. Some scholars question its authorship due to the fact that later, in 1670, Esterházy again copied all his poems into another collection, but for some reason omitted this particular one. Nevertheless, there is no valid evidence to argue against his authorship, as the contents, form and especially the genre of the text are similar to his other poems.

The author’s favourite genre was the ‘catalogue poem’ which listed and itemised the various phenomena of nature and life. In this way he described precious stones, flowers, fish, birds, and terrestrial animals, the amusements of hunting beasts and fowl. The 112 stanzas of A Song of Wonder are also assigned to the genre of catalogue poems, yet its topic is not the natural but the supernatural. The poem lists mythical warriors with unique, almost semi-divine skills. However, these fantastic heroes live in the real world, in different parts of the globe, which are described with an almost cartographic preciseness. The fictitious elements of the poem thus interpret reality; as a kind of theatrum mundi, they try to capture, represent and to some extent model the world known in a geographical sense.

As if a hand were spinning the globe while the eyes are travelling all over the world in the reader’s imagination, the warriors leave Hungary and suddenly find themselves in Scythia, the legendary land of the Hungarians’ origin; with unexpected and unrealistic leaps, they wander across familiar as well as hardly known regions of the four continents. They travel to more than forty countries, including Moscow, Iceland, Greenland, the Baltic countries, Persia, India, China, North and South America, and even to the Maluku Islands in the Pacific Ocean. The last stop is the «beautiful country» of Adaea, the legendary Hadya, i.e. Ethiopia, identified as earthly paradise.

The only study of Pál Esterházy’s poem by Sándor Iván Kovács was published more than twenty years ago, interpreting it on the basis of the martyrdom of the Esterházy heroes killed by the Turks in the battle of Vezekény and the tradition of 17th-century Hungarian epic poetry. The analysis demonstrated the models of some parts of the poem, revealing in particular convincing textual parallels to Miklós Zrínyi’s (Croat. Nikola Zrinski) famous anti-Ottoman epic Obsidio Szigetiana (Siege of Sziget). The crucial impact of this work is beyond doubt as Pál Esterházy had idolized Miklós Zrínyi since his youth. It is also obvious that throughout his long life Esterházy went to great lengths to enhance the fame of the «martyrs» of his family who had been killed in action against the Turks; this aim formed part of his efforts to bolster the power and glory of the Esterházy, and therefore the heroes’ deaths at Vezekény were highly significant (Fig. 2). Less successful were Kovács’s attempts to identify some of the poem’s heroes with famous Hungarians of the era, such as Miklós Zrínyi (1620–1664), Péter Zrínyi (Croat. Petar Zrinski, 1621–1671), László Esterházy, and the poet himself. These allusions are possibly correct, but not sufficient to formulate an allegorical narrative of the epic poem.

Fig. 2 Philipp Jacob Drentwett: The «Vezekény Platter». Augsburg 1654. Budapest, Iparművészeti Múzeum, Cat. No. E 60.3 (Photograph from: Exhib. Cat. Budapest 2006/2007, 97)
The heroic character of the poem is obvious anyway, since the mythical heroes fighting all over the world are characterised by frequently repeated attributes; and by way of magnifying the strength of their fantastic opponents, the heroes themselves become giants: «they measure the sky».

Last but not least, the genre of the poem, the catalogue, is also of epic nature. However, in difference to the enumerations usually encountered in this literary genre, Esterházy’s work is a universal catalogue, embracing the entire world. A catalogue is a constituent literary form of genre leading us to the very source of the ideas of the poem. The almost incomprehensible curiosities of the narrative are to a large extent defined by the underlying formal components of the «catalogue» genre. Apart from his commitment to Christianity, the Hungarian nation, and his family, Pál Esterházy pursued one other passion: the enrichment of his art collection. Therefore, his catalogue poems – among them the Song of Wonder – should be approached from the point of view of a collector.

This leads to the question as to what types of sources Pál Esterházy used when he wrote the poem. It is certainly not a mere product of bold fantasy, yet it can be stated without doubt that it is a rich, unique composition as far as Hungarian aspects are concerned. Unfortunately we do not know the direct textual antecedents of the poem. As Esterházy composed the work at a young age, he might have been inspired by sources such as geography textbooks, maps, and Mappae Mundi which would have been accessible to him in the Jesuit schools of Nagyszombat (Slovak. Trnava) and Graz. However, he did not make use of them in a straightforward way, as Jesuit geography operated on a level transcending the bonds of medieval perspectives, whereas Esterházy’s poem demonstrates an opposite trend: it depicts the parts of the world unsystematically and does not refrain from employing geographical myths. Although the cartography of the era advanced quickly, it did not break entirely with the traditions of mythical geography. These were even reinforced in the decorative elements of the increasingly elaborate atlases. The new, illustrated maps of Mercator and Ortelius (Fig. 3) were extremely popular. They often represented the personified winds, elements, the wonders of the world, planets and seasons, fictitious and realistic animals. Other maps showed the characteristically dressed inhabitants and rulers of distant countries or great figures of history, such as the Roman emperors or the personifications of the four points of the compass. The latter were usually represented sitting on ani-

Fig. 3 Abraham Ortelius: Presbiteri Iohannis, sive Abissinorum Imperii descriprio. Antwerp 1603 (Photograph from: http://libweb5.princeton.edu/visual_materials/maps/websites/africa/maps-central/1603%20ortelius.jpg (06/11/2011))

Fig. 4 Claes Janszoon Visscher: Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Geographica. Amsterdam 1652 (Photograph from: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/36/Claes_Janszoon_Visscher_-_Nova_Totius_Terrarum_Orbis_Geographica_Ac_Hydrographica_Tabula_Autore%27.jpg (06/11/2011))
mals typical of the regions in question, on camels or crocodiles. On Claes Janszoon Visscher’s world map, entitled Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Geographica and published in 1652 in Amsterdam (Fig. 4), the Indian figure representing America is sitting on an armadillo. Pál Esterházy knew this picture, because he owned the engraving (the reproduction of a painting of the Antwerp painter Marten de Vos) that had served as model for the illustration of the map that is still part of the Esterházy collection at Forchtenstein (Fig. 5). The young Pál Esterházy must have seen similar allegoric representations in the collections of the Viennese Hofburg. He also had the chance to admire material souvenirs of distant countries and exotic works of art when – during his travels in Germany – he was a guest of the Bavarian elector, together with his brother-in-law, the famous art collector Ferenc Nádasdy.

It is a well-known fact that the great Austrian and Bavarian collections visited by Esterházy differed substantially from today’s museums. They did not only contain works of art but also objects representing the past, naturalia of the present, minerals, fossils, or archaeological treasures.
Furthermore, they assembled a huge variety of old and new creations of human hands and spirit: ancient statues; coins; paintings; treasures made of gold, silver, precious stones, ivory and other costly materials; books; weapons; instruments; watches and other automatic machines. The gardens with their plants and animals also formed an integral part of the collections. Capturing the entire cosmos within a microcosm, this type of collection was called Kunstkammer from the mid-16th-century onwards. The common denominator to the »Weltanschauung« of the encyclopaedic world maps – known as »theatrum« – and the early museums – known as »chambers of wonder«. In Forchtenstein castle, Pál Esterházy assembled one such »wonderful« collection, majestic even by to the tastes and measures of the era. In one of his wills, he encouraged his heirs to enlarge the collection further, and instructed them to keep all the artefacts, tapestries, furniture, pictures, mirrors etc. at Forchtenstein unchanged. The art collection that can partially still be experienced in situ conforms to all the characteristics of a Kunstkammer with its elaborate stones, natural rarities, or the mobile Bacchus automaton (Fig. 6), which remains a completely unique piece. Automata were basic components of the early museums. It is known that, in 1696, an art-dealer offered to purchase a talking head for Pál Esterházy, reminding the nobleman that one year previously he had sold him a special and sophisticated calendar as well as a portrait depicting Esterházy himself. The celebrated artefacts of the Esterházy treasury now on display in Budapest once formed part of the Forchtenstein Kunstkammer, too. The characteristic pieces include a goblet made of mother-of-pearl (Fig. 7), the table ornament devised from an ostrich egg, and especially the fine goblet showing mining scenes (Fig. 8): This object illustrates the essence of the Kunstkammer spirit, namely the process of cleansing the metal brought to the surface, that is, ennobling the treasures of nature and thereby connecting naturalia and artificia.
In his will written in 1664, Esterházy explicitly named his collection of art a Kunstkammer.\textsuperscript{40} Towards the end of his life, in 1695, he wrote: »Habeo etiam aliquas raritates, uti dicitur Cabinetum, seu Kunstkammer...«\textsuperscript{41}. However, he must have embraced the fashionable organising principle of European art collections – the concept of Kunstkammer – from his youth onwards. Several aspects of A Song of Wonder testify to this. The above-mentioned genre of the catalogue poem does not only relate to an epic context but – self-evidently – to the concept of the Kunstkammer as well. Although the poem defines itself as »chronicle«, it cannot be interpreted as a continuous story. The historic aspect of the poem is not a sequence of individual events but a cosmic history of development: step by step, in space and in time, it gradually registers the changes taking place in nature. In this sense, it is the catalogue of a universal Kunstkammer,\textsuperscript{42} since contemporaries used to call the world »God's Kunstkammer«.\textsuperscript{43}

All this is closely related to the title of the poem. The Hungarian word »csudálatos« means »pretty«, »beautiful«, »admirable«, but in this case it obviously also means »rich in miracles«, »full of wonders«, »about miracles« (of course also referring to miracles happening in the poem: the powerful warriors overcome even the most terrifying enemy). And the most conspicuous trait of the Kunstkammer is the rich collection of natural miracles: remains of exotic plants, fossils of extinct animals, taxidermy specimens of distant creatures such as armadillos, the tusk of the narwhal that people thought to be the unicorn: in short, mirabilia.\textsuperscript{44} The poem lists similar natural miracles as the enemies of the mythical heroes.\textsuperscript{45} The extraordinary strength of one of the warriors is illustrated by the fact that he can even destroy marble. Another hero appears in a treasury holding great treasures, precious stones. The heroes slay birds, beasts, bears, lions, elephants, tigers, and wild bulls. They struggle with »miracles«, »wonders« (in Hungarian the word »csuda« is used, from which »csudálatos« is derived), »beastly crocodiles«, asps, vipers, or whales. One of them, as we learn, »has fought many wild creatures, / Even terrifying animals, / Struggled with fish of the sea, / With beastly whales«.\textsuperscript{46} One of the heroes kills an »earthly wonder... a miraculous animal« in Scythia, measuring »Hundred spans in length, / Nine yards in width«.\textsuperscript{47} Some of the heroes have to face angry dragons, even demons and spirits: »As I say, he faced Furies, / Or rather Harpies, / He fought with the Fates, / And a hundred witches.«\textsuperscript{48} The warriors also fight bloody battles with the »pagans« (that is, the Ottoman Turks) who are in the same league with monsters. The word »pagan« is referring evidently to the Turks, whilst the allusions to Scythia point to the Hungarians. The heroism of Esterházy’s work evokes that of the epic poem written by Miklós Zrínyi. However, the larger part of the »Song of Wonder« is taken up by a universal battle between good and evil. All these characteristics relate to the idea of the Kunstkammer. Of course, the comparisons imply a sophisticated allusion to the struggle against the Turks informed by various humanist sources.\textsuperscript{49} Members of the lower nobility, such as Ferenc Wathay, operated from a lesser level of education and were not interested in devising a symbolism related to the own family, as Esterházy did. The case of Esterházy is characteristic for the 17\textsuperscript{th} century, an era which witnessed the rise in affluence and power of new aristocratic families.

The poem presents itself as if the reader were contemplating pictures on a cabinet, depicting the wonderful fauna, the strange creatures of the four points of the compass, the decorations of a Kunstkammerschrank (1664/1665), a genre that is perhaps represented best by the cycle of paintings by Jan van Kessel the Elder in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich (Germ. München) – from about the same age as Esterházy’s poem.\textsuperscript{50} In line with the speculations associated with the Kunstkammer, all the creatures mentioned in Esterházy’s poem are real miracles, natural wonders or distortions. According to Horst Bredekamp, »although they do not comprise species in and of themselves, they attest to nature’s striving for its own development, and even if they remain monstrous, they verify the condition for all evolution via the interaction of time and chance of which they are evidence«.\textsuperscript{51}

The poem depicts the monsters, curiosities and miracles emanating from »God’s laboratory« in a peculiar perspective, which should be taken into account when carefully reading the beginning and the end of the poem. The last stop of the imaginary journey around the world is Adaea, »The most beautiful country in the world, / The earthly paradise«.\textsuperscript{52} The precise place of the country at one end of the earth is said to be an unrevealed secret, but the poet is obviously thinking of Ethiopia, which was during the 16\textsuperscript{th} century associated with the mysterious empire of »Prester«\textsuperscript{53} John, the priest-king, and with the earthly paradise.\textsuperscript{54} The travel stories published in 1540 by the Portuguese envoy to Ethiopia, Francisco Alvarès (c. 1465–c. 1541), familiarised a wider public with the edifying story of the marriage of the Ethiopian emperor, Zara Yaqob (1399–1468)\textsuperscript{55} to the Muslim-born South Ethiopian princess Helena.\textsuperscript{56} Queen Helena, called Queen Adaea in Esterházy’s poem, was a distinguished ruler, a major figure of Ethiopian history who had died in 1522. Hadya and Ethiopia were unified during her reign, a time of peace and flourishing in the African empire which saw Muslims and Christians living together in harmony.\textsuperscript{57} According to Pál Esterházy, eve-
rybody in this country is virtuous and pious, although they «believe in God in many ways». It is this story upon which he projects the medieval legend – known all over Europe and developed into a Hungarian poem in the 16th century – evoking the country of Prester John, the crown, the court, the palace of the Oriental Christian priest-king.

The poem depicts this country as the Garden of Eden, representing divine creative force in all its perfection and harmony. The most hidden secrets of creation – the ability of flying, magnetism, the mechanism of winds and volcanoes, and the changes of physical conditions – illustrate the original perfection of the world. This «rich country full of treasures» is the real homeland of the heroes scattered all over the globe: «When they are in this country, / They feel happy for a short time, / They enjoy life together, / Even make good friends with each other. // But as soon as they are out of this place, / They miraculously change, / They ruin everything, / And fight each other.» Thus, looking back from the Garden of Eden at the end of the poem, the real world appears as a realm of monsters and hideous beasts. The hero’s task is to fight against them.

From the perspective of the beginning of the poem, a heroic battle is taking place across the globe. In this sense, A Song of Wonder is indeed an epically inspired text. At the same time, it follows precisely the ideas of Kunstkammer theory in the sense of making a bond between human creative force and its products, between ars and artificia. Thus, the creative process imitating evolution in practice, producing artefactae – such as the most beautiful pieces in the Esterházy treasury – elaborates upon, and completes, natural objects. Pál Esterházy’s poem features only one person possessing artistic virtues as well as superhuman force, admired both by the god Mars and the Muses. It is a Hungarian who writes poems in his spare time. The character might have been inspired by a real person, presumably Miklós Zrínyi. This eminent strategist and poet was deeply admired and deified by Pál Esterházy. What is more important, though, is that this character’s artistic nature interprets the struggle fought in the rest of the poem in a peculiar way. This hero is the inversion of the negative distortions of nature: he is a miracle himself, distinguished as he is by the characteristics of natural miracles, the lion, the wild goat, and the furious bear. This is also true for all the other heroes as well: they are similar to deers, vultures, or wild wolfs who are «repulsions in nature’s eyes».

The heroic perspective in this special case is undoubtedly a Hungarian phenomenon. In a Hungarian poem based on some foreign geographical sources, this aspect might pos-
sibly be the poet’s own contribution. But it has to be emphasized that the poem is a mixture of ‘Hungarian’ – that is, anti-Ottoman – heroic elements on the one hand and geographical, artistic, <em>Kunstkammer</em>-like features on the other. In Esterházy’s poem, heroes usually fight lions and dragons, just like the greatest of all heroes, Hercules. Maybe it is not too far-fetched to suppose that Pál Esterházy – who saw the struggle against the Ottomans as a national and familial mission – employs the topos of Hercules in his poem, a topos often applied to Hungarians fighting the Ottomans from the 15th century onwards. Literary scholarship has shown that the efficacy of the <em>Hercules Hungaricus</em> topos was such that Süleyman the Magnificent – following his victory – was not satisfied until he had the three Hercules statues from Buda castle transported to Constantinople and erected in chains by the tomb of emperor Theodosius. When he was old, Pál Esterházy also had a statue of himself erected (Fig. 9). This characteristic equestrian statue, following a type established for the ruler representation of Louis XIV, depicts the ruler as a hero defeating the Ottomans. Géza Galavics has highlighted the contradictions inherent to this unusual statue.

At the time of its erection, Pál Esterházy was the Palatine of Hungary, deputy of the king. However, the political influence of this office was still quite limited. By depicting himself as a viceroy, Esterházy presumably desired to compensate the actual weakness of his position. With regard to the political implications of this type of monument, the placement of the equestrian statue in the enclosed courtyard of Forchtenstein castle should also be taken into consideration as a deliberate choice. It is highly significant that the base of the monument is decorated with reliefs showing Ottoman captives. The setting of the statue is explained by the poem on the one hand and the specific decoration of the castle gate with a mounted crocodile on the other. Pál Esterházy bought a crocodile for his Forchtenstein collection and instructed the castellan to place it under the gate vault, where it can still be seen today (Fig. 10). He made precise arrangements concerning the position of the crocodile. The tail was to point towards the courtyard and the head towards the exterior.

Fig. 10 Crocodile over the Entrance to Forchtenstein
(Photograph: Pál Ács)
The statue and the crocodile – the defeated apocalyptic dragon, sign of the Antichrist and the Turk – show a menacing face towards the supposed Ottoman aggressors. However, from a different perspective, this scene is more bizarre than terrifying. We see a crocodile – primarily an object arising curiosity – and a hero riding his horse, enclosed within the thick castle walls. We know that Forchtenstein was the seat of Esterházy’s Kunstkammer, a fact clearly signified by the crocodile. Our eyes then move from the beast to the heroically depicted owner of the cabinet of wonders. The whole arrangement is a pictorial metaphor denoting the lord of the castle as an art collector with heroic virtues. For Esterházy, the cause of liberating the country did not differ much from the creative contemplation of the structure of the world within the laboratory of his Kunstkammer.

For his contemporaries, however, fighting the Ottomans was a much more ordinary and vital matter. It formed the common way of life, challenging society as a whole and individuals with fundamental, essential problems and real dangers for a period lasting 150 years. Yet by 1691, when Esterházy erected his equestrian statue, the Ottomans had been expelled from Hungary and were no longer a real threat to the country. The elderly Pál Esterházy must have felt nostalgia for his »heroic« youth, being only too aware of the fact that he did not actually play a significant role in the Ottoman wars. The equestrian statue is a substantial part of his artistic representation symbolising the »era« of his early years when the struggle against the Ottomans was of paramount importance.

The heroes of the poem written in his youth also move about in the space of an ideal, virtual Kunstkammer. By their involvement in a gradual and constant struggle against nature’s distortions, they perform Hercules’s tasks. A well-known type of Renaissance painting depicts the collector of art as Hercules, imitating the ancient hero on the crossroads of virtus and voluptas, supporting both virtue and art. Thus, the Hungarian hero at the very beginning of the poem is both a poet and artist who restores the original, paradisiacal state of the country.

**SOURCES**


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ENDNOTES

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8 ESTERHÁZY 2001.
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10 GOMBRICH 1977.
11 RMKT XVII/12, 598–617, (No. 144).
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13 RMKT XVII/12 No. 124, 125, 126, 127, 130, 143.
14 KOVÁCS 1989.
16 BUBICS/SERÉNYI 1895.
18 »Hogy az eget ezek mérik«. – RMKT XVII/12, 598.
19 In the further parts of the essay it will be made clear that there are parts of the poem referring to Hungarian history (e. g. Miklós Zrínyi), some other parts are borrowed from foreign sources.
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23 DELL’UMEAU 1995, 39–70.
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28 Cf. Exhibit. Cat. Essen/Vienna 1988. – The Vienna Kunstkammer was initially located in the building erected as residence of the future Emperor Maximilian II next to the core of the Hofburg later known as the Stallburg. The core of the collection was formed around 1650 from objects owned by Archduke Leopold Wilhelm (1614–1662) with an emphasis on works of art rather than marvels of nature.
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59 In the first decades of the 16th century, European intellectuals – Catholics and Protestants alike – showed increasing interest in Ethiopian culture, religion and history. The Portuguese humanist Damião de Gois, an adherent of Erasmus, wrote a famous treatise entitled Fides, religio moresque Ethio- piorum (1540). This expressly tolerant book was popular in Protestant circles. FEIST HIRSCH 1967, 146–159. – At the same time the Jesuits, beginning with Ignacio de Loyola himself, initiated a lasting mission to Ethiopia. JONES/MONROE 1974, 88–101. In the middle of the 17th century, Ethiopian scholarship and the idea of Kunstkammer went hand-in-hand. The duke of Saxe-Gotha from 1652 onwards started to support Hiob Ludolf, the most illustrious representative of Ethiopian studies, with the aim of enriching his famous Kunstkammer with Ethiopian objects. COLLET 2007.
60 – Midón ez országban vannak, / Kevés ideig mulatnak, / Egymással szépen vigadnak, / Kedvesen is barátkoznak. // De mihetlen kijutnak, / Csuda dolog, mint változnak, / Mindent öszverontanak, / Egymással is megharcolnak.« English translation by the author. RMKT XVII/12, 611.
63 »Az természet izsanyodik«. English translation by the author. RMKT XVII/12, 604.
64 It was a widespread idea among Hungarian humanists. Matthias Corvinus favoured this reference to the mythical hero in his cultural representation. Even Philipp Melanchthon identified Hercules as the mythical ancestor of the Hungarians. – TÉGLÁSY 1987. – MIKÓ 1990.
66 The artist of the equestrian statue was Martin Filsers. – GALAVICS 1992, 88, 149, 151. – One should bear in mind the programmatic allusion to Hercules was very popular at the Habsburg and Wittelsbach courts. On the other hand, the equestrian statue was a type of monument with a particular imperial connotation; cf. KELLER 1971.