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**A Multimedial Cult of the Virgin Mary Created and Sponsored by the
Hungarian Aristocrat Pál Esterházy (1635-1713)**

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Duke Pál Esterházy was one of the most outstanding Hungarians of the late 16th and early 17th centuries. As a politician he rose to the highest position of the Habsburg-ruled country: after successes as a military leader against the Ottomans from the 1660s he became Palatine of Hungary in 1681, also member of the Order of the Golden Fleece. In 1687 he received the title “Imperial Prince.” He was not only an important politician and faithful patriot but also a versatile artist and a great patron. Deeply interested in architecture he had several castles and churches built and remodeled and in his main seat in Kismarton (Eisenstadt in today’s Austria) amassed a huge and important art collection. As an artist in his own right he wrote Latin and Hungarian poetry, composed music and even painted. Neither his patronage, nor his artistic output can be separated from his deep religiosity and a special cult of the Virgin Mary. As of the 1690s he retired from active politics and devoted much time to research and writing. Several important publications document his Marian-cult and some of these have direct iconological significance. Following the *Atlas Marianus* of Wilhelm Gumpfenberg, he collected stories and images of Maria-miracles from all over the world, summarized these in Hungarian and published them with woodcuts either taken from the German/Latin publications or ordering new cuts, too. In this paper we are going to survey the many forms of Esterházy’s Marian cult with a special emphasis on the representations of the Virgin. An excursus will be devoted to Esterházy’s knowledge of ethnology as demonstrated by the examples taken from non-European shrines and pilgrimage places.

Keywords: cult of the Virgin Mary, Marian iconography, Baroque, Hungary, Pál Esterházy

The career of an extraordinary Hungarian aristocrat

In the 19th century István Széchenyi acquired the epithet as “the greatest Hungarian” given by his later adversary, Lajos Kossuth.¹ We venture to suggest, that at least in the context of the 17th century, Pál Esterházy could receive this title, maybe shared with the Hungarian-Croatian aristocrat, Miklós Zrinyi, writer of the first and greatest Hungarian Baroque epic poem (*The Siege of Sziget*, 1651).² Esterházy’s family was newcomer among the Hungarian aristocrats. The founder, Miklós I. Esterházy rose to prominence (1583-1645) by converting from Protestantism to Catholicism, allying himself strongly with the Habsburgs and marrying successfully into money. In 1626 he was created a baron (count) just after he had been elected as palatine of Hungary (the medieval origin title refers to the King’s chief lieutenant in Royal Hungary).³ Miklós had three sons, István, who predeceased his father, László (1626-1652) and Pál (1635-1713). As a youngest, Pál had a good education, he was raised by the Jesuits of Graz and later Nagyszombat (today’s Trnava in Slovakia) and became not only a highly cultured humanist, but also from his early years wrote poetry as well as prose.⁴ In 1652 a family tragedy happened. While his father

had already died, in a rather insignificant battle between Hungarians and Turks (at Vezekény, Upper Hungary, today's Slovakia)⁵ – although the overall victory was of the Hungarians – four young Esterházy fell: his brother, László, and three of his cousins. The responsibility of being the family head with all its political, economic, and military consequences fell on the shoulders of the seventeen-year old Pál, who – with the help of an experienced family member, Farkas Esterházy – lived up to the task with admirable success.

Immediately after the tragic event he was elected as the chief lieutenant of Sopron County and nominated as the captain of the fortress of Pápa, a garrison of 300 soldiers on the Turkish-Hungarian border, north from the Balaton. Since this article is not about his political career, let it be enough to enlist his promotions: after successes as a military leader against the Ottomans from the 1660s (e.g. in 1664 he served with distinction under Montecucoli along with Miklós Zrinyi – by the age of 30 he was elevated to field marshal) he became Palatine of Hungary in 1681 an elected dignity he kept till his death. In the same year he received the Order of the Golden Fleece. After he distinguished himself at the siege of Vienna in 1683 and actively took part in the reconquista of Hungary, in 1687 he received the title "Prince of the Holy Roman Empire" by Leopold I. The title of Prince was extended to his male descendants in 1712.

The career of a patron and an artist

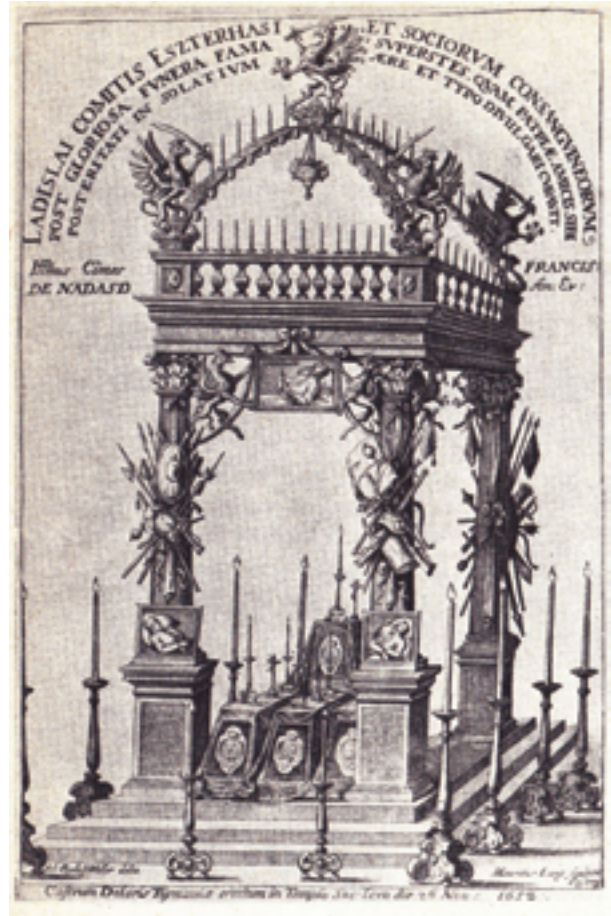
He was not only an important politician and faithful patriot but also a versatile artist and a great patron. His good education with the Jesuits has been mentioned. During his years of study he read rhetoric, syntax, poetics, languages, physics, and law, and actively participated in extracurricular cultural activities. On several occasions he played in the school dramas that were staged by his tutors. Over the years he played King Joas, Judith against Holofernes, the genius of Divine Love in a mystery play, Empress Catharine in a saint play, the impersonation of the Holy Cross, and Saint Francis of Xaver (fig. 1). He also excelled in secular festivities and spectacles. At the 1647 parliament session Pál was introduced to the court. With a cousin, Rebeka Esterházy he performed an *oláh-dance* (Roumanian dance) for Empress Leopoldina and after that with two swords showed *Hayduck-dance*.⁶ The most valuable document about his youth is his own autobiography which he wrote from his earliest school year to his marriage in 1652.⁷

With the unexpected inheritance he became Hungary's wealthiest magnate and used his resources well: not only did he keep his economy safe but lavishly patronized various cultural and art projects. Deeply interested in architecture he had several castles and churches built and remodeled, and in his main seats, Fraknó (Forchtenstein, today's Austria) and Kismarton (Eisenstadt today's Austria) amassed a huge and important art collection. Fraknó was enlarged (architect Domenico Carlone; builder Simone Retacco) and Esterházy also ordered an equestrian statue of himself which was only completed in 1691 by the local sculptor, Michael Filser and becomes the only surviving open-air equestrian statue from the territory of the 17th-century Habsburg Empire.⁸ Beginning in 1663 Pál started developing Eisenstadt as his baronial residence. Again, the work was mainly done by Italians, the stucco decorations by Andrea Bertinalli.⁹ As we shall see below, many of his ambitious building projects were of religious nature: he built or renovated a number of town, village, and abbey churches and developed some into pilgrimage places of the Virgin Mary.

He had a keen sensitivity to what today could be termed "public relations" and he was particularly interested in visual representations. When he had to organize the funeral of his brother and cousins in 1652, not only the circumstances of the ritual were extraordinary, but he also made sure the *castrum doloris* in the University Church of Nagyszombat was of unusual quality and that commemorative prints were made showing the procession, the catafalque, and pamphlets to memorize his martyr relatives (fig. 2).¹⁰ The most famous such item is the "Vezekény Dish," a lavish, gold and silver piece of goldsmithry, which was ordered from the Augsburg masters of Philipp Jakob and Abraham Derntwett and represented the highest stylistic standards of contemporary Europe. On the "dish" one could see the moment when László Esterházy fell in the battle of Vezekény, showing the unfolding of the fight in the background while in the foreground a 3-dimensional László has just gone down, he is lying on the ground while still fighting with three Ottoman horsemen storming upon him. This valuable piece



1 Pál Esterházy as Judith in a school drama, original in the art collection of Fraknó



2 H.R. Miller-M. Lang, *Castrum doloris* of László Esterházy in the University Church, Nagyszombat, 1652, Hungarian National Museum



3 Ph.J. Dertwett, *The Vezekény Dish*, 1654, Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest



4 Invitation for the (second) wedding of Pál Esterházy in 1582, Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest

greatly contributed to the apotheosis of the whole Esterházy family and demonstrates Pál's early ambitions of self- and clan-fashioning (fig. 3).¹¹ Yet another curious piece is the printed invitation to his second wedding with Éva Thököly in 1682. Such occasional prints at that time were a rarity in Hungarian culture (fig. 4).

Esterházy the composer

It may seem strange that such a busy man, a powerful politician, a military commander, and a maecenas would spend his pastime with composing music.¹² However, if we take into consideration that Emperor Leopold I (as well as his father, Ferdinand III) was an accomplished musician, not only a devoted player but also a composer who invited at his court the representatives of newest Italian musical trends and organized opera performances, Pál's enthusiasm about music is not any more such a curiosity. Although the ruler and his baron often had political differences and Leopold disappointed Esterházy on multiple occasions, when the two men met as private individuals, they loved enjoying music, both playing and listening and no doubt they also exchanged their compositions.¹³

The growing orchestras and flourishing musical life at the Esterházy courts are well known. The first mention of musicians engaged at the Esterházy court dates from the time of Pál's father, though in those days one cannot speak of a systematically established and continuously maintained ensemble yet. Miklós Esterházy had thus an ensemble in Kismarton from 1624 onwards, which counted two trumpeters and one drummer among its members in the first three years and, from 1627 onwards church musicians as well (three singers and one lutenist). Pál Esterházy came into possession of the family's estate in 1652, and evidence is available from the next year onwards that he also engaged musicians. In order to safeguard the ensemble's musical qualities Esterházy took special care of the trumpeters's instruction: he engaged the musicians of the Imperial Court of Vienna and of the princely residence of Neuburg to instruct them and sent his pupils to Vienna to be released from apprenticeship. Parallel with the reconstruction of the castle Esterházy had a chapel built in Kismarton with a single-manual pedal organ made by the Viennese master Daniel Bauer. From 1664 onwards he also engaged musicians for cultivating church music. The year 1706 brought a considerable renewal of the church orchestra when seven children of the Viennese musician Ferdinand Lindt born approximately between 1683 and 1693 were engaged to Kismarton. Lindt himself had been violinist of the Hofkapelle in Vienna for two years before taking up his post in Kismarton in 1711.¹⁴

Esterházy was rediscovered as a composer only in the 1970s and the interest focused on his fifty-five religious motets written for the feasts of the whole year. The Latin texts were also written up by the composer who in 1701 contracted a lavish publication of his collection in Vienna, only to be published by 1711. A few decades ago, with a few classical and historicist recordings, Pál all of a sudden emerged as the great Hungarian Baroque composer who would equal the best Western colleagues, a Vivaldi, Buxtehude, or Purcell. László Dobszai in his History of Hungarian music described his achievement as follows: "Critics emphasize the verstaile use of instruments in his compositions: clarinos, fagot, flute, harp which played solo parts, too. Six cantatas were written for sung duet; nine contained even chorus shifting with the solos. Although the author was a dilettant [in the original meaning of the word!] his achievement is technically impeccable, a clean work".¹⁵ Recently this enthusiasm was somewhat muffled, musicologists have proved that Esterházy felt no inhibition of borrowing from other pieces and that at least several of his compositions were orchestrated by his professional musicians.¹⁶ This skeptical approach will not change the fact that he still remains the greatest Hungarian Baroque composer who so much inspired even Joseph Haydn that the latter hand-copied the whole *Harmonia coelestis* himself and the only surviving printed copy was also in his possession.

The examination of the *Harmonia coelestis* takes us directly to the topic of the cult of the Virgin Mary promoted by Pál Esterházy. Out of the fifty-five motets a number are devoted to Mary, presenting and celebrating her various aspects and deeds. A few titles: *O, nitida Stella, Maria* (no. 35), *O, quam pulchra es Maria* (no. 36), *Ave Maris stella* (no. 37), *Salve O Maria* (no. 38), *Maria, fons aquae vivae* (no. 39), *O Maria, mater pia* (no. 41), *Ave dulcis virgo* (no. 43), *Tota dulcis es Maria* (no. 44), *O Maria gratiosa* (no. 48), *Maria quid sentio* (no. 50), etc.



5 The gate of Fraknó with the Virgin Mary ordered by Pál Esterházy in the 1650s (photo: Gy. E. Szönyi)



6 Image of the Virgin on the Kismarton Palace (photo: Gy. E. Szönyi)

Esterházy's cult of the Virgin

It is well documented that Pál from his earliest age was socialized into the cult of the Virgin Mary. Both his parents were very religious and he himself writes in his youthful memoirs that saw his mother kneeling before the statue of the Virgin in tears.¹⁷ In the Esterházy household this religious cult was always strongly interwoven with a patriotic responsibility, remembering that in 1038, already the first Hungarian king, Saint Stephen I offered Hungary under the protection of the Virgin Mary. A traditional Hungarian hymn combined these two aspects beautifully:

<i>Magyarország Pátronája</i>	<i>Patroness of Hungary</i>
<i>Mennynek, földnek királynéja.</i>	<i>Queen of Heaven and Earth</i>
<i>Hozzád óhajtók gyámola</i>	<i>Protector of seekers</i>
<i>Bánkódók vigasztalója!</i>	<i>Consolator of the wretched!</i>

<i>Tekints a te oltalmadra</i>	<i>Look at Hungary</i>
<i>Bízott Magyarországodra,</i>	<i>Offered under your protection</i>
<i>Kinek nyargalja mezejét</i>	<i>Whose meadows are ridden by</i>
<i>Mohamet, s fogyatja népét.</i>	<i>Mahomet and the people are murdered.</i>

Pál so deeply experienced this infatuation with the Virgin that already in his earliest school books he always wrote on the cover: "Mariano honori."¹⁸ From the time he had the means, his lavish patronage activities were also connected with this cult, in his building projects he made sure that statues of the Virgin were placed (e.g. Fraknó and Kismarton; figs. 5, 6), he promoted pilgrimage places (Kismarton, Boldogasszony; fig. 7), finally, his own writing activities were also focused on the cult and iconography of the Virgin.

One of his particular habits was to make vows to found or support something in connection with the Virgin in case he is successful in some business or venture. He was very proud of these vows and foundations, during his life he on repeated occasions compiled the list of those and in his testaments he also detailed these activities. Beyond the religious devotion, these obviously contributed to his techniques of self-fashioning and self-representation. In his list written around 1700 he mentions 118 (!) statues and pictures he commissioned over his dominions and among these 57 were devoted to the Virgin Mary.¹⁹ As of the 1690s he regularly led pilgrimages to Marizell, also founding a new chapel in the basilica. This visit he took together with his second wife and made sure a broadsheet commemorates the event (fig. 8).²⁰

Among these foundations perhaps most important was the complete rebuilding of Boldogasszony (Frauenkirchen, today Austria), a Franciscan monastery and abbey church which he adorned with a miraculous image of the

Virgin (fig. 9) and he also built a Calvary next to it (fig. 10). Another spectacular Calvary he sponsored near his seat in Kismarton (fig. 11) in whose middle chapel yet another miraculous representation of the Virgin can be seen (fig. 12).

As of the 1690s he retired from active politics and devoted much time to research and writing. Several important publications document his Marian-cult and some of these have direct iconological significance. Following the *Atlas Marianus* of Wilhelm Gumpfenberg (1609-1675), he collected stories and images of Maria-miracles from all over the world, the result is the *Az egész világon levő csudalatos Boldogsagos Szűz Kepeinek rövideden föl tett eredeti...* ([The origin of the pictures of the Blessed Virgin to be found all over the world, written briefly] Nagyszombat/Trnava, University Printing House, 1690).²¹ In another book he offered devotional *exempla* concerning the Virgin Mary, arranged for each Saturday of the year (*Az boldogsagos Szűz Maria szombattya az-az minden szombat napokra való aetatosságok* [Saturdays of the Blessed Virgin Mary, that is devotions for all Saturday of the whole year], Nagyszombat/Trnava, University Printing Press, 1691).²² From the viewpoint of Mary-iconography the first publication is most interesting for us. The creation of the book has a complicated and noteworthy story which cannot be separated from the development of his model and the emergence of a whole counter-Reformational genre.²³

In connection with Counter-Reformation propaganda from the second half of the 16th century a new genre emerged for Catholic readership. As a sign of the amplified Virgin Mary cult, various, often illustrated publications appeared which described pilgrimage places, told about miracles in connection with the holy pictures or statues, gradually mixing the genres of devotional literature with tourist guidebooks and entertaining literature. The earliest pieces concentrated only on a single place or shrine. These were usually called "miracle books" or books of miracles. Later on other authors tried to combine the individual descriptions and to cover a larger region or a whole country. The highest development of the genre was the so called *Atlas Marianus* which was developed by a German Jesuit, Wilhelm Gumpfenberg, who published such a collection in 1652, describing 100 wonder-making shrines from all over the world and treated their history with great philological accuracy, citations and footnotes. Each of the hundred items were illustrated by etched pictures.²⁴

Esterházy's *Az egész világon levő csudalatos...* publication (1690) is the reworking into Hungarian of Gumpfenberg, completed by 17 more items and pictures. There are significant differences between the two books. Gumpfenberg's order has no logic, but as has been mentioned, it is an accurate and well equipped with apparatus scholarly Jesuit work. Esterházy's Hungarian is simplified, he systematically omitted the notes and citations and shortened the long explanations, on the other hand it has a more interesting literary quality. He put the stress on miracles, strange happenings, historical anecdotes performed in a lively Hungarian, thus changed the devotional book into popular literature. And exactly this was his intention, he encouraged the Jesuits and Franciscans to use it for educational purposes and to enliven their preaching. As for the copperplates, most of them imitate Gumpfenberg's pictures, however, all of them were newly etched at the cost of Esterházy who also made sure that his ducal coat of arms appears on each of them. The artist was Matthias Greischer, born in Frankfurt, having worked in important German and Austrian workshops (including landscapes for G.M. Vischer). From 1684 he lived in Vienna and for the time of the work on Esterházy's book he was settled in Kismarton. Obviously, most interesting are those additions which are missing from Gumpfenberg's original. These are East-Central European items, featuring several on Esterházy's estates. Their sources have been clarified but it is also clear that on several occasions there was no picture available, so the engraver had to visit those shrines himself.

The thematic structure of the collection is as follows: Italy (thirty items), Hungary (11), Croatia (1), Germany (17), Bohemia (5), Belgium (12), Sicily (9), Malta (2), Spain (6), France (6), Lotharingia (2), then Savoy, Dalmatia, Poland, and Lithvenia (3-3). The book is concluded under the label of "India," which actually presents two from South America, and one each from the Canari Islands and Goa, India. Esterházy's inventions are 11 items from Hungary, 1 from Croatia (Trsat), 4 from Austria, and one from India (fig. 13). As Géza Galavics reminds, the originals of the pictures have to be understood in the sense of the Latin *imago* (representation) rather than *tabula* (panel painting), meaning that his catalogue includes painted pictures, statues, memorial columns, or mixed material puppets (dressed wax figures).²⁵ It is interesting to realize that Gumpfenberg's image of "the flying house" in Loretto

was neglected, and since according to the legends the shrine of the Virgin Mary was “resting” for six months in Trsat (Rijeka), Esterházy decided to employ the same picture for both places. No need to say, the shrines on his estates, even more his own foundations feature very prominently in this collection, efficiently putting the Hungarian cult of the Virgin Mary on a comprehensive world map (fig. 14).

This paper cannot accommodate a detailed and complex comparative survey of Esterházy's work and its sources, but it has to be mentioned, that his cult of the Virgin brought other literary fruits, too. In 1672, Gumpenberg put out a new edition of his *Atlas Marianus*, actually monumentally enlarged but without illustrations. Esterházy acquired this book in 1690 and immediately set to its adaptation which was published in 1666 as *Mennyei Korona az az Az egész Világon lévő Csudálatos Boldogságos Szűz Kepeinek rövideden föl tett Eredeti* (Heavenly Crown. The origin of the pictures of the Blessed Virgin to be found all over the world, written briefly).²⁶ Again the characteristics of Esterházy's adaptation techniques are the same: simplifying, enlarging, popularizing. Even that here there are no illustrations, the descriptions are vivid and invite the reader to go through the several hundred pages very easily. In 1697 Esterházy published yet another catalogue of the pictures of the Virgin.²⁷ This time in Latin and adding *litaniae* (devotional prayers), including the names of 1500 shrines as the variables of the litany text.

The social function and uses of the wonder-making images

At this point we would like to reflect on the social function/social uses of the images of the Virgin Mary included in Esterházy's works. There are two aspects of that function that one encounters while reading the miracle stories added to the pictures. One aspect is communication: the stories reveal a lot about the particular ways the pictures of the Virgin were used in popular Baroque religiosity/Catholicism. We find a certain correlation between what the miracle stories say and how the surrounding socio-cultural world looked like in East-Central Europe. The other aspect is representation: the images of Mary and the stories about them tell a lot about how the Other – the close as well as the distant Other – became Christianized/stereotyped in Catholic/Jesuit devotional discourse. The distant Others – like non-European indigenous people appearing in the stories – were stereotyped/schematized to such an extent, as we shall see, that they almost completely lose their socio-cultural specificity.²⁸

These two aspects of social function apparently contradict one another in their intention and content. This contradiction provides, however, a basic underlying dynamics to the textual and visual representation of the sacred, with Virgin Mary on top, and the human society ruled by this sacred as it is to be found in Esterházy's collections of miracles.

As for the aspect of communication and the uses of the images, many of Esterházy's miracle stories tell about a legal function that the images of saints – and among them, those of the Virgin Mary - have fulfilled in the early modern period. This is a function of validation and legitimation invested in sacred objects and (geographical) places having been practised since the Middle Ages, also well-known in the Kingdom of Hungary. The use of the holy cross, the bible, the relics and the images of saints was customary in the rituals of civil law such as oath-taking, making vows, performing the ordalies, and the like. Furthermore, such a legitimizing function was attributed to the very buildings of the Catholic Church itself, with its chapels, the altar and other sacred places of smaller or greater dimension inside/outside of it. (See Esterházy's churches, chapels, altars, columns, calvaries mentioned above.)

Several of the rituals of civil law like the donation and the purchase of a property of importance (an estate, a piece of land, a house, etc.) were performed in such places. Esterházy's miracle stories refer quite often refer to such social/legal practices, so it is highly probable that the reception of those narratives was rather favorable in the Catholic parts of Hungary. Various legal documents testify that these miracle stories met an audience there – especially in the towns and villages of Northern Hungary / Upper Hungary – that knew very well how to make legal acts in the presence of sacred images and objects and/or directly in sacred places.²⁹

We can take any of Esterházy's collection of miracles, we find narratives in them that communicate fairly directly between devotional and social life. The *Saturdays of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (1691, 1701- see note 24)



7 Colored 17th-century broadsheet advertising the wonder-making shrine in Boldogasszony/Frauenkirchen exhibited in the Basilica (photo: Gy. E. Szönyi)



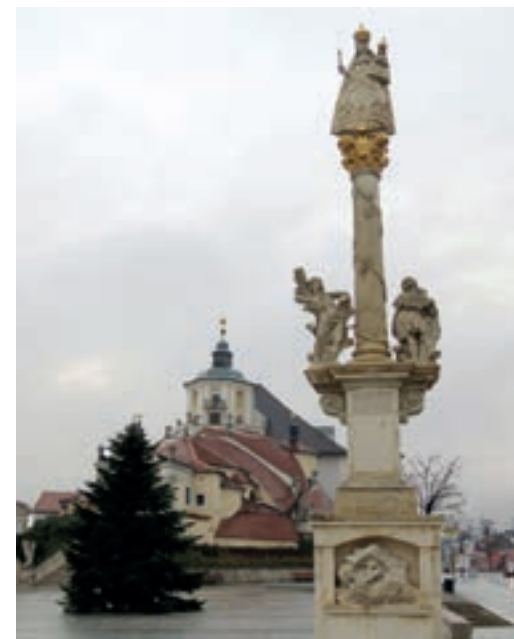
8 Unknown master, *Esterhazy and his wife in Mariazell*, 1689



9 Miraculous statue of Mary in Abbey Church of Boldogasszony/Frauenkirchen (photo: Gy. E. Szönyi)



10 Calvary founded by Pál Esterházy in Boldogasszony/Frauenkirchen (photo: Gy. E. Szönyi)



11 Pillar with May's statue on the top, Kismarton/Eisenstadt (photo: Gy. E. Szönyi)



12 Miraculous statue of Mary, Kismarton/Eisenstadt (photo: Gy. E. Szőnyi)



15 The title page of Esterházy's *Trophaeum nobilissimae ac antiquissimae domus Estorasianae*, Vienna, University Press, 1700+



13 Images of Mary from Esterházy's 1690 collection: Trsat, Mariazell, Goa, reproduced from the facsimile



14 Images of Mary from Esterházy's 1690 collection: Fraknó, Kismarton, Boldogasszony, reproduced from the facsimile

provides stories about oaths, vows and donations made in front of the image of the Virgin. Each mode of communication to be found among the contemporary acts and rituals of civil law are also represented in these stories. You find orality: vows are said to have been spoken orally in the presence of the image; you find written communication: letters of donation and various agreements are said to have been placed in the front of the image; you find also gesture communication: the sacred objects being touched and the consequent beneficial effects. For example, the hands of the offerer are said to have been placed right on the painted hand of the Virgin – it was a sign of agreement, a handshake. And, *The Heavenly Crown* (1696; see note 27) tells a story in which a vow was said to have been made by the use of objects, this also was an official way of validating certain rituals of civil law in the period. According to this story, a city was offered to the Virgin Mary by way of having thrown its key in front of her image in her particular church.

Beyond such legal uses, Esterházy's collections mention another remarkable practice originating in the medieval cult of saints and surviving in the Baroque period – actually until recently. This is the punishment of (the representation of) the saints. It is a practice of “injuring” their statues and images: beating them, scratching them, piercing/pricking them, and so on, in the case they have not fulfilled the wish they were supposed to. This seems to have been a practice flourishing mostly in the popular register of European culture, and it was condemned constantly by the officials of the Catholic Church. Esterházy's collections contain some narratives referring to the “injured” image of the Virgin Mary, although such stories make only a little proportion of the whole. It is worth considering them however, since our early modern legal documents themselves refer to this practice as an existing one, and so do some manuals of official Catholic devotion. *Jus civile*, the collection of civil law of the free royal cities of Hungary cites this practice in 1703. It announces to punish severely all “those who prick the eyes of the images of saints, the one on the Cross, the Blessed Virgin Mary” etc. Similarly, the most popular Catholic catechism in early modern Hungary (written by the Jesuit Peter Canisius) also asks a particular question while teaching about the preparation for the ritual of confession: “Have you corrupted (*megfertéztetted*) and tore up the images of saints in your anger?” Finally, we have legal proceedings against some inhabitants of Catholic communities who were accused of “having punished” the images of the Virgin Mary in such a way.³⁰ Esterházy's *Heavenly Crown* contains indeed some stories that confirm / represent this practice of punishing the image of the Virgin.

However, such a behavior is also attributed to Calvinists and Jews in a handful of the stories. In such stories it is those “enemies” of the Catholic faith who have become punished in the end by the Virgin Mary herself. These stories again confirm the rather close relation between devotional narratives on one hand and local social life on the other. Not in the sense that local Calvinists and Jews injured indeed the images of Catholic saints (they might or might not do that), but in the sense that the communities (towns and villages) of Upper Hungary constituted indeed a rather mixed social and religious milieu to which Protestants and Jews also belonged for quite a long time.

Featuring non-Catholic others in such a negative way would lead us to the other aspect of the function of the miracle stories, i.e. representation. The plot of a great number of Esterházy's miracles is placed outside Europe: India, China, Japan, certain communities of Africa, Central and South-America also feature in the narratives. These stories relate to places where European missionaries had been sent out to convert the local aboriginal people to Christianity. In this sense we find some relation again between the stories on one hand, and the particular historical social milieu on the other, but the way in which aboriginal people actually appear in the narratives is very far from their respective indigenous cultures. There is no place here to go into the details; let us illustrate this schematic, socially and culturally empty way of representation by citing only one of Esterházy's miracle stories from the *Heavenly Crown*: “In the Island of Cinaloa there was a stubborn, old Pagan, who did not even want to know about Christianity; falling sick and approaching death, he called a Jesuit Father to visit him in such a misery: the Pater took a picture of the Virgin Mary to him and gave it in his hands. Looking at the picture for a while, the Pagan received such a revelation from divine power that now he desired Christianity with all his strength, which he finally took, and passed away to eternity in happiness and joy: from that time the picture has been held in great respect, and judged to be miraculous.”³¹

The title of this story (English translation by I. Sz. Kristóf) is "The Cinaloa Picture of the Miraculous Blessed Lady in Cinaloa, India." "Cinaloa" however, was not an island, and was not to be found in India either. Or, more exactly, it was to be found in "India" so much as this term referred to the American continent in early modern times. "Cinaloa" i.e. Sinaloa was, and still is a region in Mexico, today it constitutes one of its states. In the age of Prince Esterházy this region was the land of the Yaki, the Mayo, the Sinaloa and many other indigenous peoples, not mentioned in the story at all. This territory called New Mexico at that time belonged to the North American part of the Spanish Empire, i.e. Nueva España. From the beginning of the conquest of the Nahuatl/Aztec people in 1519 this Empire gradually absorbed almost the whole territory of what is called today the American Southwest – Arizona, New Mexico, Utah and (parts of) Colorado – as well as California, and later Texas and some northern regions. The region of Sinaloa started to encounter the Spanish conquest already in 1533, and soon after the turn of the 16th and 17th century a number of Jesuit missionaries were recorded to be active among the indigenous tribes living there.

So, "the Pagan" mentioned in Esterházy's story could refer to any of the indigenous peoples living in that enormous territory. These people were, however, different and multifarious in fact; they pursued diverse economic as well as cultural activities, and their languages also differed from one another. And, most of all, their local history testifies that they have not converted to Christianity at such a miraculous speed at all as it was claimed in Esterházy's story. On the contrary, we know about quite a few of indigenous revolts against the Christian missionaries occurring in this region during the seventeenth century.³² From this one can conclude that the function of representation makes the distant Other almost totally Christianized / stereotyped in Esterházy's collection of miracles. Non-European indigenous people loose indeed their socio-cultural identity and have been transformed into pacified – but not specified –, obedient Christian subjects.

Conclusion

This brief survey of an impressive, versatile, and highly cultured early modern aristocrat, who was almost unparalleled in Hungary or even East-Central Europe, demonstrates his ability to harmoniously synthesize his creative energies in politics as well as in military actions, social life, cultural patronage and artistic expression in more than one genre. There were three moving forces behind this vigor: deep religiosity, a passionate care for Hungary and the fate of the Hungarians, and, last but not least, a determined self-fashioning and self-representation which was also extended to his family and relations. A monumental effort to summarize all three aspects was his work, *Trophaeum nobilissimae ac antiquissimae domus Estorasiacae* (Viennae, University Printing House, 1700), in which he summarized the history of his ancestors from "Biblical times" through the centuries of the Hungarian Kingdom, up to his own age (fig. 15). The richly illustrated book is a rarity among contemporary Hungarian publications.

Towards the end of his life he became disillusioned in politics but he successfully rechanneled his energies into patronage and artistic creation, thus he could still enjoy a reconciled, full life. His devotion for the Virgin Mary found expression in various forms and genres, including a wide variety of visual representations. Thus it is unquestionable that he deserves a place in a collection on Marian iconology.

Sources for images:

- Fig. 1 From: L. MERÉNYI, *Herczeg Esterházy Pál nádor*, Budapest, Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1895; online: <http://mek.oszk.hu/05600/05649/html/03.htm#d1e939> (accessed: 10 March 2017)
- Fig. 2, 3 From: G. GALAVICS, 1986, fig. 39 and color plate 39
- Fig. 4 From: B. RADVÁNSZKY, *Magyar családélet és háztartás a XVI. és XVII. Században*, Budapest, Helikon, 1986, vol. I, fig. 236
- Fig. 8 From: *Mariazell and Hungary*, exhibition catalogue, Budapest, 2004, no. IV-8
- Fig. 13 <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11093001-6> (accessed 09 March 2017)
- Fig. 15 Courtesy of the Szeged Univeristy Library

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- 1 See: https://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Széchenyi_István (accessed 04 March 2017).
- 2 A good English translation was recently published; cfr. M. ZRINYI, *The Siege of Sziget*, L. KÖRÖSSY (tran.), Washington DC, The Catholic University of America Press, 2011.
- 3 "Eszterházy", *ad vocem* in: *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1988.
- 4 For the biography of Pál see the extensive although old fashioned monograph of L. MERÉNYI, *Herczeg Esterházy Pál nádor*, Budapest, Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1895; L. MARKÓ, *A Magyar Állam Főméltóságai Szent Istvántól napjainkig. Magyar életrajzi lexikon*, Budapest, Magyar Könyvklub, 2000; "Paul Esterházy, Fürst", in: *Austria Encyclopedia*, http://austria-forum.org/af/AEIOU/Esterházy%2C_Paul_I._Fürst (accessed 05 March 2017); and most importantly the recent collection of essays: *Esterházy Pál, a műkedvelő mecénás. Egy 17. századi arisztokrata-életpálya a politika és a művészet határvidékén* (The Career of a 17th-century aristocrat at the crossroads of politics and art), P. ÁCS (ed.), Budapest, *reciti*, 2015 (with English summaries), especially the study of Á.R. VÁRKONYI, "Személyiség és politika (Personality and Politics)," pp. 11-49. A fine summary in French: G. GALAVICS, *Nicolas II Esterházy, 1765-1833: un prince hongrois collectionneur: une histoire du goût en Europe aux XVIIIe-XIXe siècles*, Paris, Réunion des musées nationaux, 2007.
- 5 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Vezekény (accessed 05 March 2017).
- 6 L. MERÉNYI, *op. cit.*, 1895, <http://mek.oszk.hu/05600/05649/html/03.htm#d1e1485> (accessed 05 March 2017).
- 7 A 89 pages quarto booklet in Pál's handwriting in the Princely Archives of Kismarton (Eisenstadt, today's Austria). L. Merényi (*op. cit.*, 1895) extensively quotes this memorandum. Critical edition of Esterházy's Latin political treatise and his youthful memoirs cfr. In: P. ESTERHÁZY, *Mars hungaricus and Visszaemlékezések* (Mars Hungaricus and Memoires), E. IVÁNYI (ed.), Budapest, Zrinyi, 1989. Interpretation: M.S. SÁRDI, "Az önmegörökítő Esterházy Pál (Esterházi's self-representations)," in: *Esterházy Pál, op. cit.* 2015, pp. 317-329.
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- 13 As Ágnes Sas writes, "Esterházy may have acquired a fairly extensive musical culture in the course of his life. He got acquainted with numerous genres on a different level of attainment each: in his childhood [and probably even later] he sang sacred songs and played simple pieces and dances on his own. As a listener he shared in excellent productions, too, as the music life of Vienna was undoubtedly in the vanguard of European development as far as quality is concerned. In the presumably modest rendering of his own orchestra established after Viennese models the works of the composers he grew familiar with at the court could have become an organic part of his everyday home life in Kismarton". Cfr. A. SAS, "Esterházy's Life and Political Career", in: *Harmonia coelestis*, *op. cit.*, 2001, p. 59.
- 14 A. SAS, "Esterházy's Life and Political Career", in: *Harmonia coelestis*, *op. cit.*, 2001, p. 50.
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- 21 Facsimile: *Az egész világon levő csudálatos Boldogságos Szűz képeinek rövideden föltett eredeti*, facsimile ed. Ed. P. KŐSZEGHY, accompanying studies by É. KNAPP-G. TÜSKÉS-G. GALAVICS, Budapest, Balassi 1994, *Bibliotheca Hungarica Antiqua XXX*.
- 22 Facsimile: *Az boldogságos Szűz Maria szombattya az-az minden szombat napokra való aetatoságok*, facsimile ed. P. KŐSZEGHY, accompanying study by L. SZÖRÉNYI, Budapest, Balassi, 1995, *Bibliotheca Hungarica Antiqua XXXI*. Over the years this book had 17 Hungarian and 13 translated (Latin, German, and Czech) editions; see: Á. SAS, *op. cit.*, 2001, p. 47.
- 23 This summary and the following discussion is based on the studies accompanying the facsimile of Esterházy 1690, written by Éva Knapp, Gábor Tüskés and Géza Galavics.
- 24 *Atlas Marianus, sive de imaginibus deiparae per orbem Christianum miraculosis. Auctore Guilielmo Gumpfenberg è Societate Iesu*, Ingolstadt, 1652) Permalink: <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11093001-6> (accessed 09 March 2017).
- 25 G. Galavics' accompanying study to Esterházy 1690 in the 1994 edition, p. 29.
- 26 No pace or publisher, actually Nagyszombat/Trnava, University Press, 1697.
- 27 *Litaniae ad Beatam Virginem Mariam, per totius mundi miraculosas imagines divisae*, Vienna, University Press, 1697. See: G. TÜSKÉS, *Búcsújárás a barokk kori Magyarországon* (Pilgrimage in Baroque Hungary), Budapest, Akadémiai, 1993, pp. 77-81.
- 28 For the aspects of communication and representation see especially the two studies of I.SZ. KRISTÓF, "A számoktól a (jogi) szövegekig: alfabétizációtörténet, olvasástörténet vagy kommunikációtörténet? (From Figures to [Legal] Texts: History of Literacy, History of Reading or History of Communication?)", in: *Acta Papensia. A Pápai Református Gyűjtemények Közleményei*, vol. 2, 1-2, 2002, pp. 3-29; and EADEM, "The Uses of Demonology. European Missionaries and Native Americans in the American Southwest (17-18th Centuries)", in: *Centers and Peripheries in European Renaissance Culture. Essays by East-central European Mellon Fellows*, GY. E. SZÖNYI–CS. MACZELKA (eds.), Szeged, JATE Press, 2012, pp. 161-182.
- 29 See I.SZ. KRISTÓF, *op. cit.*, 2002 and EADEM, "How to Make a (Legal) Pact with the Devil? Legal Customs and Literacy in Witch Confessions in Early Modern Hungary", in: G. KLANICZAY and É. PÓCS in collaboration with E. CSONKA-TAKÁCS

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30 All the above mentioned examples are discussed by SZ. KRISTÓF, "A számoktól a (jogi) szövegekig...", pp. 3-29.

31 The story is analyzed by I.Sz. Kristóf in: I.SZ. KRISTÓF, *op. cit.*, 2002, pp. 161-182.

32 *Ibid.*

György E. Szönyi - Ildikó Sz. Kristóf

Multimedijski kult Djevice Marije koji je stvorio i financirao mađarski aristokrat Pál Eszterhazy (1635.-1731.)

Vojvoda Pal Eszterhazy bio je jedan od najistaknutijih Mađara s kraja 16. i početka 17. stoljeća. Kao političar uspeo se do najvišeg položaja u zemlji pod habsburškom vlašću: nakon uspjeha kao vojskovođa u ratu protiv Osmanlija 1660. postao je palatin Mađarske 1681. i član Reda zlatnoga runa, a 1687. je stekao titulu "carskog princa". Nije bio samo značajan političar i patriot, već i svestran umjetnik i veliki pokrovitelj i mecena. Pisao je poeziju na latinskom i mađarskom, skladao glazbu i slikao, a njegova pokroviteljska djelatnost i umjetničko stvaralaštvo ne mogu se odvojiti od njegove duboke religioznosti i posebice štovanja kulta Djevice Marije. Nekoliko važnih izdanja dokumentira njegovo štovanje Marije, a neka od njih imaju izravno ikonološko značenje. Slijedeći *Atlas Marianus* Wilhelma Gumpfenberga, skupljao je priče i prikaze Marijnih čudesa sa svih strana svijeta, sažeo ih na mađarskom jeziku te ih je objavio ukrašene drvorezima, koje je preuzeo iz njemačkih ili latinskih publikacija ili pak novim grafikama. U ovoj raspravi dajemo pregled različitih oblika Eszterhazyjeva štovanja Marijina kulta s naglaskom na prikazima Djevice. Poseban dio rasprave posvećen je Eszterhazyjevu interesu i poznavanju etnologije, što je pokazano na primjerima preuzetima iz neeuropskih svetišta i hodočasničkih mjesta.

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