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## POLITICAL PROPAGANDA IN THE ART PATRONAGE OF TAMÁS ERDŐDY, BAN OF CROATIA AND SLAVONIA<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** Count Tamás Erdődy (1558–1624), Ban of Slavonia and Croatia, one of the leading knights bannerets in the Kingdom of Hungary, pursued an illustrious political career: at different stages of his life he held several high offices of state, he was a successful participant in the fight against the Ottomans, he enjoyed the unconditional confidence of the Habsburg rulers, and he was nominated four times to the post of palatine, the highest position in the land, second only to the king. As a patron of the arts he was quick to recognise the potential power of visual devices. His support for the arts was closely connected to his political activities, and the works he commissioned, including the building work carried out on his estates, all played a part in his political ambitions and were linked to particular stages of his career. In his campaign to be elected palatine, he defined himself as Christ's victorious warrior, a hero defending both his nation and the Christian faith. This was reflected in his chosen motto, "In Deo vici," with its allusions to Constantine the Great; it was proven by the military title bestowed upon him, as a knight of the Order of the Precious Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ of Mantua; and this image was reinforced by the heroic pictures of him, and by the posthumous portraits painted after them. Though it failed to achieve its political objective – for Erdődy never became palatine – the complex programme of patronage he followed, rare in the extreme in the Kingdom of Hungary in the early modern period, still dominates the way we regard this eminent nobleman.

**Keywords:** Tamás Erdődy, Miklós Zrínyi, Aegidius Sadeler, Jan I Sadeler, Late Renaissance Art, heroic representation, heroic portrait, altar painting, tomb sculpture, Order of the Redeemer of Mantua, Long Turkish War (1591/3–1606), Croatia-Slavonia, Zagreb, Varaždin, Klanjec, Sisak, Jastrebarsko, Smolenice, Bojnice, Eberau, Rotenturm a. d. Pinka, Vép

### I. THE POLITICAL CAREER OF TAMÁS ERDŐDY AND HIS ACQUISITION OF ESTATES

In September 1583 Rudolf II, Holy Roman Emperor, appointed Tamás Erdődy, then a young man of just 25, to the position of Ban of Slavonia, Croatia and Dalmatia, to act as the legal representative of the ruler.<sup>2</sup> The provinces had once come under the governance of two separate bans, but by the end of the sixteenth century a significant part of the lands belonging to them had been conquered by the Ottomans, and the consequent drop in tax revenues meant that the now combined office of ban had lost much of its actual power; nevertheless, in terms of social prestige, this was still (after the palatine and the

judge royal) the third highest ranking position in the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>3</sup> Since the appointment of the ban – unlike, for instance, that of the palatine – was the exclusive prerogative of the ruler, the position was regarded as one of absolute royal confidence. In addition to representing the king and ensuring the administration of justice, the position of ban also carried greater military responsibility: the ban's *banderium* (battalion), while naturally subordinated to military high command, was also entrusted with defending the frontier. Since soldiers' payments were regularly delayed, the costs of guarding the border occasionally had to be raised by the ban himself. To an extent, these circumstances limited the king's scope when it came to choosing a ban: it seemed at least practical to select a candidate who

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– besides being of the Catholic faith and enjoying the ruler's absolute trust – also had military experience, was sufficiently wealthy, and owned substantial estates in Croatia-Slavonia. The latter factor was important not only for ensuring that the ban would have a personal interest in carrying out his defensive duties properly, but also because the local nobility would more readily accept a leader who was not permanently based outside the provinces under his command.

The young Tamás Erdődy, whose father had also previously served as ban for a ten year period (1557–1567),<sup>4</sup> was a major landowner in Croatia-Slavonia, and could already boast a few minor successes on the battlefield,<sup>5</sup> so he fulfilled the above criteria perfectly. Nevertheless, his appointment was not smoothly achieved, for many opposed his candidacy on the grounds of his youth and inexperience. The champion of Erdődy's cause, István Radéczy, Bishop of Eger and Royal Governor, wrote a lengthy letter to the ruler, persuading him of the young man's suitability.

*Since my great lord Kristóf Ungnád resigned his title as ban before the Hungarian Diet in Posonii [Bratislava, Slovakia], the matter of his successor has been much debated. Thus far, however, no person has been found who would be more worthy, or who would, by virtue of his lineage, his outstanding deeds, or his military virtues, be more suited to this position than my esteemed lord Tamás Erdődy. In respect of his youth, he is not so inexperienced or unpractised as to make him incapable of fulfilling this office most excellently. He has passed the age of twenty-two years, and he has proven a good successor to the old military virtues of his father. Furthermore, under his domain lies the larger and more valuable part of the Kingdom of Slavonia, whose lands and the river Sava can support more expertly trained soldiers, prepared against sudden invasions, than anyone else, even the other landowners of Slavonia. His bravery and perseverance are already evident, for he has routed the Turkish beys on several occasions, capturing a number of their military insignia. These he despatched to Your Highness's court.*

*Finally, of all his virtues, the most excellent is that he is a pious and true Catholic (...) Which, were this not enough recommenda-*

*tion with regard to his person, then some consideration should be paid to the virtues of his father. He performed the office of ban for many years with heroism and honour, from the Saxon war [Schmalkaldic War] until his death he served Your Highness's ancestors and predecessors with loyalty and steadfastness of a kind rarely equalled, and it would be difficult to find another like him in the realm of soldierly service. (...) I therefore see no grounds for exclusion, and because of his own merits I recommend awarding him the office of ban. In my view it would be unbecoming for him to have to share the office with another person. Indeed, such deliberations are taking place in the council. (...)*<sup>6</sup>

Earning the title of ban, despite the undoubted financial burden this would entail, was of fundamental importance to Tamás Erdődy. Though he came from wealthy and influential stock – his grandfather, Péter Erdődy I, had been the nephew of the powerful Archbishop of Esztergom, Tamás Bakócz of Erdőd (Thomas Bakócz de Erdeud), and had inherited the lion's share of the cardinal's wealth – his family's position had begun to waver since the death of his father, Péter Erdődy II, in 1567. Tamás Erdődy was just nine years old at the time, and there were no senior male relatives alive to represent the family's interests at the highest levels. After becoming an adult and taking over the management of his estates, his appointment to high state office enabled him to restore his family's former position of influence. Indeed, as we shall see, his talent and ambitions soon elevated him into the nation's political elite.

Tamás Erdődy wasted no time rewarding the faith placed in him by the royal court: he defeated the Ottomans in his very first year as ban, and in the following years he led his *banderium* to several further victories.<sup>7</sup> Erdődy regarded his most memorable triumph as the Battle of Sziszek (Sisak) in 1593, where his troops, combined with Imperial soldiers, managed to fight off the Ottoman army. Hasan Pasha, the leader of the invading forces, fell in the battle, and this stopped the march of the Ottomans against Záhgráb (Zagreb). Admittedly not all of his campaigns resulted in victory, but his military career as a whole can be described as a success.

His political career also embarked on a rapid upward trajectory. Following the lead of his

father, Péter Erdődy II, in 1580 Tamás Erdődy obtained reaffirmation of his title as count and an expansion of his coat of arms, both for himself and his heirs, and for his two siblings (Péter and Margit).<sup>8</sup> He served as Ban of Croatia and Slavonia for two separate terms (1583–1595 and 1608–1614).<sup>9</sup> He was councillor to the king from 1583 until his death, and between 1601 and 1603 he was also councillor to Archduke Ferdinand.<sup>10</sup> Between 1598 and 1603 he served as Master of the Stewards (*magister dapiferorum*), while he twice bore the title of Master of the Treasury (*magister tavernicorum*), in 1603–1608 and 1615–1624.<sup>11</sup> For valour, in 1607 he was made perpetual captain of Varasd Castle (Varaždin, Croatia) and hereditary lord lieutenant (*comes*) of the county of Varasd, titles that his descendants continued to bear until the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

Posterity regards Erdődy as a committed believer in the Counter-Reformation, who took determined steps to prevent the spread of the Reformation in Croatia and Slavonia. At the national assembly in Pozsony, when it turned out that Protestants would be allowed to settle freely in Croatia, Erdődy is alleged to have drawn his sword, proclaiming:

*If by no other means, then we will use iron to wipe this infectious disgrace from our lands; we have three rivers, the Sava, the Drava and the Kulpa – these new guests will have to drink up the waters of one of them.*<sup>13</sup>

The image formulated about him is clearly inseparable from the idea he himself propagated, which was further perpetuated by his descendants, that he was the “soldier of Christ.”<sup>14</sup> His denominational allegiances, however, were clearly more nuanced than this. He had grown up in a court that at least sympathised with Protestantism, and he later chose a wife from an earnestly Protestant family. Several sources indicate that around 1560 his father, Péter Erdődy, was far from averse to Lutheran teachings: he allowed Lutheran preachers onto his estates, and permitted and encouraged the spread of Protestant Bible translations; there is even evidence that he requested one for himself.<sup>15</sup> The Lutheran preacher Primus Truber (Primož Trubar) wrote a letter (dated 19 July 1562) to Hans von Ungnad, head of the Protestant spiritual centre in Tübingen, that Ban Erdődy was “guet evange-

lisch, helt sich gantz christlich mit den evangelischen crobotischen briester.”<sup>16</sup>

Yet, whatever kind of instruction Tamás Erdődy had been raised under, by the 1580s, the “good Catholicism” exhibited by him and his family was beyond dispute. As seen above, in the letter of recommendation he wrote in 1583, Bishop Radéczy made special mention of Erdődy’s Catholicism, and even asserted that this made Erdődy particularly suitable for the position of Ban of Croatia and Slavonia. His marriage to Anna Mária Ungnad in January 1584 was conducted in accordance with Catholic wedding rituals,<sup>17</sup> and by the end of the century at the latest, his wife – Hans von Ungnad’s grand-daughter – had converted to Catholicism: in 1597, a volume titled *Hasznos orvosság [Useful Medicine]* by Lukács Pécsi was published in Nagyszombat (Trnava, Slovakia) with her financial support.<sup>18</sup>

The immense trust placed in Tamás Erdődy by the Habsburgs is indicated by the fact that he was nominated by the royal house on four occasions (1608, 1609, 1618, 1622) for the highest public office in Hungary, the position of palatine, local “deputy” for the ruler, who was generally not present in the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>19</sup> (Candidates for palatine were put forward by the king; by agreement with the estates of the realm, the candidates always comprised two Catholic and two Protestant noblemen; the estates would then elect one of the four candidates. In the first quarter of the century, the Protestant estates were in the majority, so one of the Protestant candidates tended to win the vote. Despite the royal court favouring Erdődy, who was famed for his unwavering Catholicism, he was not chosen once.)

Without a doubt, the crowning glory of Erdődy’s political career was the international recognition he earned for his battles against the Turks and his defence of the Christian religion: in his twilight years (aged 62) – at his own request – Ferdinando Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua and Montferrat, appointed him a knight of the Order of the Redeemer of Mantua (full name: Order of the Precious Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ of Mantua).<sup>20</sup> The Order of the Redeemer was instituted in 1608 by Ferdinando’s father, Vincenzo Gonzaga, to mark the wedding (19 February 1608) of his first-born son Francesco to Margaret of Savoy, and received papal approval on 25 May 1608.<sup>21</sup> The duke founded this order expressly to



Fig. 1. Coat of arms of Tamás Erdődy, 1619; Corte Villabella, Marmirolo (Mantua)

honour those who had fought against the Ottomans in Hungary; he himself had ventured onto the Hungarian battlefield on three occasions, seeking – in vain, it must be said – military glory against the Turks.<sup>22</sup> Knights of the order had to be brave defenders of the Christian faith, following the example of Jesus Christ in spilling their own blood and risking their own lives to stand against all threats to the world of Christendom.

Indirect sources indicate that Tamás Erdődy was present in person in Mantua at the wedding of Francesco Gonzaga, when the establishment of the order was also celebrated. In Corte Villabella, a residence near the village of Marmirolo, not far from Mantua, the grand hall was decorated with the coats of arms of the members of the military order. There are only a few that have survived until the present day, but among them the coat of arms of Tamás Erdődy can be clearly recognised, accompanied with the date 25 May 1608 and the inscription “Conte Tomaso de Bartari di Sua Maestà Regia ambasiatore” (sic!). (Fig. 1) The then owner of the building, Marquis Massimiliano Cavriani, became a member of the Order of the Redeemer in November 1618, and the series of coats of arms was probably made soon afterwards, in early 1619. The date alongside the inscription

is not when Tamás Erdődy became a knight, however, but when the order’s deed of foundation was approved by Pope Paul V (Camillo Borghese). The only explanation for this is what the inscription itself also implies: that Erdődy – as an envoy – was present at the ceremony.

Erdődy would obviously have liked to become a member of the order at that time, but the number of knights was limited by strict rules: there could only be twenty members at any one time. Selection of members was decided by the dynastic and political connections of the Gonzaga family, and candidates from outside the Italian sphere of influence had to wait a long time for entry. Erdődy was eventually allowed to join the ranks of the knights in 1619, and he was invested at the start of the year.<sup>23</sup> At the mass held in Saint Stephen’s Cathedral in Záhgráb, “Bonettus”, Ferdinando Gonzaga’s envoy, placed the medal of the order upon Tamás Erdődy.

*Great and unique indeed are the accomplishments you have achieved in the interests of the Church, famous are your deeds, your battles and your victories, which you have fought against the common enemies of Christendom and which are recorded with the greatest admiration in the documents of religious and secular authorities. These make it easy for us to fulfil your wish, so that in addition to your exceptionally noble family distinctions, besides your inherited and your own virtues, we may also willingly accept you among the members of the noble military order named after the Redeemer. We consider it befitting that a man who has dedicated all his efforts and his life’s work in the state of the Kingdoms of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia to our religion and our Church should bear visibly the medal of the order named after the sacred blood of the Redeemer.*<sup>24</sup>

These were the words read out by the envoy in honour of the count. The “sacred blood of the Redeemer” refers to the most treasured holy relic in Mantua, the “Most Precious Blood of Christ”; twelve members of the order held keys to the box it was kept in.<sup>25</sup> During ceremonies, the knights wore special clothes of carmine silk embroidered with gold thread, with capes and stockings of silver-coloured material. At their election, the knights swore an oath to defend Christianity, to protect the honour of the Pope in Rome and

the House of Gonzaga, to respect ladies, and to give alms to widows and orphans. Thereafter, the coats of arms of the knights were placed within the Basilica of Sant'Andrea in Mantua in accordance with the rules of the order. Over the centuries, the collection of coats of arms has significantly diminished, and only fifteen survive, including that of the only Hungarian member of the order, "Comes Thomas Erdeodi ab Eberav", that is, Count Tamás Erdődy of Monyorókerék (Eberau, Austria), whose coat of arms (*Fig. 2*) was painted on 12 February 1619, shortly after the ceremony in Zágráb.<sup>26</sup>

In parallel with his political career, he devoted substantial energies to expanding and maintaining the Erdődy estates. The lands owned by his family were greatly increased through his marriage on 22 January 1584 (29 January according to the old calendar), in Pozsony. His bride was Anna Mária Ungnad, only daughter of the former Ban of Croatia and Slavonia, Kristóf Ungnad, and Anna Lossonczy.<sup>27</sup> With his wife came extensive estates in Upper Hungary (Szomolány [Smolenice, Slovakia], Jókő [Dobrá Voda, Slovakia]) and in Slavonia (Varasd, Szamobor [Samobor, Croatia]). This reinforced Erdődy's position in Slavonia even further, and also provided him with a foothold in Northern Hungary.

After a trial lasting several decades, he finally took back from the Zrínyi family the Erdődy estates in Western Hungary (Vörösvár [Rotenturm an der Pinka, Austria], Vép and Monyorókerék) that his father, Péter Erdődy, had lost during a failed attempt at marriage.<sup>28</sup> Traces of this story are preserved in a small dossier in the Erdődy archive, containing documents from the period when their descendants, Tamás Erdődy and Miklós Zrínyi (VI) the Younger (d. 1625) were at odds with each other – via their envoys.<sup>29</sup> From the instructions given to them, which recorded the positions they held towards the other party, the series of events can be reconstructed as follows.<sup>30</sup>

Péter Erdődy and Miklós Zrínyi (IV) the Elder (d. 1566) signed a marriage agreement in February 1557 on behalf of their children, György Zrínyi and Anna Erdődy, who were still minors at the time.<sup>31</sup> Under the terms of the agreement, Zrínyi was entitled to take possession of Erdődy's estates in Vörösvár, Monyorókerék and Vép, even before the wedding took place.



Fig. 2. Coat of arms of Tamás Erdődy, 1619; Sala degli Stemmi, Sant'Andrea, Mantua

*It happened that Miklós Zrínyi engaged his son György in marriage to the daughter of Péter Erdewdy, who – to secure the engagement of his daughter – placed the disputed property under the dominion of Miklós Zrínyi (...) and to seal the kinship between them through engagement, (...) submitting to conditions in a letter stamped and signed by their own hands, he gave the disputed property, per manus, to Miklós Zrínyi.<sup>32</sup>*

In exchange, Erdődy received the Zrínyi demesnes in Medvevár, Rakonok and Verbovec (Medvedgrad, Rakovec and Vrbovec, Croatia), as well as 11,000 forints (some sources say 12,000 forints) in cash.<sup>33</sup> Beforehand he had asked the king to grant "praefectio in filium" (bestowing the status of "son" upon a daughter, for inheritance purposes) to Anna Erdődy, to guarantee her the right to inherit the lands in question, which were intended as part of the girl's dowry.<sup>34</sup>

*Maniarokerek, Vörösvár and Vép were given by Péter Erdewdy, father of Tamás Erdewdy, to Old Miklos Zrínyi, in exchange for Medvevár, in the county of Zágráb, and eleven thousand forints; as his intention was to give away these castles with his daughter,*

*Anna Erdeudy, Péter Erdeudy wanted to make Anna Erdeudy his legal son for these estates.*<sup>35</sup>

The Slavonian lands Erdődy received were admittedly of lesser value, but he had good reason for entering into this apparently disadvantageous deal: his wife, Margit Tahy, was no longer alive, their son Gáspár, who had last been mentioned in 1548, had also passed away, and Péter Erdődy himself was seriously ill.<sup>36</sup> According to the account given by László Kerecsényi in May 1556, Erdődy had already written his last will and testament:

*My lord Péter Erdedi (...) has by now become so ill that nobody believes he will live much longer, he has made his testament, yesterday afternoon the letter was brought from Császárvár [Cesargrad, Croatia], upon which Ferenc Tahy came at haste, for in the testament, he left his daughter and all his castles to my lord the Ban and to Tahy.*<sup>37</sup>

He wanted to provide security for his sole surviving child, Anna, who was still a minor, and with this engagement he placed his daughter under the protection of Miklós Zrínyi. Zrínyi also came out of the deal quite well, because in addition to being able to make use of the lands in Hungary, he was also betrothing his son to the last surviving heir of a wealthy family that was reaching the end of its line. The only problem was that the situation soon changed. Péter Erdődy returned to full health, remarried, and in rapid succession his new wife gave birth to two sons (Tamás and Péter Erdődy). From this point on, the marriage was no longer of any particular benefit to either party, and the agreement signed with Zrínyi was officially contested by Erdődy's second wife, Borbála Alapy, on the grounds that the estates received in exchange were less valuable than expected.

*But when Péter Erdeudy realised that of the villages accompanying Medvevár, a part was waste land, and another part remained in the hands of the Zriny lords, which would have been detrimental to Anna Erdeudy, for this reason the prescribed exchange was disputed by Borbála Alapy.*<sup>38</sup>

Eventually Erdődy – keeping his side of the deal he had signed with Zrínyi – handed over the estates, but the marriage between the two chil-

dren never took place. According to Erdődy's representative, this was...

*Because Miklós Zriny violated the confidential transaction stamped and signed with his own hand, seeing that he had his hands on the disputed property.*

By this, he meant that, despite the agreement with Erdődy, Zrínyi had married off his son György not to Anna Erdődy, but to the daughter of Margit Széchy (Anna von Arco).<sup>39</sup> As the Erdődy family saw it,

*he tied him in marriage to the daughter of the late Margit Zechy.*<sup>40</sup>

After his father's death, Tamás Erdődy, as his legal successor, continued with the trial, and when his agents were mediating with the representatives of Miklós Zrínyi the Younger, negotiations now centred on the terms for returning the estates. Erdődy's main problem was that the (not very valuable) estates received from Zrínyi had been mortgaged by his father, but the price for redeeming the mortgage was the same as the purchase price would be – only it was not worth paying that much. Zrínyi was willing to relinquish all claims over these demesnes, provided he was allowed to keep some of the estates in Western Hungary in exchange – Monyorókerék was by now one of their main residences.<sup>41</sup> Zrínyi claimed that his grandfather had invested substantial sums in Monyorókerék, had redeemed a good number of the villages that Péter Erdődy had previously mortgaged, and had even developed fishing lakes and built mills on the estate,

*which were not there at the time of the Erdeody lords, and his Lordship will receive them for no charge.*

He offered to give back Monyorókerék, “for the Erdeody lords style themselves ‘de Moniorokerek’,” but he would retain Vörösvár, Vép and Csatár in perpetuity for himself and his younger brother.<sup>42</sup> He also demanded the return of the 12,000 forints, as well as the money that Miklós Zrínyi the Elder had paid to redeem the mortgaged parts of the state. Tamás Erdődy – needless to tell – rejected this offer.

*Where the faithful servants of his grace my lord Zriny write that the Zriny family built many things in Moniorokerék, in addition to which they constructed useful fishing lakes and mills with numerous wheels, we also*

would have gladly done the same, had we been in possession of such a castle, with all its incomes and profits, for sixty whole years.<sup>43</sup>

The trial was eventually won by Erdődy: his family took back possession of Monyorókerék, Vép

and Vörösvár, in exchange for which they had to pay off the mortgage on Medvevár and the other Zrínyi estates, before returning them to their original owners, and also pay back the 12,000 forints given by Zrínyi.<sup>44</sup>

## II. TAMÁS ERDŐDY, PATRON OF THE ARTS

### *Residences in the Kingdom of Hungary and in Slavonia/Croatia*

During the seventeenth century, the county (and city) of Varasd, which had suffered the least from Ottoman conquest, assumed an increasingly important role in the representation of the Ban of Slavonia and Croatia, especially if the ban also happened to be lord lieutenant of Varasd, as was the case with Tamás Erdődy. Erdődy bore the title of lord lieutenant of Varasd from 1588, and he received the demesne in pledge in 1591.<sup>45</sup> In the same year he ordered the renovation of Varasd Castle, and an armorial stone bearing the Erdődy-Ungnad coats of arms and the year 1591 can still be seen there

today.<sup>46</sup> (Fig. 3) The following year, in 1592, he also restored the castle in Jasztrebarszka (Jastrebarsko, Croatia), in the county of Zággráb, thus providing himself with residences befitting his rank in both of the counties under his control.<sup>47</sup> (Fig. 4)

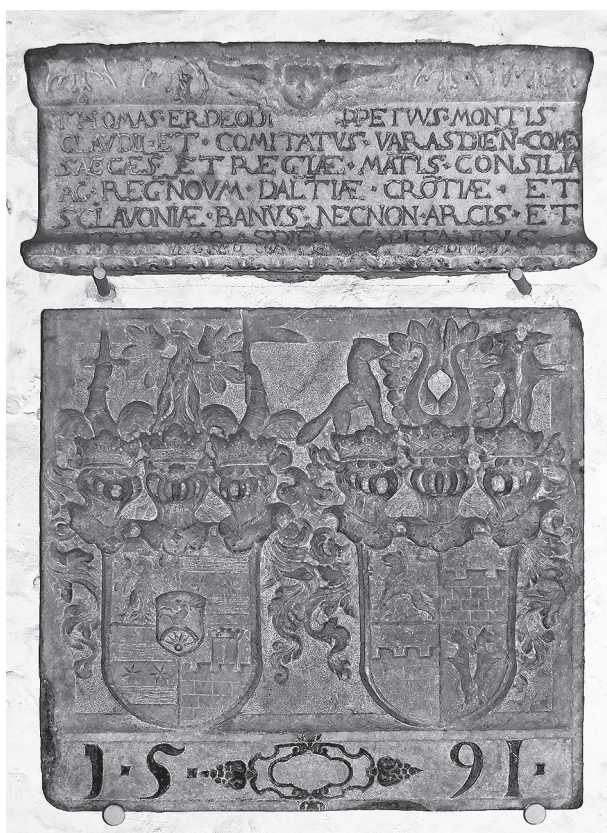


Fig. 3. Armorial stone with the Erdődy-Ungnad coats of arms, 1591; Gradski Muzej, Stari grad, Varaždin



Fig. 4. Carved armorial stone of Tamás Erdődy, 1592; Erdődy Castle, Jastrebarsko



Fig. 5. Surviving panels of the erstwhile Altarpiece of the Holy Cross in Szomolány, 1596; Slovenská národná galéria, Bratislava

In 1595, however, there was a change in his political ambitions: instead of furthering his military vocation, he seems to have chosen a career in the royal court. He asked to be relieved of his duties as Ban of Croatia and Slavonia, but initially this was refused by Rudolf II; in 1596, his second request was granted.<sup>48</sup> For a while he occupied a couple of slightly less prestigious positions: between 1598 and 1603 he was Master of the Stewards, and then from 1603 until 1608 he served as Master of the Treasury. His altered position also brought about changes to his place of residence, and he sought accommodation closer to the Viennese court and to the national assemblies in Pozsony. The lands in western Hungary that he had inherited as part of the Bakócz legacy were not available to him at the

time, for they were still under the control of the Zrínyi family. He therefore opted to set up home in Szomolány Castle, approximately 50 km from Pozsony, which had been left to the Erdődys following the death in February 1596 of his wife's mother, Anna Lossonczy.<sup>49</sup> Tamás Erdődy had immediately set about renovating the castle, and the new altar in the castle chapel was, according to its inscription, completed that same year.

#### *Altarpiece of the Holy Cross, Szomolány*

Though only fragmentary, this altarpiece still survives (Fig. 5) in the Slovak National Gallery in Bratislava. The central panel shows *Christ Crucified*, with two angels either side of the Cross bear-





Fig. 6. Jan Sadeler I after Cornelis Cort: Christ on the Cross, end of sixteenth century; engraving

ing the Tablets of the Law, symbolising the Old and New Testaments, and the chalice collecting the Precious Blood, with the Eucharist. The two side panels depict Saint Thomas the Apostle and the Virgin Mary.<sup>50</sup> The painting of *Christ Crucified* partly follows the composition used by Jan Sadeler I (1550–1600), though it omits the lower section and the snake curling around the globe at the base of the Cross; instead there is a view of a town in the background of the scene. (Fig. 6) The veduta is a mixture of Roman and Venetian architectural elements – to the right of the base of the Cross, for instance, can be seen the Pantheon of Rome. Engravings by different members of the Sadeler family were extremely popular in Hungary in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and a number of altars have survived which were modelled on their compositions.<sup>51</sup>

The original architecture of the Altarpiece of Szomolány (more accurately, of the parts that survived until the twentieth century) is known only from archive photography. After the altarpiece was placed in the museum, the paintings were removed from their frames, and the central panel showing the Crucifixion, the two wing panels, and the architectural components were all separated from each other. Based on the photograph, the altarpiece was also decorated with the dual coat of arms of the Erdődy and Esterházy families, accompanied by four small figures of angels, contained within a Rococo cartouche. Listed under a separate inventory, the altarpiece's voluted gable from the end of the sixteenth century has also survived. This bore the dual coat of arms of Tamás Erdődy and Anna Mária Ungnad, the couple who had commissioned it. (Fig. 7)

The erstwhile inscription on the altar is known from the report of the canonical visitation to Szomolány castle chapel in 1731:

*Continet hoc Signum intincto depicta colore  
Quae bona habet tellus, quae bona Olympus  
habet;*

*In cruce vita viget, diffundis(t?) vita vigorem,  
[Inde fides Thomae, hinc conjugis ardet  
amor]*

*Sancta Parens Prolem summi complexa  
tonantis*

*Quaeso, Annae Mariae sit tibi cura tuae  
Erdődium Thomas docet hic pietatis amorem  
Constans vir nescit linquere Justitiam  
[Anno 1596].<sup>52</sup>*

Writing about it in the nineteenth century, Pál Jedlicska not only described the extant panel paintings, but also the statues that were once part of the altar, and the painting of the chapel walls:

*Beside the depiction of the cross constituting the altarpiece are paintings of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Saint Thomas. The altarpiece is embellished further by statues of Mary Magdalene, Salome, and 6 angels; at the topmost extreme of this group of images was a sculpture of the Holy Trinity – Even in 1753, it was customary for it to be borne around during the annual procession in the chapel on the Octave of Corpus Christi. On the walls of the chapel were painted pictures of the Passion of Christ our Lord and other images.<sup>53</sup>*

There is uncertainty, however, regarding exactly which parts belonged to it, for the work underwent some visible alterations, perhaps on more than one occasion. There is serious doubt that the original concept would have included the sculptural decorations mentioned in the nineteenth-century description, most of which – apart from a few angels – have now been lost. There is also some debate about whether the central depiction of the Crucifixion actually constituted an original part of the altarpiece. Based on a stylistic analysis of the painting of *Christ Crucified*, it has been dated by Slovak scholars to around 1620, and it is considered to be so different from the paintings in the wing panels that it has been removed from its original context.<sup>54</sup>

Indeed, there are a number of differences between the central panel and those on the wings: the wing panels have an archaic, monochrome gold background, while at the base of the Cross, there is a landscape in the background. The proportions of the figures in the wing panels are also different from those in the central painting. It is questionable, however, whether the differences in style really justify the full quarter-century discrepancy between the dating of the panels. Comparing the composition of *Christ Crucified* with the Sadeler engraving, it is immediately apparent that, while the painter copied the angels floating either side of the Cross with extreme precision, the background and the figure of Christ have both been executed in a way that deviates from the engraved forebear. It is striking that the angels, based on Sadeler's work, are far more successfully drawn than the somewhat cruder modelling

of the figure of Christ. The latter is more reminiscent of the Saint Thomas in the side panel. This means that we cannot rule out the possibility that the supposed alteration that took place at the beginning of the seventeenth century involved an already existing painting of the Calvary, with the angels being added later. The differences in the proportions of the panels, meanwhile, are also not without precedent: a similar artistic invention to that used in the Erdődy altarpiece also gave rise, for example, to the altar in the chapel of Greillenstein Castle, made nearly the same time (around 1604) for the Kuefstein family, and which is still in its original location and condition.<sup>55</sup> (*Fig. 8*) The very same solution was employed here as on the Erdődy altarpiece: the proportions of the central Calvary scene, painted with a landscaped background, are smaller than those of the side panels, depicting the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist, which were painted with monochrome backgrounds. A difference in proportions, therefore, does not necessarily prove that two works were executed at different times.

A good century later, however, the altar was, without question, substantially modified. The Erdődy-Esterházy coat of arms still visible on the altar in the archive photograph (*Fig. 7*) indicates that a role in commissioning the work was played by György Erdődy (eighteenth-century descendant of Tamás Erdődy) and his wife, Terézia Esterházy.<sup>56</sup> The four figures of angels shown in the photograph also seem to be eighteenth-century in origin, and we can assume that the other figural decorations on the altar architecture, now known only from written records, were also made at the same time and for the same commission by the Erdődy-Esterházy couple; this would include the two female figures – Mary Magdalene and Salome – mentioned by Jedlicska. In the first half of the century, the altar architecture underwent substantial change. Around 1729 György Erdődy and his wife continued renovation work in Szomolány, which was their main residence at the time.<sup>57</sup> It is highly likely that conversion of the chapel and modernisation of the altar architecture took place at this time. It must have been ready by 1731 at the latest, because the report of the canonical visitation in that year noted that mass was held regularly in the chapel.<sup>58</sup>

The altar only remained in Szomolány for a few decades afterwards, however. There were

primarily practical reasons for moving it: György Erdődy's youngest son, Kristóf Erdődy, accumulated debts that could only be settled by mortgaging the demesne. Szomolány Castle and its estates now passed into the hands of the Pálffy family – initially under pledge, and later on a permanent basis. The family residence was vacated at the end of the 1770s, after Kristóf's death, and the more valuable movable assets, including the fittings inside the castle chapel, were moved to Galgóc (Hlohovec, Slovakia). In 1780, the visitation recorded that Tamás Erdődy's *Altarpiece of the Holy Cross* was on one of the side walls of the chapel in Galgóc.<sup>59</sup> This was fortunate for the altarpiece, because Szomolány soon fell into gradual neglect and disrepair, and was ravaged by fire in the nineteenth century – its present state is the result of reconstruction carried out in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

#### *Saint John the Baptist – Altar Fragment*

A fragment of another altarpiece that was probably commissioned by Tamás Erdődy was also once held in Galgóc Castle. (*Fig. 9*) The surviving part of a panel painting may have formed the right wing of the altar.<sup>60</sup> The figure of Saint John the Baptist stands beside some painted altar architecture, pointing with one hand towards the altar (presumably towards a panel showing the Crucifixion), and holding in the other the Lamb of God. The inscription on his cross-tipped staff reads: “Ecce Agnus Dei.” The Erdődy coat of arms can be seen in the lower part of the painted architecture, and the surviving fragment has fortuitously preserved Tamás Erdődy's motto, “In Deo vici,” which allows us to identify the person commissioning the work with a high degree of certainty.<sup>61</sup> The initials C. T. E. B. beneath the coat of arms are also presumed to conceal the name of Tamás Erdődy.<sup>62</sup> The panel painting was offered for sale from a private collection in Galgóc in 1984, when it was bought by the Slovak National Gallery. The fact that it came to light in Galgóc would seem to confirm its provenance, although as the estate only came into the Erdődys' possession in 1720, it cannot have been originally produced for Galgóc.

It is more likely to have followed a similar path to the Szomolány altarpiece, namely that



*Fig. 7.* Altarpiece of the Holy Cross from the chapel in Szomolány Castle, 1596 (additional pieces: c. 1729); Slovenská národná galéria, Bratislava (archive photograph, 1950s; Slovenská národná galéria)



Fig. 8. Altar of the Holy Cross, 1604; Castle chapel, Castle Kuefstein, Greillenstein

Tamás Erdődy commissioned it for a chapel in one of his castles in Upper Hungary, and in the eighteenth or nineteenth century, it was brought to Galgóc (perhaps at the same time as the estate in Szomolány-Jókő was sold). Judging from its style, the altar fragment can be grouped among the early relics of the art patronage pursued by the Ban of Croatia and Slavonia, and may be dated around the same time as the Szomolány altarpiece, that is, around 1596. Whereas its original site (and therefore its precise date) are unknown, we do know that during this period Erdődy was focusing intently on improving the representative status of his base in Upper Hungary, where he intended to settle in the long term, thus ending his family's long-standing orientation towards Slavonia.

\*

In 1603 there were new developments in Erdődy's career, when he was promoted from Master of the Stewards to Master of the Treasury. That same year he embarked on large-scale building work on his Slavonian estates. Abandoning the remote fortress of Császárvár, which had been in his family's possession for a very long time, he built a modern, Renaissance chateau, in the style of Lombard architecture, a few kilometres away in Klanjec (Klanjec, Croatia); Erdődy (and his descendants) referred to this new home simply as *Nova Curia* (New Court).<sup>63</sup> A carved armorial stone, bearing a dated inscription, testifies to this construction work.<sup>64</sup> (Fig. 10) In 1608 he began work on the reconstruction of Monoszló Castle, but this project remained uncompleted.<sup>65</sup> Today, like the other buildings mentioned, these castles lie in ruins.

The trust Erdődy enjoyed with the Habsburgs is illustrated by the fact that two months before the national assembly convened for autumn 1608, Archduke Matthias, who wanted to have himself crowned King of Hungary at the diet in Pozsony, asked for Erdődy's advice as to how he could gain the support of the Hungarian nobility. In the response he wrote on 8 September 1608, Erdődy advised him firstly to restore feudal liberties, which included, among other actions, reinstating the post of palatine, which had remained empty since the death of Tamás Nádasdy in 1562. In addition to this unquestionably useful piece of advice, however, he also

suggested something slightly less diplomatic: his unconditional support for the Catholic faith, by ensuring that the most important public offices of state were awarded to Catholic noblemen.

*I received Your Majesty's letters from Vienna, written on the 10th of the month of August, which arrived soundly to me, and in which you graciously call upon my opinion and request my advice (...) First and foremost, Your Majesty is aware that the sweet gift of liberty is the soul of state life, which obviously, be it violated or terminated, will provoke the fiercest resistance. (...) As a measure I would above all advise Your Majesty to restore all the liberties that have ever been granted and kept inviolate by the kings of Hungary; and to preserve them for evermore in future. (...) the other, insofar as it is possible, is faithfully to support the catholic religion and church (...) this shall not demand such hard work, provided the important positions and offices are filled by catholic men who stand far from the scandal of heresy.*<sup>66</sup>

If Erdődy's reply is viewed in the light of the imminent palatine election, there is no question that – by his own criteria – he himself would be the most suitable candidate. He even earned the support of the ruler, but due to resistance from the Protestant estates, he failed to secure a majority of the votes; nor was he elected in 1609, when the death of Palatine István Illésházy necessitated a new ballot. Erdődy did, however, reoccupy the post of Ban of Croatia and Slavonia. His decision may have been influenced by the fact that in 1607 he had been granted the titles of hereditary lord lieutenant (*comes*) of the county of Varasd and perpetual captain of Varasd Castle.<sup>67</sup> The position of ban tied him more closely to Croatia and Slavonia, so he changed his main residence once more, and could now be found mostly in Varasd. A few years later, he transferred his estates in Upper Hungary to his son Kristóf, who was embarking on a career at the royal court, and who established his residence in Szomolány.

Kristóf Erdődy, first-born son of Tamás Erdődy, began his career with high hopes; in addition to the political power inherited from his father, he also married well, taking as his wife the daughter of György Thurzó, who in 1609 was elected palatine, making him the most influential nobleman in the Kingdom of Hungary. The



Fig. 9. Saint John the Baptist (fragment), end of sixteenth century; Slovenská národná galéria, Bratislava

cream of the Hungarian political elite attended the wedding feast in September 1612, and ambassadors were sent by the rulers and princes of neighbouring countries.<sup>68</sup> The Thurzó estates lay in Northeast Hungary, and the palatine made the express request that his daughter should remain living close by. The demesne of Szomolány-Jókó was therefore effectively given to Kristóf Erdődy as a “wedding gift.” (This excessively generous support was later the subject of a trial between Kristóf’s widow and his siblings.) In 1621, Kristóf Erdődy and his brother-in-law Imre Thurzó together performed an important diplomatic mission, mediating between Emperor Ferdinand II and Gábor (Gabriel) Bethlen, Prince of Transylvania, in negotiations preceding the Peace of Nikolsburg. (Neither of the mediators lived to see the treaty signed – within a couple



Fig. 10. Carved armorial stone of Tamás Erdődy from the *Nova Curia* in Klanjec, 1603; Hrvatski Povijesni Muzej, Zagreb

of months of each other, both young men met a sudden, tragic end. The coincidence led many to suspect they were both poisoned.)<sup>69</sup>

An important part of Tamás Erdődy’s acquisition of wealth and property was his marriage policy, and this can also be seen in practice in the arrangements he made for his children. Erdődy’s desire to bind his family closely to the Thurzó family resulted in a double marriage between the two dynasties: even before Kristóf Erdődy tied the knot, he became related to his future wife through another marriage – at the end of 1603, Zsuzsanna Erdődy became the wife of Kristóf Thurzó, brother of György Thurzó, who would later be chosen as palatine.<sup>70</sup> Tamás Erdődy also ensured that the marriages were arranged to the benefit of his estate-building policy: by orchestrating marital unions with the Draskovich and Keglevich families, both of whom were “neighbours” in Slavonia, he strengthened his estates in Croatia and Slavonia.<sup>71</sup> In addition to arranging marriages that were advantageous from political or economic points of view, he also – being a good “investor” – brought into his family a rising

young star: he gave the hand of his daughter Anna Erdődy in marriage to a young nobleman named Menyhért Alaghy (who already enjoyed the support of Palatine György Thurzó). Erdődy's eye for talent was borne out in 1625, when Alaghy was appointed to the office of judge royal.

### *The Altar in the Chapel of Varasd Castle*

Following on from the afore-mentioned renovation that took place in 1591, Erdődy's seat in Varasd was modernised in the second half of the 1610s, and it was at this time that the chapel was fitted with its new installations. According to the date legible on the altar architecture, the Altar of the Virgin Mary, also known as the Altar of Saint Lawrence (Fig. 11), was erected in 1617.<sup>72</sup> The central image, which recalls the composition of the *Sacra conversazione*, depicts the Virgin, seated on a baldachin throne with the infant Jesus in her lap, and the dove of the Holy Spirit above her head. She is flanked on either side by two holy martyrs, Saint Lawrence and Pope (Saint) Sixtus II, standing on the steps to the throne, holding their distinctive attributes: Lawrence holds the gridiron, while Sixtus holds a book and a crozier.<sup>73</sup> The top part of the baldachin bears the inscription "Vita et Lux Hominu(m)." (Fig. 12) The very highest part of the altar structure contains a depiction of the Almighty Father surrounded by six cherub heads.

The central panel of the altarpiece in the castle chapel – like that of the Szomolány altarpiece – borrowed its composition from Jan Sadeler I: the image of the Virgin and Child seated on a baldachin throne, with little angels holding up a curtain, can be traced to an engraving Sadeler made in 1590 after Pieter de Witte (Peter Candid). (Fig. 13) One major change can be observed, which was probably of importance to Erdődy: the figures of Saint Stephen and Saint Lawrence in the engraving were replaced by the painter, so that on the Varasd altarpiece, Saint Lawrence is now on the left, while Saint Sixtus stands on the other side of the Virgin and Child, portrayed as an elderly pontiff. Further research is needed to find out why the figures of the two saints were changed. It may, perhaps, be of relevance that during the period of Erdődy's promotion up the ranks of political power, his appointment as Ban

of Croatia, and his first military triumphs, the throne of Saint Peter was occupied by Pope Sixtus V (Felice Peretti), who was famous not only for the extensive programme of public works he initiated in Rome, but also – his family having originated in Dalmatia – as the main supporter of Roman churches and places of pilgrimage of the Croatian "nation."

The lower right of the altar architecture is emblazoned with Erdődy's personal "insignia," his family coat of arms and the motto "In Deo vici" (Fig. 14), while on the left there is an image of the *Veil of Veronica*. (Fig. 15) In the centre of the predella of the columned altar structure is a small copy of the engraving made by Aegidius Sadeler after Hans von Aachen's altar painting *The Crucifixion*, in Munich.<sup>74</sup> (Figs. 16–17)

### *Heroic Portraits of Tamás Erdődy*

The aspect of Tamás Erdődy's patronage of the arts which served to present him in a heroic light, and which was expressly propagandistic in nature, can best be interpreted in connection with the political role he played, especially with regard to his ambitions to be elected palatine.<sup>75</sup> As a result of the death of György Thurzó the winter of 1616, the position of palatine was once more open, and Erdődy once again regarded himself as one of the obvious candidates for the office. He may have considered his chances this time around even greater than at previous ballots: in the intervening period, the balance of power among the religious denominations had changed, with the Catholic side gaining in strength; moreover, Erdődy could still depend on the unconditional support of the ruler. None of his rivals had such a valiant past as Erdődy, and it seemed logical to place the focus of his campaign firmly on his heroism. There could be no greater proof of his achievements on the battlefield than his membership of the Order of the Redeemer, an honour that was regarded with high esteem at the international level, and which he successfully obtained by petitioning Gonzaga's court. (It is true that his investiture took place a good half year after the palatine election, but as the successful candidate, Zsigmond Forgách, soon passed away, the matter soon came to the fore once more.) It was only





*Fig. 11.* The chapel of Varasd Castle with the altar of Tamás Erdődy, 1617; Gradski Muzej, Stari grad, Varaždin



Fig. 12. Madonna and Child with Saint Lawrence and Pope Saint Sixtus (central panel of the Varasd altarpiece), 1617; Gradski Muzej, Stari grad, Varaždin

a question of time before his political ambitions made recourse to the visual arts in order to project his image as a hero.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, carrying on into the first decade of the seventeenth, the scope for (self-)representation of a man's heroic deeds against the Ottomans was restricted to a relatively narrow area.<sup>76</sup> Some heroic portraits of Hungarians can be found on their funerary monuments, although in general these were not erected by the men themselves, but by their families after their death. Examples are the monument to István Dobó (d. 1572), legendary defender of Eger Castle, and the epitaph of Miklós Zrínyi (d. 1566), hero of the Siege of Szigetvár.<sup>77</sup> From the middle of the seventeenth century, however, in parallel with the overall increase in demand for portraits, there was a growing number of commissions for representative half-length – and even full-length – portraits.<sup>78</sup> One way in which heroic portraits could be given widespread publicity was through historical publications illustrated with engravings. Occasional portraits of Hungarian warriors began to appear around the turn of the sixteenth–seventeenth

centuries in works by artists such as Theodore de Bry, Domenicus Custos and Hieronymus Ortelius, but the first series of related portraits were not produced until the middle of the seventeenth century, at the hand of Elias Wideman.<sup>79</sup>

### *The Votive Painting of Tamás Erdődy*

Unlike with Dobó and Zrínyi, for example, a portrait of Tamás Erdődy that emphasised his heroic virtues was painted in his lifetime; moreover, it was executed in a genre that was particularly rare in his homeland. The large-sized votive painting, commemorating his victory at the Battle of Sziszek in 1593, went beyond the traditional confines of heroic representation, and functioned in its composition as a monument to the military achievements of the young ban.<sup>80</sup> (Fig. 18) Tamás Erdődy kneels before the Crucifix, dressed in chain mail, his *mente* (overcoat) draped around his shoulders, his sword sheathed at his side. With his ornamental shield lying on the ground before him, Erdődy prays to Christ on the Cross, while the bloody scene of the Battle of Sziszek plays out in the background. At the foot of the Cross can be seen the Erdődy coat of arms. Behind him stand his attendants, one holding the young warrior's helmet and mace, another clasping his ornamental sword. Written across the sky above the scene is Erdődy's motto, "In Deo vici." A long inscription at the bottom of the picture lists glorious episodes from the campaign against the Turks waged by the Ban of Croatia, the titles he was awarded during his lifetime, the date when the picture was painted, and that of Erdődy's death.

*Illust(rissi)mus D(ominus) Comes Thomas Erdődy de Monyorokerek Mont(is) Claudi(i) Co(mi)t(a)tus Varasd(iensis) Perpet(uus) Sup(remus) Comes S(acrae) C(aesareae) Re(giae) que Maiest(at)is Camerar(ius) Consiliar(ius) Sup(remus) Capitan(us) Necnon Banus Regn(orum) Dalma(ti)ae Croa(t)iae ac Sclavoniae 1584 factus. In autumno 8000 Turcaru(m) ad Szluin 1584 fortunate profligavit. Heroicu(m) Alibeg ac Herculeu(m) ussoman cum magno barbaroru(m) numero ad Gradecz 1591 feliciter delevit. Ignitu(m) Belliq(ue) avidu(m) Bassam Hassan et 12000 Turcarum ad Szissek 1593 gloriose pros-*

*travit. In equite(m) Sacri Ordinis Redemptoris Papa(m) Aldobrandina(m) Clementem Svum 1594 creatus. Petrina(m) 1595to strenue expugnavit Banatui 1596 valedixit. In Tavernicoru(m) Regaliu(m) Magistru(m) 1596 evectus vicissim iussu Rudolphi 2di Romanoru(m) Imperatoris Supr(emum) Capitaneatum ac Banatu(m) 160IIIo suscepit. Fortunatus heros, et gloriosus patriae pater depictus 1620 Annorum 66 Mortuus Crapinae 17 Januarij 1624.*

It may be assumed – and not only because the date of Erdődy’s death is mentioned – that the inscription was added to the picture long after it was painted. There are errors in certain fundamental biographical details, which Tamás Erdődy’s direct contemporaries, such as his sons, for example, would still have remembered clearly. The year (1619) he was instituted into the Order of the Redeemer, for instance, is wrongly stated in the inscription as 1594, the year after the Battle of Sziszek; what is more, the honour is referred to as having been granted by the pope.

In 1594, Tamás Erdődy actually received a letter of commendation from Pope Clement VIII (Ippolito Aldobrandini), whose name is mentioned in the inscription.<sup>81</sup> In 1594, the Order of the Redeemer did not yet even exist, but was founded much later, in 1608, by Vincenzo Gonzaga, and papal approval was granted not by Clement VIII, but by Pope Paul V.

Among the near contemporary historians dealing with the period, only György Rátkay, in his *Memoria* of 1652, mentions the history of the Order of the Redeemer, and this leads to the assumption that this work may be the cause of the confusion.<sup>82</sup> In his chronicle, Rátkay obscures the circumstances surrounding the granting of the letter of commendation and the bestowal of the knighthood, mentioning the latter immediately after his description of the Battle of Sziszek, and naming Pope Clement VIII as the donor. Rátkay describes the medal as well, although he states that – in addition to the Order’s correctly cited motto, “Domine probasti me” – Erdődy’s own motto, “In Deo vici,” also appeared.<sup>83</sup>

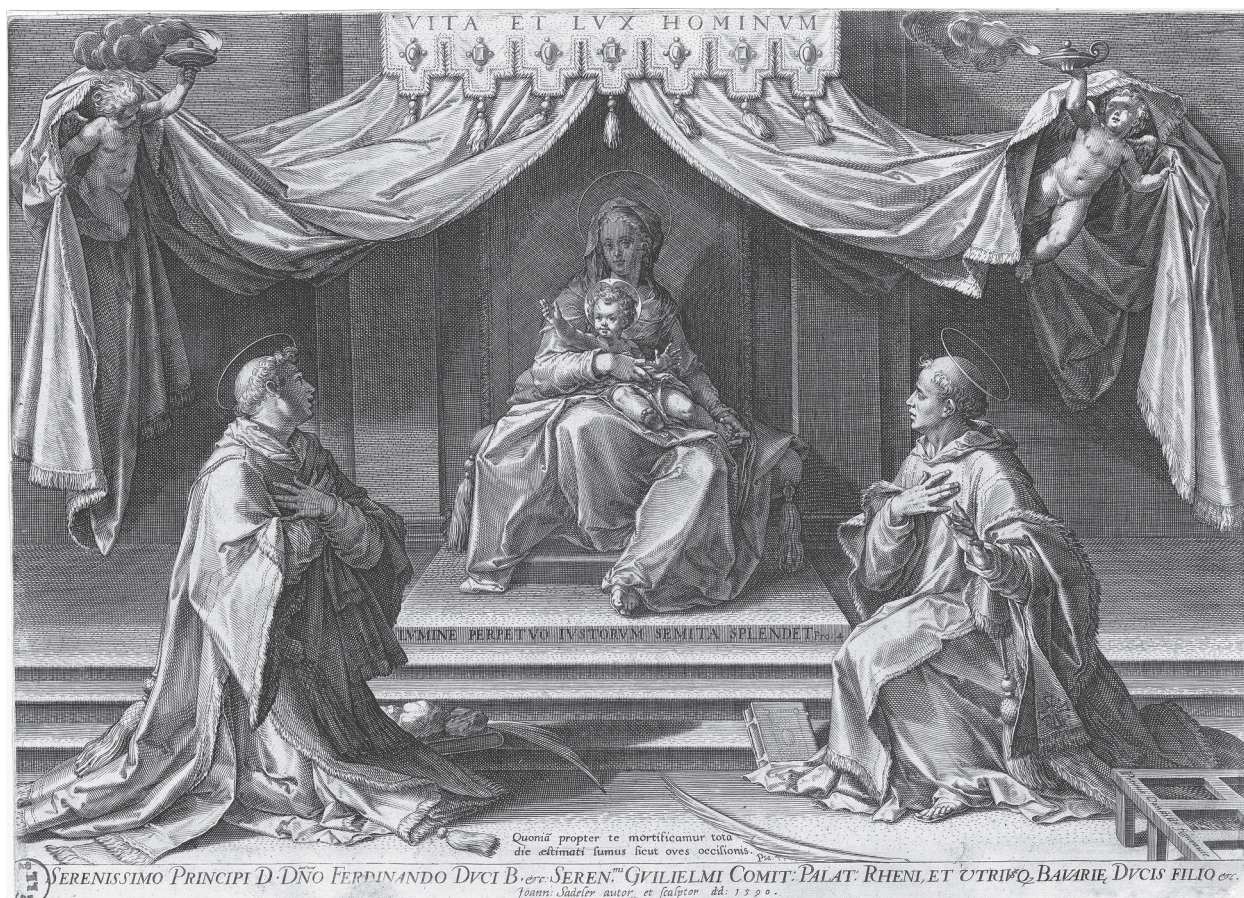


Fig. 13. Jan Sadeler – Pieter de Witte: Madonna and Child with Saint Lawrence and Saint Stephen, 1590; engraving



Fig. 14. Veil of Veronica  
(detail from the Varasd altarpiece)



Fig. 15. Coat of arms and motto of Tamás Erdődy  
(detail from the Varasd altarpiece)

*Parta hac celebri victoria mirum quantum laetitiae Caesari Rudolpho, Clementi Pontifici summo, caeterisque Christianis Principibus accesserit: quam ut Clemens Orbi palam testaretur, datis ad Erdődium literis ejus in tuenda Republica Christiana studium & operam gratam sibi accidisse affirmavit. Sed & milites sacri Ordinis Redemptoris, ob navatam saepius fortiter operam, sui eum Ordinis esse voluerunt misso eidem insigni, quod solido constabat auro monili saphiricis egregiae quantitatis distincto gemmis, ac inter easdem hac variante Epigraphae: Domine probasti me, appenso circa pectus symbolo Eucharistico, illudque semper symboli nomine usurpans: In Deo vici.*<sup>84</sup>

It is interesting that the person who made the painting's inscription derived the source data from a written work of history, and not from the Erdődy archives. The family had carefully preserved the charter issued by Ferdinando Gonzaga, and the text – at least at the start of the eighteenth century – was known and insisted upon. It is therefore likely that the painting was kept in a different place to the charter, and the author of the inscription found it easier to access

the published history than the original document in the family archives. This question may only be resolved after the provenance of the painting has been clarified in full, but the data available at present only permit its locations to be traced back to the beginning of the nineteenth century, and no earlier.

This huge painting is presently kept at the Bojnice (Hungarian name: Bajmóc) Museum in Slovakia, where it was taken after the Second World War, along with other paintings that had previously hung in Galgóc. The first written mention dates from 1826, when it was described by Alajos Mednyánszky after his visit to the chapel in Galgóc Castle, in a work titled *Festői utazás* [Painterly Journey].<sup>85</sup> The previous known description of the castle chapel, however, the *canonica visitatio* of 1780, makes no mention of the votive painting.<sup>86</sup> It seems reasonably certain that the painting was brought to the castle chapel at some point between 1780 and 1826, but this reveals nothing of its earlier whereabouts; it may just as easily have been in another location in Galgóc Castle as elsewhere. Knowing its place of origin would shed light on the type of audience the work was intended for. If the work had originally been



Fig. 16. Calvary (detail from the Varasd altarpiece)

hung in a church, it would have been seen by a completely different – and much larger – group of people than if it had merely decorated a castle wall somewhere, and this in turn would influence our assumptions about the level and type of representation the painting was intended to exert.

I find it likely that the painting was made not to be hidden away on one of Erdődy's estates in Northern Hungary, but to be displayed in Slavonia, where it would have served to enhance the glory of the local ban.<sup>87</sup> This is supported by a stylistic analysis of the painting, which would tend to attribute the work to an unknown master from the southern regions of Hungary; furthermore, it is not mentioned in the notes on the Erdődy family history compiled for the planned lineage book. Research on the lineage book was carried out in the mid-eighteenth century by Ádám Rajcsányi, commissioned by a Erdődy family. Most of his work was based on his own studies of the documents in this archives, but the manuscript was never published.<sup>88</sup> The author of the manuscript always wrote down the known artworks that were associated with each member of the family, especially when the works featured actual information, for example, in the form of an inscription. When it came to Tamás Erdődy, he cited verbatim the inscription on the count's altarpiece of the *Holy Cross* in Szomolány. However, Rajcsányi wrote nothing about the votive

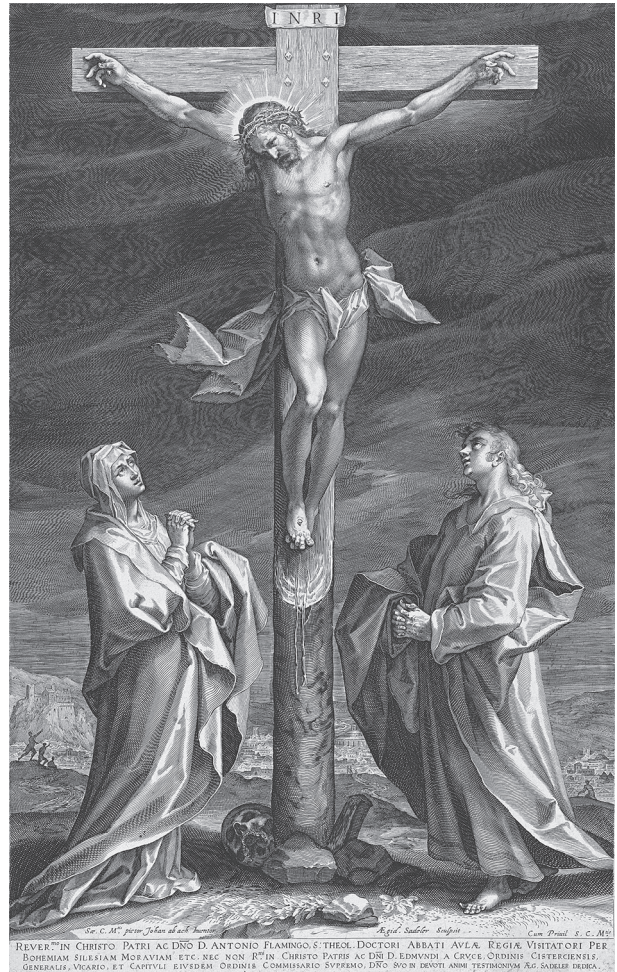


Fig. 17. Aegidius Sadeler after Hans von Aachen: Calvary; engraving

painting. As he was mostly familiar with the castles on the estates in Upper Hungary, primarily those in Galgóc and Szomolány, the omission can be easily explained by him simply not being aware of its existence.

Authors who have already described the work point out the close compositional similarities between the votive painting of Tamás Erdődy and the heroic allegory of Miklós Zrínyi (IV), the most celebrated hero of the previous generation, who died defending Szigetvár.<sup>89</sup> (Fig. 19) In the allegory, Zrínyi also kneels before the Crucifix in prayer, while little angels place his weapons, his flag and his shield at his feet, and Victoria crowns him with a laurel wreath. His heroic deeds are alluded to by the battle raging in the background, and by the slain Turks sprawled behind his back. On the left of the painting, behind the Cross, are Mary and Saint John the Evangelist, the standard figures accompanying Calvary scenes. In his



Fig. 18. Votive painting of Tamás Erdődy, c. 1620; Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeum Bojnice

prayer, victorious Zrínyi turns to the Saviour with a paraphrase of Psalm 143:

*Domine Deus meus qui docet Manus mea ad proelium, et Digitos Meos ad bellum.*

Alongside the striking similarity of content and composition between the two pictures, there is one very important discernible difference. Miklós Zrínyi died in 1566, and his cult was shaped primarily by his descendants, in particular his son, György Zrínyi, who, among other things, also commissioned the allegorical painting. Count Erdődy's votive painting, on the other hand, was not produced *post mortem*, but while he was still alive, and was even commissioned by the subject himself. Tamás Erdődy constructed his own cult, so we may justifiably assume that there was some entirely topical reason for this instance of heroic representation.

According to its inscription, the painting was made in 1620, so quite some time after the

actual date of the Battle of Sziszek. Of course, there is always room for doubt surrounding the authenticity of a date contained within an inscription that has proved inaccurate in other details. Assuming the inscription is correct, the topicality of this painting would most likely be the knighthood he received in 1619. However, this is contradicted by the absence of the medal of the order around Erdődy's neck, which he would surely have worn in a painting made in 1620. If the painting is dated before 1619, then the political events of the day seem a more likely reason for having the work commissioned: the palatine election of 1618 would appear most probable, although – as no precise date can be ascertained beyond all doubt – it could just as easily have been either of the previous two elections.

As a comrade-in-arms of György Zrínyi, it is highly likely indeed that Tamás Erdődy was



Fig. 19. Heroic allegory of Miklós Zrínyi, c. 1600; Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, Budapest

aware of the allegorical portrait of Miklós Zrínyi, and it would not be a surprise if his intention was to define his own heroism in comparison with the exalted position Zrínyi then occupied. Having his own image immortalised in such a similar composition seems to go beyond homage and to stray into the realms of rivalry. We have already seen that the two families had long been at loggerheads, having been locked in litigation for half a century – with this gesture of patronage, depicting himself as a hero of equal rank with Zrínyi, Erdődy may have been motivated by a desire to counter the Zrínyi cult.

#### *The Funerary Monument to Tamás Erdődy*

Tamás Erdődy died in Krapina Castle (Croatia) on 17 January 1624, and he was initially laid to rest on his estate in Szamobor (Samobor, Croatia). A few months later, when his monument was completed, he was reinterred in Zágráb Cathedral.<sup>90</sup> (Fig. 20) The epitaph stone was erected by his son, Zsigmond Erdődy, who had his father portrayed as a soldier, dressed in armour and bearing arms, befitting of his heroic deeds. Tamás Erdődy holds his sword and his helmet in his hands, and around his neck is the medal of

the Order of the Redeemer of Mantua, awarded to him just a few years earlier. Above his head is the motto, “In Deo vici,” honouring his victorious battles. Beside him is a depiction of *Christ on the Cross*, and at the foot of the Crucifix can be seen the Erdődy family coat of arms. The Turkish war trophies and musical instruments in the side wings proclaim the triumphs of the Ban of Croatia, and in the tympanum are the unified coats of arms of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia. In the upper section, the monograms of Christ and the Virgin Mary can be read in the two side medallions. The inscription on the monument lists Tamás Erdődy’s main offices of state, as Ban of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, perpetual lord lieutenant of Varasd, and Master of the Royal Treasury, and also proudly declares his titles as a councillor and as a knight:

*Epitaphium Ill(ustrissi)mi D(omini) D(omini)  
Comitis Thomae Erdeodi de Moniorok(ere)k  
Montis Claudy & Co(mi)t(a)tus Varasd(iensis)  
Comitis P(er)petui Sacri Ordinis Redemptoris  
Equitis Thavern(icorum) Regal(ium) Mag(ist)-  
ri Sacr(ae) Caes(arae) Regiaeq(ue) Ma(ies)-  
t(a)tis Consiliary ac Regnor(um) Dal(matiae)  
Croatiae Scla(voniae) Olim Bani qui 17  
Janu(ari) An(n)o D(omi)ni 1624 Aetatis Suae  
An(n)o 66 In D(omi)no pie Obyt.<sup>91</sup>*



Fig. 20. The funerary monument to Tamás Erdődy, 1624; Cathedral, Zagreb



Fig. 21. Medal and motto of the Order of the Redeemer of Mantua on the monument to Tamás Erdődy (detail of Fig. 20)



Fig. 22. Medal and motto of the Order of the Redeemer of Mantua on the coat of arms of Antonio Alberto De Conti; Sala degli Stemmi, Sant'Andrea, Mantua

The heroic portrait on the epitaph stone is unique because it shows, worn around Erdődy's neck, an authentic image of the medal of the order (Fig. 21), no original copies of which have survived. The important role the medal played in Gonzaga's patronage can now only be deduced from its depictions in portraits and from medallions struck by members of the duke's family. (Fig. 22) The medal was oval in shape, circumscribed by the legend "nihil isto triste recepto," and on its obverse was an image of two kneeling angels holding up the Relic of the Precious Blood in Mantua Cathedral, three drops of the Redeemer's blood kept inside a monstrance-shaped reliquary. The broad links on the intricately worked gold chain alternated between those bearing sapphires

and those containing syllables which, when put together, read out the first line of Psalm 139, which was also the motto of the order: "Domine, probasti me."<sup>92</sup> Erdődy was buried together with the chain.<sup>93</sup> The sculptor of the monument must have seen the actual medal, however, in order to be able to carve its likeness so accurately. Later, as we shall see, the medal was no longer around, and in subsequent descriptions and depictions it featured either with errors or not at all.

During restoration work carried out after the earthquake in Záhgráb in 1880, objects were uncovered that museum researchers have traditionally associated with the burial of Tamás Erdődy. These include a rosary from the early seventeenth century that allegedly came from the



grave,<sup>94</sup> but no items of jewellery belonging to the Order of the Redeemer. The Záhgráb centre of the Hungarian Millennium Exhibition (1896, Budapest) also exhibited military items supposedly owned by Erdődy – his flag, his armour, his

mace and his sword.<sup>95</sup> The latest research, however, has determined that the items now kept in the treasury in Záhgráb Cathedral belonged not to Tamás Erdődy, but to Miklós Erdődy, a later Ban of Croatia, who was also buried in the cathedral.<sup>96</sup>

### III. TAMÁS ERDŐDY AS REMEMBERED BY POSTERITY

#### *Material Artefacts*

The gifts made by Tamás Erdődy to the churches located on his estates are mostly known only from written sources; these include the leather altar frontal, bearing a painted image of the Virgin Mary, given to the Franciscan church in Jasztrebarszka, and his donation to Szomolány parish church.<sup>97</sup> One object that has survived, however, is the solid silver statue of the Virgin Mary that he gave to the shrine in Tersatto (Trsat, Croatia). The figure of *Maria Immaculata* stamping on a crescent moon (*Fig. 23*), which had become a symbol of the war against the Ottomans, may appear to be an early example of heroic representation, but the inscription on its base reveals the personal nature of the commission.<sup>98</sup> The statue, made in Augsburg in 1597, and bearing the dual coat of arms of Tamás Erdődy and Anna Mária Ungnad, was a votive gift, with which the young married couple pleaded for their son Zsigmond to be healed from his illness.

*Thomas Erdedi Comes Montis Claudii et eius uxor Anna Maria Ungnad Comitissa Deo et Beatissimae Virgini Mariae pro filio Sigismundo Gravissime Aegrotante supplices humiliter voverunt 1597.*

There are, regrettably, no other surviving material artefacts from Erdődy's personal possession. Nothing is known of what must have once been a rich treasury of goods, and not a single personal inventory of his has been left to us. We do not even have a list of the items in his estate after his death; presumably none was drawn up, because Tamás Erdődy broke with convention at the time by not writing a will leaving his possessions to his descendants, but by dividing up his wealth among his sons and daughters while he was still alive.<sup>99</sup> After his death, his children shared among themselves the silver tableware he kept for everyday use, no pieces of which were of particularly high value.<sup>100</sup>

Magnificent objects that turned up in his treasury from time to time are known only via indirect sources, such as reports on wedding gifts, which constitute a well defined group. For his wedding to Anna Mária Ungnad, for example, Archduke Charles and Emperor Rudolf II each sent an ornate drinking vessel.<sup>101</sup> He received further gifts of a similarly expensive nature when his children were married. Archduke Ferdinand sent emissaries to represent him at the weddings of Erdődy's children. In 1603, for the wedding of Zsuzsanna Erdődy, the archduke ordered a chalice worth 100 thalers, while for the wedding of Kristóf Erdődy in 1612 he sent a gift costing 115 forints.<sup>102</sup> When Anna Erdődy was married in 1614, a goblet with a value of 80 forints was received from the archduke.<sup>103</sup> The instructions issued to the *Hofffennigmeister* included the names of the children getting married only on occasion, whereas the father was named in every case, indicating that the gift was chosen in accordance with the identity and rank of the father.<sup>104</sup> However, wedding gifts from the ruler were not the only valuable *Trinkgeschirr* received by Erdődy from the royal court; sometimes, items of fine metalwork were despatched to Erdődy in reciprocation for gifts that he had sent to the ruling family: in Graz on 23 September 1609, for instance, Archduke Ferdinand approved the purchase of a small, gilt silver goblet, which he gave to Tamás Erdődy in exchange for a horse received from the count.<sup>105</sup>

Besides the records of gifts, trial documents can also provide information about valuable assets, some of which may have been stolen from the owner, while others were "procured" by various means. Pál Jedlicska came across the report of an investigation carried out in 1606, initiated by Tamás Erdődy and his wife, who claimed that assets worth 6000 forints had been stolen

from them. The bailiff of Szomolány had been entrusted with the safekeeping of the valuables, and had been instructed by Erdődy to transport them either to Jókő or to the nearby settlement of Vöröskő (Červený Kameň, Slovakia). The bailiff, however, had neglected his duty, the castle had fallen into the hands of bandits, and the treasures had been stolen.<sup>106</sup>

There were also instances where Erdődy seized valuables by force. Through not entirely legal means, he had come into possession of certain assets from the estate of Miklós Micatius, Bishop of Nagyvárad (Oradea, Romania), who had been robbed and murdered in Szombathely in June 1613; after the murderer was caught, some of the deceased bishop's assets were removed to Monyorókerék by Erdődy's lieges. According to the ruling of the Hungarian Court Chamber, the assets had been appropriated "by use of force" and "out of selfish interest" by Demeter Náprágy, Archbishop of Kalocsa, and Tamás Erdődy, who refused to hand them back, despite multiple orders to do so, and even imperial command. The last known piece of information about the assets comes from June 1615, when the Court Chamber once again ordered their return – demonstrating that all previous demands had failed. (Erdődy was pressed to return mostly cash, but also a solid gold, gem-encrusted cross, valued at 1500 forints, which had been stolen by the murderer; Erdődy was assumed to know the location of the cross.) The matter is likely to have been settled thereafter, for I could find no further trace of it.<sup>107</sup>

All the objects from Erdődy's treasury, even if some occasionally turned up in the documents of one or other of his direct descendants, disappear without a trace by the first half of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, the family cult of the distinguished ancestor continued to be maintained and nurtured down the family line. This is apparent not only in the Erdődy lineage book or in the speeches delivered at family funerals in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; efforts were also made to keep his material artefacts within the family. In the will written by one of his grandsons, Imre Erdődy, we can see how the fate of one particular group of items (which was not of the greatest monetary value) was decided: these were the silver dishes that had belonged to

his grandfather, Tamás Erdődy, Ban of Croatia, and after his death, Imre wanted his nephew, György Erdődy III, to inherit them.

*Ill(ustrissi)mo Comiti Georgio Fratrueli, scutellas meas argenteas, cum insignibus, memorati Comitis olim Thomae Erdődy, Bani, pro memoria Fraternali lego.*<sup>108</sup>

We know, from the treasury inventory in Jasztrebarszka, that there were, in total, 21 silver dishes bearing the coat of arms of Tamás Erdődy.<sup>109</sup> It is unknown how many were actually inherited by the heir, György Erdődy, but it was definitely more than half of them, because that was the amount he guarded jealously until his own death. In the treasury inventory taken in Pozsony in 1709, twelve of them were listed under the title of "dishes of the late Imre Erdődy."<sup>110</sup> As György Erdődy died childless, he also bequeathed the silverware to his nephew, with the express intention that they be kept in storage under the trust (fidei commissum) he established, precluding any future disposal by sale or gift. With this stipulation, the objects were passed to the heir, László Ádám Erdődy, Bishop of Nyitra (Nitra, Slovakia), but the dishes never reached the trust treasury. The bishop had little knowledge about the provenance of these items, for the note he received with them simply referred to them as "twelve silver dishes."<sup>111</sup> Neither the name of Imre Erdődy nor that of Tamás Erdődy was raised in connection with these items of silverware. To this eighteenth-century descendant – with no personal connection to the previous owners – these objects held no sentimental value. All track of these silver dishes was soon lost, and they were absent from the inventory of the trust goods made in 1741.

In 1709, another object that in all probability originally belonged to Tamás Erdődy could be found in the possession of the afore-mentioned György Erdődy; this was ...

*A crystal glass goblet in a case, bearing the coats of arms of the Erdődy and Ungnad Families.*<sup>112</sup>

György Erdődy also considered this object precious enough to set it aside for safekeeping by the future trust. In his will, it is clear that this fragile drinking vessel was important to him not only because it was a family heirloom, but also because the "hundred and something years old" goblet was a treasured *antique*.

*Item unum Poculum Chrystallinum Certum et aliquot annorum, cum Insigne Erdődyano.*<sup>113</sup>

On 8 June 1713 his legacy – consisting mostly of his archives and therefore his correspondence too – was transported from his home in Pozsony to Szomolány; among the documents is another reference to the crystal goblet:

*A hundred year old Goblet, with Case, marked with the coat of arms of the Noble Family.*<sup>114</sup>

Thereafter, however, nothing more is heard of it. Presumably it got broken.

#### *Fictive Portraits of Tamás Erdődy*

In the nineteenth century, when a sharpening of interest in the past led to increased demand for images of heroes from bygone ages, there were no portraits of Tamás Erdődy that were readily available. At the beginning of the century, the Viennese engraver Sebastian Langer produced a series of images of important military leaders from history, and when he reached Erdődy – not having any authentic portrait to hand – he used an illustration from a volume titled *Türkische und ungarische Chronica*, published in Nuremberg in 1663.<sup>115</sup> (Fig. 24) The original engraving from the chronicle, produced by Matthäus von Somer, actually depicted Tamás Erdődy's grandson, György Erdődy I (Fig. 25), and can itself be traced to an even earlier precedent. The portrait of György Erdődy was engraved by Elias Wideman in 1646 (the series was published in 1652), and this, with minor alterations, was used as the illustration in the Nuremberg publication.<sup>116</sup> (Fig. 26)

In parallel with this, the large, full-length portrait of Tamás Erdődy was produced, for hanging in ancestral galleries, which can also most likely be regarded as a fictive portrait. At present, I know of two copies: one was once in the ancestral gallery in the Erdődy Castle in Vép. (Fig. 27–28) This is known from a photograph taken in the castle's "grand dining room" at the start of the twentieth century, while the painting itself is missing or destroyed. The photo clearly shows its prominent place within the family gallery: Tamás Erdődy was the only ancestor shown in a full-length painting. Judging from the photograph,



Fig. 23. Maria Immaculata, with the dedicatory inscription of Tamás Erdődy and his wife, Augsburg, 1597; Franciscan monastery, Trsat



Fig. 24. Sebastian Langer: Portrait of Tamás Erdődy, early nineteenth century; engraving



Fig. 25. Matthäus von Somer: Portrait of György Erdődy I, in *Türkische und ungarische Chronica*, Nürnberg, 1663



Fig. 26. Elias Widemann: Portrait of György Erdődy I, in *Icones Illustrium Heroum Hungariae...*, Vienna, 1652

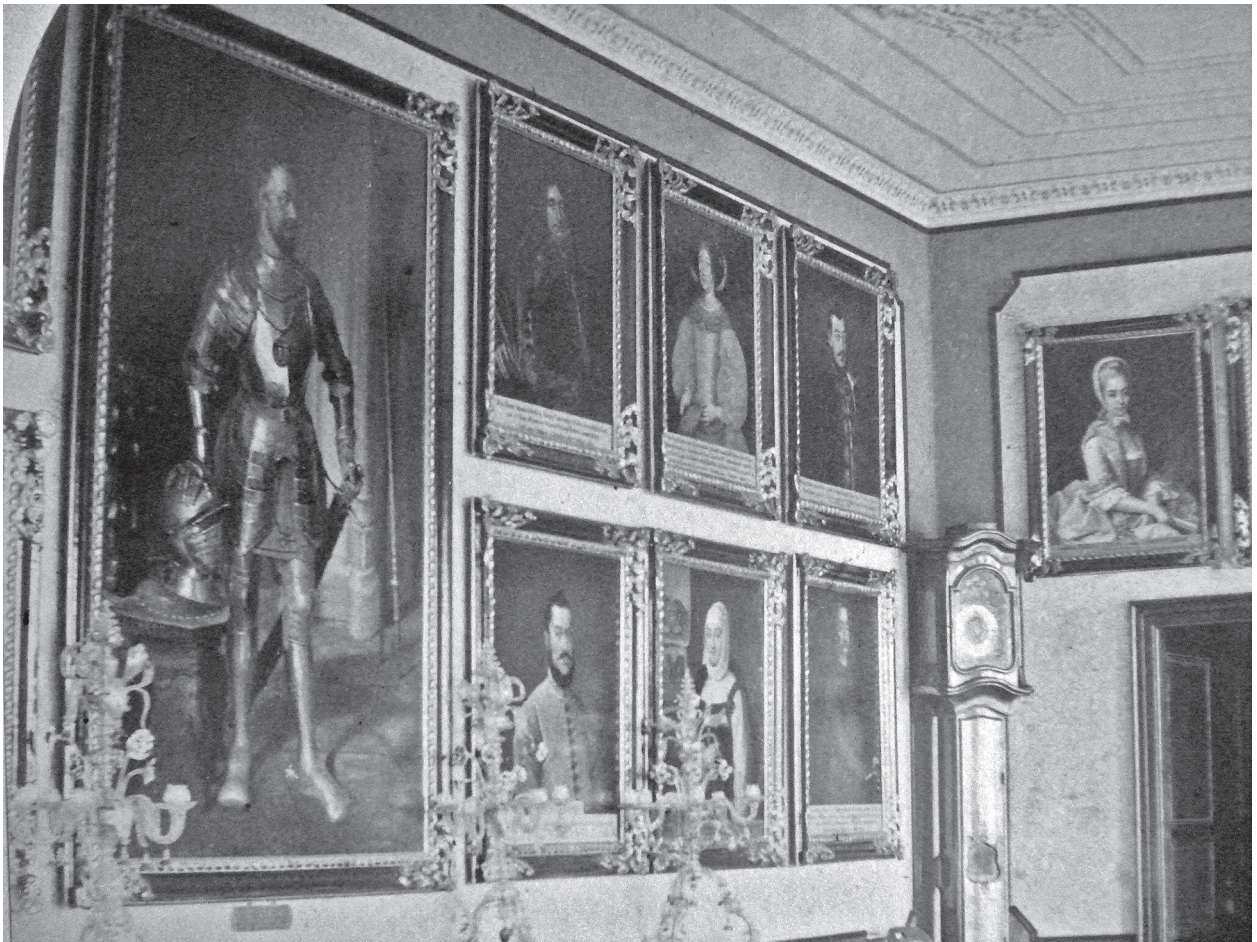


Fig. 27. The ancestral gallery in the dining room at the Erdődy Castle in Vép (archive photograph, early twentieth century; Pannonhalma, Bencés Főapátság Levéltára)



*Fig. 28.* Full-length portrait of Tamás Erdődy, nineteenth century; formerly in Vép (archive photograph, early twentieth century; Pannonhalma, Bencés Főapátság Levéltára)



*Fig. 29.* Full-length portrait of Tamás Erdődy, nineteenth century; Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeum Červený Kameň

the painting was probably made in the nineteenth century. A variant of the same painting can be recognised in a full-length portrait – presently listed as a portrait of an unidentified man – now kept in the museum in Vöröskő; the origin of this painting is still unclear, and may have come from Galgóc, not far from Vöröskő.<sup>117</sup> (*Fig. 29*) Though cropped differently, it faithfully copies the erstwhile portrait in Vép, and can also be dated to the nineteenth century. In these paintings, the Ban of Croatia and Slavonia is shown with his head uncovered, dressed in armour, grasping his sword in his right hand, resting his left hand on his helmet. Around his neck is a large medal of the Order of the Redeemer, albeit a fictive one. In the background, alluding to his prowess on the battlefield, a line of Turkish lances can be seen propped against the wall.

This portrait of a knight in shining armour, painted in the nineteenth century, long after the subject had died, is a perfect example of the power of artistic representation to have an impact on

future generations, and of the effectiveness of the heroic propaganda fomented by the seventeenth-century ban. The painting is a precise imprint of the idealistic image that the count wanted to leave to posterity. Its composition follows that of the funeral monument in Záhgráb, with the difference being that the nineteenth-century painter – unlike the sculptor working in Záhgráb – had no idea what the medal of the Order of the Redeemer really looked like; instead of the reliquary of the Precious Blood, the oversized medal carries an image of the Crucifix, which appears in most of the works that feature Tamás Erdődy (and which, coincidentally, is more in tune with the name of the military order).

\*

The artworks that can be associated with the patronage of the Ban of Croatia indicate that Erdődy pursued a policy of supporting the arts that was in line with his influential position

of political power. It is somewhat surprising, therefore, that the man himself – from the perspective of art history – is hardly known at all. Only his heroic allegory and his epitaph stone in Zágráb have so far been given the attention they deserve; the Szomolány altarpiece is largely ignored, and the altar painting from Varasd probably even more so. The fragment showing Saint John the Baptist has – to the best of my knowledge – never been presented before. This can only partly be explained by the fact that the works of art associated with him are now scattered across several different nations, for even before the twentieth century, Tamás Erdődy was not the subject of particular attention from scholars. It seems to me that he merged into the background of research as a result of a kind of *damnatio memoriae*.

Interestingly, the artistic representation of Tamás Erdődy ended up in the shadow of the

propaganda of a rival noble family, the Zrínyis. The enormous influence of the Zrínyi cult, which arose simultaneously in the fields of literature, art and history writing, diverted all attention away from the figure of Tamás Erdődy.<sup>118</sup> Perhaps this was not by chance: there are examples of Zrínyi scions intentionally “deleting” Tamás Erdődy from the eyes of posterity. In 1660, long after the author’s death, Gergely Pethő’s *Brief Chronicle of Hungary (Rövid magyar krónika)* was published, which had originally been written in the early 1620s (and which was long attributed to Miklós Zrínyi). Pethő dedicated the chronicle to Tamás Erdődy, and over several pages he praised the achievements of the Ban of Croatia. Gergely Pethő died in 1629, however, and his manuscript ended up – through mysterious circumstances – in the possession of the poet Zrínyi. The volume was finally published some three decades later, with Zrínyi’s support – but without the author’s dedication.<sup>119</sup>

## ABBREVIATIONS

### *Institutions, archives*

APÚSR, PO	Archív Pamiatkového úradu Slovenskej republiky, Pamiatkové orgány / Archives of the Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic, Bratislava
MNL-OL	Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára / National Archives of Hungary, Budapest
MNL-OL, A 129	MNL-OL, Magyar Kancelláriai Levéltár, Minutae Pragenses
MNL-OL, E 200, Acta Divers. Fam.	MNL-OL, Magyar Kamara Archívuma, Acta diversarum familiarum
QSzK	Országos Széchényi Könyvtár / National Széchényi Library, Budapest
ÖstA	Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Wien
ÖStA KA HKR KIA	ÖstA, Kriegsarchiv, Wiener Hofkriegsrat, Hofkriegs-Kanzleiarchiv
ÖStA KA IHKR	ÖstA, Kriegsarchiv, Innerösterreichischer Hofkriegsrat
ÖStA, FHK, HKA, HFU	ÖstA, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Hofkammerarchiv, Hoffinanz-Ungarn
ÖStA, HHSStA, FAE	ÖstA, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Familienarchiv Erdődy
ÖStA, HHStA, Hungarica AA	ÖstA, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Hungarica, Allgemeine Akten
PBFL	Pannonhalmi Bencés Főapátsági Levéltár / Archives of the Benedictine Archabbey of Pannonhalma
SNA	Slovenský národný archív / Slovak National Archives, Bratislava
SNA ÚAE	SNA, Ústředný archív rodu Erdődy
SNG	Slovenská národná galéria / Slovak National Gallery, Bratislava

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> This paper is a translation – with minor additions – of one of the chapters (“Athleta Christi. Erdődy Tamás horvát-szlavón bán” [Athleta Christi. Tamás Erdődy, Ban of Croatia and Slavonia]) in a volume of essays (*Családtörténet és reprezentáció. A galgóczi Erdődy-várkastély gyűjteményei* [Family history and representation. The collections of the Erdődy Castle in Galgóc], published 2013) on art patronage and art collecting among members of the Erdődy family. It was supported by Hungarian national research project OTKA PD 101833 and János Bolyai Research Fellowship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

<sup>2</sup> Tamás Erdődy was appointed on 25 September 1583. ÖStA KA HKR KIA VII. 24. The formerly accepted date of 1584 was amended by Szabolcs Varga, and I would like to thank him for making this information available to me.

<sup>3</sup> For more on this subject, including further reading, see: VARGA 2015.

<sup>4</sup> FALLENBÜCHL 1988, 124.

<sup>5</sup> Between 1578 and 1581, Tamás and his brother Péter, together with 200 cavalry and 100 infantry supplied at their own expense, took part in several battles against the Ottomans, including at Drežnik and Ostrožac, and the Siege of Cazin. SNA UAE Lad. 2. Fasc. 8. No. 2. fol. 5.; ÖStA KA IHKR Prot. Croatica Bd. 1. 1578/I, fol. 51. and fol. 58. and HBL 4. 70. I would like to thank Géza Pálffy for providing me with his collection of data on the military and political career of Tamás Erdődy.

<sup>6</sup> Letter of recommendation from István Radéczy, Bishop of Eger, to Rudolf II, concerning the appointment of Tamás Erdődy as Ban of Croatia. Dated 6 June 1583, Pozsony (Bratislava). (ÖStA, HHStA, Hungarica AA, Fasc. 114. Konv. B. fol. 46–47.) The translation is based on the family history data collected by a twentieth-century descendant, Ferenc Erdődy; see *Erdődy-kézirat* [Erdődy manuscript]. I am indebted to Géza Pálffy for alerting me to the present designation of Radéczy’s letter.

<sup>7</sup> He was victorious at Cernik in 1581 and at Slunj in 1584, and in 1585 he occupied and burned down the castle in Kostajnica. In 1586 he defeated the 8000-man strong army commanded by Ali Bey at Ivanić. In 1592 Erdődy suffered defeat at Brest at the hands of Hasan Pasha of Bosnia, although the following year, their fortunes were reversed. In 1595, in alliance with the forces of György Zrínyi, he captured and destroyed the castle in Petrinja. Later that same year he resigned from the position of ban. RÁTTKAY 1652, 161.

<sup>8</sup> Péter Erdődy II earned affirmation of the title of count in 1564, for himself and his four children, Tamás, Péter, Anna and Margit. SNA, UAE, Lad. 2. fasc. 9. Nr. 1. The original document given to Tamás Erdődy was issued in Prague on 26 February 1580, three copies of which survive: ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, D 11300. = Lad. 1. Fasc. 2. No. 20; SNA, UAE, Lad. 2. Fasc. 8. No. 2. fol. 5–8; and a certified copy from October 1855: *ibid.* Fasc. 9. No. 2. (data collection of Géza Pálffy).

<sup>9</sup> FALLENBÜCHL 2002, 88.

<sup>10</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, Lad. 101. Fasc. o. Sign. a/2. 23 March 1603; SNA UAE, Publico-politica, Croatica, Pallium II. fol. 73–74. (Data collection of Géza Pálffy).

<sup>11</sup> 6 March 1598. Deed of gift issued by Rudolf II to Tamás Erdődy, with particular regard to the service performed at Petrinja in 1596 with 200 horsemen maintained at his own expense. MNL-OL, A 129, 6 March 1598. Appointment as Master of the Treasury: 19 August 1603, Prague and 27 April 1615, Vienna. PBFL, Erdődy-levéltár, fasc. 3. Nr. 98. és Nr. 87. (Data collection of Géza Pálffy); cf. FALLENBÜCHL 2002, 88.

<sup>12</sup> For the difference between “perpetual” (*perpetuus*) and “hereditary” (*haereditarius*) lord lieutenant, see FALLENBÜCHL 1994, 9. The appointment of Tamás Erdődy (ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, D 11321. 24 March 1607) was titled *perpetuus supremus comes*, and from then on the Erdődy family held the position of lord lieutenant of Varasd in perpetuity.

<sup>13</sup> According to György Rátkay, this took place in 1596, while Pál Jedlicska dated it to the national assembly of 1609, and Erzsébet Tarczay placed it one year earlier. RÁTTKAY

1652, 162; JEDLICSKA I, 1882, 193; TARCZAY 1929, 40. (The latter refers to the relevant article, approved in 1608, published in: KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI II. 1862, 63, 6 December 1608, Pozsony) It is an entirely different matter that the image of a man brandishing his sword in the national assembly in response to the suggestion that Protestants be allowed to settle freely seems to be a transient motif: for example, when János Draskovich, Ban of Croatia, was faced with similar threats in 1604, he also waved his sword in the national assembly. TARCZAY 1929, 39.

<sup>14</sup> In 1745, Lipót Auer (clearly with the hyperbole for which the preacher was famed) spoke about the whole family thus: “... they have always believed in the one and only, worshipful Roman Catholic Holy Faith, and even the smallest branch amongst them has never been violated, besmirched or infected with any alien learning or Heresy of any kind.” AUER 1745. fol. B4r.

<sup>15</sup> TARCZAY 1929, 21–22, 37.

<sup>16</sup> Primus Truber’s letter is published in: ELZE 1897, Nr. 27, 188–195. Sándor Payr and Borbála Benda deduced from this that Tamás Erdődy was raised in the Lutheran faith. PAYR 1924, 187; BENDA 2007, 110. The line quoted here, however, does not necessarily mean that Péter Erdődy himself was a Lutheran (based on the sources, Erzsébet Tarczay only described him as “Protestant in spirit”; see TARCZAY 1929, 24), nor does it prove that he defined himself in terms of denominational allegiance. It is likely that Erdődy was another member of the “grey zone”, which Szabolcs Varga has so convincingly demonstrated was also occupied by Miklós Zrínyi of Szigetvár; see VARGA 2012.

<sup>17</sup> I would like to thank Szabolcs Varga for this observation.

<sup>18</sup> Tarczay dated her conversion to later, around 1610; see TARCZAY 1929, 45.

<sup>19</sup> OSzK, Kézirattár, Fol. Lat. 3809/II. Gyurikovics Collection, fol. 233. *Series candidatorum pro officio Palatini* (...): 15 November 1608 (candidates: Tamás Erdődy, Zsigmond Forgách, György Thurzó, István Illésházy); 2 December 1609 (Tamás Erdődy, Zsigmond Forgách, György Thurzó, Tamás Széchy); 16 May 1618 (Tamás Erdődy, Zsigmond Forgách, Ferenc Batthyány, István Török); 3 June 1622 (Tamás Erdődy, Miklós Esterházy, Szaniszló Thurzó, Ferenc Batthyány).

<sup>20</sup> As remembered by his descendants, this honour was often confused (erroneously) with the Order of the Golden Fleece, cf. e.g.: LANDOVICS 1669, 7–8; SOMOGY 1776, 17. For more about Tamás Erdődy as a knight of the Order of the Redeemer, see: SARZI 2000, 60–61. No mention is made of him in the history of the order written by Stefano Gionta, although I consider it likely that the name of a certain Tommaso Canossa (Kanizsa?), featured in the year 1619, in fact refers to Erdődy. GIONTA 1844, 377–388.

<sup>21</sup> For a recent history of the order, see: MALACARNE 2008.

<sup>22</sup> ERRANTE 1915, 15–114. Vincenzo (I) Gonzaga went to Hungary in 1595, 1597 and 1601. On his aspirations for the governorship of Transylvania, see KRUPPA 2002, 281–310.

<sup>23</sup> SARZI 2000, 61.

<sup>24</sup> The charter issued by Ferdinando Gonzaga on 20 January 1619 is quoted in its entirety in the Erdődy family lineage book manuscript from the eighteenth century (*Nemzetiség-könyv*; Tamás Erdődy = chapter XXX). I am grateful to Géza Pálffy for informing me of the present whereabouts and designation of the document (ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, D 11338. = Lad. 1. Fasc. 3. Nr. 10.).

<sup>25</sup> KEYSSELER 1751, 68. Schreiben: Reise nach Cremona und Mantua, 1012.

<sup>26</sup> I thank Dániel Pócs for drawing my attention to the collection of coats of arms in the Basilica of Sant’Andrea, Mantua.

<sup>27</sup> Kristóf Ungnad’s wedding invitation of László Majthényi, Captain General to the Pope. SZERÉMI 1897, 54–55. and ÖStA, FHK, Fam.-Akten, E 71. fol. 10–11; Kristóf Ungnad’s wedding invitation, dated 20 November 1583 in Vienna, to Rudolf II, and *ibid.* fol. 12–13. Erdődy’s wedding invitation,

dated 20 December in Körmend Castle, also to Rudolf II. My thanks to Géza Pálffy for this latter information.

<sup>28</sup> PETHŐ 1753, 180: "At trial, Ban Tamás Erdődy was awarded Monyorókerék from the lords Zrínyi, which he occupied on 4th day of May [1613]."

<sup>29</sup> Dossier of documents on the repossession of the estates in the Erdődy archive: ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, Lad. 52. fasc. 4. Nr. 4-28. (all *sine dato*, although György Zrínyi IV is mentioned as deceased, so they are definitely after 1603). Tibor Koppány mentions other archival sources regarding this trial, see KOPPÁNY 2014, 265-269 (No. 158. Vép, No. 159. Vörösvár). The failed marriage and the Monyorókerék trial are referred to in FORGÁCH 1866, 326; and SALAMON 1865, 437 - the latter questions whether Zrínyi was really so "dark-souled." The tension continued down the generations: Miklós Zrínyi and Imre Erdődy even clashed between 1653 and 1659, during the peasant uprisings in Croatia. SOMOGYI 1963, 232-235. Éva Forgách (wife of Imre Erdődy), targeting Ilona Zrínyi, wrote pointedly that, "The Lord knows the House of Zrínyi never was true to the House of Erdődy, to the diminution and dishonour of the Lord." ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, Lad. 101. fasc. 19. unnumbered.

<sup>30</sup> The documents shed no light on the identity of the mediators, who are referred to as "followers of our lord Miklós Zrínyi," "servants of His Grace the plenipotentiary," and similar appellations.

<sup>31</sup> The land exchange agreement between Miklós Zrínyi and Péter Erdődy was signed before the Chapter of Zágráb on 13 February 1557, but had probably been agreed upon in advance. For the text of the agreement, see BARABÁS II, 1898, dok. CIV. It is certain that on 9 March 1557, the demesne of Monyorókerék was already under Zrínyi's control. BARABÁS I, 1898, dok. CCXCIV.

<sup>32</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, Lad. 52. fasc. 4. Nr. 4.

<sup>33</sup> The discrepancy resulted from the fact that in addition to the original sum of 11,000 forints in cash, Zrínyi was also required to give a wall-breaking cannon, worth a further 1,000 forints. KLAÍČ 1987, 232. I am grateful to Szabolcs Varga for clarifying this point.

<sup>34</sup> For the documents concerning the prefecation of Anna Erdődy and her rights over the estates in Monyorókerék, Vörösvár, Körmend and Somlyó (1555), see: ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, Lad. 54. fasc. 4. Nr. 12; *cf.* also: MNL-OL, E 200, Acta Divers. Fam. Erdődy család, 7. cs. Irregestrata, fol. 40. At this time, Péter Erdődy had no other living offspring. Later this would cause tensions within the family: ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, Lad. 65. fasc. 3. Nr. 31. and Lad. 69. fasc. 1. (unnumbered) Borbála Alapy and her children (Tamás, Péter and Margit Erdődy) contra Anna Erdődy. (Citing her inheritance rights, Anna requested a share of Sellin (Zselin), Császárvár, Okics, Lipovec, Jasztrebarszka, Hrasztelnica and Szávaújvár [Želin, Cesargrad, Okič, Lipovec, Jasztrebarsko, Hrasztelnica, Setuš (all Croatia)], 15 January 1570).

<sup>35</sup> For the draft document, see ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, Lad. 52. fasc. 4. Nr. 9.

<sup>36</sup> Gáspár Erdődy is still referred to as alive in: ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, Lad. 52. fasc. 1. Nr. 22. (1548).

<sup>37</sup> Letter from László Kerecsényi to Tamás Nádasdy, dated 7 May 1556, Celje (Slovenia). Published in: KOMÁROMY 1906, 249-250.

<sup>38</sup> For the draft document, see ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, Lad. 52. fasc. 4. Nr. 9. Borbála Alapy had Miklós Zrínyi summoned before the law on 25 June 1559, *cf.* BARABÁS II, 1898, dok. CXIV.

<sup>39</sup> This is contradicted by the fact that in September 1563 (after 19 September) Péter Erdődy filed a complaint with the king against Miklós Zrínyi and his son for breach of contract, when there was as yet no mention of marriage between György Zrínyi and Anna von Arco. BARABÁS II, 1898, dok. CXXXVI. *cf.* also: *ibid.* dok. CXXXIV-CXXXV. Indeed, it was Anna Erdődy who married first: on 9 June 1566, she became the wife of István Dersffy (after his death she married István Ilésházy in 1572), whereas the marriage between György Zrínyi

and Anna von Arco was still being planned by Margit Széchy in the summer of 1567 (when she asked permission to purchase 200 marks of silver in order to make a wedding gift for her daughter). *cf.* ÖStA, FHK, HKA, Altes Münz- und Bergwesen Ungarn r. Nr. 4. fol. 529-532. (They were engaged on 11 January 1568. See PAYR 1924, 413.) For more about the life of Anna Erdődy, see BOTKA 1875b, 59-62; MIKÓ-PÁLFFY 2002, 129-131 and *Mátyás öröksége* 2008, cat. IX-12 (MIKÓ, Árpád).

<sup>40</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, Lad. 52. fasc. 4. Nr. 4.

<sup>41</sup> In the second half of the century, for example, Monyorókerék was used as the venue for their weddings, including that of Miklós Zrínyi and Eva Rosenberg in 1564; between 1562 and 1584, the wedding celebrations for no less than six Zrínyi women were held in the castle. PÁLFFY 2007, 50.

<sup>42</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, Lad. 52. fasc. 4. Nr. 28.

<sup>43</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, Lad. 52. fasc. 4. Nr. 4.

<sup>44</sup> According to tax reports, Medvevár still belonged to Miklós Zrínyi in 1556, but in 1559 it was under the control of Vice-Ban Ambrus Gregorjanci, and it remained in his family's possession until 1613. ADAMČEK-KAMPUŠ 1976, 181, 184. In February 1613 Tamás Erdődy and his brother began to pay off the 32,000 forint mortgage to the widow of Miklós Gregorjanci, Annamaria Ainkern. In spring 1613 the castle was in Zrínyi's possession. KLAÍČ 1987, 274-275. The information on the demesne was collected by Szabolcs Varga, and I would like to thank him for his help here.

<sup>45</sup> See ÖStA, HKA, HFU, r. N. 58. 30 October 1591. fol. 954-984. I was able to conduct research among the files of the Hofkammerarchiv in Vienna with the help of abstracts produced by István Fazekas, whom I thank for granting me access to his data even before its publication. *cf.* *Segédletek* 2011.

<sup>46</sup> For a brief summary of the castle see: OBAD ŠČITAROCI 1992, 274-278.

<sup>47</sup> The armorial stone (1592) from Jasztrebarszka Castle is described in: HORVAT 1975, 190 and fig. 184.

<sup>48</sup> JEDLICSKAI, 1882, 193.

<sup>49</sup> For Szomolány, see JEDLICSKA 1879; JEDLICSKA I, 1882, 216-227.

<sup>50</sup> Original inventory number: SNG, inv. O-1779, later dismantled: wing panels: inv. O-5383 and 5384, 125 × 46 cm; central panel: inv. O-5385, 125 × 46 cm; gable: inv. O-5386, 59.2 × 118.3 cm; medium: tempera on panel. KELETI 1983, cat. 63-64 and 72-73.

<sup>51</sup> For example, certain scenes of the Thurzó Altar (1611) in the castle chapel in Árva (Orava, Slovakia), the Altar of the Holy Cross (1629) in Szepeshely (Spišská Kapitula, Slovakia), or the altar (1636) in the Lutheran church in Csetnek (Štútnik, Slovakia). See MEDVECKÝ 2006; GALAVICS 2008; MEDVECKÝ 2010b.

<sup>52</sup> The text also appears in the *Nemzetségkönyv* [Lineage book] in the Erdődy archives; the record published by Jedlicska omitted line 4 of the text (shown in square brackets in the main text), presumably due to an oversight. The lineage book also contains a reference to a picture of Saint Thomas the Apostle: "In concamerata sacelli superficie ad pictam divi Thomae Apostoli effigiem inscriptus hic sacer textus: Quia vidisti me, Thoma, credidisti: beati, qui non viderunt et crediderunt." In: *Nemzetségkönyv*, chapter XXX.

<sup>53</sup> JEDLICSKA I, 1882, 219.

<sup>54</sup> KELETI 1983, 124. A role in the dating may have been played by the fact that the altar was described as Tamás Erdődy's epitaph monument in 1624, and was registered at the beginning of the 1950s. See APŰSR, PO 1919-1951, šk. 36. Hlohovec, č. 128.374/50, including: the record by Alžbeta Güntherová-Mayerová of the artworks located in the church in Galgóc, 30 November 1950 (Erdődy's epitaph is item 3).

<sup>55</sup> TIETZE 1911, 473-500.

<sup>56</sup> BUZÁSI-HORN-BUBRYÁK 2010.

<sup>57</sup> In June 1729 work was approaching its conclusion, for correspondence with the bailiff from that time was about the execution of the stucco decoration. SNA ÚAE, Korrespondencia, Juraj Leopold Erdődy.

<sup>58</sup> JEDLICSKA I, 1882, 219.

<sup>59</sup> MNL-OL Mikrofilm, box 23508, the text of the visitation is published in: ENDRÓDI 1998, 32–33 (Appendix II).

<sup>60</sup> SNG, inv. O-6054. Tempera and oil on panel, 147 × 86.3 cm.

<sup>61</sup> The motto also appeared on other artworks commissioned by Erdődy, more about which later. The count probably also wrote his motto in the books in his library; as far as I am aware, only one volume is known: the work titled *A mostani tudományok hamisságának tíz nyilvánvaló bizonyossága* [Ten clear proofs of the falsehood of modern sciences], published in Graz by Péter Pázmány in 1605, now in the Budapest University Library. Pázmány dedicated the volume in his own hand, writing: “Spectabili ac Magnifico Domino Domino Thomae Erdődy, Autor, debitaе observantiaе ergo.” Next to his own name, Erdődy wrote: “In Deo vici.” Cited in: FRAKNÓI I, 1868, 55.

<sup>62</sup> Possible decipherment: C(omes) T(homas) E(rdődy) B(anus) – the first letter is not clearly discernible.

<sup>63</sup> For the building work carried out in Klanjec, see (among others): SZABO 1920, 74; KRUIHEK 1974, 68–71; HORVAT 1975, 191; OBAD ŠČITAROCI 1992, 184–189.

<sup>64</sup> The carved armorial stone of 1603, marking the renovation of Klanjec Castle, is now in the Croatian History Museum (Hrvatski Povijesni Muzej) in Zagreb. HPM, inv. 25294, quartzite, 85 × 65 × 10 cm, cf. BRAJKOVIĆ 1995, cat. 229; VALENTIĆ–PRISTER 2002, cat. 77 (with previous literature).

<sup>65</sup> OBAD ŠČITAROCI 2000; OBAD ŠČITAROCI 2001, 255.

<sup>66</sup> For the Latin original see: ŠIŠIĆ IV [1917], 522.

<sup>67</sup> Tamás Erdődy was appointed lord lieutenant of the county of Varasd in December 1588, cf. ŐStA, HKA, HFU, r. N. 54. 13 December 1588, fol. 50. In 1607 the title was made hereditary.

<sup>68</sup> The marriage between Kristóf Erdődy and Borbála Thurzó was planned for 30 September 1612; see Tamás Erdődy's wedding invitation to György Majthényi, dated 15 August 1612, Császárvár (cited in: SZERÉMI 1897, 74–75), and the invitation sent to Archduke Ferdinand (*Jb KSAK* 20 [1899] Reg. 17144). Albert Szenci Molnár, however, who attended the nuptials, recorded that the event took place on 22 September. *Szenci Molnár-napló* 2003, 85, 161.

<sup>69</sup> Erdődy's alleged poisoning is mentioned in: KUBINYI 1888, 126.

<sup>70</sup> The marriage between Kristóf Thurzó and Zsuzsanna Erdődy took place after 6 December 1603, which is when Archduke Ferdinand issued his instruction for a suitable wedding gift (worth 100 thalers) to be arranged for the daughter of Tamás Erdődy (cf. *Jb KSAK* 19 [1898] Reg. 16429). As invitations were generally sent to the royal court a month before the planned date of the wedding, the knot was probably tied at the end of December 1603 or in early January 1604 (cf. also: Kristóf Thurzó's invitation to the city of Kassa [Košice, Slovakia]; KERÉKES 1907, 268). The price of the gift varied according to the rank of the person receiving it, from drinking vessels worth 30–40 thalers to chalices with a value of 120–150 thalers, but more expensive goblets would only rarely be given as wedding presents. The 100-thaler gift received by Zsuzsanna Erdődy and Kristóf Thurzó was therefore extremely special. By comparison, in 1603 the archduke commanded the purchase of a wedding gift worth 70 thalers for the marriage between István Perényi and Zsuzsanna Thurzó. *Jb KSAK* 19 (1898) Reg. 16375; In 1605, the archduke sent a drinking vessel costing precisely 61 forints and 40 kreuzers (approximately 80 thalers) as the wedding gift for Miklós Zrínyi VI. *Ibid.* Reg. 16559.

<sup>71</sup> Zsigmond Erdődy's wife was Anna Mária Keglevich, whose brother, Ferenc Keglevich, married the daughter of Kristóf Erdődy, Erzsébet. Tamás Erdődy's daughter, also called Erzsébet, married Miklós Draskovich (after Tamás's death), cf. BENDA 2007, 117.

<sup>72</sup> Varaždin, Gradski Muzej, Stari grad, dvorska kapela. Tempera and oil on panel, 130 × 380 cm. A brief description can be found in: FILIĆ 1943, 48; HORVAT 1975, 390; *Sveti trag* 1994, 180; ŠIMUNIĆ 1994. I would like to thank Branko Specvec from the castle museum in Varasd for the photograph of the altar image. The dedication of the castle chapel to Saint

Lawrence is mentioned, for example, in: EBNER 1827, 144; ŠIMUNIĆ 1994.

<sup>73</sup> The pope has been identified as Pope Saint Gregory I (the Great): ŠIMUNIĆ 1994, 47.

<sup>74</sup> Aegidius Sadeler (1570–1629): *Crucifixion*, engraving, 32 × 52 cm. HOLLSTEIN XXI, 1980, 131, Nr. 289. For the engraving that served as the precedent for the scene on the predella, see CVETNIĆ 2009.

<sup>75</sup> The idea that it would be worth examining Erdődy's heroic representation (also) in the light of his campaign to be elected palatine was put forward by Ildikó Horn in her opponent's opinion, cf. BUZÁSI–HORN–BUBRYÁK 2010, 325.

<sup>76</sup> GALAVICS 1986, 53–57.

<sup>77</sup> The original epitaph painted by Adriaen van Conflans has not survived. For the funeral portrait based on this lost epitaph, see ČENNER–WILHELM 1997, cat. A 38.

<sup>78</sup> BUZÁSI 2008, 27–36; BUZÁSI 2014, 55–73.

<sup>79</sup> WIDEMAN 1652.

<sup>80</sup> SNM, MB, 184 × 147 cm; inv. XI–1173. For the picture, see UČNIKOVIĆ 1978, 185–194; UČNIKOVIĆ 1980, Gkp. 692; PAPCO 1989, 50–53; BUZÁSI 1990, 440–441; PASTOREK–ŠEVČIKOVIĆ–BREZOVSKÝ–ŪRMINSKÝ 1995, 32–35; BUZÁSI 2000, 401–402.

<sup>81</sup> THEINER II, 1860, 81–85.

<sup>82</sup> For the work by Ráttkay and its context, see BENE 2000.

<sup>83</sup> Although Ráttkay correctly stated that the Order was founded in 1608 by Vincenzo Gonzaga, he failed to notice that these two facts were mutually exclusive. “Instituit hunc Ordinem Vincentius Gonzaga Quartus Dux Mantuae, & secundus Montis Ferrati, Anno M.DC.VIII. in nuptijs filij sui Francisci cum Margaretha Sabauda.” cf. RÁTTKAY 1652, 159.

<sup>84</sup> RÁTTKAY 1652, 158. The cited excerpt is described much more accurately in the Erdődy lineage book: “Sed & Clementi Pontifici summo, qui, ut hunc Nobilissimum, de juratis & haereditatis Christianae Rei-Publica hostibus reportatum Triumphum toti Orbi palam testaretur, datis ad Erdődium litteris ejus in tuenda Re-Publica Christiana studium & operam gratissimam sibi accidisse affirmavit, cumque ad continuanda officia magnopere cohortatus est, ulteriorumque curam commendavit.” *Nemzetségekönyv*, chapter XXX.

<sup>85</sup> MEDNYÁNSKY 1826, 107; MEDNYÁNSZKY 1981, 106. “Before we leave this ancient place of divine worship, it is also worth observing the votive painting of Tamás Erdődy, made on the occasion of the victory close to Petrinja and the capture of the castle (1594).” His description clearly refers to the votive painting, and not to the Altarpiece of the *Holy Cross*, brought from Szomolány. He errs in quoting the date, for the painting is dated 1593, not 1594, and it therefore refers not to the Battle of Petrinja, but the Battle of Sziszek. Where the date is concerned, however, traces of paint indicate that the work was touched up, so it is far from certain that the error was Mednyánszky's fault.

<sup>86</sup> The text of the *canonica visitatio* that refers to the castle chapel is published in: ENDRÓDI 1998, 32–33.

<sup>87</sup> I have unfortunately been unable to find it in the known inventories of the Slavonian castles (Császárvár, Szamobor, Varasd), which date mostly from the beginning of the eighteenth century.

<sup>88</sup> The compilation of data took place in the 1730s and 1740s, but did not stretch as far as those dates, stopping in the early 1720s. For more about the manuscript and about Rajcsányi's role in the historiography of the Erdődys, see BUBRYÁK 2013, 36–39.

<sup>89</sup> Hungarian National Gallery, inv. 75. 3. M, oil on canvas, 87.5 × 152 cm. GALAVICS 1986, 60; BUZÁSI 1990, 440–441; *et al.*

<sup>90</sup> RÁTTKAY 1652, 163; PETHÓ 1753, 202. Both report that the funeral took place “with great pomp and fine and costly preparations, in the style of a prince” (quotation from the latter). Tamás Erdődy's funeral is also described in detail in: *Nemzetségekönyv*, pp. 542–544.

<sup>91</sup> The inscription and the motto (the latter incorrectly) were cited in: NAGY 1874, 494–495.

<sup>92</sup> This was also the motto of Gian Francesco Gonzaga (d. 1519). PALLISER 1870, 137.

<sup>93</sup> According to Ráttkay (RÁTTKAY 1652, 163), and Rajcsányi's *Nemzetségek könyve* [Lineage book] (p. 543).

<sup>94</sup> HPM, inv. 30937. cf. *Ezredéves kiállítás, Zágráb* [Millennium Exhibition, Zagreb] 1896. II/A. cat. 343; *Sveti Trag* 1991, 206, cat. 19.

<sup>95</sup> *Ezredéves kiállítás, Zágráb* 1896. II/A. cat. 37, 38. Diječanski Muzej, Zagreb, inv. 951. The objects are in the cathedral treasury.

<sup>96</sup> As I have been reliably informed in conversation with Lina Plukavec (Zagreb), whom I would like to take this opportunity to thank.

<sup>97</sup> For the former, see: *Od svagdana do blagdana* 1993, 204 (Stanko Staničić); for the latter, see JEDLIČSKA I, 1882, 207.

<sup>98</sup> The sculpture is mentioned in: NADILO 2002, 189; I thank Antun Jesenović for the photograph.

<sup>99</sup> The division agreement between Erdődy and his sons, 1615. Monyorókerék. ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, Lad. 19. fasc. 1. Nr. 14, 17. Documents pertaining to a later agreement, signed 10 August 1617, reveal that he even shared out the "gold and silver cows" belonging to his wife. ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, Lad. 69. fasc. 3. Nr. 14. "the division of movable cows, being the Mother's ornamental treasures, gold and silver cows, into six parts, namely to his four sons and two daughters, given that my Lady Mrs. Kristóf Thurzó [Zsuzsanna Erdődy] had already taken her own share."

<sup>100</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, Lad. 19. fasc. 2. Nr. 18. The division of Tamás Erdődy's estate, Császárvár, 17 July 1626 (Document dated 24 July 1626, Vidóc [Vidovec]). The full text is published in: BUBRYÁK 2013, 353–354.

<sup>101</sup> *Jb KSAK* 13 (1892) Reg. 9311. 12 December 1583, Graz. Order from Archduke Charles to the Hoffpennigmeister to send a drinking vessel worth 70–80 forints to the forthcoming wedding of Tamás Erdődy. (Innerösterreichische Kammerbücher, Bd. 11a f. 127v.), and: ÖStA, FHK, Fam.-Akten, E 71. fol. 8–9 and fol. 14: The ruler's ambassador eventually sent a chalice worth 150 forints as a gift to Erdődy, which was paid from the budget of the army paymaster. I am indebted to Géza Pálffy for this piece of information.

<sup>102</sup> Tamás Erdődy was invited to the archduke's wedding, see Ferdinand's invitation: ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, D 11315. = Lad. 1. Fasc. 3. Nr. 1 (Géza Pálffy's data collection). For Zsuzsanna Erdődy's present, see *Jb KSAK* 19 (1898) Reg. 16429. (6 December 1603, Graz, 1603); for Kristóf Erdődy's present, see: *Jb KSAK* 20 (1899) Reg. 17144. (8 September 1612, Graz) and ÖStA, FHK, HFU, r. Nr. 102. Konv. 5 September 1612, fol. 35.

<sup>103</sup> *Jb KSAK* 20 (1899) Reg. 17286. (10 May 1614, Vienna) and ÖStA, FHK, HFU, r. Nr. 105, 13 May 1614, fol. 177, 338–340.

<sup>104</sup> It was not unknown for the father to pass on the wedding gift to the married couple, but extant sources documenting this are rare. When Borbála Thurzó and Kristóf Erdődy were married, Emperor Matthias sent a lavabo set to György Thurzó, who subsequently gave the set to his daughter. The source for this information came some forty years later: in her last will and testament, Borbála Thurzó left the set to her daughter, Erzsébet Erdődy, relating the history of the objects at the same time. ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, Lad. 3. fasc. 2. Nr. 14. Will of Borbála, 21 August 1651, Óvár. Published (from the copy in the Batthyány archives) in: RADVÁNSZKY III. 1879, Nr. 121; the sections on items of fine metalwork, with corrections: BUBRYÁK 2013, 398–400.

<sup>105</sup> *Jb KSAK* 19 (1898) Reg. 16958 (Innerösterreichische Kammerbücher, Bd. 24. fol. 558). The vessel's value was exactly 25 gulden, 18 kreuzers and 3 pfennigs, and weighed 20 lots and 1 quint.

<sup>106</sup> JEDLIČSKA I, 1882, 194.

<sup>107</sup> ÖStA, FHK, HFU, r. Nr. 104. Konv. 5 July 1613, fol. 15 (Bishop Náprágy is instructed to render the estate of the recently deceased Bishop Micatius); *ibid.* r. Nr. 104. Konv. 13 July 1613, fol. 77–83 (report on the Micatius estate, together with a register of the assets and monies found in Szombathely or taken to Monyorókerék); *ibid.* r. Nr. 106. Konv. 31 December 1614, fol. 151 (request for the return of the assets sent to Count Erdődy and to Bishop Náprágy); *ibid.* r. Nr. 107. Konv. 20 June 1615, fol. 1281–1288 (Mandate about the same). cf. FAZEKAS 2011.

<sup>108</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, Lad. 3. fasc. 3. Nr. 17. Will of Imre Erdődy (13 May 1689), fol. 9r.

<sup>109</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, Lad. 82. fasc. 3. Nr. 2. Section on works of fine metalwork published in: BUBRYÁK 2013, 418. The dishes appear in the description of item 11.

<sup>110</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, Lad. 82. fasc. 3. Nr. 6. Inventory taken at the house of György Erdődy III in Pozsony, 31 August 1709. Full text in: BUBRYÁK 2013, 456–462. (The dishes appear as item 6 in chapter I.)

<sup>111</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, Lad. 3. fasc. 4. Nr. 14. Execution of the will of György Erdődy III, 23 March 1713, Szomolány. Full text in: BUBRYÁK 2013, 471–475. (The dishes are item 15 on the list.)

<sup>112</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, Lad. 82. fasc. 3. Nr. 6. Inventory taken at the house of György Erdődy III in Pozsony, 31 August 1709. Full text in: BUBRYÁK 2013, 456–462 (Chapter VII, item 80).

<sup>113</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, Lad. 3. fasc. 4. Nr. 1. Will of György Erdődy III, 2 September 1710, Pozsony. The provision relating to objects is published in: BUBRYÁK 2013, 464–470 (item 32).

<sup>114</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, FAE, Lad. 3. fasc. 4. Nr. 1 (List 7, item 9).

<sup>115</sup> Inscription: "Thomas Graf Erdődy." Several instances are known, such as: HPM, inv. 29119, and: *ibid.* inv. 4493–G. 1403 (cf. BREGOVAC PISK 2008. 142, cat. 268–269); OSzK, Kézirattár: Fol. Lat. 3096. II. fol. 124; ÖNB Bildarchiv, inv. PORT 0015202201. In all of them the illustration can be seen cut out, but on the copy in the OSzK, visible on the corner of the plate in the lower left, is the number 21, while on the copy in the Bildarchiv, a fragment of the legend "Lang[er sc.]" can be made out in the top right-hand corner. The portrait was therefore presumably part of a series or volume, with the image of Erdődy on the bottom left of page 21. Also part of this series was the page showing four portraits, those of Wilhelm Prinz von Hildburgshausen (1730–1795), Franz Graf Nádasdy (1708–1783), Friedrich Fürst von Hohenlohe (1732–1796) and Carl Graf von Pellegrini (1720–1796); the mark indicates this was page 56. ÖNB, Bildarchiv, inv. PORT\_00067788\_02. The name "Langer" legible on this page refers to the Viennese engraver Sebastian Langer (1772–1841), which dates the series to the first half of the 19th century.

<sup>116</sup> *Türkische und ungarische Chronica*, Paul Fürst, Nürnberg 1663. (RMK III. 6453; App. H. 880); WIDEMAN 1652.

<sup>117</sup> SNM-MCK, inv. O-806, 120 × 192 cm (with its frame: 140 × 230).

<sup>118</sup> For the development of the Erdődy cult, see also: ALSZÉCHY 1910, 307. In honour of László Ádám Erdődy, Bishop of Nyitra, the students at the Piarist school in Nyitra put on a school drama in 1728 about the heroism of Tamás Erdődy, titled *Felix Bellator sive Thomas Erdődus*. For a summary of school dramas on historical subjects, see: VARCA-PINTÉR 2000.

<sup>119</sup> NAGY 1998, 3–4, 285–300.