

Agnieszka Gąsior (Hg.)



Maria in der Krise

**Kultpraxis zwischen Konfession
und Politik in Ostmitteleuropa**

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Visuelle Geschichtskultur

Herausgegeben von
Stefan Troebst und Arnold Bartetzky

In Verbindung mit
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Unter Mitarbeit von
Stefan Samerski



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The Cult of the Copies of Lucas Cranach's *Mariahilf* in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Hungary*

Anna Tüskés

The image of *Mariahilf*, painted by Lucas Cranach the Elder between 1517 and 1537, was given as a present by Saxon elector John George I (1585–1656) to Leopold V (1586–1632), the archduke and bishop of Passau, in 1611. Then in 1622 the curator of the goods of the diocese of Passau, Marquard von Schwendi, commissioned a copy of the original image. Archduke Leopold took the original to Innsbruck in 1625 where it has been preserved in the main church until today, while the copy remained in Passau in the Capuchin monastery. The Passau copy gained special importance during the siege of Vienna/Wien in 1683 when Emperor Leopold I (1640–1705), residing in Passau during the siege, made a daily pilgrimage to the nearby Kapuzinerberg to pray for his empire in front of the icon. The military victory on 12 September 1683 in Vienna was attributed to the Virgin Mary, the Help of Christians. In order to express their gratitude for the victory, the emperor commissioned the *Mariahilf* Church to be built in Vienna and had a copy of the Passau image placed on the altar, and Pope Innocent XI (1611–1689) established the Feast of the Holy Name of Mary, held on 12 September. It was apparently during the festival of thanksgiving organized at the command of Leopold I himself that the iconographical type of the Passau *Mariahilf* became a symbol of dynasticism and warfare against the Ottoman Empire. Copies of the *Mariahilf* spread around the whole of the Habsburg Empire. During the ensuing wars of liberation and the settlement of the German population, copies of the icon spread widely throughout Hungary. The process was facilitated by the misconception that the images were copied from the *Mariazell Schatzkammerbild* presented by Louis I of Hungary (1326–1382) for the defeat of the Ottoman army in 1364.

Numerous studies have been written during the last three decades on the spreading of the *Mariahilf* in Europe. The research into the cult of the icon in Germany and Austria has been carried out by Walter Hartinger, Karl Kolb and Karl Mindera, and more recently by Roland Gröber and Georg Henkel.¹ For the cult in Hungary, research

* I am grateful to Éva Knapp and Gábor Tüskés for making available their unpublished catalogue of shrines in Hungary to me.

1 MINDERER, Karl: *Maria hilf, ein Beitrag zur religiösen Volkskunde*. München 1961; KOLB, Karl: *Mariengnadenbilder. Marienverehrung heute*. Würzburg 1976, 69 f.; IDEM: *Wallfahrtsland Franken*. Würzburg 1979, 57 f.; IDEM: *Maria, Patronin Frankens*. Würzburg 1982, 92–95; IDEM: *Typologie der Gnadenbilder*. In: *Handbuch der Marienkunde*. Ed. Wolfgang BEINERT and Heinrich PETRI. Vol. 1–2. Regensburg 1996/97 [1984], vol. 2, 448–484, see 462; HARTINGER, Walter: *Mariahilf ob Passau*. Passau 1985; *Maria-Hilf. Ein Cranach-Bild und seine Wirkung*. Exhibition Catalogue Würzburg. Ed. Jürgen LENSSEN. Würzburg 1994 (Katalogreihe Marmelsteiner Kabinett 13); GRÖBER, Roland: *Maria Hilf. Ein deutsches Wallfahrtsbild in Südtirol*. In: *Der Schlern* 70 (1996), 259–273; HENKEL, Georg:

by Sándor Bálint, Éva Knapp, Zoltán Szilárdfy, and Gábor Tüskés is particularly relevant – they describe Baroque pilgrimages, popular religiousness, and the history of worship.²

As a result of my research, the number of Mariahilf representations accounted for in Hungary has grown from 56 to 90. In the course of this paper, I shall present the spreading of the Mariahilf iconographical type in Hungary both from a spatial and temporal point of view including the various forms and media that have facilitated this process, the four variants of type, and the role of the icon in popular piety.

On a 1700 copper engraving by Friedrich Aullinger, an artist from Munich/München residing in Vienna, a Mariahilf image supported by angels and surrounded by garlands is shown.³ The Bavarian flags behind the Mariahilf refer to the 1699 Treaty of Karlowitz, a peace treaty with the Ottoman Empire. In the middle, the city is visible with tents decorated by weapons and flags on each side, and with flags and drums laid down on the ground. In the foreground, the representative of the Ottoman Empire, the Grand Vizier Hüseyin Köprülü is handing the treaty document to Count Wolfgang Oettingen, who represents the army of the Emperor.

In the third quarter of the 17th century in Hungary, the Mariahilf was thought to aid and offer protection against the plague, floods, and Ottoman occupation. Pál Esterházy, the palatine of Hungary, assisted in spreading the cult throughout Hungary with his detailed description of the Passau devotional image in his work on European shrines dedicated to Mary (published in Hungarian in 1690 and 1696).⁴

Vom Kunstbild zum Kultbild. Maria Hilf zu Innsbruck. In: Rahmen-Diskurse. Kultbilder im konfessionellen Zeitalter. Ed. Thomas LENTES. Berlin 2004 (KultBild 2: Visualität und Religion in der Vormoderne), 143–171.

- 2 TÜSKÉS, Gábor/KNAPP, Éva: Österreichisch-ungarische interethnische Verbindungen im Spiegel des barockzeitlichen Wallfahrtswesens. In: Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde 1990, 1–43, see 8f.; BÁLINT, Sándor/BARNA, Gábor: Búcsújáró magyarok. A magyarországi búcsújárás története és néprajza [Hungarian Pilgrims. The History and Ethnography of Pilgrimage in Hungary]. Budapest 1994, 104; TÜSKÉS, Gábor/KNAPP, Éva: Volksfrömmigkeit in Ungarn. Beiträge zur vergleichenden Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte. Dettelbach 1996 (Quellen und Forschungen zur europäischen Ethnologie 18), 188f.; LANTOSNÉ IMRE, Mária: Szűz Mária kultusz és ikonográfia a pécsi egyházmegyében [The Cult and Iconography of the Virgin Mary in the Diocese of Pécs]. In: Boldogasszony. Szűz Mária tisztelete Magyarországon és Közép-Európában. Ed. Gábor BARNA. Szeged 2001, 259–279, see 265; TÜSKÉS, Gábor/KNAPP Éva: Népi vallásosság Magyarországon a 17–18. században [Popular Piety in Hungary in the 17th–18th century]. Budapest 2001, 88f.; SZILÁRDFY, Zoltán: Ikonográfia – kultusztörténet [Iconography – Cult History]. Budapest 2003, 76, 150–152, 195–201; LISZKA, József: Mariahilf-tisztelet a Kárpát-medence nyugati felében [Mariahilf Veneration in the Western Part of the Carpathian Basin.]. In: Halmok és Havasok. Tanulmányok a hatvan esztendőös Bárh János tiszteletére. Ed. Dániel BÁRTH and János LACZKÓ. Kecskemét 2004, 287–300.
- 3 SZILÁRDFY, Ikonográfia (cf. n. 2), fig. 295.
- 4 ESTERAS [ESTERHÁZY], Pál: Az egész világon levő csudálatos boldogságos szűz képeinek rövideden föl tet eredeti [Images of the Miraculous Virgin Mary from All over the World]. Nagyszombat 1690, 119f. (Reprint: Budapest 1994); IDEM: Mennyei korona [The Heavenly Crown]. Nagyszombat 1696, 184f.

The most well-known Mariahilf shrine, Bodajk/Wudeck, is considered to be one of the oldest shrines in Hungary.⁵ Legend has it that even in the 9th century its holy spring was worshipped, and upon the initiative of St. Stephen, a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary was erected at the foot of the Calvary Hill. It was noted that the spring miraculously dried up and resurfaced every seven years. During the reign of Géza II (1141–1162), the place was bestowed upon the crusaders, who tended to the shrine up to the time of the Ottoman occupation. After the liberation from the occupation, the village had to be rebuilt.

The Hochburgs, the landowners of the region, moved the Capuchin friars to nearby Mór/Moor and presented them with the task of rebuilding the shrine. Father Willibald ordered the reconstruction to begin in 1697; the chapel dedicated to Mary, the Help of Christians was rebuilt on the old foundation, and between 1728 and 1742, a Baroque church for the pilgrims was erected next to it and consecrated in 1742. The icon at Bodajk was produced by the court painter under Countess Colloredo and was based on the Passau image. Votive offerings, images, and records in miracle books attest to the belief that miraculous recoveries and healings occurred at the shrine.⁶

The Franciscan Order, and, particularly, the Capuchins played an important role in spreading the Mariahilf iconographical type. In terms of Hungary, this meant that, of the ten shrines with Mariahilf icons, three were tended by observant Franciscans, and two, including Bodajk, by Capuchins. During the 18th century, Bodajk had a substantial impact on its surroundings. According to records in miracle books, its impact spread primarily to the north-eastern part of Transdanubia centered around Fejér county and secondarily to the Kisalföld/Little Plain and the Csallóköz/Žitný Ostrov/Große Schüttinsel toward the northwest and to some villages in Külső-Somogy and Tolna county toward the southeast. Visitors to the shrine also arrived from Bratislava/Pressburg, Vienna, Szombathely/Steinamanger, Szekszárd/Sechshard, and Pest and from settlements between the Danube and the river Tisza to the north of Kalocsa/Kolotschau. Bodajk attracted pilgrims from beyond these regions in exceptional cases only. Processions arrived from larger settlements bordering the area of Bodajk's primary influence: from Székesfehérvár/Stuhlweißenburg, Veszprém/Weißbrunn, Palota, Csákvár, and Tata/Totis. These towns show that the location of the Esterházy estates facilitated in extending the sphere of Bodajk's influence.

5 BÁLINT, Sándor: *Sacra Hungaria. Tanulmányok a magyar vallásos népélet köréből* [Sacra Hungaria. Studies on Popular Piety in Hungary]. Kassa 1943, 47; VAJKAI, Aurél: *Népi orvoslás a dunántúli búcsújáróhelyeken* [Traditional Medicine at the Shrines of Transdanubia]. In: *Magyarságtudomány* 1 (1942), 116–139, see 130; GENTHON, István: *Magyarország műemlékei* [Monuments of Hungary]. Budapest 1951, 193.

6 SZILÁRDFY, Zoltán/TÜSKÉS, Gábor/KNAPP, Éva: *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások magyarországi búcsújáróhelyekről* [Baroque Engravings from the Shrines of Hungary]. Budapest 1987, 159 f.; TÜSKÉS, Gábor: *Búcsújárás a barokk kori Magyarországon a mirákulumirodalom tükrében* [Pilgrimage in Baroque Hungary in the Light of Miracles]. Budapest 1993, 221, 332 f.; TÜSKÉS/KNAPP, *Volksfrömmigkeiten* (cf. n. 2), 74 f.

The Mariahilf chapel in Barátfalva/Ollersdorf, according to tradition, also originates from a medieval cult. In 1519, Count Lőrincz Újlaki donated this settlement to the Order of the Hermit Friars of Saint Augustine.⁷ According to the legend of the chapel's origin, on 23 April 1626, a spring gushed up from ploughed land, making a rumbling noise. The water created a round hole in the ground in which the icon became visible. The 1697 *canonica visitatio* already records a chapel having been erected for the icon. The chapel standing on the location at present was built in 1764.

The Mariahilf image which was kept by the Jesuits at Trencsén/Trenčín/Trentschin is framed with military trophies and is a characteristic example of the usage of a representation of the Virgin Mary as a palladium.⁸ On the image, the Virgin Mary, the Help of Christians is depicted above the imperial army.

In Hungary, the plague was considered to be a consequence of the Ottoman occupation for which "Turk-beater" Mary, the Help of Christians was the only remedy. During the plague, numerous altars and columns dedicated to the Helper Mary were erected. The population dreaded the Black Death for centuries. Numerous patron saints were selected, and pledges were taken to build chapels and monuments. Protective power was attributed to the *Maria lactans*, to the Helper Mary iconographical type, and to the so-called plague-saints, Saint Sebastian, Saint Roch, and Saint Rosalia.

The earliest representation of the Helper Mary made to ensure protection against the plague is the plague column at Hédervár (fig. 1).⁹ The column is adorned with two coats of arms and the instruments of Christ's torture. On its top, between Saint Roch and Saint Sebastian, at the foot of the cross, a Mariahilf relief is visible. The two coats of arms allow one to estimate the date the column was erected. At the end of the 17th century, Katalin Héderváry remained the last descendant of her historic family. The Esterházy, having family relations to the Hédervárys, persuaded Leopold I to ensure her right of inheritance. The two coats of arms, most probably, commemorate this event. Furthermore, Hédervár was pillaged by the plague in 1683. The coincidence of these two events makes it almost certain that the column was erected about this time.

Numerous pharmacies were dedicated to Mary, the Help of Christians during the years of the plague. Of these, the earliest was one founded in 1690 in Mosonmagyaróvár.¹⁰ The pharmacy's furnishing, which survive to this day, date from the end of the 19th century. It is probable that the trade sign was also made about this time; it

7 GUGITZ, Gustav: Österreichs Gnadenstätten in Kult und Brauch. Ein topographisches Handbuch zur religiösen Volkskunde. Vol. 1–5. Wien 1955–1958, see vol. 2 (1955), 235; FISCHER, Robert/STOLL, Annemarie: Kleines Handbuch österreichischer Marien-Wallfahrtskirchen. Vol. 1–2. Wien 1977/78, see vol. 1 (1977), 118; Dehio-Handbuch: Burgenland. Ed. Adelheid SCHMELLER-KITT. Wien ²1980 [1976], 225.

8 SZILÁRDFY (cf. n. 2), fig. 210.

9 NÉMA, Sándor/SMUK, Péter: Hédervár. Budapest 2002, 31, 86.

10 I would like to express my gratitude to Péter Lenzsér for making the documentation of the reconstruction of the Mosonmagyaróvár pharmacy available to me.



Fig. 1 Column dedicated to Mariahilf, 1683. Hédervár.

represents not the *Mariahilf*, but *Maria Immaculata*. Further pharmacies dedicated to the Helper Mary can be found in Sopron/Ödenburg and Csesztreg.

About 90% of Hungarian shrines are dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Of the iconographical types of these devotional images which originated from abroad, the majority are Italian. A part of them, most prominently, the Loreto type, reached Hungary via Austria and especially Vienna. Of the Austrian iconographical types, the most widespread one is the *Mariahilf*, while versions of the *Mariazell* type can also be found. *Mariahilf* and *Mariazell* types are prevalent primarily in Transdanubia. As a consequence of the settlement of the immigrant German population, the *Mariahilf* type is most prevalent in the region of Buda and South-Transdanubia, while it is also present, sporadically, in the north of Hungary and between the Danube and the river Tisza (fig. 2–4). The regions where its presence could be determined reflect the symbolic meaning attributed to the icon – the protective power against the Ottomans, plague, and other nation-wide calamities. This phenomenon also illustrates that not only iconographical types, but attached meanings as well were transmitted internationally.

While only five representations of the Helper Mary are known from the 17th century, the number from the 18th century rises to seventy-one. It is possible to precisely date two-thirds of the surviving representations. Based on these findings, the fashion of venerating *Mariahilf* appeared in the 1680's and continued until the end of the 19th century. The cult of the Helper Mary grew continuously until the 1740's. Following

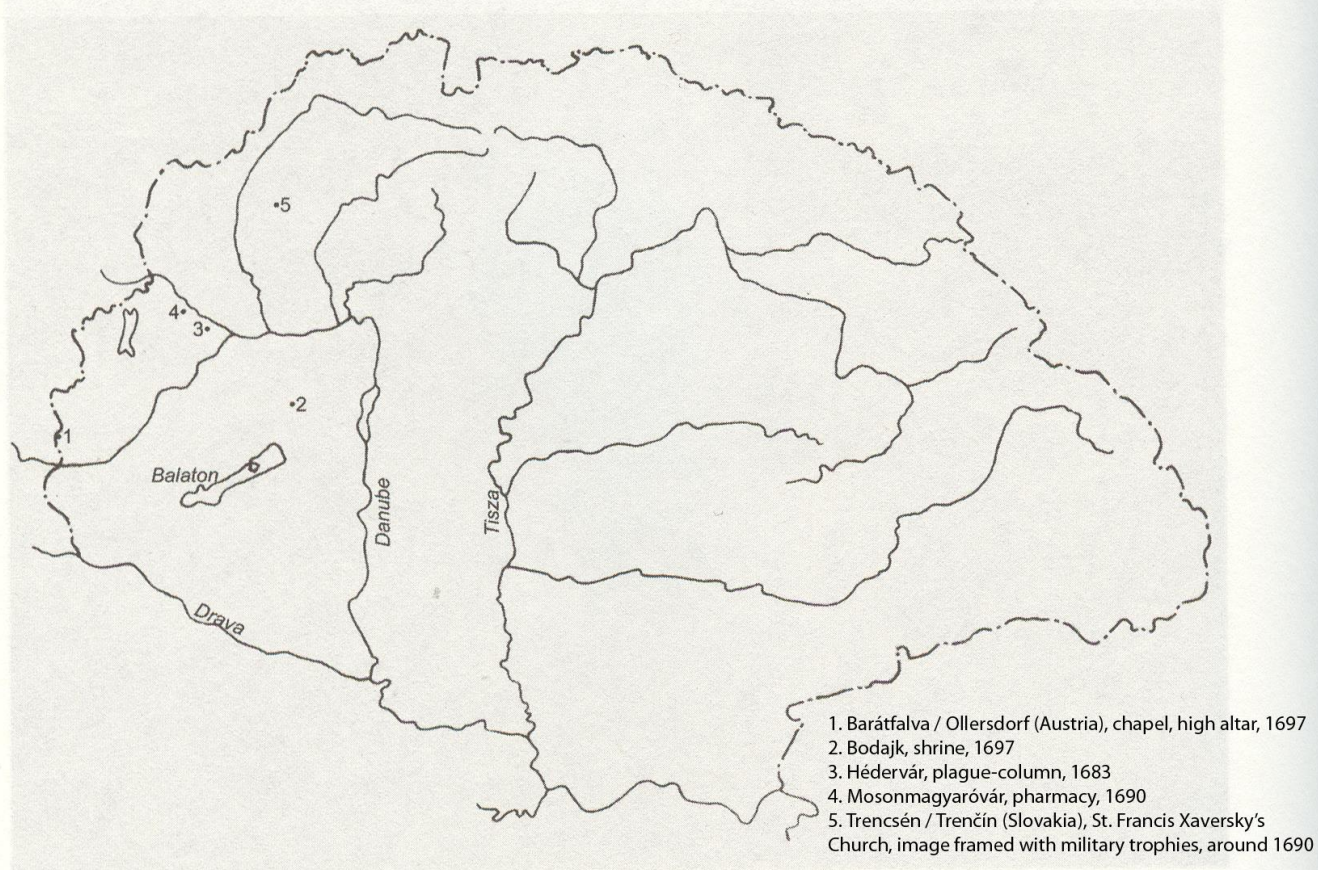
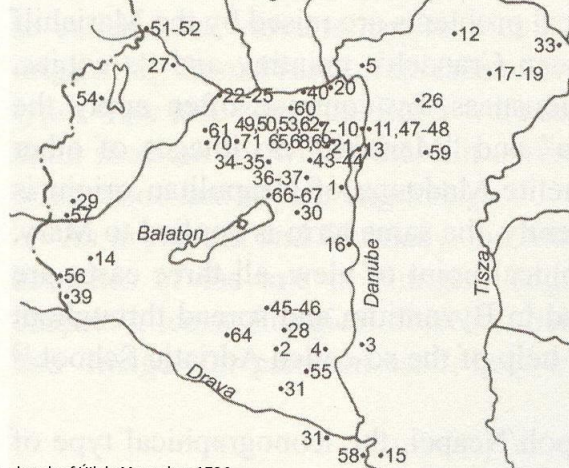


Fig. 2 Spread of *Mariahilf* in Hungary in the 17th century.

1. Adony, Roman Catholic church, high altar, 1742
2. Aparhant, Roman Catholic church, image, 18th century
3. Baja - Vódica, Roman Catholic church, image, 18th century
4. Bátorfő, Helper Mary's Chapel, altar, 1771
5. Berkenye, Roman Catholic church, image in the choir, over the sacristy door, after 1777
6. Bölgyén / Bedzany (Slovakia), chapel of the castle, altar, 18th century
7. Buda, I. district, St. Anne's Church, St. Francis Xaviersky's altar, 1739

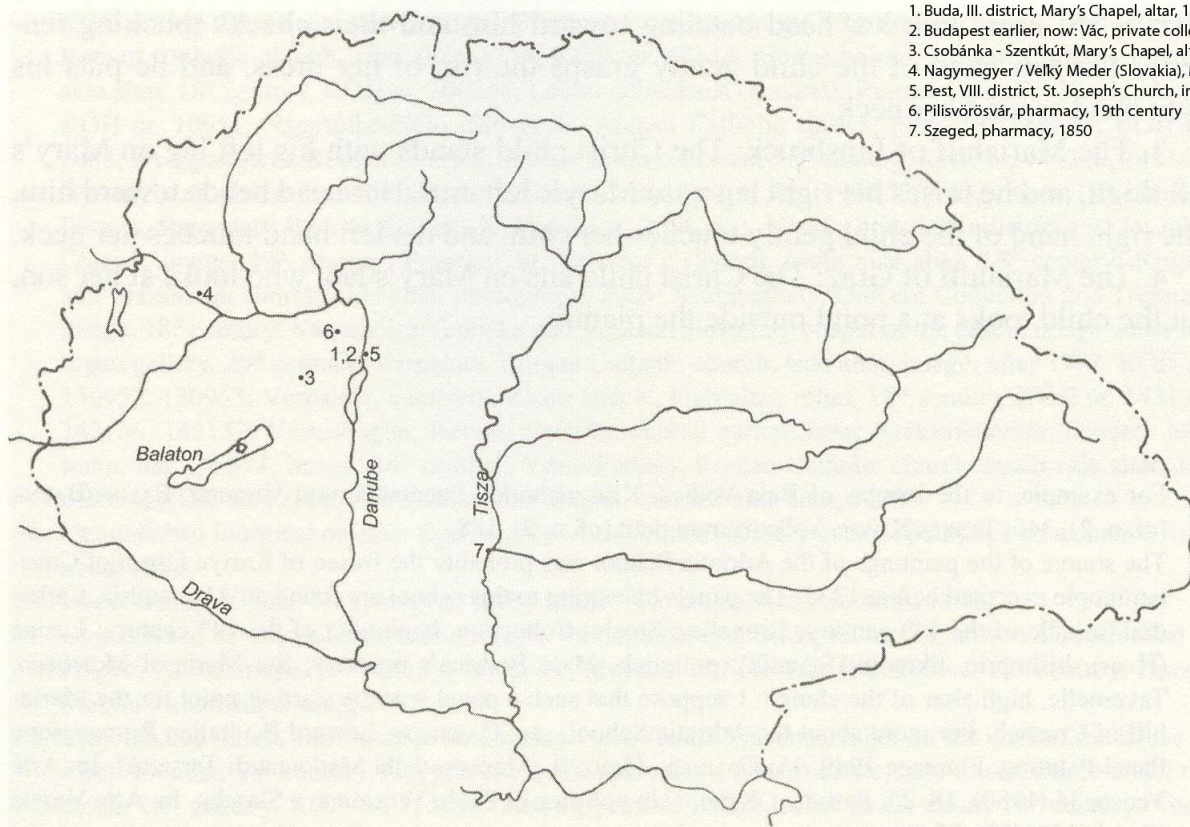
15. Doroszló - Bajkút / Дорослово / Doroslovo / Doroslovo (Serbia), St. Emery's Church, image, 1732
16. Dunaföldvár, St. Roch's Chapel, image, 1742; 17. Eger, St. Francis Borgia's Church, altar, around 1740
18. Eger, Castle Museum, 18th-century enamel paintings on a chalice from about 1500
19. Eger, Castle Museum, relief on the wall of the house of a bell-founder, 18th century
20. Esztergom, Franciscan church, side altar, after 1716; 21. Etyek, column, 1772
22. Győr, Káptalan-domb, relief on the wall of the house, around 1770; 23. Győr, Carmelite church, St. John of Nepomuk's altar, image, around 1740; 24. Győr, German ispita church, image, around 1740
25. Győrsziget, Roman Catholic church, high altar, 1714; 26. Hatvan, Roman Catholic church, side altar, 1755; 27. Hegyeshalom, Roman Catholic church, side altar, 18th century; 28. Hőgyész - Csicsó, Holy Trinity and Mary chapel, image, 1734; 29. Ják, Roman Catholic church, sacristy, image, around 1710
30. Kálóz, column, around 1740; 31. Lucs / Luč (Croatia), Roman Catholic church, image, after 1779
32. Máriagyűd, Roman Catholic church, side altar, 1730; 33. Miskolc, church of Mindszent, image, 1748
34. Mór, pharmacy of capuchins, 18th century; 35. Mór, chapel of the vineyard, image, 1739



8. Buda, II. district, church of Újlak, Mary altar, 1706
9. Buda, XXII. district, Budafok, St. Peter's and Paul's Chapel, image, 1740
10. Buda, XXII. district, Budatétény, St. Michael's Chapel, high altar, relief, around 1750
11. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, Itsz. 2006.1, 18th century
12. Cered, Roman Catholic church, high altar, 1755
13. Csepel (town center), Promontorium, Budapest, XXI. district, image, 1771
14. Csesztreg, Helper Mary pharmacy, 18th century

36. Nadap, Roman Catholic church, bell, 1764; 37. Nadap earlier, now: Székesfehérvár, Diocese Collection, Itsz. 74.158, image, around 1740; 38. Nagybecskerek / Bytča (Slovakia), Thurzó castle, gate-tower, fresco under the clock, 18th century
39. Nagytótlak / Selo (Slovenia), Roman Catholic church, altar, 18th century; 40. Nyergesújfalu, Roman Catholic church, north side altar, 18th century; 41. Nyíregyháza, Greek Catholic Museum, from unknown place, Itsz. 1998.52(A.8), image, 18th century; 42. Nyírpazony, pharmacy, 18th century; 43. Pázmánd, church, bell, 1742; 44. Pázmánd earlier, now: Székesfehérvár, Diocese Collection, Itsz. 74.141, image, 1753; 45. Pécs, Episcopal Collection, image, 18th century; 46. Pécs, St. Sebastian's Church, side altar, after 1734; 47. Pest, V. ker., St. Anne's Church, image, 1768; 48. Pest, X. ker., Kőbánya, Conti chapel, high altar, around 1740; 49. Pilisborosjenő, Roman Catholic church, altar, image, 18th century
50. Pilisvörösvár, Steinmüller votive chapel, high altar, 1774; 51. Pozsony, primate palace, relief in the court, 18th century
52. Pozsony, St. Salvator's Church, south side altar, 18th century; 53. Solymár, Mary's Church, image under the altar of Falconer, 1733; 54. Sopron, Helper Mary pharmacy, 18th century; 55. Szajk, Valentine's Chapel in the cemetery, image, after 1760; 56. Szentgotthárd, Roman Catholic church, image, after 1764; 57. Szombathely, Diocese Collection and Treasury, image, 18th century; 58. Szottin / Sotin (Croatia), church, image, 1739; 59. Tápiószéle, Helper Mary pharmacy, 18th century
60. Tata, Capuchin church, image, around 1750; 61. Tétzentkút, St. Anthony of Padua's Church, high altar, 1715
62. Tinnye, Roman Catholic church, image, around 1740; 63. Torbágy, Roman Catholic church, image, around 1740
64. Turbék, Helper Mary's Church, high altar, after 1741; 65. Üröm, Roman Catholic church, plague-altar, image, 18th century
66. Várpalota, Roman Catholic church, side altar, image, after 1777
67. Várpalota, cemetery, Zichy chapel, high altar, relief, 18th century
68. Vértesszőlős, Roman Catholic church earlier, now: Székesfehérvár, Diocese Museum, Itsz. 74.574, image, 18th century
69. Vértesszékely, Roman Catholic church, south side altar, 18th century
70. Veszprém, Vár u. 29. House of Dubniczay, relief, 1751; 71. Zirc, Cistercian church, first left side altar, 1770

Fig. 3 Spread of Mariahilf in Hungary in the 18th century.



1. Buda, III. district, Mary's Chapel, altar, 1811
2. Budapest earlier, now: Vác, private collection, image, 19th century
3. Csobánka - Szentkút, Mary's Chapel, altar, 1843
4. Nagymegyer / Velký Meder (Slovakia), Mary column, 1898
5. Pest, VIII. district, St. Joseph's Church, image, 19th century
6. Pilisvörösvár, pharmacy, 19th century
7. Szeged, pharmacy, 1850

Fig. 4 Spread of Mariahilf in Hungary in the 19th century.

this period, a decline ensued, which was succeeded by another thriving period in the 1770's. The low number of the representations in the 19th century shows the decline of the cult. The analysis of the representation's spread in time and space shows a close connection with the plague, which struck Hungary in 1708/09, 1712, 1738–40, 1762, 1770/71 and 1795/96.

Numerous iconographical and terminological problems are raised by the *Mariahilf* type. When using this term, art historians mean Cranach's painting and its copies. Ethnographers and researchers of folk religiousness, by contrast, often apply the expressions "Helper Mary", "Maria Auxiliata" and "Mariahilf" to images of other iconographical types.¹¹ Most often, the Carmelite Madonna of Neapolitan origin is described as the Helper Mary, however, frequently, the same term is applied to Mary, Mother of Good Counsel. From an iconographical point of view, all three cases are variations of the Eleusa-type, which originated in Byzantium and spread throughout Europe from the 7th to the 9th century with the help of the so-called Adriatic School.¹² These variations are:

1. The Carmelite Madonna of Naples/Napoli/Neapel, the iconographical type of which is identical to the Notre-Dame de Grâce of Cambrai/Kamerich: the child Christ rests with his left leg on Mary's right arm, while his right leg hangs down without support. Mary's head bends toward him, their cheeks touching tenderly. The right hand of the child gently touches her chin, and with the left hand the child gently grasps her *maphorion* (veil).¹³

2. Mary, the Mother of Good Counsel of Genazzano: The Christ child rests on Mary's left arm, with her head bending toward him and their cheeks touching tenderly. The left hand of the child gently grasps the rim of her dress, and he puts his right hand around her neck.

3. The *Mariahilf* of Innsbruck: The Christ child stands with his left leg on Mary's left thigh, and he raises his right leg onto Mary's left arm. Her head bends toward him. The right hand of the child gently touches her chin, and his left hand touches her neck.

4. The *Mariahilf* of Graz: The Christ child sits on Mary's lap, who looks at her son, but the child looks at a point outside the picture.

11 For example, to the images of Baja-Vodica, Krasznahorka, Szentantal and Varannó. BÁLINT/BARNA (cf. n. 2), 346; TÜSKÉS/KNAPP, *Volksfrömmigkeit* (cf. n. 2), 188.

12 The source of the paintings of the Adriatic School was probably the fresco of Kariye Camii of Constantinople executed before 1335. The panels belonging to this school are found at: Alessandria, Cathedral, middle of the 14th century; Bruxelles, Stoclet Collection, beginning of the 14th century; Lesina (Hvar), bishopric; Skradin (Sibenik), poliptich, Mate Bedrica's property; Sta Maria al Morrocco, Tavernelle, high altar of the church. I suppose that such a panel was the starting-point for the *Mariahilf* of Cranach. For more about the Adriatic School, see: GARRISON, Edward B.: Italian Romanesque Panel Painting. Florence 1949, 11; GAMULIN, Grgo: Il „Maestro della Madonna di Tersatto“. In: *Arte Veneta* 34 (1980), 18–25; PRIJATELJ, Krno: Un polittico di Paolo Veneziano a Skradin. In: *Arte Veneta* 13–14 (1959/60), 25–29.

13 Cf. KOLB, *Typologie* (cf. n. 1), 460 f., who treats them as different types.

This last image, painted by Giovanni Pietro de Pomis court painter and architect in 1611 for the Minorita Church in Graz, is not related iconographically to Cranach's image.

The primary source of the representations of Mariahilf prevalent in Hungary is the Passau icon; the copy in Vienna served as a secondary source. Apart from these, three so-called local variants can be found. Besides the representations without a crown originating from Passau, representations with a crown like the Vienna- and Bodajk-types were also common. Rarer were the variants with a canopy or a halo of stars. The main medium by which the cult spread were reproduced devotional pictures, most often wood and copper engravings.

As in Austria and Germany, the Mariahilf cult also manifested itself in numerous branches of the arts in Hungary (fig. 5).¹⁴ High and side altars of churches and chapels¹⁵, icons, liturgical objects¹⁶, bells, thesis pages, columns¹⁷, devotional statues and images for personal use¹⁸, holy-water basins, reliefs and frescoes on facades¹⁹,

14 A less known representation of the Mariahilf is a painted and gilded ivory carving in Palazzo del Bargello, Florence/Florenz, inv. 196C. It is recorded as a 17th-century Spanish work.

15 Unpublished high and side altars of churches and chapels: Bátaszék, Helper Mary's Chapel, altar, 1771; Berkenye, Roman Catholic church, image in the choir, over the sacristy door, after 1777, Kulturális Örökségvédelmi Hivatal (KÖH = National Office of Cultural Heritage, Photocollection, Budapest) nr. 39551; Bölgén/Bedzany (Slovakia), chapel of the castle, altar, 18th century, KÖH nr. 11009; Cered, Roman Catholic church, high altar, 1755; KÖH nr. 39906; Csatka, Roman Catholic church, image, KÖH nr. 146179; Csepel (town center), Promontorium, Budapest, XXI. district, image, 1771; Hatvan, Roman Catholic church, side altar, 1755, KÖH nr. 65616; Hegyeshalom, Roman Catholic church, side altar, 18th century, KÖH nr. 106244; Léka/Lockenhaus (Austria), Roman Catholic church, image, KÖH nr. 10651; Nagytótlak/Selo (Slovenia), Roman Catholic church, altar, 18th century, KÖH nr. 2483; Nyergesújfalu, Roman Catholic church, north side altar, 18th century, KÖH nr. 141340, 141345; Nyíregyháza, Greek Catholic Museum, from unknown place, ltsz. 1998.52(A.8), image, 18th century: PUSKÁS, Bernadett: Ikon és liturgia. Nyíregyháza, 1996, kat. Nr. 70; Pest, VIII. district, St. Joseph's Church, image, 19th century; Pozsony, St. Salvator's Church, south side altar, 18th century; Szigetvár, Franciscan church, side altar, photograph, 2005; Szombathely, Diocese Collection and Treasury, image, 18th century; Vágtapolca/Teplička nad Váhom (Slovakia), chapel of the castle, image under the organ gallery, 20th century; Várpalota, Roman Catholic church, side altar, image, after 1777, KÖH nr. 130952, 130953; Várpalota, cemetery, Zichy chapel, high altar, relief, 18th century, KÖH nr. 143135, 143136, 143137; Vértesboglár, Roman Catholic church earlier, now: Székesfehérvár, Diocese Museum, ltsz. 74.574, image, 18th century; Vérteskethely, Roman Catholic church, south side altar, 18th century, KÖH nr. 121185; Zirc, Cistercian church, first left side altar, 1770.

16 Unpublished liturgical objects: Eger, Castle Museum, 18th-century enamel paintings on a chalice from about 1500.

17 Unpublished column: Nagymegyer/Veľký Meder (Slovakia), Mary column, 1898.

18 Unpublished devotional statues and images for personal use: Budapest earlier, now: Vác, collection of Frigyes Pálos, image, 19th century; Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, ltsz. 2006.1, 18th century; Zsuzsa Makrai's enamel painting, 2007.

19 Unpublished reliefs and frescoes on facades: Eger, Castle Museum, relief on the wall of the house of a bell-founder, 18th century; Nagybecse/Bytča (Slovakia), Thurzó castle, gate-tower, fresco under the clock, 18th century, KÖH nr. 11582; Pozsony, primate palace, relief in the court, 18th century; Veszprém, Vár u. 29. House of Dubniczay, relief, 1751; KOROMPAY, György: Veszprém. Budapest 1957 [1956], 147.



Fig. 5 Ivory plaque, Firenze, 17th century. Bargello.

and the naming of pharmacies²⁰ all attest to the extensive prevalence of the cult (fig. 6–8).

At the town-hall of Szigetvár/Inselburg is a portrait from the 18th century of the commander of the castle, Miklós Szigeti Zrínyi, who was killed by the Turks. In this portrait the feather on the cap of Zrínyi is fastened by a clip representing the Maria-

20 Unpublished naming of pharmacies: Csesztreg; Nyírpazony; Sopron; Tápiószele.

Fig. 6 South side altar, after 1734. St. Sebastian church in Pécs.



helf.²¹ This unique iconography is a result of historical events. The commander of the castle of Szigetvár resisted the payment of taxes to the Ottomans after the death of Emperor Ferdinand I (1503–1564). As a result, Suleiman I besieged the fort starting on 9 August 1566 with an army of a hundred thousand. Zrínyi had 2 500 men to hold the castle, but the number diminished quickly to 600 requiring retreat to the inner fort. Suleiman died during the night from 5 to 6 September, but this was kept secret from the Ottoman army, and they continued fighting. Zrínyi waited for imperial relief troops in vain, and the long drought dried out the moat and swamps around the castle. Zrínyi then decided to break out of the castle with his remaining troops of 300, all of whom were killed, and Zrínyi's head was mounted on a spear.

21 CENNERNÉ WILHELMB, Gizella: *A Zrínyi család ikonográfiája [The Iconography of the Zrínyi Family]*. Budapest 1997, 52, A 17a.

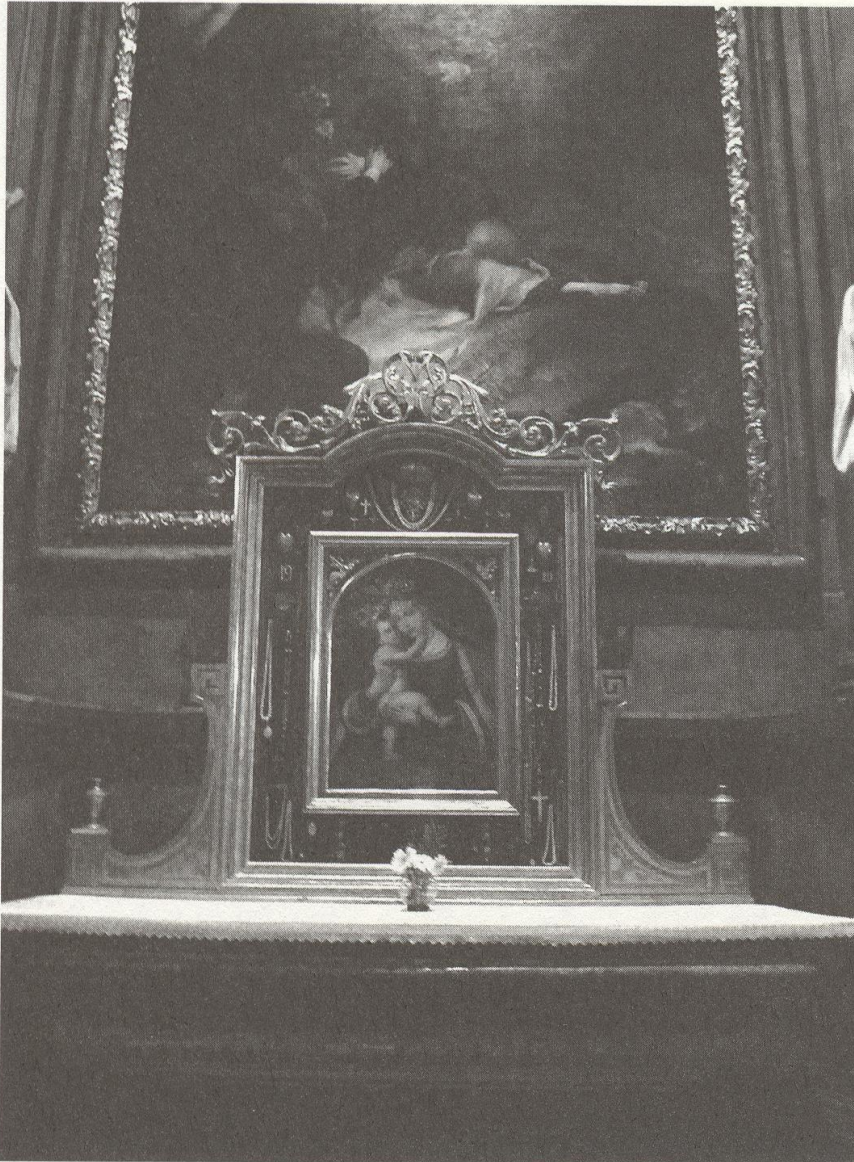


Fig. 7 South side altar, 18th century. St. Salvator church in Pozsony.

The death of Suleiman I was long kept a secret, and his body was buried secretly in his tent. His heart, the surrounding organs, and his liver were buried three kilometres from Szigetvár, at the site of modern Turbék. At this place, an octagonal sepulchral monument of marble with a golden dome was erected by the Turks. At the end of the 17th century, with the Ottoman army expelled from Hungary, this turbe was demolished and a wooden chapel was built in its place. On its high altar a Mariahilf image was placed as it was believed that the victory over the Ottomans and the liberation of the country was a result of Mary's help. In the latter third of the 18th century, Franciscan friars from Szigetvár built the church which survives to this day on the site of this chapel.

Students often had a representation of Mariahilf engraved for their thesis pages before taking their final examination. So did Ferenc Széchi, and two Pauline friars, Márton Paulini and Vazul Alexovits, as well as István Koháry, who played an active

Fig. 8 Relief in the court, 18th century. Primate palace, Pozsony.



role in defeating the Ottoman armies and who was loyal to the Habsburgs during the Rákóczi war of independence (1701–1711).²²

The *Mariahilf* cult was closely connected with the plague from the beginning. This assertion is supported by, for example, the fact that on the altar of the church in Passau the devotional picture is situated between the statues of the two most popular saints protecting from the plague, of Saint Sebastian and Saint Roch. Numerous altar pieces and chapels also attest to the prevalence of this association in Hungary, as does the *Mariahilf* altar piece of the church in Óbuda-Újlak. The inscription on this altar piece suggests that Mátyás Janoschitz, messenger of the treasury, and his family are represented, all of whom were saved from the plague.²³

22 SZILÁRDFY, Zoltán: *Barokk szentképek Magyarországon* [Baroque Devotional Images in Hungary]. Budapest 1984, fig. 15; RÓZSA, György: *Thesenblätter mit ungarischen Beziehungen*. In: *Acta Historiae Artium* 33 (1987/88), 257–289, see 272, 278, fig. 22 and 30; SZILÁRDFY, *Ikonográfia* (cf. n. 2), fig. 347.

23 SZILÁRDFY, *Ikonográfia* (cf. n. 2), fig. 55.



Fig. 9 Mariahilf Relief on the Facade of a Palace, 1751. Castle, Veszprém.

Images and other representations placed next to the Mariahilf suggest that its worship was intertwined with other cults. In numerous cases representations of Hungarian saints can be found next to the icons. At Tétzscentkút, for example, Saint Stephen and Saint Ladislaus are represented beside the devotional image, while above it, an image of Saint Anthony of Padua is placed.²⁴ Keresztély Ailert, imperial captain, ordered the church to be built in 1715 out of gratitude that he was cured of his tendon-related illness while bathing in the water of the nearby spring and praying to his image of the Helper Mary. The church was finished in 1726 and rebuilt during the latter half of the 18th century. The altar pieces were painted by Anton Maulbertsch and Stephan Dorffmeister.

Apart from altar pieces and devotional pictures, the Mariahilf was also represented in sculpture. Originating from the middle of the 18th century is a relief made of linden-tree, found on the high altar of the Chapel of St Michael at Budatétény, a settlement inhabited by Bavarians who arrived after the liberation of the country from the Ottoman rule.²⁵ A Mariahilf statue re-painted multiple times and donated to the ancient sculpture depart-

24 BÁLINT, Sándor: *Boldogasszony vendégségében* [In the Company of Virgin Mary]. Budapest 1944, 37; GENTHON (cf. n. 5), 256.

25 SZILÁRDFY, Ikonográfia (cf. n. 2), fig. 59.

Fig. 10 Relief of Mariahilf from the Facade of a Bell Founder's House, 18th century. Castle, Eger.



ment of the Hungarian Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest in 2006 originates, most probably, from the same time (plates I–II).²⁶ Originally, it probably served as a personal devotional object.

Representations of the Mariahilf can often be found on facades of houses built during the 18th century. Such a relief can be seen on the top of the tympanum of one of the palaces built in 1751, part of the Castle of Veszprém (fig. 9).²⁷ The Mariahilf relief on the wall of a bell founder's house, which is preserved in the Castle Museum of Eger/Erlau, was originally paired with a representation of St Fortchern (Forkernus), the patron saint of bell founders (fig. 10–11). In both cases, it is apparent that a protective power was attributed to the images.

The Mariahilf is represented from the side on one of the 18th century enamel paintings on a chalice from about 1500, also kept in the Castle Museum of Eger (fig. 12,

26 Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. no. 2006.1. I am grateful to Mária Verő for allowing me to study the statue.

27 Veszprém, Vár Street 29. House of Dubniczay, built in 1745. KOROMPAY (cf. n. 19), 147.



Fig. 11 Relief of St Forkernus from the Facade of a Bell Founder's House, 18th century. Eger.

plate III).²⁸ This is a representative example of the prevalence of the *Mariahilf* cult in the applied arts. A pewter holy-water basin (part of a private collection in Budapest²⁹) and a tin plate image found among the tiles on the roof of a house after the siege of Budapest during World War II (now in private ownership in Vác/Waitzen) attest to the role of *Mariahilf* in private devotion (fig. 13).³⁰

The *Mariahilf* cult is very much alive in today's Hungary as well. For example, two years ago, the photograph of the icon at Turbék was placed on the northern side altar of the Franciscan church at Szigetvár (plate IV). It is this *Mariahilf* that is repre-

28 I would like to express my gratitude for the high quality photographs of the chalice to Ágota H. Szilasi. Five further enamel paintings represent female saints: S. Aplonia, S. Barbara, S. Rosalia, S. Vrsula, S. Catharina. DÁVID, Katalin: *Sakrale Kunstschatze in Ungarn*. Budapest 1982, nr. 53.

29 SZILÁRDFY, Ikonográfia (cf. n. 2), fig. 346.

30 I am grateful to Frigyes Pálos, canon of Vác, for letting me examine the picture in his ownership.



Fig. 12 Chalice, about 1500. Museum of the Castle, Eger.



Fig. 13 Mariahilf, tin, 19th century. Vác, private collection.

sented by Zsuzsa Makrai on her 2007 enamel painting but with false colours (plate V). The artist relied on an illustration found in Elek Jordánszky's work from 1836 presenting Hungarian shrines dedicated to Mary.³¹

This detailed topographical and formal research proves the crucial influence of the Passau cult in Hungary. The Mariahilf was thought to protect not only against the Ottomans, but also against famine, wars, and the plague. Copies of the original image were brought to Hungary by German-speaking people, who settled in depopulated areas of the country after its liberation from the Ottoman rule. The cult became present in almost all forms of religiousness and influenced numerous branches of the arts.

Translated by Előd P Csirmaz

31 JORDÁNSZKY, Elek: Magyar országban, 's az ahoz tartozó részekben lévő Bóldogságos Szűz Mária kegyelem' képeinek rövid leírása [Short Descriptions of the Icons of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Hungary]. Posenban 1836, 92 f.



Plate I Statue of Mariahilf, 18th century.
Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.



Plate II Statue of Mariahilf, 18th century.
Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.



Plate III Chalice, about 1500, detail. Museum of the Castle, Eger.



Plate IV Photo of Mariahilf placed on the Altar in 2005. Franciscan Church, Szigetvár.



Plate V Zsuzsa Makrai: Mariahilf of Turbék. Enamel Picture.

Damien Tricoire

Biblioteka Narodowa, Warszawa: Abb. 1.

Bibliothèque nationale de France: Abb. 3.

BLOT, Gérard, RMN: Taf. III.

Musée des Beaux-Arts de Caen: Taf. I.

TRICOIRE, Damien: Taf. II, IV; Abb. 2.

Anna Tüskés

RÓKA, Lajos: fig. 9, 12.

H. SZILASI, Ágota: plate III.

TÜSKÉS, Anna: fig. 1–8, 10, 11, 13; plates I, II, IV, V.

Kai Wenzel

Albrecht z Valdštejna. Inter arma silent musea? [Albrecht von Waldstein. Inter arma silent musea?]. Ausst.-Kat. Prag. Hg. v. Eliška FUČÍKOVÁ und Ladislav ČEPIČKÁ. Praha 2007, 194: Taf. II.

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VÁCHA, Štěpán: Der Herrscher auf dem Sakralbild zur Zeit der Gegenreformation und des Barock. Prag 2009, 206, 268 und Tafel XI: Abb. 2, 3, 7.

WENZEL, Kai: Abb. 4, 5, 6, 8.

Krista Zach

ROOS, Martin: Maria-Radna. Ein Wallfahrtsort im Südosten Europas. Bd. 1. Regensburg 1998, 42, 47, 49, 55: Abb. 1, 2; Taf. I, II.

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